

History of Latin Christianity

From the past we must control the future.

Thoughts to the Reader.

The History of Latin Christianity by Henry Hart Milman is a masterpiece of Research and Scholarship, impartial and non-judgmental in its presentation of Historic facts. This rather voluminous Work has gone through several editions and is a fundamental source of the History of Catholic Christianity through the ages. The opportunity to save this great Work, and give it wide distribution in Electronic form, is not only a duty but a pleasure that Bank of Wisdom does with great pride.

There is a perverse desire in the political institutions of man to rule the entire world. Dr. Milman, in his Preface to The First Edition, quotes from Polybius (Vol. I, p. iv) in his (Polybius) description of his 'History of Republican Rome' and Milman rightly transfers this description to the Christian Church of Rome. The quote is:

"The work which we have undertaken being one, the whole forming one great design, how, when, and by what means all the known world becomes subject to the Roman rule."

And so the Historian has seen that the Roman church, from the very beginning, has dreamed and schemed to conquer and rule -- they call it "convert and save" -- the whole world. Not only does the Roman Catholic church dream this dream, but the entire Christian religion sees it as their duty to spread their delusion into every land, every city and every tribe. If it were only Christian aggression that troubled the world that alone would cause wars and hatred enough, but other religious dream the horrible dream also. The Moslem religion that sprang up over five hundred years after Christianity, and almost conquered all of Christendom before internal strife brought their success to an end, was far in advance of Christianity. While Christian lands was wallowing in the filth and ignorance of the pious Dark Ages, the Moslems were studying astronomy, chemistry, math and the arts, there were hospitals for the sick and the insane. When the Moslems ruled Spain it was a land of peace and plenty, non-Moslems were not molested and their only discrimination was that they were required to pay higher taxes -- the same as Americans individuals, who hold non-government approved religious beliefs, are made to pay more taxes because the government approved religions pay none. But even the

lax and healthy Moslem religion of the Middle Ages has deteriorated as it has become more and more controlled by the Fundamentalist.

As we read the long and bloody History of the Roman church, as recorded in this great History by Milman, and reinforced by the Histories of other Scholars collected on this CD-ROM, we realize how much better the world would be, morally and intellectually, if the Christian religion (or racket) had never been invented. Now that humanity has suffered untold miseries for two thousand years it is long past the time when an outraged humanity should raise themselves up and free themselves of this dreadful delusion. No bloody riots are needed to stop this monster, only an elevation in the general intelligence of the common man and woman, so they will see no need to fall down and worship an induced obsessional delusion -- a delusion that has no place in a healthy mind.

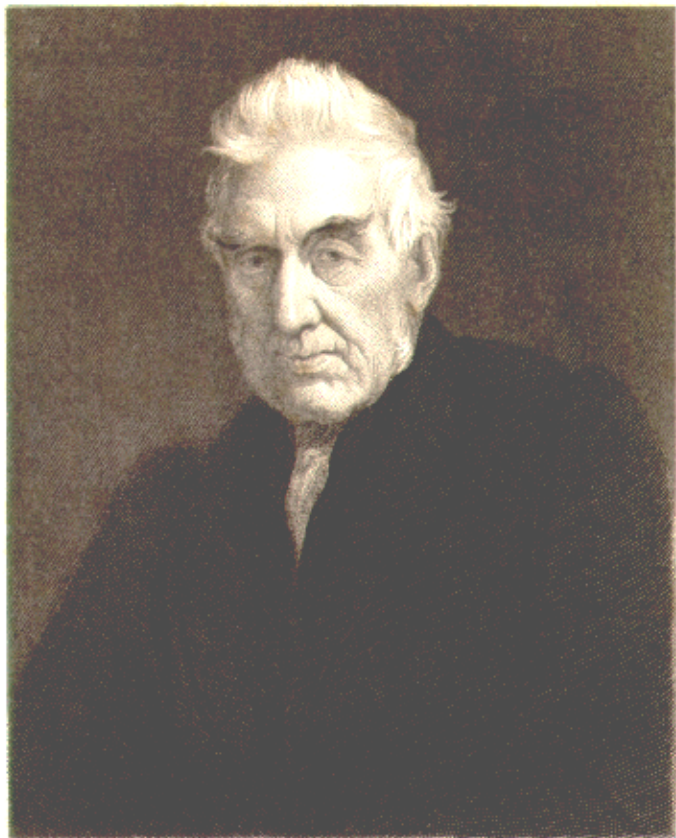
In spite of the drag of religious ignorance, humanity has advanced through the application of science, and has created the most amazing civilization that ever existed on this earth. We, humanity, now have the knowledge to maintain and advance the wonderful civilization we have created for an indefinite, if not endless, time into the future. To do this we must control world population and allow population to reduce itself to what the earth can comfortably maintain, so as not to deplete the resources necessary to the survival of our posterity.

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Michael Mann

HISTORY
OF
LATIN CHRISTIANITY;

INCLUDING THAT OF
THE POPES TO THE PONTIFICATE OF NICOLAS V.

By HENRY HART MILMAN, D.D.,
DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S.

IN NINE VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

FOURTH EDITION.

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PREFACE

TO

THE THIRD EDITION.



THE demand for a third edition of this somewhat voluminous work cannot but be highly gratifying to the author. The book has been likewise stereotyped in the United States: on the whole, a very creditable specimen of American typography.

In this edition I have corrected a few errors which I have detected, or which have been pointed out by friendly critics, and a few misprints, which had crept, mostly into the notes. A few more notes have been added, chiefly from books either not published or not known to me at the time when the former editions were issued. I would name more especially the recent excellent work of Gregorovius, 'Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter.' One has been furnished to me by the kindness of my friend Dr. Stanley, who, in his enviable passion for visiting the scenes of great historical events, has, I may almost say, discovered the site of the Countess Matilda's castle, Canossa, where the memorable interview of Pope Hildebrand and the Emperor Henry IV. took place.

PREFACE

TO

THE FIRST EDITION.

THE History of Latin Christianity is a continuation of 'The History of Christianity to the Extinction of Paganism in the Roman Empire.' But Latin Christianity appears to possess such a remarkable historic unity, that I have thought fit, in order to make this work complete in itself, to trace again its origin and earlier development, and to enter in some respects with greater fulness, yet without unnecessary repetition, into its history during the first four centuries. On one extremely dark part of that history a book but recently discovered has thrown unexpected light.

The sentence of Polybius which describes the unity, and the plan, of his History of Republican Rome, might be adopted by the historian of the Rise and Progress of Christian Rome. *Ὁντος γὰρ ἐνὸς ἔργου καὶ θεάματος ἐνὸς τοῦ σύμπαντος, ὑπὲρ τούτου γράφειν ἐπικεχειρήκαμεν τοῦ, πῶς καὶ πότε, καὶ διὰ τί πάντα τὰ γνωριζόμενα μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης ὑπὸ τὴν Ῥωμαίων δυναστείαν ἐγένετο.*—l. iii. c. i. "The work which we have undertaken being one, the whole forming one great design, how, when, and by what means all the known world became subject to the Roman rule." Though the great sphere of Latin Christianity was Western Europe,

yet, during the first seven or eight centuries, it is so mingled up with the religious history of the Greek empire; the invasion of Western Europe by the Mohammedans, and the Crusades, so involved it again in the affairs of the East; that, in its influence at least, it extended to the limits of the known world.

My aim has been to write a history, not a succession of dissertations on history; to give with as much life and reality as I have been able, the result, not the process, of inquiry. This, where almost every event, every character, every opinion has been the subject of long, intricate, too often hostile controversy, was a task of no slight difficulty. Where the conflicting authorities have seemed to be nearly balanced, I have sometimes, but rarely, admitted them into the text, not desiring to speak with certainty, where certainty appeared unattainable: in general I have reserved such discussions, where inevitable, for the notes. Even in the notes I have endeavoured to avoid two things—a polemic tone and prolixity. I.—I have cited the names of modern writers, in general, only when their observations have been remarkable in themselves, as original, or as characteristic of the progress of opinion. II.—I have usually contented myself with quoting the authority which after due consideration I have thought it right to follow, instead of occupying a large space with concurrent or conflicting statements. Nothing can be more easy, now that we possess such admirable manuals of ecclesiastical history (especially the invaluable one of Gieseler), than to heap together to immeasurable extent citations from ancient authors or the opinions of learned men. I notice this solely that I may not be suspected

either of the presumption of having neglected the labours, or of want of gratitude for the aid, of that array of writers who—from the Magdeburg Centuriators, Baronius and his Continuator, through the great French scholars, Tillemont, Fleury, Dupin; the Germans, Mosheim, Schroeck, Neander, and countless others (where, alas! are the English historians of those times?)—have wrought with such indefatigable industry on the annals of Christianity. I have studied compression and condensation, rather than fulness and copiousness, simply in order to bring the work within reasonable compass.

PREFACE TO VOLUME IV.

FIRST EDITION.

I CANNOT offer the concluding volumes of the History of Latin Christianity without expressing my grateful sense of the kind and liberal manner in which the former portion of the work has been generally received. In these volumes I trust that I have not fallen below my constant aim—calm and rigid impartiality; the fearless exposure of the bad, full appreciation of the good, both in the institutions and in the men who have passed before my view. I hope that I may aver without presumption that my sole object is truth—truth uttered in charity; and where truth has appeared to me unattainable from want of sufficient authorities, or from authorities balanced or contradictory, I have

avoided the expression of any positive opinion. I am unwilling to claim the authority of history for that for which there is not historical evidence. I would further remind the reader that if the course of affairs during these ages should appear dark, at times almost to repulsiveness, still in the dreariest and most gloomy period of Christian history there was always an under-current of humble, Christian goodness flowing on, as the Saviour himself came, "without observation," the light of which we can discern but by faint and transitory glimpses.

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HISTORY

OF

LATIN CHRISTIANITY.

INTRODUCTION.

Design and Plan of the Work.

THE great event in the history of our religion and of mankind, during many centuries after the extinction of Paganism, is the rise, the development, and the domination of Latin Christianity. Though the religion of Christ had its origin among a Syrian people—though its Divine Author spoke an Aramaic dialect—Christianity was almost from the first a Greek religion. Its primal records were all, or nearly all, written in the Greek language; it was promulgated with the greatest rapidity and success among nations either of Greek descent, or those which had been Grecised by the conquests of Alexander; its most flourishing churches were in Greek cities. Greek was the commercial language in which the Jews, through whom it was at first disseminated, and who were even now settled in almost every province of the Roman world, carried on their intercourse. Primitive Christianity no doubt continued to speak in Syriac to vast numbers of disciples in the Syrian provinces; it spread eastward to a considerable extent, in Babylonia

Latin Christianity.

Christianity in its origin Greek.

and beyond the Euphrates, into regions where Greek ceased to be the common tongue. Oriental influences, influences even from the remoter East, worked into its doctrine and into its system; yet even these flowed in chiefly or in great part through Greek channels. The Indian Monasticism^a had already been domiciliated in Palestine and among the Egyptian Jews. Oriental and Egyptian notions had found their way into the Greek philosophy. Among the earlier Christian converts were some of these partially orientalised Greek philosophers. Many of the first teachers had been trained in their schools. In Antioch, in Alexandria, even in Ephesus there was something of an Asiatic cast in the Greek civilisation.

Greek Christianity could not but be affected both in its doctrinal progress and in its polity by its Greek origin. Among the Greeks had been for centuries agitated all those primary questions which lie at the bottom of all religions;—the formation of the worlds—the existence and nature of the Deity—the origin and cause of evil, though this seems to have been studied even with stronger predilection in the trans-Euphratic East. Hence Greek Christianity was insatiably inquisitive, speculative. Confident in the inexhaustible copiousness and fine precision of its language, it endured no limitation to its curious investigations. As each great question was settled or worn out, it was still ready to propose new ones. It began with

^a Compare, on Buddhist monasticism, the very curious visitation of the Buddhist monasteries at the close of the fourth century, the continuation of earlier visitations anterior

to the Christian æra, the *Foe Koueki*, translated by M. A. Rémusat, Paris, 1836; also the recent more popular work by Mr. Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, London, 1850.

the Divinity of Christ (still earlier perhaps with some of the Gnostic Cosmogonical or Theophanic theories) so onward to the Trinity : it expired, or at least drew near its end as the religion of the Roman East, discussing the Divine Light on Mount Tabor.

In their polity the Grecian churches were a federation of republics, as were the settlements of the Jews. But they were founded on a religious, not on a national basis ; external to, yet in their boundaries, mostly in their aggregative system, following the old commonwealths, which still continued to subsist under the supremacy of the Roman Prefect or Proconsul, and in later times the distribution of the Imperial dioceses. They were held together by common sympathies, common creeds, common sacred books, certain, as yet simple, but common rites, common usages of life, and a hierarchy everywhere, in theory at least, of the same power and influence. They admitted the Christians or other places by some established sign, or by commendatory letters. They were often bound together by mutual charitable subventions. Still each was an absolutely independent community. The Roman East, including Greece, had no capital. The old kingdoms might respect the traditionary greatness of some city, which had been the abode of their kings, or which was the seat of a central provincial government : other cities, from their wealth and population, may have assumed a superior rank, Antioch in Syria, Alexandria in Egypt, Ephesus in Asia Minor. But though churches known or reputed to have been founded by Apostles might be looked on with peculiar respect, there was as yet no subordination, no supremacy ; their federal

union was a voluntary association. Whether the internal constitution had become more or less rapidly or completely monarchical; whether the Bishop had risen to a greater or less height above his co-Presbyters, the whole episcopal order, the representatives of each church, were on the same level. The Metropolitan and afterwards the Patriarchal dignity was of later growth. Jerusalem, which might naturally have aspired to the rank of the Christian capital, at least in the East, had been destroyed, and remained desolate for many years: it assumed only at a later period (at one time it was subject to Cæsarea) even the Patriarchal rank.

But at the extinction of Paganism, Greek, or, as it may now be called in opposition to the West, Eastern Christianity, had almost ceased to be aggressive or creative. Except the contested conversion of the Bulgarians, later of the Russians, and a few wild tribes, it achieved no conquests. The Nestorians alone, driven into exile by cruel persecutions, formed settlements, and propagated their own form of Christianity in Persia, India, perhaps in still more distant lands. The Eastern Church never recovered the ground which it had lost before the revived Magianism of the Sassanian kings of Persia; and it was compelled to retire within still narrowing bounds before triumphant Mohammedanism. The Greek hierarchy had now lost their unity of action. The great Patriarchates, which by this time had been formed on the authority of Councils, were involved in perpetual strife, or were contested by rival bishops, till three of them, Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, sank into administrators of a tolerated religion under the Mohammedan

Not aggressive.

dominion. The Bishop of Constantinople was the passive victim, the humble slave, or the factious adversary of the Byzantine Emperor: rarely exercised a lofty moral control upon his despotism. The lower clergy, whatever their more secret beneficent or sanctifying workings on society, had sufficient power, wealth, rank, to tempt ambition, or to degrade to intrigue; not enough to command the public mind for any great salutary purpose; to repress the inveterate immorality of an effete age; to reconcile jarring interests; to mould together hostile races: in general they ruled, where they did rule, by the superstitious fears, rather than by the reverence and attachment of a grateful people. They sank downward into the common ignorance, and yielded to that worst barbarism—a worn-out civilisation.

Monasticism withdrew a great number of those Greek Monasticism. who might have been energetic and useful citizens into barren seclusion and religious indolence; but except where the monks formed themselves, as they frequently did, into fierce political or polemic factions, they had little effect on the condition of society. They stood aloof from the world, the anchorites in their desert wildernesses, the monks, in their jealously-barred convents; and secure, as they supposed, of their own salvation, left the rest of mankind to inevitable perdition.

Greek theology still maintained its speculative tendency; it went on defining with still more exquisite subtlety the Godhead and the nature of Greek Theology. Christ. The interminable controversy still lengthened out, and cast forth sect after sect from the enfeebled community. The great Greek writers, Athanasius, Basil, the Gregories, had passed away and left only

unworthy successors; the splendid public eloquence had expired on the lips of Chrysostom. There was no writer who laid strong hold on the imagination or reason of men, except the author of that extraordinary book, ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, of which perhaps the remote influence was greater in the West than in the Byzantine empire. John of Damascus, the powerful adversary of Iconoclasm, is a splendid exception, not merely on account of the polemic vigour shown in that controversy, but as a theologian doubtless the ablest of his late age. The Greek language gradually, but slowly, degenerated; at length, but not entirely till after the fall of Constantinople, it broke up into barbarous dialects; but it gave birth by fusion with foreign tongues to no new language productive of noble poetry, of oratory, or philosophy. A rude and premature reformation, that of Iconoclasm, attempted to overthrow the established traditionary faith, but offered nothing to supply its place which could either enlighten the mind or enthral the religious affections: it destroyed the images, but it did not reveal the Original Deity, or the Christ in his pure and essential spirituality. Greek Christianity remained however, and still remains, a separate and peculiar form of faith: it repudiated all the attempts of the feebler sovereigns of the East to barter its independence for succour against the formidable Turks: it is still the religion of revived Greece, and of the vast Russian empire.

Latin Christianity, on the other hand, seemed endowed with an inexhaustible principle of expanding life. No sooner had the Northern tribes entered within its magic circle, than they sub-

mitted to its yoke: and, not content with thus conquering its conquerors, it was constantly pushing forward its own frontier, and advancing into the strongholds of Northern Paganism. Gradually it became a monarchy, with all the power of a concentrated dominion. The clergy assumed an absolute despotism over the mind of man: not satisfied with ruling princes and kings, themselves became princes and kings. Their organisation was coincident with the bounds of Christendom; they were a second universal magistracy, exercising always equal, asserting, and for a long period possessing, superior power to the civil government. They had their own jurisprudence—the canon law,—co-ordinate with and of equal authority with the Roman or the various national codes, only with penalties infinitely more terrific, almost arbitrarily administered, and admitting no exception, not even that of the greatest temporal sovereign. Western Monasticism, in its general character, was not the barren, idly laborious or dreamy quietude of the East. It was industrious and productive: it settled colonies, preserved arts and letters, built splendid edifices, fertilized deserts. If it rent from the world the most powerful minds, having trained them by its stern discipline, it sent them back to rule the world. It continually, as it were, renewed its youth, and kept up a constant infusion of vigorous life, now quickening into enthusiasm, now darkening into fanaticism; and by its perpetual rivalry, stimulating the zeal, or supplying the deficiencies of the secular clergy. In successive ages it adapted itself to the state of the human mind. At first a missionary to barbarous nations, it built abbeys, hewed down forests, cultivated

Latin Monasticism.

swamps, enclosed domains, retrieved or won for civilisation tracts which had fallen to waste or had never known culture. With St. Dominic it turned its missionary zeal upon Christianity itself, and spread as a preaching order throughout Christendom; with St. Francis it became even more popular, and lowered itself to the very humblest of mankind. In Jesuitism it made a last effort to govern mankind by an incorporated caste. But Jesuitism found it necessary to reject many of the peculiarities of Monasticism: it made itself secular to overcome the world. But the compromise could not endure. Over the Indians of South America alone, but for the force of circumstances, it might have been lasting. In Eastern India it became a kind of Christian Paganism; in Europe a moral and religious Rationalism, fatal both to morals and to religion.

Throughout this period, then, of at least ten centuries,

Latin Christianity was the religion of the Western nations of Europe: Latin the religious language; the Latin translation of the Scriptures the religious code of mankind. Latin theology was alone inexhaustibly prolific, and held wide and unshaken authority. On most speculative tenets this theology had left to Greek controversialists to argue out the endless transcendental questions of religion, and contented herself with resolutely embracing the results, which she fixed in her inflexible theory of doctrine. The only controversy which violently disturbed the Western Church was the practical one, on which the East looked almost with indifference, the origin and motive principle of human action—grace and free will. This, from Augustine to Luther and Jansenius, was the

interminable, still reviving problem. Latin Christian literature, like Greek, might have seemed already to have passed its meridian after Tertullian, Cyprian, Amrose, and, high above all, Augustine. The age of true Latin poetry, no doubt, had long been over; the imaginative in Christianity could only find its expression to some extent in the legend and in the ritual; but, except in a very few hymns, it was not till out of the wedlock of Latin with the Northern tongues, not till after new languages had been born in the freshness of youth, that there were great Christian poets: poets not merely writing on religious subjects, but instinct with the religious life of Christianity,—Dante, Ariosto, Tasso, Shakspeare, Milton, Calderon, Schiller. But not merely did Latin theology expand into another vast and teeming period, that of the schoolmen, culminating in Aquinas; but Latin being the common language, the clergy, the only learned body throughout Europe, it was that of law in both its branches; of science, of philosophy, even of history; of letters; in short, of civilisation. Latin Christianity, when her time was come, had her great æra of art, not only as the preserver of the traditions of Greek and Roman skill in architecture, and some of the technical operations in sculpture and painting, but original and creative. It was art comprehending architecture, painting, sculpture, and music, Christian in its fullest sense, as devoted entirely to Christian uses, expressive of Christian sentiments, arising out of and kindling in congenial spirits Christian thought and feeling.

The characteristic of Latin Christianity was that of the old Latin world — a firm and even obstinate adhe-

rence to legal form, whether of traditional usage or written statute; the strong assertion of, and the severe subordination to, authority. Its wildest and most eccentric fanaticism, for the most part, and for many centuries, respected external unity. It was the Roman empire, again extended over Europe by an universal code and a provincial government; by a hierarchy of religious prætors or proconsuls, and a host of inferior officers, each in strict subordination to those immediately above them, and gradually descending to the very lowest ranks of society: the whole with a certain degree of freedom of action, but a restrained and limited freedom, and with an appeal to the spiritual Cæsar in the last resort.

Latin Christianity maintained its unshaken dominion until, what I venture to call, Teutonic Christianity,^b aided by the invention of paper and of printing, asserted its independence, threw off the great mass of traditional religion, and out of the Bible summoned forth a more simple faith, which seized at once on the reason, on the conscience, and on the passions of men. This faith, with a less perfectly organised outward system, has exercised a more profound moral control, through the sense of strictly personal responsibility. Christianity^c became a vast

^b Throughout the world, wherever the Teutonic is the groundwork of the language, the Reformation either is, or, as in Southern Germany, has been dominant; wherever Latin, Latin Christianity has retained its ascendancy.

^c It is obvious that I use Christi-

anity, and indeed Teutonic Christianity, in its most comprehensive significance, from national episcopal churches, like that of England, which aspires to maintain the doctrines and organisation of the apostolic, or immediately post-apostolic ages, onward to that dubious and undefinable verge

influence working irregularly on individual minds, rather than a great social system, coerced by a central supremacy, by an all-embracing spiritual control, and held together by rigid usage, or by outward signs of common citizenship. Its multiplicity and variety, rather than its unity, was the manifestation of its life; or rather its unity lay deeper in its being, and consisted more in intellectual sympathies, in affinities of thought and feeling, of principles and motives, in a more remote or rather untraceable kindred through the common Father and common Saviour. Ceremonial uniformity seemed to retire into subordinate importance and estimation. Books gradually became, as far as the instruction of the human race, a co-ordinate priesthood. No longer rare, costly, inaccessible, or unintelligible, they descended to classes which they had never before approached. Eloquence or argument, instead of expiring on the ears of an entranced but limited auditory, addressed mankind at large, flew through kingdoms, crossed seas, perpetuated and promulgated themselves to an incalculable extent. Individual men could not but be working out in their own studies, in their own chambers, in their own minds, the great problems of faith. The primal records of Christianity, in a narrow

where Christianity melts into a high moral theism, a faith which would expand to purer spirituality with less distinct dogmatic system; or that which would hardly call itself more than a Christian philosophy, a religious Rationalism. I presume not, neither is it the office of the historian, to limit the blessings of our religion either in

this world or the world to come; "there is One who will know his own." As an historian I can disfranchise none who claim, even on the slightest grounds, the privileges and hopes of Christianity: repudiate none who do not place themselves without the pale of believers and worshippers of Christ, or of God through Christ.

compass, passed into all the vernacular languages of the world, where they could not be followed by the vast, scattered, and ambiguous volumes of tradition. The clergy became less and less a separate body (the awakened conscience of men refused to be content with vicarious religion through them); they ceased to be the sole arbiters of man's destiny in another life: they sank back into society, to be distinguished only as the models and promoters of moral and religious virtue, and so of order, happiness, peace, and the hope of immortality. They derived their influence less from a traditional divine commission or vested authority, than from their individual virtue, knowledge, and earnest, if less authoritative, inculcation of divine truth. Monasticism was rejected as alien to the primal religion of the Gospel; the family life, the life of the Christian family, resumed its place as the highest state of Christian grace and perfection.

This progressive development of Christianity seems the inevitable consequence of man's progress in knowledge, and in the more general dissemination of that knowledge. Human thought is almost compelled to assert, and cannot help asserting, its original freedom. And as that progress is manifestly a law of human nature, proceeding from the divine Author of our being, this self-adaptation of the one true religion to that progress must have the divine sanction, and may be supposed, without presumption, to have been contemplated in the counsels of Infinite Wisdom.

The full and more explicit expansion of these views on this Avatar of Teutonic Christianity must await its proper place at the close of our history.

Progressive
development
of Christian-
ity.

BOOK I.

CHRONOLOGY OF FIRST FOUR CENTURIES.

A.D.	Bishops of Rome.	Emperors.	Remarkable Events, &c.
42	1 St. Peter (according to Jerome).	Claudius, year 2	
43	2 .. .. .	.. .. .	Claudius in Britain.
44	3 .. .. .	.. .. .	Death of Herod.
45	4 .. .. .	.. .. .	Agrippa the Younger in favour with Claudius.
46	5 .. .. .	.. .. .	St. Paul visits Jerusalem with Barnabas.
47	6 .. .. .	.. .. .	Tiberius Alexander, Governor in Judea.
48	7 .. .. .	.. .. .	Agrippa the Younger succeeds his uncle, Herod.
49	8 .. .. .	.. .. .	Cumanus, Governor of Judea.
50	9 .. .. .	.. .. .	Council of Jerusalem. 1 Epistle to Thessalonians.
51	10 .. .. .	.. .. .	The date of the expulsion of the Jews (Suet. Claud.) uncertain, but as Agrippa in Rome was in high favour, and would protect the Jewish interests, it was probably after his departure from Rome.
52	11 .. .. .	.. .. .	Felix, Governor of Judea. 2 Epistle to Thessalonians.
53	12 .. .. .	.. .. .
54	13	Nero, Oct. 13	
55	14 .. .. .	.. .. .
56	15 .. .. .	.. .. .	Paul at Ephesus. 1 Epistle to Cor.
57	16 .. .. .	.. .. .	At Corinth. Epistle to Galatians.
58	17 .. .. .	.. .. .	At Corinth. Epistle to Romans.
59	18 .. .. .	.. .. .	Death of Agrippa.
60	19 .. .. .	.. .. .	Paul before Felix. Before Festus. In Malta.
61	20 .. .. .	.. .. .	Paul in Rome, writes to the Ephesians.
62	21 .. .. .	.. .. .
63	22 .. .. .	.. .. .	Paul acquitted. Epistles to Philipians, Colossians, Philemon.
64	23 .. .. .	.. .. .	Fire of Rome. Persecution of the Christians. Florus, Governor of Judea.
65	24 .. .. .	.. .. .	Nero goes to Greece.
66	25 .. .. .	.. .. .	Martyrdom of St. Paul—and of St. Peter (?).
67	1 Linus (according to Jerome, Irenæus, Eusebius)	.. .. .
68	2 Clement (according to Tertullian and Rufinus).	Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian.	Death of Nero, in June.
69	3 .. .. .	.. .. .
70	4 .. .. .	.. .. .
71	5 .. .. .	.. .. .	Capture and destruction of Jerusalem.
72	6 .. .. .	.. .. .
73	7 .. .. .	.. .. .

A.D.	Bishops of Rom. :	Emperors.	Remarkable Events, &c.
74	8		
75	9		
76	10		
77	11		
78	1 Cletus, or Ana- cletus (?)		
79	2	Titus.	
80	3		
81	4	Domitian ..	Death of Titus, Sept. 12
82	5		
83	6		
84	7		
85	8		
86	9		
87	10		
88	11		
89	12		
90	13		
91	1 Clement (?), (accord- ing to later writers).		
92	2		
93	3		
94	4		
95	5	Nerva.	Death of the Consul Flavius Clemens on account of Jewish superstition.
96	6		
97	7		
98	8	Trajan.	
99	9 .. .. .	.. .. .	Death of St. John (Irenæus, Eusebius).
100	1 Evaristus (?).		
101	2		
102	3		
103	4 .. .. .	.. .. .	Pliny in Bithynia.
104	5 .. .. .	.. .. .	Pliny's Letter to Trajan.
105	6		
106	7		
107	8		
108	9		
109	1 Alexander (?).		
110	2		
111	3		
112	4		
113	5		
114	6 .. .. .	.. .. .	Trajan in the East. Sedition of the Jews in Egypt and Cyrene.
115	7		Martyrdom of Ignatius.
116	8		
117	9	Hadrian.	
118	10		
119	1 Sixtus (?).		
120	2		
121	3		
122	4		
123	5 .. .. .	.. .. .	Hadrian at Athens. Apologies of Quadratus and Aristides.
124	6		
125	7		
126	8		
127	9		
128	10		
129	1 Telesphorus.		
130	2		
131	3 .. .. .	.. .. .	Hadrian in Egypt.
132	4 .. .. .	.. .. .	Jewish war.
133	5		

A.D.	Bishops of Rome.	Emperors.	Remarkable Events, &c.
134	6	Bar Cochba persecutes the Christians. End of the Jewish war. Foundation or reconstruction of <i>Ælia</i> on the ruins of Jerusalem.
135	7	
136	8	
137	9	
138	10	Antoninus Pius.	
139	1 Hyginus.		
140	2		
141	3		
142	4		
143	1 Pius I.		
144	2		
145	3		
146	4		
147	5		
148	6	Polycarp in Rome. Marcion in Rome. Justin Martyr Apology I.	
149	7		
150	8		
151	9		
152	10		
153	11		
154	12		
155	13		
156	14		
157	1 Anicetus.		M. Aurelius (Verus).
158	2		
159	3		
160	4		
161	5		
162	6		
163	7		
164	8		
165	9		
166	10	Parthian War ended. Marcus Aure- lius in the East. Martyrdom of Polycarp (?). Terror about Marcomannian War. Justin Martyr. Apology of Athenagoras. Death of Verus.	
167	11		
168	1 Soler		
169	2		
170	3		
171	4		Letter of Dionysius. Apology of Melito, B. of Corinth, Euseb. H.E. iv., 23. Battle with Quadi—Storm thought miraculous.
172	5		
173	6		
174	7		
175	8		
176	9		
177	1 Eleutherus (or 176)	Commodus.	
178	2		
179	3		
180	4		
181	5		
182	6		
183	7		
184	8		
185	9		
186	10		Pertinax. Julianus. Niger.
187	11		
188	12		
189	13		
190	1 Victor (?)		
191	2		
192	3		

A.D.	Bishops of Rome.	Emperors.	Remarkable Events, &c.
193	4	Severus.	
194	5 .. .. .	.. .. .	Montanus, Priscilla and Maximilla.
195	6 .. .. .	.. .. .
196	7 .. .. .	.. .. .	Dispute about Easter.—Euseb. H. E. v. 24.
197	8 .. .. .	.. .. .
198	9 .. .. .	.. .. .
199	10 .. .. .	.. .. .
200	11 .. .. .	.. .. .
201	12 .. .. .	.. .. .
202	1 Zephyrinus (?) ..	.. .. .	Persecution of Severus in Egypt.
203	2 .. .. .	.. .. .	Origen teaches in Egypt.
204	3 .. .. .	.. .. .
205	4 .. .. .	.. .. .
206	5 .. .. .	.. .. .
207	6 .. .. .	.. .. .	Tertullian, Lib. I. Adv. Marcion. He is now a Montanist.
208	7 .. .. .	.. .. .
209	8 .. .. .	.. .. .
210	9 .. .. .	.. .. .
211	10	Caracalia, Geta.	
212	11 .. .. .	.. .. .	Origen at Rome. Tertullian ad Scapulam (?).
213	12 .. .. .	.. .. .
214	13 .. .. .	.. .. .
215	14 .. .. .	.. .. .
216	15 .. .. .	.. .. .
217	16	Macrinus.	
218	17	Elagabalus ..	Hippolytus bishop of Porto.
219	1 Callistus.	.. .. .
220	2 .. .. .	.. .. .
221	3 .. .. .	.. .. .
222	4	Alexander Seve-	
223	1 Urbanus.	rus.	
224	2 .. .. .	.. .. .
225	3 .. .. .	.. .. .
226	4 .. .. .	.. .. .
227	5 .. .. .	.. .. .
228	6 .. .. .	.. .. .
229	7 .. .. .	.. .. .
230	1 Pontianus, July 22.	.. .. .
231	2 .. .. .	.. .. .
232	3 .. .. .	.. .. .
233	4 .. .. .	.. .. .
234	5 .. .. .	.. .. .
235	6 Anteros (Pontianus died Sept. 28). Anteros died June 18, 236.	Maximus The 2 Gordians Pupienus Balbinus.	Pontianus banished to Sardinia. His Martyrdom (?) Martyrdom of Hippolytus (?)
236	1 Fabianus.	.. .. .
237	2 .. .. .	.. .. .
238	3	Gordianus Junior.	
239	4 .. .. .	.. .. .
240	5 .. .. .	.. .. .
241	6 .. .. .	.. .. .
242	7 .. .. .	.. .. .
243	8 .. .. .	.. .. .
244	9	Philippus Arabs.	
245	10 .. .. .	.. .. .
246	11 .. .. .	.. .. .
247	12 .. .. .	.. .. .
248	13 .. .. .	.. .. .	Cyriac, bishop of Carthage.
249	14	Dectus	Martyrdom of Fabianus, Jan. 20
250	See vacant.	.. .. .

A.D.	Bishops of Rome.	Emperors.	Remarkable Events, &c.
251	1 Cornelius June 4, d. Sept. 14.	Gallus	St. Cyprian.
252	1 Lucius.		
253	1 Stephen .. ..	.. .. ..	Death of Origen.
254	2	Æmilianus - Vale-	Controversy concerning the Lapsi,
255	3	rianus.	Novatian Antipope.
256	4 .. .. ..	.. .. ..	Controversy about baptism of Here-
			tics. III. Council of Carthage.
257	Sixtus II., Martyr, d. Aug. 2, 258.	.. .. ..	Exile of Cyprian.
	Vacancy.	.. .. ..
258	1 Dionysius, July 22.	.. .. ..	Martyrdom of Sixtus. Martyrdom
260	2	Gallienus.	of Cyprian, Sept. 14.
261	3		
262	4		
263	5		
264	6		
265	7		
266	8		
267	9		
268	10	Claudius.	
269	1 Felix.		
270	2	Aurelian	Paul of Samosata deposed.
271	3		
272	4 .. .. ..	.. .. ..	Manes from A.D. 241 to A.P. 272.
273	5		
274	6		
275	1 Eutychianus ..	Tacitus, Probus.	
276	2	Florianus.	
277	3		
278	4		
279	5		
280	6		
281	7		
282	8	Carus, Carinus.	
283	1 Caius	Numerianus.	
284	2	Diocletian.	
285	3		
286	4	Maximian.	
287	5		
288	6		
289	7		
290	8 .. .. ..	.. .. ..	Lactantius.
291	9		
292	10	Two Cæsars,	
293	11	Constantius,	
294	12	Galerius.	
295	13		
296	1 Marcellinus, June 30	.. .. ..	Arnobius.
297	2		
298	3		
299	4		
300	5		
301	6 .. .. ..	.. .. ..	Persecution.
302	7		
303	8		
304	Died Oct. 24.	Constantius, Ga-	Abdication of Diocletian and
		lerius.	Maximian.
305	See vacant.		
306	.. .. ..	Severus-Maximin.	

A.D.	Bishops of Rome.	Emperors.	Remarkable Events, &c.
307	.. .. .	Constantine, Maxentius, Licinius, Maximian.	
308	Marcellus, May 19.	Six Emperors.	Death of Severus.
309			
310	Eusebius, 6 months	.. .. .	Death of Maximian.
311	1 Vacancy. Mel- chiades, July 2.	.. .. .	Death of Galerius.
312	.. .. .	.. .. .	Victory of Constantine over Maxen- tius.
313	.. .. .	.. .. .	Edict of Milan, Oct. 28.
314	1 Sylvester, Jan. 31.		
315	2		
316	3		
317	4		
318	5		
319	6		
320	7		
321	8		
322	9		
323	10 .. .. .	.. .. .	Defeat and death of Licinius.
324	11 .. .. .	.. .. .	Constantine sole Emperor.
325	12 .. .. .	.. .. .	Council of Nicæa, June 19.
326	13		
327	14		
328	15		
329	16		
330	17		
331	18		
332	19		
333	20		
334	21		
335	22		
336	1 Marcus, Jan. 18.	.. .. .	Exile of Athanasius.
337	1 Julius I., Feb. 8.	Constantine, Constans, Constantius.	Baptism of Constantine.
338	2 .. .. .	.. .. .	Athanasius returns from exile.
339	3		
340	4 .. .. .	.. .. .	Constantine defeated and killed by Constans. Death of Eusebius of Cæsarea.
341	5 .. .. .	.. .. .	Athanasius in Rome. Law against Pagan sacrifices.
342	6		
343	7		
344	8 .. .. .	.. .. .	Athanasius at Milan, in Gaul.
345	9		
346	10		
347	11 .. .. .	.. .. .	Council of Sardica.
348	12 .. .. .	.. .. .	Council of Philippopolis.
349	13 .. .. .	.. .. .	Athanasius in Alexandria.
350	14	Magnentius ..	Constans killed in Spain by Magnen- tius.
351	15		
352	1 Julius died April 5; Liberius, May 22.		
353	2	Constantine alone	Battle of Mursa. Death of Magnen- tius.
354	3 .. .. .	.. .. .	Birth of Augustine.
355	4 .. .. .	.. .. .	Council of Arles. Council of Milan. Banishment of Liberius.
356	5 (Felix, Anti-Pope)	.. .. .	Julian's Campaign in Gaul. Atha- nasius exiled from Alexandria.

A.D.	Bishops of Rome.	Emperors.	Remarkable Events, &c.
357	6 .. .. .	.. .. .	Constantius at Rome.
358	7 .. .. .	.. .. .	Recall of Liberius.
359	8 .. .. .	.. .. .	Council of Rimini. Council of Seleucia.
360	9 .. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
361	10	Julian	Death of Constantius.
362	11 .. .. .	.. .. .	Athanasius returns to Alexandria—again expelled.
363	12	Jovian	Attempt to rebuild the Temple.
364	13	Valentinian, Valens.	Death of Julian, June 26.
365	14 .. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
366	15 died Sept. 29.	.. .. .	.. .. .
367	1 Damasus	Gratian	Tumults at Rome on the contested election of Damasus and Ursicinus.
368	2 .. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
369	3 .. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
370	4 .. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
371	5 .. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
372	6 .. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
373	7 .. .. .	.. .. .	Death of Athanasius, May 2.
374	8 .. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
375	9	Valentinian II.	Ambrose, Bishop of Milan.
376	10 .. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
377	11 .. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
378	12 .. .. .	.. .. .	Death of Valens.
379	13	Theodosius, Emp. of the East.	Theodosius expels the Arians. Synod against Priscillian.
380	14 .. .. .	.. .. .	Council of Constantinople. Address of Symmachus on Statute of Theodosius de Hereticis.
381	15 .. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
382	16 .. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
383	17 .. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
384	18 Damasus died Dec. 11	.. .. .	Jerome retires to Bethlehem.
385	1 Siricius.	.. .. .	.. .. .
386	2 .. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
387	3 .. .. .	.. .. .	Chrysostom ad Antiochenos.
388	4 .. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
389	5 .. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
390	6 .. .. .	.. .. .	Temple of Serapis destroyed.
391	7 .. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
392	8 .. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
393	9 .. .. .	.. .. .	Jerome retires to Bethlehem.
394	10 .. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
395	11	Honorius, Arcadius.	.. .. .
396	12 .. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
397	13 .. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .
398	14 died Nov. 26 ..	.. .. .	Death of Ambrose.
399	Anastasius .. ..	.. .. .	Chrysostom Bishop of Constantinople.
400	.. .. .	.. .. .	.. .. .

BOOK I.



CHAPTER I.

Beginning of Roman Christianity.

LATIN Christianity, from its commencement, in its character, and in all the circumstances of its development, had an irresistible tendency to monarchy. Its capital had for ages been the capital of the world, and it still remained that of Western Europe. This monarchy reached its height under Hildebrand and Innocent III.; the history of the Roman Pontificate thus becomes the centre of Latin Christian History. The controversies of the East, in which Occidental or Roman Christianity mingled with a lofty dictation, sometimes so unimpassioned, that it might seem as though the establishment of its own supremacy was its ultimate aim—the conversion of the different races of Barbarians, who constituted the world of Latin Christendom—Monasticism, with the forms which it assumed in its successive Orders—the rise and conquests of Mohammedanism, with which Latin religion came at length into direct conflict, at first in Spain and Gaul, in Sicily and Italy; afterwards when the Popes placed themselves at the head of the Crusades, and Islam and Latin Christianity might seem to contest the dominion of the human race—the restoration of the Western empire beyond the Alps—the feudal system of which

the Pope aspired to be as it were the spiritual Suzerain—the long and obstinate conflicts with the temporal power—the origin and tenets of the sects which attempted to withdraw from the unity of the church, and to retire into independent communities—the first struggles of the human mind for freedom within Latin Christendom—the gradual growth of Christian literature, Christian art, and Christian philosophy—all these momentous subjects range themselves as episodes in the chronicle of the Roman bishops. Hence our history obtains that unity which impresses itself upon the attention, and presents the vicissitudes of centuries as a vast, continuous, harmonious whole; while at the same time it breaks up and separates itself into distinct periods, each with its marked events, peculiar character, and commanding men. And so the plan of our work may, at least, attempt to fulfil the two great functions of history, to arrest the mind and carry it on with unflagging interest, to infix its whole course of events on the imagination and the memory, as well by its broad and definite landmarks, as by the life and reality of its details in each separate period. The writer is unfeignedly conscious how far his own powers fall below the dignity of his subject, below the accomplishment of his own conceptions.

I.—The first of these periods in the history of Latin Christianity closes with Pope Damasus and his two successors.^d Its age of total obscurity is A.D. 366-401. passed, its indistinct twilight is brightening into open day. The Christian bishop is become so important a personage in Rome, as to be the subject of profane his-

^d There is another advantage in this division; the first authentic decretal is that of Pop: Siricius, the successor of Damasus.

tory. His election is a cause of civil strife. Christianity more than equally divides the Patriciate, still more the people; it has already ascended the Imperial throne. Noble matrons and virgins are becoming the vestals of Christian Monasticism. The bitterness of the Heathen party betrays a galling sense of inferiority. Paganism is writhing, struggling, languishing in its death pangs, Christianity growing haughty and wanton in its triumph.

II.—The second ends with Pope Leo the Great.

A.D. 461. Paganism has made its last vain effort, not now for equality, for toleration. It has been buried under the ruins of the conquered capital. Alaric tramples out its last embers. Rome emerges from its destruction by the Goths a Christian city. The East has wrought out, after the strife of two centuries, the dogmatic system of the church, which Rome receives with haughty condescension, as if she had imposed it on the world. The great Western controversy, Pelagianism, has been agitated and has passed away. Pretensions to the successorship of St. Peter are already heard from Innocent I. Claims are made at least to the authority of a Western Patriarch.

A.D. 402-417. In Leo the Great, half a century later, the Pope is not merely the greatest personage in Rome, but even in Italy; he takes the lead as a pacific protector against the Barbarians. Leo the Great is likewise the first distinguished writer among the Popes.

III.—To the death of Gregory I. (the Great). Chris-

A.D. 604. tianity is not only the religion of the Roman or Italian, but in part of the barbarian world. Now takes place the league of Christianity with Bar-

barism. The old Roman letters and arts die away into almost total extinction. So fallen is Roman literature, that Boethius is a great philosopher, Cassiodorus a great historian, Prudentius, Fortunatus, Juvencus great poets. The East has made its last effort to unite the Christian world under one dominion. Justinian has aspired to legislate for Christendom. Monastic Christianity, having received a strong impulse from St. Benedict, is in the ascendant. Gregory I. as a Pope, and as a writer, offers himself as a model of its excellencies and defects.

IV.—To the coronation of Charlemagne as Emperor of the West. Mohammed and Mohammedanism arise. The East and Egypt are severed A.D. 800. from Greek, Africa and Spain from Latin Christianity. Anglo-Saxon Britain, Western and Southern Germany are Christian. Iconoclasm in the East finally separates Greek and Latin Christianity. The Pope has become the great power in Italy. The Gothic kingdom, the Greek dominion of Justinian, have passed away. The Pope seeks an alliance against the Lombards with the Transalpine kings. Charlemagne is Patrician of Rome and Emperor of the West.

V.—The Empire of Charlemagne. The mingled Temporal and Ecclesiastical supremacy of Charlemagne breaks up at his death. Under his successors the spiritual supremacy, in part the temporal, falls to the clergy. Growth of the Transalpine hierarchy. Pope Nicholas the First accepts the false decretals. Invasion of the Northmen. The dark ages of the Papacy lower and terminate in the degradation of the Popes into slaves of the lawless Barons of the Romagna. A.D. 996.

VI.—The line of German Pontiffs. The Transalpine powers interpose, rescue the Papacy from its threatened dissolution, from the hatred and contempt of mankind. For great part of a century foreign ecclesiastics are seated on the Papal throne.

VII.—The restoration of the Italian Papacy under Gregory VII. (Hildebrand). The Pontificates of his immediate predecessors and successors. Now commences the complete organisation of the sacerdotal caste as independent of, and claiming superiority to, all temporal powers. The strife of centuries ends in the enforced celibacy of the clergy. Berengar disputes Transubstantiation. Urban II. places himself at the head of Christendom on the occasion of the first Crusade.

VIII.—Continuation of contest about Investitures. Intellectual movement. Erigena. Gotschalk. Anselm. Abelard. Arnold of Brescia. Strong revival of Monasticism. Stephen Harding. St. Bernard. Strife in England for immunities of the clergy. Thomas à Becket. Rise of the Emperors of the line of Hohenstaufen. Frederick Barbarossa.

IX.—Meridian of the Papal power under Innocent III. Innocent aspires to rule all the kingdoms of the West. Latin conquest of Constantinople. Wars of the Albigenses. St. Dominic. St. Francis.

X.—The successors of Innocent III. wage an internecine conflict with the Emperors. Fruitless and premature attempt at emancipation under Frederick II. The Decretals, the Palladium of the Papal power, are collected, completed, promulgated as the law of Christendom by Gregory IX. Continued

conflict of the Papal and Sacerdotal against the Imperial and Secular power. Innocent IV. Fall of Innocent IV. dies 1254. the House of Hohenstaufen.

XI.—The Empire is crushed and withdraws into its Teutonic sphere. The French descend into Italy. In the King of France arises a new adversary to the Pope. Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII. Boniface dies 1303. close the open strife of the temporal and spiritual power.

XII.—The Popes are become the slaves of France at Avignon. What is called the Babylonian captivity of seventy years. Clement V. abolishes A.D. 1305 to 1370. the Templars. The Empire resumes its claims on Italy. Henry of Luxemburg. Louis of Bavaria. John XXII. and the Fraticelli. Rienzi.

XIII.—Restoration to Rome. The great Schism. Councils of Pisa, of Constance, of Basil, of Florence—the Councils advance a claim to supremacy over the Popes. Last attempt to reconcile Greek and Latin Christianity. Popes begin to be patrons of Letters and Arts.

XIV.—Retrospect of Mediæval Letters and Arts. Revival of Greek Letters.

CONCLUSION.—Advance of the Reformation. Teutonic Christianity aspires and begins to divide the world with Latin Christianity.

Like almost all the great works of nature and of human power in the material world and in the world of man, the Papacy grew up in silence and obscurity. The names of the earlier Bishops of Rome are known only

by barren lists,^e by spurious decrees and epistles inscribed, centuries later, with their names; by their collision with the teachers of heretical opinions, almost all of whom found their way to Rome; by martyrdoms ascribed with the same lavish reverence to those who lived under the mildest of the Roman emperors, as well as those under the most merciless persecutors.^f Yet the mythic or imaginative spirit of early Christianity has either respected, or was not tempted to indulge its creative fertility by the primitive annals of Rome. After the embellishment, if not the invention, of St. Peter's Pontificate, his conflict with Simon Magus in the presence of the Emperor, and the circumstance of his martyrdom, it was content with raising the successive bishops to the rank of martyrs without any peculiar richness or fulness of legend.^g

* The catalogue published by Bucherius, called also Liberianus, is generally the most accredited. M. Bunsen promises a revision of the whole question. (Hippolytus, i. 279.) Historically the chronological discrepancies in these lists are of no great importance. But it is remarkable that almost all the earlier names are Greek; Clemens, Pius, Victor, Caius, are among the very few genuine Roman.

^f In a list of Popes, published by Fabricius (*Bibliotheca Græca*, xi. p. 794), from St. Peter to Sylvester, two unhappy pontiffs alone (who are acknowledged to be Greeks) are excluded from the honours of martyrdom, Dionysius and Eusebius. It might seem that this list was composed after Greek and Latin Christianity had become hostile. As an illustration of the worthlessness of these

traditions, Telesphorus is reckoned as a martyr on the authority of Irenæus (l. ii., c. 3; compare note of Feuudentius). But Telesphorus was bishop of Rome during the reign of Hadrian; his martyrdom is ascribed to the first year of Antoninus Pius. Their character, as well as the general voice of Christian history (see *Hist. of Christianity*, vol. i. p. 151, 156), absolves these emperors from the charge of persecution.

^g Two remarkable passages greatly weaken, or rather utterly destroy the authority of all the older Roman martyrologies. In the book, *De libris recipiendis*, ascribed to the pontificate of Damasus, of Hormisdas, more probably to that of Gelasius, the caution of the Roman Church, in not publicly reading the martyrologies is highly praised, their writers being unknown

It would be singularly curious and instructive to trace, if it were possible, the rise and growth of any single Christian community, more especially that of Rome, at once in the whole church, and in the lives of the bishops; the first initiatory movements in the conquest of the world, and of the mistress of the world, by the religion of Christ. How did the Church enlarge her sphere in Rome? how, out of the population (from a million to a million and a half),^h slowly gather in her tens, her hundreds, her thousands of converts? By what processes, by what influences, by what degrees did the Christians creep onward towards dangerous, towards equal, towards superior numbers? How did they find access to the public ear, the public mind, the public heart? How were they looked upon by the government (after the Neronian persecution), with what gradations, or alternations of contempt, of indifference, of suspicion, of animosity? When were they entirely separated and distinguished in general opinion from the Jewish communities? When

Obscurity of the first progress of Christianity.

and without authority. Singularem cautelâ a S. Rom. Ecclesiâ non leguntur, quia et eorum qui conscripserint nomina penitus ignorantur, et ab infidelibus vel idiotis superflua aut minus apta quam rei ordo fuerit esse putantur The authors "Deo magis quam hominibus noti sunt." Apud Mansi, sub Pont. Gelasii, A.D. 492, 496. Gregory I. makes even a more ingenuous confession, that excepting one small volume (a calendar, it should seem, of the names and days on which they were honoured) there were no Acts of Martyrs in the archives of the Roman See or in the libraries of Rome.

Præter illa, quæ in ejusdem Eusebii libris (doubtless the de Martyr. Palæst. of the historian), de gestis sanctorum martyrum continentur, nulla in archivis hujus nostræ Ecclesiæ vel in Romanæ urbis bibliothecis esse cognovi, nisi pauca quædam in unius codicis volumine collecta, *et seqq.* Greg. M. Epist. viii. 29.

^b Notwithstanding the arguments of M. Dureau de la Malle, Mr. Merivale, and other learned writers who have also investigated this subject, I still think the estimate of Gibbon the most probable.

did they altogether cease to Judaize? From what order, from what class, from what race did they chiefly make their proselytes? Where and by what channels did they wage their strife with the religion, where with the philosophy of the times? To what extent were they permitted or disposed to hold public discussion? or did the work of conversion spread in secret from man to man? When did their worship emerge from the obscurity of a private dwelling; or have its edifices, like the Jewish synagogues, recognised as sacred fanes? Were they, to what extent, and how long, a people dwelling apart within their own usages, and retiring from social communion with their kindred, and with the rest of mankind?

Rome must be imagined in the vastness and multiformity of its social condition, the mingling and confusion of races, languages, conditions, in order to conceive the slow, imperceptible, yet continuous aggression of Christianity. Amid the affairs of the universal empire, the perpetual revolutions, which were constantly calling up new dynasties or new masters over the world, the pomp and state of the Imperial palace, the commerce, the business flowing in from all parts of the world, the bustle of the Basilicas or courts of law, the ordinary religious ceremonies, or the more splendid rites on signal occasions, which still went on, if with diminishing concourse of worshippers, with their old sumptuousness, magnificence, and frequency, the public games, the theatres, the gladiatorial shows, the Lucullan or Apician banquets,—Christianity was gradually withdrawing from the heterogeneous mass some of all orders, even slaves, out of the vices, the ignorance, the misery of that corrupted social system. It was ever instilling feelings of humanity yet unknown or coldly commended by an

impotent philosophy, among men and women, whose infant ears had been habituated to the shrieks of dying gladiators; it was giving dignity to minds prostrated by years, almost centuries, of degrading despotism; it was nurturing purity and modesty of manners in an unspeakable state of depravation; it was enshrining the marriage bed in a sanctity long almost entirely lost, and rekindling to a steady warmth the domestic affections; it was substituting a simple, calm, and rational faith and worship for the worn out superstitions of heathenism; gently establishing in the soul of man the sense of immortality, till it became a natural and inextinguishable part of his moral being.

The dimness and obscurity which veiled the growing church, no doubt threw its modest concealment over the person of the Bishop. He was Obscurity of the Bishop of Rome. but one man, with no recognised function, in the vast and tumultuous population. He had his unmarked dwelling, perhaps in the distant Transteverine region, or in the then lowly and unfrequented Vatican. By the vulgar, he was beheld as a Jew, or as belonging to one of those countless Eastern religions, which, from the commencement of the Empire, had been flowing, each with its strange rites and mysteries, into Rome. The Emperor, the Imperial family, the court favourites, the military commanders, the Consulars, the Senators, the Patricians by birth, wealth or favour, the Pontiffs, the great lawyers, even those who ministered to the public pleasures, the distinguished mimes or gladiators, when they appeared in the streets, commanded more public attention than the Christian Bishop, except when sought out for persecution by some politic or fanatic Emperor. Slowly, and at long intervals, did the Bishop of Rome emerge to dangerous eminence. Yet, was there not more real greatness, a more solemn testimony to his

faith in Christ, in this calm and steadfast patience which awaited the tardy accomplishment of the divine promises, than if, as he is sometimes described by the fond reverence of later Roman writers, he had already laid claim to supreme power over expanding Christianity, or had been held of sufficient importance to be constantly exposed to death? The Bishop of Rome could not but be conscious that he was chief minister in the capital of the world of a religion which was confronting Paganism in all its power and majesty. His faith was constantly looking forward to the time, when (if not anticipated by the more appalling triumph at the coming of Christ in His glory) that vast fabric of idolatry, in its strength and wealth, hallowed by the veneration of ages, with all its temples, pomps, theatres, priesthood, its crimes and its superstitions, and besides this, all the wisdom of the philosophic aristocracy, would crumble away; and the successor of the Galilean fisherman or the persecuted Jew be recognised as the religious sovereign of the Christianised city. The peaceful head of a small community (small comparatively with the believers in the old religions or the believers in none), even though, like the Apostle, he may have had some converts in high places, "in Cæsar's household," yet who had no doubt in the future universality of Christianity, and who was content to pursue his noiseless course of beneficence and conversion, is a nobler example of true Christianity, than he who, in the excitement of opposition to power, and in the absorbing but brief agony of martyrdom, laid down his life for the Cross.

Christianity, indeed, might seem, even from the first, to have disdained obscurity—to have sprung up or to have been forced into terrible notoriety in the Neronian persecution and the subsequent martyrdom of one at least, according to the vulgar tra-

Persecution
of Nero.

dition, of its two great Apostles. What caprice of cruelty directed the attention of Nero to the Christians, and made him suppose them victims important enough to glut the popular indignation at the burning of Rome, it is impossible to determine: (the author has ventured on a bold conjecture, and adheres to his own paradox).ⁱ The cause and extent of the Domitian persecution is equally obscure. The son of Ves-^{Of Domitian.} pasian was not likely to be merciful to any connected with the fanatic Jews. Its known victims were of the imperial family, against whom some crime was necessary, and an accusation of Christianity served the end.^k

At the commencement of the second century, under Trajan, persecution against the Christians is ^{Roman Church under Trajan.} raging in the East. That, however (I feel increased confidence in the opinion), was a local, or rather Asiatic persecution, arising out of the vigilant and not groundless apprehension of the sullen and brooding preparation for insurrection among the whole Jewish race (with whom Roman terror and hatred still confounded the Christians), which broke out in the bloody massacres of Cyrene and Cyprus, and in the final rebellion, during the reign of Hadrian, under Barchochebas. But while Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, is carried to Rome to suffer martyrdom, the Roman community is in peace, and not without influence. Ignatius entreats his Roman brethren not to interfere with injurious kindness between himself and his glorious death.^m

i Hist. of Christianity, i. p. 456.

^k Ibid., ii. p. 11.

^m Φοβούμαι γὰρ τὴν ὑμῶν ἀγαπὴν, μὴ αὐτὴ με ἀδικήσῃ, ὑμῖν γὰρ εὐχερὲς ἔστιν ὃ θέλετε ποιῆσαι.— p. 41. Ἐγὼ γράφω πάσαις ταῖς

ἐκκλησίαις καὶ ἐντέλλομαι πᾶσιν ὅτ. ἐγὼ ἐκὼν ὑπὲρ Θεοῦ ἀποθνήσκω, ἕανπερ ὑμεῖς μὴ κωλύσητέ (με). Παρακαλῶ ὑμεῖς μὴ (ἐν) εὐνοίᾳ ἀκαίρῳ γέννησθέ μοι . . .—Corpus Ignatianum a Cureton, p. 45. I quote

The wealth of the Roman community, and their lavish Christian use of their wealth, by contributing to the wants of foreign churches, at all periods, especially in times of danger and disaster (an ancient usage which lasted till the time of Eusebius), testifies at once to their flourishing condition, to their constant communication with more distant parts of the empire,ⁿ and thus incidentally, perhaps, to the class, the middle or mercantile class, which formed the greater part of the believers.

But the history of Latin Christianity has not begun.

Church of Rome Greek. For some considerable (it cannot but be an undefinable) part of the three first centuries, the Church of Rome, and most, if not all the churches of the West, were, if we may so speak, Greek religious colonies. Their language was Greek, their organisation Greek, their writers Greek, their Scriptures Greek; and many vestiges and traditions show that their ritual, their Liturgy was Greek. Through Greek the communication of the churches of Rome and of the West was constantly kept up with the East; and through Greek every heresiarch, or his disciples, having found his way to Rome, propagated, with more or less success, his peculiar doctrines. Greek was the commercial language throughout the empire; by which the Jews, before the destruction of their city, already so widely

Mr. Cureton's Syriac Ignatius, not feeling that the larger copies have equal historical authority.

ⁿ The first notice of this is in the latter half of the second century, during the bishopric of Soter, either 173-177, or 168-176, as appears from the letter of Dionysius of Corinth, ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ ὑμῖν ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῦτο.

He calls it also *πατριπαράδοτον ἔθος*.—Euseb. H. E. iv. 23. It continued during the Decian persecution; Syria and Arabia are described as rejoicing in the bounty of Rome. H. E. vii. 5. Eusebius himself speaks of it as lasting to his time. τὸ μεχρὶ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς διαγωγμοῦ φυλαχθέν 'Ρωμαίων ἔθος.

disseminated through the world, and altogether engaged in commerce, carried on their affairs.^o The Greek Old Testament was read in the synagogues of the foreign Jews. The churches, formed sometimes on the foundation, to a certain extent on the model, of the synagogues, would adhere for some time, no doubt, to their language. The Gospels and the Apostolic writings, so soon as they became part of the public worship, would be read, as the Septuagint was, in their original tongue. All the Christian extant writings which appeared in Rome and in the West are Greek, or were originally Greek,^p the Epistles of Clement, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Clementine Recognitions and Homilies; the works of Justin Martyr, down to Caius and Hippolytus

* At the commencement of the second century, from the time of the great peace, which followed the victories of Trajan, and which, with some exceptions, occupied the whole reigns of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, till the Marcomannic war; when the Cæsars had become cosmopolitan sovereigns of the Roman Empire, rather than emperors of Rome; Greek, in letters, appears to have assumed a complete ascendancy. Greek literature has the names of Plutarch, Appian, Arrian, Herodian (the historian), Lucian, Pausanias, Dion Cassius, Galen, Sextus Empiricus, Epictetus, Ptolemy. The Emperor Marcus Aurelius wrote his philosophy in Greek. The poets, such as they were, chiefly of the didactic class, Oppian, Nicander, are Greeks. (See, in Fynes Clinton's Appendix to *Fasti Romani*, the catalogue of Greek authors.) Latin literature might seem to have been in a

state of suspended animation after Quintilian, the Plinys, and Tacitus. Not merely are there no writers of name who have survived, but there hardly seem to have been any. From Juvenal to Claudian there is scarcely a poet. The fragments of Fronto, lately discovered, do not make us wish for more of a writer who had greater fame than most of his day. Apuleius was an African.

Jurisprudence alone maintained the dignity and dominion of Latin. The great lawyers, Ulpian, Paulus, and their colleagues, are the only famous writers. Latin law alone, of Latin letters, was studied in the schools of the East. The Greek writers of the day were many of them ignorant of Latin.

^p Uebrigens war die Griechische Sprache noch fast die einzige Kirchensprache. Gieseler, i. p. 203. (Compare the passage.)

the author of the Refutation of All Heresies. The Octavius of Minucius Felix,⁹ and the Treatise of Novatian on the Trinity, are the earliest known works of Latin Christian literature which came from Rome. So was it too in Gaul: there the first Christians were settled chiefly in the Greek cities, which owned Marseilles as their parent, and which retained the use of Greek as their vernacular tongue. Irenæus wrote in Greek; the account of the Martyrs of Lyons and Vienne is in Greek. Vestiges of the old Greek ritual long survived not only in Rome, but also in some of the Gallic churches. The Kyrie eleison still lingers in the Latin service.^r The singular fact related by the historian Sozomen, that, for the first centuries, there was no public preaching in Rome, here finds its explanation. Greek was the ordinary language of the community, but among the believers and worshippers may have been Latins, who understood not, or understood imperfectly, the Greek. The Gospel or sacred writings were explained according to the capacities of the persons present. Hippolytus

⁹ Some place the Octavius in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, others between Tertullian and Cyprian. Gieseler, note, p. 207.

^r Martene, de *Antiquis Ecclesiæ ritibus*, i. p. 102: he quotes the anonymous Turonius. Nos canimus illud Græcè juxta morem antiquum Romanæ ecclesiæ, cui tam Græci quam Latini solebant antiquitus deservire, et a Græcis habitabatur maxima pars Italiæ, et seqq. This is evidence for the Church of Tours. It is by no means clear when the Latin service began, even in Rome. There is much further illustration of the co-existence of the Latin and Greek service in the

West, to a late period. Compare Martene, iii. 35. The Epistle and Gospel were read in both languages to a late period. Mabillon, *Iter Italicum*, ii. pp. 168 and 453. In Southern Gaul Latin had not entirely dispossessed Greek in the fifth century: Greek was still spoken by part of the population of Arles. (See Fauriel, *Gaule Méridionale*, i. p. 432.) A Saint Martial de Limoges on chantait en Grec dans le x. siècle à la Messe du jour de la Pentecôte le Gloria, le Sanctus, l'Agnus, &c. Ce fait est établi par un MS. de la Bibliothèque Royale, 4^o 4458. Jourdain, *Traductions d'Aristote*, p. 44.

indeed composed, probably delivered, homilies in Greek, in imitation of Origen, who, when at Rome, may have preached in Greek; and this is spoken of as something new. Pope Leo I. was the first celebrated Latin preacher, and his brief and emphatic sermons read like the first essays of a rude and untried eloquence, rather than the finished compositions which would imply a long study and cultivation of pulpit oratory. Compare them with Chrysostom.^s

Africa,^t not Rome, gave birth to Latin Christianity. Tertullian was the first Latin writer, at least the first who commanded the public ear; and there is strong ground for supposing that, since Tertullian quotes the sacred writings perpetually and copiously, the earliest of those many Latin versions noticed by Augustine and on which Jerome grounded his Vulgate, were African.^u Cyprian kept up the tra-

^s In Rome neither the Bishop nor any one else publicly preached to the people, οὐτε δὲ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος οὐτε ἄλλός τις ἐνθαδε ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας διδάσκει. H. E. vii. 19. In Alexandria the Bishop alone preached. Compare Bunsen's Hippolytus, vol. i. p. 318.

^t Of Africa Greek was the general language no further East than the Cyrenaica; westward the old Punic language prevailed, even where the Roman conquerors had superinduced Latin. Even Tertullian wrote also in Greek. Latinè quoque ostendam virgines nostras velari oportere. (De Virgin. veland.) Sed et huic materiæ propter suaviludios nostros Græco quoque stylo satisfacimus. De Coron. Mil. vi.

^u Vetus hæc interpretatio vix dubitari potest quin inter eam gentem quæ Græcæ linguæ minimè perita esset, nata fuerit, hoc est in Africâ. Lachman, Pref. in Nov. Test. Lachman quotes a learned Dissertation of Cardinal Wiseman as conclusive on this point. In this Dissertation (reprinted in his Essays, London, 1854) the author ventures on the forlorn hope of the vindication of the disputed text in St. John's Epistle. I can only express my surprise that so acute a writer should see any force in such arguments. But the Dissertation on African Latinity appears to me valuable, scholarlike, and sound. The dubious passage of St. Augustine, on which alone rests the tradition of the *Versio Italica*, I would read, *arise*

dition of ecclesiastical Latin. Arnobius, too, was an African.*

Thus the Roman church was but one of the confederation of Greek religious republics, founded by Christianity. As of Apostolic origin, still more as the church of the capital of the world, it was, of course, of paramount dignity and importance. It is difficult to exaggerate the height at which Rome, before the foundation of Constantinople, stood above the other cities of the earth; the centre of commerce, the centre of affairs, the centre of empire. The Christians, like the rest of mankind, were constantly ebbing and flowing out of Rome and into Rome. The church of the capital could not but assume something of the dignity of the capital; it was constantly receiving, as it were, the homage of all the foreign Christians, who, from interest, business, ambition, curiosity, either visited or took up their residence in the Eternal City.

The Roman Church, if it had become prematurely Latin, would have been isolated and set apart from the rest of Christendom; remaining Greek, it became also the natural and inevitable centre of Christianity. The public documents of the Christian world spoke throughout the same language; no interpretation was neces-

Bentley, as Bishop Marsh and most of the later biblical scholars, *Illa*.—Marsh's Introduction, note, vol. ii. p. 623.

I would suggest, as a curious investigation, if it has not yet been executed by any competent scholar (which I presume not to assert), a critical comparison of the Latinity of the old version, as published by Sabatier, and

even of the Vulgate, with the Latin of Tertullian, Cyprian, Apuleius of Madaura, and other African writers.

* Minucius Felix, Arnobius, Lactantius are to the Greek divines what Cicero was to the Greek philosophers—writers of popular abstracts in that which in his hands was, in theirs aspired to be, elegant Latin.

sary between the East and the West.⁷ To the unity of the Church this was of infinite importance. The Roman Christians and their Bishop were the constituted guardians and protectors of what may be called the public interests of Christianity. In Rome they beheld, or had the earliest intelligence of, every revolution in the empire; they had the first cognisance of all the Imperial edicts which might affect the brethren. On them, even if they had no access to the counsels or to the palace of the Emperor, on their influence, on their conduct, might in some degree depend the fate of Christendom. They were in the van, the first to foresee the threatened persecution, the first to suffer. The Bishop of Rome, so long as the Emperor ruled in Rome, was at once in the post of the greatest distinction, and in that of the greatest difficulty and danger. The Christian world would look with trembling interest on his conduct, as his example might either glorify or disgrace the Church; on his prudence or his temerity, on his resolution or on his weakness, might depend the orders despatched to every prefect or proconsul in the Empire. Local oppressions or local persecutions would be confined to a city or a province; in Rome might be the signal for general proscription. The eyes of all Christendom must thus have constantly been fixed on Rome and on the Roman Bishop.

But if Rome, or the Church of Rome, was thus the centre of the more peaceful influences of Christianity, and of the hopes and fears of the Christian world, it was no less inevitably the chosen battle field of her civil

⁷ As late as the middle of the third century, after the Novatian schism, Pope Cornelius writes in Greek to Fabius of Antioch. Eusebius records as something new and extraordinary that letters from Cyprian to the Asiatic bishops are in Latin. H. E. vi. 43.

wars; and Christianity has ever more faithfully recorded her dissensions than her conquests. In Rome every feud which distracted the infant community reached its height; nowhere do the Judaising tenets seem to have been more obstinate, or to have held so long and stubborn a conflict with more full and genuine Christianity. In Rome every heresy, almost every heresiarch, found welcome reception. All new opinions, all attempts to harmonise Christianity with the tenets of the Greek philosophers, with the Oriental religions, the Cosmogonies, the Theophanies, and Mysteries of the East, were boldly agitated, either by the authors of the Gnostic systems or by their disciples. Valentinus the Alexandrian was himself in Rome, so also was Marcion of Sinope. The Phrygian Montanus, with his prophetesses, Priscilla and Maximilla, if not present, had their sect, a powerful sect, in Rome and in Africa. In Rome their convert, for a time at least, was the Pope; in Africa, Tertullian. Somewhat later, the precursors of the great Trinitarian controversy came from all quarters. Praxeas, an Asiatic; Theodotus, a Byzantine; Artemon, an Asiatic; Noetus, a Smyrniote, at least his disciples, the Deacon Epigenes and Cleomenes, taught at Rome. Sabellius, from Ptolemais in Cyrene, appeared in person; his opinions took their full development in Rome. Not only do all these controversies betray the inexhaustible fertility of the Greek or Eastern imagination, not only were they all drawn from Greek or Oriental doctrines, but they must have been still agitated, discussed, ramified into their parts and divisions, through the versatile and subtile Greek. They were all strangers and foreigners; not one of all these systems originated in Rome, in Italy, or in

Centre of
Christian
controversies.

About
A.D. 140.

Africa.* On all these opinions the Bishop of Rome was almost compelled to sit in judgment; he must receive or reject, authorise or condemn; he was a proselyte, whom it would be the ambition of all to gain. No one unfamiliar with Greek, no one not to a great extent Greek by birth, by education, or by habit, could in any degree comprehend the conflicting theories.

The Judaising opinions, combated by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans, maintained their ground among some of the Roman Christians for above a century or more after that Apostle's death. A remarkable monument attests their power and vitality. There can be slight doubt that the author of that singular work, commonly called the Clementina, was a Roman, or rather a Greek domiciled in Rome.^a Its origin is almost proved by the choice of the hero in this earliest of religious romances. Clement, who sets forth as a heathen philosopher in search of truth, becomes the companion of St. Peter in the East, the witness of his long and stubborn strife with his great adversary, Simon the Magician; and if the letter prefixed to the work be a genuine part of it,^b becomes

* A passage of Aulus Gellius illustrates the conscious inadequacy of the Latin to express, notwithstanding the innovations of Cicero, the finer distinctions of the Greek philosophy: *Hæc Favorinum dicentem audivi Græcâ oratione, cujus sententias, quantum meminisse potui, retuli. Amœnitates vero et copias ubertatesque verborum, Latina omnis facundia vix quidem indisparci potuerit.* Noct. Att. xii. Favorinus, of the time of Hadrian, was a

native of Arles in Gaul.

^a This is the unanimous opinion of those who, in later days, have critically investigated the Clementina—Schlieman, Neander, Baur, Gieseler. *ἔγὼ Κλήμης Ῥωμαῖος ὁ ν*, in init. This does not prove much.

^b I entertain some doubt on this point. A good critical edition of this work, in its various forms, is much to be desired.*

* There are now two good editions of the Clementina—1. by Schwegler, Stutgard, 1817; 2. The last and best, by Dressel, Gottingen, 1853; besides, 3. The Latin translation of Rufinus, by Gersdorf, Leipzig, 1838.

the successor of St. Peter in the see of Rome. It bears in its front, and throughout, the character of a romance; it can hardly be considered even as mythic history. Its groundwork is that so common in the latest Greek and in the Latin comedy, and in the Greek novels; adventures of persons cast away at sea, and sold into slavery; lost children by strange accident restored to their parents, husbands to their wives; amusing scenes in what we may call the middle or mercantile life of the times. It might seem borrowed, in its incidents, from a play of Plautus or Terence, or from their originals; a kind of type of the *Æthiopics* of Bishop Heliodorus, or the *Chærea* and *Callirhoe*. The religious interest is still more remarkable, and no doubt faithfully represents the views and tenets of a certain sect or class of Christians. It is the work of a Judaising Christian, according to a very peculiar form of Ebionitism.^c The scene is chiefly laid in Palestine and its neighbourhood, its original language is Greek. The views of the author as to the rank, influence, and relative position of the Apostles, is among its most singular characteristics. So far from ascribing any primacy to St. Peter, though St. Peter is throughout the leading personage, James, Bishop of Jerusalem, is the acknowledged head of Christendom, the arbiter of Christian doctrine, the Bishop of Bishops, to whom Peter himself bows with submissive reverence. Of any earlier visits of Peter to Rome the author is ignorant. Clement encounters the Apostle in Palestine; in Palestine or in the East is carried on the whole strife with Simon Magus. Yet Peter is the Apostle of the Gentiles, to Peter the heathens owe their Christianity. More than this, there

^c This is abundantly proved by Schlickean and by Neander

is a bitter hatred to St. Paul, which betrays itself in brief, covert, sarcastic allusion, not to be mistaken in its object or aim.^d The whole purpose of the work is to assert a Petrine, a Judaising, an anti-Pauline Christianity. The Gospel is but a republication of the Law, that is, the pure, genuine, original Law, which emanated from God. God is light, his Wisdom or his Spirit (these are identified and are both the Son of God) has dwelt in different men, from Adam to Jesus. The whole world is one vast system of Dualisms, or Antagonisms. The antagonism of Simon Magus to St. Peter is chiefly urged in the Clementine homilies; but there are manifest hints, more perhaps than hints, of a second antagonism between Peter and Paul, the teacher of Christianity with the Law, and the teacher of Christianity without the Law. Here then is the representative of what can scarcely be supposed an insignificant party in Rome (the various forms, reconstructions, and versions in which the Clementine appear, whole, or in fragments, attest their wide-spread popularity) who does not scruple to couple fiction with the most sacred names. Of the whole party it must have been the obvious interest to exalt St. Peter, to assert him as the founder, the Bishop of the true Church in Rome; and it is certainly singular that in all the early traditions, which are more than allusions to St. Peter at Rome, Simon Magus appears as his shadow. Has, then, the myth grown out

^d In the letter of St. Peter, *τινὲς γὰρ τῶν ἀπὸ ἐθνῶν, τὸ δι' ἐμοῦ νόμιμον ἀπεδοκίμασαν κήρυγμα, τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ἀνθρώπου ἕνομόν τινα καὶ φλυαρώδη προσηκάμενοι διδασκαλίαν.* If we could doubt that

here St. Paul, not Simon Magus is meant, the allusions xi. 35, xvii. 19, and elsewhere, to the very acts and words of St. Paul are conclusive. Compare Schlieman, *Die Clementine* 74, 96, 534, &c.

of the pure fiction, or is the fiction but an expansion of the myth?*

At all events these works are witnesses to the perpetuity and strength, to a late period, of these Judaising opinions in Rome.^f Their fictitious form in no way invalidates their authority as expressing living opinions tenets and sentiments. If not Roman (I have slight doubt on this head), there is an attestation to the wide spread oppugnancy of a Petrine and a Pauline party; to strong divergence of opinion as to the relative rank and dignity of the Apostles.

Out of the antagonism between Judaic and anti-Judaic Christianity arose the first conflict, in which the Bishop of Rome, as the leader of a great part of the Christian confederation, assumed unwonted authority. Difference of opinion did not necessarily lead to open strife—from difference of observance it was unavoidable. The controversy about the time of keeping Easter, or rather the Paschal Feast, had slept from the days of Polycarp and Anicetus of Rome. Towards the close of the second century it broke out again. Rome, it is remarkable, now held the anti-Judaic usage of the variable feast, and in this concurred with the churches of Palestine, of Cæsarea, and Jerusalem. These were chiefly of Gentile descent, and probably from near neighbourhood to the Jews were most averse to the usages of that hostile and

* Strictly speaking the authority for Simon Magus being at Rome is earlier than that for St. Peter. The famous passage of Justin Martyr on the inscription Semoni Sanco, is about twenty years older than the Epistle of Dionysius of Corinth (A.D. 171),—

the first *distinct* assertion of St. Peter in Rome. Euseb. H. E. ii. 13, 14.

^f Schlieman assigns the Recognitions to some time between 212 and 230—the Clementina, no doubt, are of an earlier date. p. 327, *et seqa.*

odious race. The Asiatic churches had adhered to the ancient Jewish custom, the observance of the 14th day of the month (Nisan). The controversy seems to have been awakened in Rome by one Blastus,^g denounced as endeavouring secretly to enslave the Church to Judaism. The Bishop Victor deposed the obstinate schismatic from the Roman Presbytery. But the strife was not confined to Rome. The Asiatic Christians, under Polycrates of Ephesus, maintained their own, the Judaic usage, sanctioned, as was asserted, by the martyr Polycarp, by Philip the Deacon, and even by St. John. Victor, supported by the Bishops, Theophilus of the Palestinian Cæsarea, by Narcissus of Jerusalem, by some in Pontus, in Osroene, in Gaul, and by Bacchylides of Corinth, peremptorily demanded a Council to judge the Asiatic Bishops; threatened or actually pronounced a disruption of all communion with those who presumed to maintain their stubborn difference from himself and the rest of the Christian world.^h The strife was appeased by the interposition of Irenæus, justly, according to the Ecclesiastical historian, called a Man of Peace. Irenæus was Bishop of Vienne in Gaul; and so completely is Christianity now one world, that a Bishop of Gaul allays a feud in which the Bishop of Rome is in alliance with the Bishops of Syria and of the remoter East, against those of Asia Minor. Africa does not look with indifference on the controversy. Irenæus had already written an epistle to Blastus in Rome, reproving him as author of the schism: he now wrote to the Bishop Victor, asserting the right

A.D. 196.

^g Est præterea his omnibus Blastus accedens, qui latenter Judæismum vult introducere. Pascha enim dicit non aliter custodiendum esse nisi secundum legem Moysi xiiii mensis.—Præscript.

Hæret. This is from an addition, probably an ancient one, to the treatise of Tertullian.

^h Euseb. H. E. v. 15.

of the Churches to maintain their own usages on such points, and recommending a milder tone on these ceremonial questions.ⁱ

It was not till the Council of Nicæa that Christendom acquiesced in the same Paschal Cycle.

The reign of Commodus, commencing with the last
 Reign of Commodus, 180-193. twenty years of the second century, is an epoch in the history of Western Christendom. The feud between the Judaising and anti-Judaising parties in Rome seemed to expire with the controversy about Easter. The older Gnostic systems of Valentinus and Marcion had had their day. Montanism was expelled from Rome to find refuge in Africa. In Africa Latin Christianity began to take its proper form in the writings of Tertullian. Rome was absorbed in the inevitable disputes concerning the Divinity of the Saviour, the prelude to the great Trinitarian controversy. The Bishops of Rome, Eleutherius, still more Victor, and at the commencement of the third century Zephyrinus and Callistus, before dimly known by scattered allusions in Tertullian and Eusebius, and still later writers, have suddenly emerged into light in the contemporary work, justly, to all appearance, attributed to Hippolytus Bishop of Portus.^k

ⁱ The Latin book ascribed to Novatian, against the Jewish distinction of meats, shows Judaism still struggling within the church on its most vital peculiarities. The author of this tract wrote also against circumcision and the Jewish Sabbath.

^k The Chevalier Bunsen's very learned work has proved the authorship of Hippolytus to my full satisfaction—so likewise Dr. Wordsworth—Hippolytus. I have also read the

'Hippolytus und Kallistus' by J. Döllinger, the church historian; I must say with no conviction but of the author's learning and ingenuity. It appears to me that M. Döllinger's arguments against M. Bunsen (*e.g.* from the ignorance of St. Jerome) are quite as fatal to his own theory. I still think it most probable that Hippolytus was Bishop of Portus, and that these suburbicarian bishops formed or were part of a kind of presbytery or college with the

The Christians from the death of M. Aurelius throughout the reign of Commodus, enjoyed undisturbed peace with the civil government.^m

Marcia.

But many of the victims of the persecution under

bishops of Rome. I hardly understand how those (seven) bishops (the cardinal-bishops) can have gained their peculiar relation to Rome, in later times, without any earlier tradition in their favour. The loose language of later Greek writers might easily make of a bishop, a member of such a Presbytery, a bishop in Rome, or even of Rome. More than one, at least, of these writers calls Hippolytus Bishop of Portus: and hence, too, he may have been sometimes described as Presbyter.

Portus, there can be no doubt, was a very considerable town; but a new and flourishing haven cannot have grown up at the mouth of the Tiber, after half, at least, of the commerce and concourse of strangers had deserted Rome, after the foundation of Constantinople, and during the Barbarian invasions. Birkenhead would not have risen to rival Liverpool excepting in a most prosperous state of English trade.

I cannot but regret that M. Döllinger's book, so able, and in some respects so instructive, should be written with such a resolute (no doubt conscientious) determination to make out a case. It might well be entitled *Apologia pro Callisto*; and I must presume to say, in my judgment, a most unfortunate case for his own cause. Were I polemically disposed as to the succession to the Papacy, the authority and supremacy of the Bishop of

Rome, or even the unity of the Church, I could hardly hope for so liberal a concession as that twice within thirty years, during the early part of the third century, rival bishops, one a most distinguished theologian, should set themselves up in Rome itself against the acknowledged Pope, and declare their own communities to be the true Church. Döllinger indeed could not but see that, whoever the author, he writes, from station, from character, or from influence, as quite on a level with the Pope; he seems altogether unconscious of awe, and even of the respect for that office, which is of a later period. The Abbé Cruice, in his *Histoire de l'Eglise de Rome sous les Pontificats de St. Victor, St. Zephyrin, et de St. Calliste* (Paris, 1856), is bolder and more dutiful. With him the Popes are already invested in all their power (of excommunication), in their ex officio wisdom and holiness. They are all, by the magical prefix S, Saints; Victor and Callistus, on the authority of legend, martyrs. This unhistoric history (not unamusing), this theology without precision, seems to pass in France for profound learning.

^m *Asterius Urbanus apud Eusebium*, H. E. v. 16. Compare Moyle's works, ii. p. 265 — The peace lasted for thirteen years after the death of Maximilla the Montanist, just the period of the reign of Commodus.

Aurelius were pining in the unwholesome mines of Sardinia. Marcia, the favourite concubine of the Emperor Commodus, whom he treated as his wife, and who held the state of an Empress, was favourable to the Christians: how far she herself had embraced the doctrines, how, if herself disposed to Christianity, she reconciled it with her life, does not appear.^a The Bishop Victor did not scruple (such scruples had been too fastidiously rigorous) to employ her influence for the release of his exiled brethren: they all returned to Rome.^o This state of peace seemed to thicken into more active life the brooding elements of discord, and to invite the founders of new systems, or their busy proselytes, to Rome. Already had spread to Europe, to Africa, to Rome itself, from the depths of Phrygia, the disciples of Montanus. It is probable that Montanist or kindred prophecies of coming wars, and of the approaching Dissolution of the World (a vaticination which involved or rather signified to the jealous Roman ear only the ruin of the Empire), may have aided in exciting the religious terror and indignation of the philosophic Emperor and of the Roman world against the Christians, and so have been one cause of the persecutions under Marcus

^a οὐδὲν δὲ ἀπέχεε γαμετῆς γυναικός, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἐπῆρχεν ὅσα Σεβάστη πλὴν τοῦ πυρός. Herodian, i. 50. Her complicity in the murder of Commodus was but to avert her own. Commodus must have been insane; Marcia strove, even with tears, to dissuade him from the disgrace of appearing in public as a gladiator; his two ministers joined their strong remonstrances. Commo-

modus, in revenge, marked down her name, and those of Lætus and Eclectus, his faithful counsellors, for death. The fatal tablet fell into the hands of Marcia. They anticipated their own doom by that of Commodus. Herodian, *ibid.* Marcia afterwards married Eclectus.—Dion Cassius, or Xiphylin, lvii. 4.

^o Refutatio Hæresium, p. 287.

Aurelius.^p Montanus himself, and Maximilla, his chief prophetess, seem not to have travelled beyond the confines of Phrygia.^q But their followers swarmed over Christendom. They dispersed or revealed to the initiated in countless books, the visions of Montanus, and his no less inspired female followers, Priscilla and Maximilla.^r Montanism, strictly speaking, was no heresy; in their notions of God and of Christ, these sectaries departed not from the received doctrine. But beyond, and as the consummation and completion of the Christian Revelation, the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, dwelt in Montanus and the Prophetesses. At intervals, throughout the annals of Christianity, the Holy Ghost has been summoned by the hopes, felt as present by the kindled imaginations, been proclaimed by the passionate enthusiasm of a few, as accomplishing in them the imperfect revelation; as the third revelation—which is to supersede and to fulfil the Law and the Gospel. This notion will appear again in the middle ages as the doctrine of the Abbot Joachim, of John Peter de Oliva and the Fraticelli; in a milder form it is that of George Fox and Barclay. The land of heathen orgies was the natural birthplace of that wild Christian mysticism; it was the Phrygian fanaticism speaking a new language; and as the ancient Phrygian rites of Cybele found welcome reception in heathen Rome, so also that, which was appropriately called Cataphrygianism, in the

^p This further confirms the author's view of the cause of the persecutions under M. Aurelius. Hist. of Christianity, Book ii. c. 7.

^q Their fate was so obscure, that rumours spread abroad among their enemies that they had died like Judas,

had hanged themselves. See the uncertain author quoted by Eusebius. H. E. v. 16.

^r This we learn from the Refutatio Hæresium. *Ὁν βιβλῶν ἀπελοισί εἶχοντες πλανῶνται*, p. 275.

Christian Church.^s A stern intolerant asceticism, which had already begun to harden around the Christian heart, a rigour, a perfection of manners as of creed (so they deemed it) beyond the Law, the Prophets, and the Gospel, distinguished the Montanists, who, by their own asserted superiority, condemned the rest of the Christian world.^t They had fasts far more long and severe, their own festivals, their own food, chiefly roots;^u they held the austerest views on the connexion of the sexes; if they did not absolutely condemn, hardly permitted marriage; a second marriage was an inexpiable sin. Their visions enwrapt the imagination, their rigour enthralled minds of congenial temperament. They seized on the African passions, they fell in with the austerity, they satisfied the holy ambition of Tertullian, who would not rest below what seemed the most lofty, self-sacrificing Christianity. In Rome itself (so Tertullian writes, with mingled indignation and contempt) the Bishop had been seized with admiration, had acknowledged the inspiration of the Prophets; he had issued letters of peace in their favour, which had tended to quiet the agitated churches of Asia and of Phrygia. But at the instigation of Praxeas the Heresiarch, if not the author, among the first teachers of that doctrine, afterwards denounced as Patripassianism, he had revoked his letters, denied their spiritual gifts, and driven out the Prophets in disgrace.^x

^s Compare the Super alta vectus Atys with the extravagancies of Montanism.

πλείων δὲ αὐτῶν φάσκοντες ὡς μεμαθηκέναι, ἢ ἐκ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν καὶ τῶν Εὐαγγελίων. Ibid. p. 275.

^u The author of the Refutatio speaks

of their *ξηροφάγια*.

^x Ita duo negotia Diaboli Praxeas Romæ procuravit, prophetiam expulit et hæresim intulit. Paracletum fugavit, et Patrem crucifixit. Adversus Praxeam, c. i. Who was this bishop of Rome? It has been usually sup-

The indignation of Tertullian at the rejection of his Montanist opinions urges him to arraign the Pope, with what justice, to what extent we know not, as having embraced the Patripassian opinions of Praxeas. This Monarchianism, or, as it was branded by the more odious name, Patripassianism, was the controversy which raged during the episcopate of Victor, Zephyrinus, and Callistus.⁷ It called forth the 'Refutation of Heresies.' That paramount doctrine of Christianity, the nature of Christ, his relation to the primal and paternal Godhead, which had been contested in a vaguer and more imaginative form under the Gnostic systems, must be brought to a direct issue. Rome, though the war was waged by Greek combatants in the Greek language, must be the chosen battle-field of the conflict. There was a division in the Church. Pope Victor, a stern and haughty Prelate, who had demanded implicit submission to his opinions on the question of Easter, now seemed stunned and bewildered by the polemic din and tumult.² The feebler Zephyrinus,

posed Victor. Neander (*Anti-Gnosticus*, p. 486) argues strongly, I think not conclusively, that it was his predecessor Eleutherius. The spurious passage, at the close of the *De Præscrip. Hæret.*, which, though not Tertullian's, seems ancient, has these words:—"Praxeas quidem hæresim introduxit, quam Victorinus (the Bishop Victor?) corroborare curavit."

⁷ The oppugnancy of the Latin and Greek mind is well illustrated by the contrast of Tertullian with the early Greek writers, *e. g.* Justin Martyr. In Tertullian there is no courteous respect for the Greek philosophy: he is dead to the beauty of the dying

hours of Socrates; his *Dæmon* is a devil. "No man comes to God but by Christ; of these things the heathen knew nothing." *T. de Anim.* i. 39. Compare Ritter, *Gesch. Christ. Philosophie*, p. 335. Tertullian cannot conceive immaterial being. *Nihil incorporale nisi quod non est.* *De Carn. Christ.* Neander, iii. p. 965.

² Victor condemned indeed and excommunicated Theodotus, who reduced the Saviour to his naked manhood; he was but an image of Melchisedek. This was asserted fifty years later, when the doctrine of the naked manhood of Christ was taught in its most obnoxious form by Artemas, and after-

through his long pontificate, vacillated and wavered to and fro. Callistus, if we are to believe his implacable and uncompromising adversary, not only departed from the true faith, but left a sect, bearing his name, to perpetuate his reprehensible opinions. From

About
A.D. 150.

Theodotus, a follower of Valentinus, to Noetus and his disciple Epigonus, there was a constant succession of strangers, each with his own system. The

About A.D.
200-220.

shades of distinction were infinite, from that older Ebionitish or Judaic doctrine, which kept down the Saviour to mere naked manhood, hardly superior to the prophets; and that which approximated to, if it did not express in absolute terms, the full Godhead of the Nicene Creed. The broad divisions, up to a certain period, had been threefold: 1. Those who altogether denied the Godhead—the extreme Ebionites. 2. Those who denied the Manhood—all the Gnostic sects. In their diverging forms of Docetism, these held the unreal, or but seeming human nature of the Redeemer; whether as Valentinus said, the Æon Christ had descended on the man Jesus, the psychic or animal man; or as Marcion, maintained the manhood to be a mere phantasm. 3. All the rest (even the Roman Ebionites, represented by the Clementine Homilies)

wards by Paul of Samosata. These teachers appealed to the unbroken tradition of the church, from the Apostles to their own days, in favour of their own tenet. It was answered that Victor had condemned Theodotus, the author of this God-denying apostasy; *ὅτι Βίκτωρ τὸν σκυτέα Θεοδότου, τὸν ἀρχηγὸν ταύτης τῆς ἀρησιθέου ἀποστασίας, ἀπεκέρυξε τῆς κοινωρίας, πρῶτον εἰπόντα ψιλὸν*

ἄνθρωπον τὸν Χριστὸν. Euseb. H. E. v. 15, Epiph. 54, 55. Compare Pseudo-Tertullian de Præscrip. Hæret. On the Theodoti, compare Bunsen, Hippolytus, p. 92. Yet Victor, it should seem, was deceived by Praxeas (see note above). Florinus, condemned with Blastus the Quartodeciman, was a Monarchian; but there were manifestly many shades of Monarchianism.

acknowledged some Deity, some efflux, irradiation, emanation of the primal Godhead. The Logos, the Wisdom, the Spirit of God (the distinction was not always maintained, nor as yet accurately defined) indwelt in various manners and degrees within the Christ. The difficulty was to claim the plenary Godhead for the Son, the Redeemer, without infringing on the sole, original Principality of the Father; to admit subordination without inferiority. So grew up a new division between the Monarchians, the assertors of one immutable primary Principle, who yet acknowledged the divinity of the Redeemer; and those who, while they mostly acknowledged it in terms, were impatient of any real or definite subordination. Each drew an awful conclusion from the tenets of his adversary; each used an opprobrious term which appealed to the resentful passions. The Monarchians were charged with the appalling doctrine, that the Father, the one primary Principle, must have suffered on the cross; they were called Patripassians. They retorted on those who were unable, or who refused to define the subordination of the Son, as worshippers of two Gods, Ditheists. Sabellius, who at first repressed, or brought forward his views with reserve and caution, attempted to mediate, and was disdainfully cast aside by both parties. The notion of the same God under three manifestations, forms, or names, seemed to annul the separate personality of each.^a

Pope Victor saw but the beginning of this strife. With Pope Zephyrinus, whose Episcopate of A.D. 201-219. nineteen years commences with the third century, appears his antagonist, the antagonist of his suc-

^a Sabellius, according to the Refutation of Heresies, might have been kept within the bounds of orthodoxy, had he not been driven into extremity by the injudicious violence of the Pope.

cessor Callistus, the author of the Refutation of all Heresies. According to his own distinct statement, this writer was not a casual and transient visitor in Rome, but domiciled in the city or in its neighbourhood, invested in some high public function,^b and holding acknowledged influence and authority. He describes himself as the head of what may be called the orthodox party, resisting and condemning the wavering policy of one Pope, actually excommunicating another, and handing him down to posterity as an heresiarch of a sect called after his name. Who then was this antagonist?

A.D. 201-250. What rank and position did he hold? Fifty years later^c the Roman church comprehended, besides its Bishop, forty-six Presbyters, and seven Deacons,^d with their subordinate officers. Each Presbyter doubtless presided over a separate community, each with its basilica, scattered over the wide circuit of the city: they were the primary Parish Priests of Rome. But besides these, were Suburbicarian Bishops of the adjacent towns, Ostia, Tibur, Portus, and others (six or seven), who did not maintain their absolute independence on the metropolis, each in the seclusion of his own community; they held their synods in Rome, but as yet with Greek equality rather than Roman subordination; they were the initiatory College of Cardinals (who still take some of their titles from these sees), but with the Pope as one of this co-equal college, rather

^b Origen visited Rome about the year 211, but his visit was not long; and, with all his fame and learning, to the height of which he had not attained, he was a stranger, without rank or authority. He was not even in orders.

^c Calculating from the accession of

Zephyrinus to the Decian persecution. Letter of Pope Cornelius in Euseb. H. E. vi. 42.

^d Each deacon appears to have comprehended under his charitable superintendence two out of the fourteen regions of the city.

than the dominant, certainly not the despotic, head. Of all these suburban districts at this time Portus was the most considerable, and most likely to be occupied by a distinguished prelate. Portus, from the reign of Trajan, had superseded Ostia as the haven of Rome. It was a commercial town of growing extent and opulence, at which most of the strangers from the East who came by sea landed or set sail. Through Portus, no doubt, most of the foreign Christians found their way to Rome.^e Of this city at the present time, it can hardly be doubted, Hippolytus was the bishop, Hippolytus who afterwards rose to the dignity of saint and martyr, and whose statue, discovered in the Laurentian cemetery, now stands in the Vatican. Conclusive internal evidence indicates Hippolytus as the author of the Refutation of all Heresies. If any one might dare to confront the Bishop of Rome, it was the Bishop of Portus.

Zephyrinus, according to his unsparing adversary, was an unlearned man; ignorant of the language and definitions of the Church; avaricious, venal, of unsettled principles; not holding the balance between conflicting opinions, but embracing adverse tenets with all the zeal of which a mind so irresolute was capable. He was now a disciple of Cleomenes, the successor of Noetus, and teacher of Noetianism in Rome (Noetus held the extreme Monarchian doctrine, so as to be obnoxious to the charge of Patripassianism), now of Sabellius, who, become more bold, had matured his scheme, which was odious alike to the

Hippolytus.

Pope Zephyrinus.
202-219.

* In the letters of Æneas Sylvius there is a curious account of a visit which he made to the site of this ancient bishopric, then held by one of his friends. Dr. Wordsworth has some interesting details concerning Portus.

other two contending parties. Zephyrinus was entirely governed by the crafty Callistus; and thus constantly driven back, by his fears or confusion of mind, to opposite tenets, and involved in the most glaring contradictions. At one time he publicly used the startling language: "I acknowledge one God, Jesus Christ, and none beside him, that was born and suffered;" at another, he refuted himself, "It was not the Father that died, but the Son." So through the long episcopate of Zephyrinus there was endless conflict and confusion. The author of the Refutation steadily, perseveringly, resisted the vacillating Pontiff, he himself was branded with the opprobrious appellation of Ditheist.

Callistus, who had ruled the feeble mind of Zephyrinus, aspired to be his successor; as head, it should seem, of one of the contending parties, he attained the object of his ambition. The memory of theologic adversaries is tenacious. His enemies were not likely to forget the early life of Callistus, which must have been public and notorious, at least among the Christians. He had been a slave in the family of Carpophorus, a wealthy Christian in the Emperor's household. He was set up by his master in a bank in the quarter called the *Piscina Publica*. The Christian brethren and widows, on the credit of the name of Carpophorus, deposited their savings in this bank of Callistus. He made away with the funds, was called to account, fled, embarked on board a ship, was pursued, threw himself into the sea—was rescued—brought back to Rome, and ignominiously consigned to hard labour in the public workhouse. The merciful Carpophorus cared not for his own losses, but for those of the poor widows; he released the prisoner on the pretext of collecting monies, which he pretended to be due to him. Callistus

raised a riot in a Jewish synagogue, was carried before the Prefect Fuscianus, scourged and transported to the mines in Sardinia. On the release of the exiles through the intercession of Marcia, Callistus, though not on the list furnished by the Bishop Victor, persuaded Hycinthus, the Eunuch appointed to bear the order for the release of the captives to the governor, to become responsible for his liberation also.^f He returned to Rome; the Pope Victor, though distressed by the affair, was too merciful to expose the fraud; Callistus was sent to Antium with a monthly allowance for his maintenance. At Antium (for this release of the Sardinian prisoners must have been at the commencement of Victor's episcopate)^g he remained nine or ten years. Zephyrinus

^f This singular picture of Roman and Christian middle life has an air of minute truthfulness, though possibly somewhat darkened by polemic hostility. Some have supposed that they detect a difference in the style from the rest of the treatise. I perceive none but that which is natural in a transition from polemic or argumentative writing to simple narrative. The suggestion that it is a Novatian interpolation is desperate and preposterous. Novatian was not heard of till thirty years after, his followers, of course, later. What possible motive could they have for blackening the memory of Zephyrinus and Callistus? Novatian was no enemy of the Bishop of Rome; had no design to invalidate his powers. He was the enemy of Cornelius, his successful rival for the see; he aspired himself to be bishop—was, in fact, anti-Pope. The great point on which Novatian made his stand had, indeed, been mooted, but did not

become a cause of fatal division till after the persecution of Decius, the treatment of the Lapsi—those who in the persecution had denied the faith.

Hippolytus, it is true, in the poetic legend of Prudentius (who borrows the circumstances of his martyrdom from the destiny of his namesake in the tragedy of Euripides), is charged with holding the tenets of Novatus, which he recanted, and in his death-agony became a good Catholic. But the author of the Refutation of all Heresies can hardly have been involved in the schism of Novatian, who did not appear till so many years after the death of Callistus. Novatian, with such a partisan, would not have sought out three obscure bishops for his ordination. I cannot but think the Spanish legendary poet of the fourth century utterly without historical authority—possibly he confounded different Hippolyti.

^g The release of the prisoners took

recalled him from his obscure retreat; and placed him over the cemetery.^b By degrees the Pope entirely surrendered himself to the guidance of Callistus.

The first act of Callistus on his advancement to the bishopric was the excommunication of Sabellius, an act cordially approved by Hippolytus, and ascribed to the fear of himself. Callistus formed a new scheme, by which he hoped to elude the charge on one side of Patripassianism, on the other of Ditheism. Hippolytus denounces his heresy without scruple or reserve.ⁱ

Christian doctrine, the profound mystery of the Saviour's Godhead, was not the **only** subject of collision between the adverse parties in the Church of Rome. The difficult reconciliation of Christian tenderness and Christian holiness could hardly fail to produce a milder and more austere party throughout Christendom. The first young influences of Monachism, the perfection claimed by celibacy over the less ostentatious virtue of domestic purity, the notion of the heroism of self-mortification, led to inevitable differences. Montanism, with its fanatic rigour, had wrought up this strife to a great height. The more severe, who did not embrace the Montanist tenets, would not be surpassed by heretics in self-abnegation. The lenity to be shown to penitents, the condescension to the weaknesses of flesh and blood, raised perpetual disputes.

Controversy
on Christian
morals.

place probably in the tenth year of Commodus, the year of Victor's accession, A.D. 190.

^b We are naturally reminded of the cemetery called of Callistus. Aringhi supposes this cemetery older than the time of Callistus.

ⁱ Callistianism differed but slightly

from Noetism. God and His divine Word were one; together they were the Spirit, the one Spiritual Being. This Spirit took flesh of the Virgin; so the Father was in the Son, but he suffered not as the Son, but with the Son.

Callistus throughout, unlike those whose early lives demand indulgence, who are usually the most severe, was himself indulgent to others; and this was the dominant tone at the time in the Roman Church. The author of the Refutation, though uninfected by Montanist tenets, inveighs against the leniency of Callistus, as asserting that even a bishop, guilty of a deadly sin, was not to be deposed. The nature of this, according to Hippolytus, deadly sin, which Callistus treated with such offensive tenderness, appears from the next sentence;^k it related to that grave question which had begun to absorb the Christian mind—the marriage of the clergy. That usage, which has always prevailed, and still prevails, in the Greek Church, as yet seems to have satisfied the more rigorous at Rome. Those who were already married when ordained, retained their wives. But a second marriage, or marriage after ordination, was revolting to the incipient monkery of the Church. But Callistus, according to his implacable adversary, went further, he admitted men who had been twice, even thrice married, to holy orders; he allowed those already in orders to marry. His more indulgent party appealed to the evangelical argument.^m “Who art thou that judgest another man’s servant?” They alleged the parables of the tares and wheat, the clean and unclean beasts in the ark. This the more austere denounced as criminal flattery of the passions of the multitude; as the sanction of voluptuousness proscribed by Christ, with the base design of courting popularity,

^k οὗτος ἐδουγμάτισεν ὅπως εἰ ἐπίσκοπος ἁμάρτοι τι, εἰ καὶ πρὸς θάνατον, μὴ δεῖν κατατίθεσθαι. Ἐπὶ τούτου ἤρξαντο ἐπίσκοποι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι δίγαμοι καὶ τρί-
γαμοὶ καθίστασθαι εἰς κλήρους. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τις ἐν κλήρῳ ὢν γαμοίη, μένει τὸν τοιοῦτον ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ὡς μὴ ἡμαρτήκοτα. ix. 12. p. 290.

^m R. H. p. 290.

and swelling the ranks of their faction. There is a heavier charge behind. The widows, if they could not contain, were not only allowed to marry, but to take a slave, or freedman, below their own rank, who could not be their legal husband.ⁿ Hence abortions, and child murders, to conceal these disgraceful connexions. Callistus, therefore, is sanctioning adultery and murder. But even this is not the height of his offence, he had dared to administer a second baptism. So already had ecclesiastical offences become worse in the estimation of vehement religious partisans than moral enormities. Here, at least, it is fair to mistrust the angry adversary. But this conflict between a more indulgent and a more austere party in Rome, and some declaration of the Pope Zephyrinus, probably, rather than Callistus,—but Zephyrinus acting under the influence of Callistus—on the connexion between the sexes, had already excited the indignation of Tertullian in Africa, now still more hardened by his Montanist tenets. “The Bishop of Bishops had promulgated an edict, that he would remit to penitents even the sins of adultery and fornication. This license to lust is issued in the stronghold of all wicked and shameless lusts.”^o

Persecution restored that peace to the Roman Church, which had been so much disturbed throughout her uninvaded prosperity during the tolerant rule of Alexander Severus. In the sudden outburst of hostility, during the short reign of the brutal Thracian, Maximin, Pon-

ⁿ The widows, who had taken on themselves the office of deaconesses, and who, though not bound by vow, were under a kind of virtual engagement against second marriage.

^o De Pudicitia.—Did the title Epi-

scopus Episcoporum, which I think cannot but mean Rome, arise from his superiority to the suburbicarian bishops? See, however, on this title the note of Baluzius on the vii. Concil. Carthag.—or in Routh, ii. 153.

tianus, who had followed Urban I., the successor of Callistus, and with him a presbyter, Hippolytus, suffered sentence of deportation to the usual place of exile—Sardinia. There Pontianus is said (nor is there much reason to doubt the tradition) to have endured martyrdom. Hippolytus,^p according to the poetic legend in Prudentius of two centuries later, suffered in the suburbs of Rome.^q

The Decian persecution, about thirty years after the death of Callistus, was the birth epoch of Latin Christianity; Cyprian its true parent. Rome, the recognised metropolis of the West, Carthage, the metropolis of the African churches, now are in constant and regular intercourse.^r There is first a Punic league, afterwards at least a threatened Punic war. In the persecution the churches are brought into close alliance by common sympathies, common perils, common sufferings, singularly enough by common schisms; slowly, but no doubt at length, by their common language. The same Imperial edict endangers the life of the Roman and of the Carthaginian Bishop; malcontents from Rome find their way to Carthage, from Carthage to Rome. The same man, Novatus, stirs up rebellion against episcopal authority in Rome and in Carthage; the letters of the churches to each other are promulgated in Latin, though at a period somewhat later those

A.D. 235.

Decian persecution.

^p Compare Bunsen. The title of Presbyter assigned to Hippolytus, if, as is most probable, the same with the author of the Refutation and other works, even if he were Bishop of Portus, raises no difficulty. These bishops were members of the Roman Presbytery.

^q At this time, more likely than

fifteen years afterwards, in the Decian persecution. Legend respects not dates.

^r The intercourse between Carthage and Rome, on account of the corn trade alone, was probably more regular and rapid than in any other part of the empire—mutatis mutandis—like that between Marseilles and Algeria.

from the African churches sent into the East are distinguished from those which came from Rome, as written in the Roman tongue.^a So too in Rome and in Carthage (in Carthage in the most mature and perfect form, from the master mind of Cyprian) appear the Roman strength and the Roman respect for law, the imperious assertion of hierarchical despotism. In the community there is trembling deference for hierarchical authority, though at first with a bold but short resistance. There is an anti-Bishop in Rome and in Carthage. But in both Churches discipline becomes of equal importance with doctrine; the unity of the Church is made to depend on obedience to its outward polity; rebellion to episcopal authority becomes as great a crime as erroneous opinion; schism as hateful as heresy.

Fabianus, under Decius, is the first martyr Bishop of Rome, whose death rests on certain testimony.^b The papal chair remained vacant for a short time; either the Christians dared not choose, or no one dared to assume the perilous rank. Cyprian of Carthage on the same occasion, not from timidity, but from prudent and parental regard for his flock, retired into a safe retreat. There were already divisions in the Church of Carthage. Novatus, a turbulent presbyter, with five others,^c had been jealous of the elevation of Cyprian. Novatus, whose character is darkly drawn by Cyprian, had pre-

^a Euseb., H. E. See above, p. 37, note.

^b Perhaps that of Pontianus may be above suspicion. (See above.) On the discovery of the name of Fabianus in the real catacomb of Callistus by

the Cav. de Rossi (I have read it myself), see note to Hist. of Christianity, Book II. c. 8.

^c It is doubtful whether Novatus was one of these five.

sumed to interfere with the bishop's prerogative (a crime hardly less heinous than peculation and licentiousness) and himself ordained a deacon, Felicissimus. This hostile party would no doubt heap contempt on the base flight of Cyprian; while they, less in danger, seemed to have remained to brave the persecutor. The party took upon themselves the episcopal functions.* On their own authority, too, the faction of Novatus determined, in the more lenient way, the great question, the reception of the fallen, those who had denied the faith and offered sacrifice, and those who, with more pardonable weakness, had bought certificates of submission from the venal officers.⁷ Cyprian in vain remonstrated from his retreat: he too had somewhat departed from his old sternness, when he had shut the doors of the Church against the renegades. He was not now for inflexible and peremptory rejection of those weak brethren, for whom he may have learned some sympathy; he insisted only on their less hasty, more formal reception, after penance, confession, imposition of hands by the bishop. Each case was to be separately considered before an assembly of the bishops, presbyters, deacons, the faithful who had stood,² and the laity; so popular still was Cyprian's view of episcopal authority. Cornelius, in Rome, had been elected bishop on the

* Cyprian, from his retreat, sent two bishops to collect and administer the alms, probably of great amount, in Carthage. Walch conjectures, with much probability, that Felicissimus may have resented this intrusion on his province as Deacon. On Cyprian compare Hist. of Christianity.

⁷ They were called Libellatici. Compare Mosheim de Reb. Christian.

ante Constant. M., p. 482, 489.

* Throughout this is his language—*Viderint laici, hoc quomodo curent.* Ep. liii., also xi. xxix. xxxi. Compare Concil. Carthag. iii., where it is among the objections that a fallen had been received *sine petitu et conscientia plebis.* Mansi sub ann. 252, or Routh, vol. ii. p. 74.

return of peace. The same question distracted his Church, but with more disastrous results. The same Novatus was now in Rome: true only to his own restlessness, he here embraced the severer party, at the head of which stood a leader, by some strange coincidence, almost of the same name with his own,

Novatian.^a This man had been a Stoic philosopher. His hard nature, in the agony of wrestling after truth, before he had found peace in Christianity, broke down both body and mind. His enemies afterwards declared that he had been possessed; the demon was not completely exorcised. He had only received what was called Clinic baptism (an imperfect rite) on what was supposed his death-bed. The Stoic remained within the Christian; he became a rigid ascetic. Novatian sternly declared that no mercy but that of God (from that he did not exclude the fallen) could absolve from the inexpiable sin of apostacy: the Church, which received such unabsolvable sinners into its bosom, was unclean, and ceased to be the Church. Novatian might have contented himself, like the Thra-seas of old, with protesting against the abuse of episcopal despotism, no less abuse because it erred on the side of leniency. When charged with ambitious designs on the Bishopric of Rome, of having been the rival, and therefore having become the enemy, of Cornelius, he solemnly declared that he preferred the solitary virtue and dignity of the ascetic; it was only by compulsion that he took upon himself the function of an Antipope. Cyprian attributes the schism to the malignant influence

^a The Greek writers all called Novatian, Novatus. We are on historical ground, or what a myth might be made out of these two *Innovators* —Novatus and Novatian.

of Novatus:—"In proportion as Rome is greater than Carthage, so was the sin of Novatus in Rome more heinous than that in Carthage. In Carthage he had ordained a deacon, in Rome he had made a bishop."^b Novatian was publicly but hastily and irregularly consecrated, as Bishop of Rome, by three bishops, it is said, of obscure towns in Italy. Novatian was in doctrine rigidly orthodox; but in Cyprian's view (who makes common cause with the Bishop of Rome against the common enemy) what avails orthodoxy of doctrine in one out of the Church?^c He is self-excluded from the pale of salvation. Cyprian had grounds, if not for his abhorrence, for his fears of Novatianism. It aspired itself to be the Church, to set up rival bishops throughout Christendom; the test of that Church was this uncompromising, inflexible severity. Even in Carthage arose another bishop, Fortunatus, who asserted himself to have been consecrated by twenty-three Numidian bishops. Cyprian, not without bitterness, while he admits that Cornelius had rejected his rebellious Deacon Felicissimus from communion, complains that he had been weakly *shaken*, and induced to waver, by the false representations of the partisans of Fortunatus.^d

^b Planè quoniam pro magnitudine sua debeat Carthaginem Roma præcedere, illic majora et graviora commisit. Qui istic adversus ecclesiam diaconum fecerat illic episcopum fecit. Epist. xlix. The pre-eminence of the Bishop of Rome arises out of the pre-eminent greatness of Rome.

^c Quod vero ad Novatiani personam pertinet, pater carissime, desiderâsti tibi scribi quam hæresin introduxisset, scias nos primo in loco non curiosos esse debere quid ille doceat, cum foris doceat. Quisquis ille est, et qualis-

cunque est, Christianus non est, qui in Christi ecclesiâ non est. Ad Anton. Epist. lii.

^d Read the whole remarkable letter, lv. ad Cornelium—the strongest revelation of the views, reasonings, passions, fears, hatreds of Cyprian. I cannot consent, with a late writer, to the abandonment of all these documents as spurious. Forgery would not have left the argument so doubtful, or rather so decisive against the object imputed to the forgers.

This transient difference was soon lost in Cyprian's generous admiration for the intrepidity of Cornelius, in whose glorious Confession the whole Church of Rome, even the fallen, who had been admitted as penitents, now nobly joined. Cornelius was banished, it is said, by the Emperor Gallus, to Cività Vecchia; he was followed by vast numbers of believers, who shared his exile and his danger. The Church returned from banishment, but under a new bishop, Lucius; Cornelius had died, the words of Cyprian hardly assert by a violent death.^e The Novatians alone, during this new trial of the faith, stood aloof in sullen hostility. They

A.D. 253. were too obscure, Cyprian suggests, to provoke the jealousy of the rulers. But Cyprian miscalculated the strength and vitality of Novatianism. It spread throughout Christendom: even in the East, Fabius, Bishop of Antioch, was hardly restrained from joining that party. Dionysius of Alexandria treated their advances with greater wisdom; he earnestly urged Novatian, now that Cornelius was dead and the question laid almost at rest by the cessation of persecution, to return into the bosom of the Church. On Novatian's stubborn refusal, Dionysius condemned in strong terms his harsh Christianity, as depriving the Saviour of his sacred attribute of mercy. But Novatianism endured for above two centuries; it had its bishops in Constantinople, Nicæa, Nicomedia, Citiaüs in Phrygia, in Cyzicum and Bithynia; even in Alexandria, in Italy, in Gaul, in Spain. It had its saints, its hermits, its monks. St. Ambrose in Italy, Pacianus, Bishop of

^e Epist. ad Lucium P. R. reversum ab exilio—lviii. See, however, Epist. lviii.—He is described as martyrio quoque dignatione Domini honoratus. Compare Routh's note, ii. 132.

Barcelona, and towards the end of the fourth century Leo the Great, thought it necessary to condemn or to refute the doctrines of Novatian. The two Byzantine ecclesiastical historians, Socrates and his follower Sozomen, have been accused of leaning to Novatianism.^f

Novatianism, like all unsuccessful opposition, added strength to its triumphant adversary. It was not so much by its rigour, as by its collision with the Hierarchical system, that it lost its hold on the Christian mind. It declared that there were sins beyond the absolving power of the clergy. By setting up rival bishops in Rome, Carthage, and other cities, it only evoked more commandingly the growing theory of Christian unity, and caused it to be asserted in a still more rigid and exclusive form. Within the pale of the Church, under the lawful Bishop, were Christ and salvation; without it, the realm of the Devil, the world of perdition. The faith of the heretic and schismatic was no faith, his holiness no holiness, his martyrdom no martyrdom.^g Latin Christianity, in the mind of Cyprian, if not its founder, its chief hierophant, had soared to the ideal height of this unity. This Utopia of Cyprian placed St. Peter at the head of the College of co-equal Apostles, from whom the Bishops inherited co-equal

^f Compare Walch, *Ketzer-Geschichte*. Walch has collected every passage relating to Novatianism with his usual industry, accuracy, and fairness, ii. pp. 185, 288.

^g The second Council of Carthage touches on this absolving power of the priesthood—"Quando permiserit ipse, qui legem dedit ut ligata in terris etiam in cælis ligata essent, solvi autem possent illic quæ hic prius in ecclesiâ

solventur." The decree of this Council anticipates another instant persecution, and urges, with great force and beauty, the necessity of strengthening all disciples against the coming trial—*quos excitamus et hortamur ad prælium non inermes et nudos relinquamus, sed protectione corporis et sanguinis Christi muniamus*, Mansi, sub ann. 252, or Routh, *Rel. Sacræ*, v. iii. p. 70.

dignity. The succession of the Bishop of Rome from St. Peter was now, near 200 years after his death, an accredited tradition. Nor, so long as Carthage and Rome were in amity and alliance, did Cyprian scruple to admit (as Carthage could not but own her inferiority to Imperial Rome) a kind of primacy, of dignity at least, in the Metropolitan Bishop.^h

The Punic League suddenly gives place to a Punic War. A new controversy has sprung up in the interval between the Decian and Valerian persecutions, on the rebaptism of heretics. Africa, the East, Alexandria with less decision, declared the baptism by heretics an idle ceremony, and even an impious mimicry of that holy rite, which could only be valid from the consecrated hands of the lawful clergy.

Lucius of Rome had ruled but a few months: he was succeeded by Stephen. This pope adopted a milder rule. Every baptism in the name of Christ admitted to Christian privileges. He enforced this rule, according to his adversaries (his own letters are lost), with imperious dictation. At length he broke off communion with all the churches of the East and of Africa, which adhered to the more rigorous practice.¹ But the Eastern hatred of heresy conspired with the hierarchical spirit of Africa, which could endure no intrusion on the prerogatives of the clergy. Cyprian

Dispute
between
Rome and
Carthage.

A.D. 255.

^h Hoc erant utique et cæteri Apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi et honoris et potestatis: sed exordium ab unitate proficiscitur, et primatus Petro datur, ut una Christi ecclesia et cathedra una monstretur. De unit. Eccles. There is little doubt that this famous passage is an interpolation; it is not found in the best manuscripts. Yet the whole passage without these words seems to me to bear out the guarded assertion of the text.

¹ He denounced Cyprian, according to Firmilian, as a false Christ, a false apostle, a deceitful workman. Firm Epist. apud Cyprian. Opera.

confronts Stephen not only as an equal, but, strong in the concurrence of the East and of Alexandria, as his superior. The primacy of Peter has lost its authority. He condemns the perverseness, obstinacy, contumacy of Stephen. He promulgates, in Latin, a letter of Firmilian, Bishop of the Cappadocian Cæsarea, still more unmeasured in its censures. Firmilian denounces the audacity, the insolence of Stephen; scoffs at his boasted descent from St. Peter; declares that, by his sin, he has excommunicated himself: he is the schismatic, the apostate from the unity of the Church.^k A solemn Council of eighty-seven bishops, assembled at Carthage under Cyprian, asserted the independent judgment of the African Churches, repudiated the assumption of the title, Bishop of Bishops, or the arbitrary dictation of one bishop to Christendom.

Yet even during this internal feud, Latin Christendom was gathering into a separate unity. The Churches of Gaul and Spain appeal at once to Rome and to Carthage; Arles, indeed, in southern Gaul, may still have been Greek. But the high character of Cyprian, and the flourishing state of the African Churches, combined with their Latinity to endow them with this concurrent primacy in the West. Martianus, Bishop of Arles, had embraced Novatianism in all its rigour. The oppressed anti-Novatian party sent to Carthage as well as to

^k Excidisti enim temet ipsum; noli te fallere. Siquidem ille est verè schismaticus, qui se a communione Ecclesiasticæ unitatis apostatam fecerit. Firm. ad Cyprian. I see no ground to question, with *some* Roman Catholic writers, the authenticity of this letter. No doubt it is a translation from the

Greek; if by Cyprian himself, it accounts for the sameness of style. A Donatist forgery would have been in a different tone, and directed against different persons. Compare Walch, *Ketzer-Geschichte*, ii. 323, *et seqq* Routh, note ð., p. 151.

Rome, to entreat their aid. Cyprian appears to acknowledge the superior right in the Bishop of Rome to appoint a substitute for the rebellious Novatianist. He urges Pope Stephen, by the memory of his martyred predecessors Cornelius and Lucius, not to shrink from this act of necessary rigour.^m This, however, was but a letter from one bishop to another, from Cyprian of Carthage to Stephen of Rome.ⁿ The answer to the Bishops of Spain is the formal act of a synod of African Bishops, assembled under the presidency of the Bishop of Carthage. It is a Latin religious state paper, addressed by one part of Latin Christendom to the rest.^o The Spanish Bishops, Basilides and Martialis, of Leon and Astorga, had, during the Decian persecution, denied the faith, offered sacrifice, according to the language of the day, returned to wallow in the mire of paganism. Yet they had dared to resume, not merely their privileges as Christians, but the holy office of bishops. Whatever leniency might be shown to humbler penitents, that the immaculate priesthood should not be irrevocably forfeited by such defilement, revolted not only the more severe, but the general sentiment. Two other bishops, Felix and Sabinus, were consecrated in their place. Basilides found his way to Rome, and imposed by his arts on the unsuspecting Stephen, who commanded his reinstatement in his high office. Appeal was made to Carthage against Rome. Cyprian would strengthen his own authority by that of a synod. At the head of his thirty-five bishops, Cyprian approves the acts of the Presbyters and people of Leon and

^m A.D. 256. Apud Mansi, sub ann.,
or Routh, Rel. Sac. iii. p. 91.
Cypriani Epist. lxxvii.

^o The Decrees of the Council of Carthage are the earliest Latin *public* documents.

Astorga in rejecting such unworthy bishops; treats with a kind of respectful compassion the weakness of Stephen of Rome, who had been so easily abused; and exhorts the Spaniards to adhere to their rightful prelates, Felix and Sabinus.^p

The persecution of Valerian joined the Bishops of Rome and of Carthage, Xystus, the successor of Stephen, and the famous Cyprian, in the same glorious martyrdom.^q

Dionysius, a Calabrian, is again a Greek bishop of Rome, mingling with something of congenial zeal, and in the Greek language, in the contro-^{A.D. 259.}versies of Greek Alexandria, and condemning the errors of the Bishop of the same name, who had the evil report of having been the predecessor of Arius in doctrine. Dionysius, of Alexandria, however, a prelate of great virtue, it should seem, was but incautiously betrayed into these doubtful expressions; at all events, he repudiated the conclusions drawn from his words. With all the more candid and charitable, he soon resumed his fame for orthodoxy. When the Emperor Aurelian^r transferred the ecclesiastical judg-^{A.D. 270.}ment over Paul of Samosata, a rebel against the Empire as against the Church, from the Bishops of Syria to those of Rome and Italy, a subtle Greek heresy, maintained by Syrian Greeks, could not have been adjudicated but by Greeks or by Latins perfect masters of Greek. Dionysius, as Bishop of Rome, passed the first sentence in this important controversy. Felix was Pope in the reign of Aurelian.

^p Cyprian. Epist. lxxvii.

^q On the martyrdom of Cyprian,
Hist. of Christ. ii. 196.

^r Compare, on the act of Aurelianus,
Hist. of Christ. ii. p. 202.

Towards the close of this third century, throughout the persecution of Diocletian, darkness settles again over the Bishops of Rome. The apostacy of Marcellinus, A. D. 296. Marcellinus is but a late and discarded fable, adopted as favouring the Papal supremacy. Legend assembles three hundred bishops at Sinuessa, three hundred Bishops peaceably debating at such times in a small Neapolitan town! This synod refused to take cognizance of the crime of St. Peter's successor. Marcellinus was forced to degrade himself.

The legend, that his successor, Marcellus, was reduced Marcellus, A. D. 304. to the servile office of a groom, rests on no better authority. Had it any claim to truth, the successors of Marcellus had full and ample revenge, when kings and emperors submitted to the same menial service, and held the stirrup for the Popes to mount their horses.

CHAPTER II.

Rome after the Conversion of Constantine.

THUS, down to the conversion of Constantine, the biography of the Roman Bishops, and the history of the Roman Episcopate, are one; the acts and peculiar character of the Pontiffs, the influence and fortunes of the See, excepting in the doubtful and occasional gleams of day which have brought out Victor, Zephyrinus, Callistus, Cornelius, Stephen, into more distinct personality, are involved in a dim and vague twilight. On the establishment of Christianity, as the religion if not of the Empire, of the Emperor, the Bishop of Rome rises at once to the rank of a great accredited functionary; the Bishops gradually, though still slowly, assume the life of individual character. The Bishop is the first Christian in the first city of the world, and that city is legally Christian. The Supreme Pontificate of heathenism might still linger from ancient usage among the numerous titles of the Emperor; but so long as Constantine was in Rome, the Bishop of Rome, the head of the Emperor's religion, became in public estimation the equal, in authority and influence immeasurably the superior, to all of sacerdotal rank. The schisms and factions of Christianity now become affairs of state. As long as Rome is the imperial residence, an appeal to the Emperor is an appeal to the Bishop of Rome. The Bishop of Rome sits, by the imperial authority, at the head of a

synod of Italian prelates, to judge the disputes with the African Donatists.

Melchiades held the See of Rome at the time of Constantine's conversion, but soon made room for Silvester, whose name is more inseparably connected with that great event. Silvester has become a kind of hero of religious fable. But it was not so much the genuine mythical spirit which unconsciously transmutes history into legend; it was rather deliberate invention, with a specific aim and design, which, in direct defiance of history, accelerated the baptism of Constantine, and sanctified a porphyry vessel as appropriated to, or connected with, that holy use: and at a later period produced the monstrous fable of the Donation.^a

Melchiades,
A.D. 312-314,
Jan. 31.
Silvester.
Melchiades,
Silvester.
A.D. 312-314.
Jan. 31.

But that with which Constantine actually did invest

* This document—the Imperial Edict of Donation—a forgery as clumsy as audacious, ought to be inspected by those who would judge of the ignorance which could impose, or the credulity which would receive it, as the title-deed to enormous rights and possessions. (Muratori ascribes the forgery of the act to the period between 755 and 766.)—*Palatium nostrum . . . et urbem Romam, et totius Italiae, et occidentalium regionum provincias, loca, civitates . . . prædicto beatissimo patri nostro Silvestro Catholico Papæ tradentes et cedentes hujus et successoribus, ejus Pontificatus potestate . . . divino nostro hoc pragmatico decreto administrari diffinimus, juri sanctæ Romanorum ecclesiæ subjiçienda et in eo permansura exhibemus.*

The Donation may be found, prefixed to Laurentius Valla's famous refutation. Read, too, the more guarded and reluctant surrender of Nicholas of Cusa, the feeble murmur of defence from Antoninus, archbishop of Florence,—*apud Brown, Fasciculus, p. 124, 161.* Before the Reformation, the Donation had fallen the first victim of awakening religious inquiry. Dante, while he denounces, does not venture to question the truth of Constantine's gift. By the time of Ariosto it had become the object of unrebuked satire, even in Italy. Astolpho finds it among the chimæras of earth in the moon,

" or puzza forte.
Questo era il don (se però dir lice)
Che Constantino al buon Silvestro fece."
Orl. Fur. xxxiv. 80

the Church, the right of holding landed property, and receiving it by bequest, was far more valuable to the Christian Hierarchy, and not least to the Bishop of Rome, than a premature and prodigal endowment, which would at once have plunged them in civil affairs; and, before they had attained their strength, made them objects of jealousy or of rapacity to the temporal Sovereign. Had it been possible, a precipitate seizure, or a hasty acceptance of large territorial possessions would have been fatal to the dominion of the Church. It was the slow and imperceptible accumulation of wealth, the unmarked ascent to power and sovereignty, which enabled the Papacy to endure for centuries.

The obscurity of the Bishops of Rome was not in this alone their strength. The earlier Pontiffs (Clement is hardly an exception) were men, who of themselves commanded no great authority, and awoke no jealousy. Rome had no Origen, no Athanasius, no Ambrose, no Augustine, no Jerome. The power of the Hierarchy was established by other master minds: by the Carthaginian Cyprian, by the Italian Ambrose, the Prelate of political weight as well as of austere piety, by the eloquent Chrysostom.^b The names of none of the Popes, down to Leo and Gregory the Great, appear among the distinguished writers of Christendom.^c This more cautious and retired dignity was no less favourable to their earlier power, than to their later claim of infallibility. If more stirring and

Grant of
Constantine.

Roman
Bishops
obscure.

^b Chrysostom's book on the Priest-
hood throughout.

^c Early Christianity, it may be
observed, cannot be justly estimated
from its writers. The Greeks were

mostly trained in the schools of philo-
sophy—the Latin in the schools of
rhetoric: and polemic treatises could
not but form a great part of the
earliest Christian literature.

ambitious men, they might have betrayed to the civil power the secret of their aspiring hopes; if they had been voluminous writers, in the more speculative times, before the Christian creed had assumed its definite and coherent form, it might have been more difficult to assert their unimpeachable orthodoxy.

The removal of the seat of empire to Constantinople consummated the separation of Greek and Latin Christianity; one took the dominion of the East, the other of the West. Greek Christianity has now another centre in the new capital; and the new capital has entered into those close relations with the great cities of the East, which had before belonged exclusively to Rome. Alexandria has become the granary of Constantinople; her Christianity and her commerce, instead of floating along the Mediterranean to Italy, pours up the Ægean to the city on the Bosphorus. The Syrian capitals, Antioch, Jerusalem, the cities of Asia Minor and Bithynia, Ephesus, Nicæa, Nicomedia, own another mistress. The tide of Greek trade has ebbed away from the West, and found a nearer mart; political and religious ambition and adventure crowd to the new Eastern Court. That Court becomes the chosen scene of Christian controversy; the Emperor is the proselyte to gain whom contending parties employ argument, influence, intrigue.

That which was begun by the foundation of Constantinople, was completed by the partition of the empire between the sons of Constantine. There are now two Roman worlds, a Greek, and a Latin. In one respect, Rome lost in dignity: she was no longer the sole Metropolis of the empire; the East no longer treated her with the deference of a subject. On the other hand, she was the uncontested, unrivalled

Foundation
of Constantinople.

Division of
the empire.

head of her own hemisphere; she had no rival in those provinces, which yet held her allegiance, either as to civil or religious supremacy. The separation of the empire was not more complete between the sons of Constantine or Theodosius, than between Greek and Latin Christianity.

In Rome itself Latin Christianity had long been in the ascendant. Greek had slowly and imperceptibly withdrawn from her services, her Latin Christianity that of Rome. Scriptures, her controversial writings, the spirit of her Christianity. It is now in the person of Athanasius, a stranger hospitably welcomed, not a member at once received into her community. Great part of the three years, during which Athanasius resided in Rome, must be devoted to learning Latin, before he can obtain his full mastery over the mind of the Roman Pontiff, perhaps before he can fully initiate the Romans in the subtle distinctions of that great controversy.^d

The whole West, Africa, Gaul, in which so soon as the religion spread beyond the Greek settlements, it found Latin, if not the vernacular, Of the West the dominant language (the native Celtic had been driven back into obscurity), Spain, what remained of Britain, formed a religious as well as a civil realm. In her Apostolical antiquity, in the dignity therefore of her Church, Rome stood as much alone and unapproachable among the young and undistinguished cities of the West, as in her civil majesty. After Cyprian, Carthage, until the days of Augustine, had sunk back into her secondary rank: Africa had been long rent to pieces by the Donatist schisms. Rome, therefore, might gather up her strength in quiet, before she com-

^d Gibbon, c. xxi. p. 360.

mitted herself in strife with any of her more formidable adversaries; and those adversaries were still weakening each other in the turmoils of unending controversy; so as to leave the almost undivided Unity of the West, an object of admiration and envy to the rest of Christendom.

For throughout the religious and civil wars, which almost simultaneously with the conversion of the Trinitarian controversy. Constantine distracted the Christian world, the Bishops of Rome and of the West stood aloof in unimpassioned equanimity; they were drawn into the Trinitarian controversy, rather than embarked in it by their own ardent zeal. So long as Greek Christianity predominated in Rome, so long had the Church been divided by Greek doctrinal controversy. There the earliest disputes about the divinity of the Saviour had found ready audience. But Latin Christianity, as it grew to predominance in Rome, seemed to shrink from these foreign questions, or rather to abandon them for others more congenial. The Quarto Deciman controversy related to the establishment of a common law of Christendom, as to the time of keeping her great Festival. So in Novatianism, the re-admission of apostates into the outward privileges of the Church, the kindred dispute concerning the re-baptism of heretics, were constitutional points, which related to the ecclesiastical polity. Donatism turned on the legitimate succession of the African Bishops.

The Trinitarian controversy was an Eastern question. It began in Alexandria, invaded the Syrian cities, was ready, from its foundation, to disturb the churches, and people the streets of Constantinople with contending factions. Until taken up by the fierce and busy heterodoxy of Constantius when sole Emperor, it chiefly

agitated the East. The Asiatic Nicæa was the seat of the Council; all but a very few of the three hundred and twenty Bishops, who formed the Council, were from Asiatic or Egyptian sees. There were two Presbyters only to represent the Bishop of Rome;° the Bishop by his absence happily escaped the dangerous precedent, which might have been raised by his appearance in any rank inferior to the Presidency. Besides these Presbyters, there were not above seven or eight Western Prelates. Hosius of Cordova, if, as some accounts state, he presided, did so as the favourite of the Emperor; if it may be so expressed, as the Court divine.†

During the second period of the Trinitarian controversy, when the Arian Emperor of the East, Constantius, had made it a question which involved the whole world in strife; and, though it was not the cause of the fratricidal war between the sons of Constantine, yet no doubt it aggravated the hostility; Rome alone, except for a short time of compulsory submission, remained faithful to the cause of Athanasius. The great Athanasius himself, a second time an exile from the East,‡ the object of the Eastern Em-

Second
Period.

* τῆς δὲ γε βασιλευούσης πόλεως ὁ μὲν πρόεδρος διὰ γῆρας ὑστέρει πρεσβύτεροι δὲ αὐτοῦ πάροντες τὴν αὐτοῦ τάξιν ἐπλήρωσαν. The expression "the royal city" is significant. Socrat. H. E., i. 8. The presbyters' names are reported, Vitus and Vincentius.

† Hosius is named by writers of the fifth century as the first among the bishops at Nicæa to sign the decrees. Gelas. Cyzicen. Act. Concil. sub ann.

325.) Theodoret assigns a kind of presidency to Eustathius of Antioch. In all the earlier accounts it is impossible to discern any president, certainly none when the emperor is present. Hosius, in later times, was taken up as the representative of the Bishop of Rome. Compare Schröckh. C. K. v. p. 335.

‡ On his first exile he had been received by the Emperor Constantine at Treves.

peræ's inveterate animosity, had found a hospitable reception at Rome. There, having acquired the knowledge of Latin, he laid the spell of his master-mind on the Pope Julius, and received the deferential homage of Latin Christianity, which accepted the creed, which its narrow and barren vocabulary could hardly express in adequate terms. Yet throughout, the adhesion of Rome and of the West was a passive acquiescence in the dogmatic system, which had been wrought out by the profounder theology of the Eastern divines, rather than a vigorous and original examination on her part of those mysteries. The Latin Church was the scholar, as well as the loyal partisan of Athanasius. New and unexpected power grew out of this firmness in the head of Latin Christianity, when so large a part of Eastern Christendom had fallen away into what was deemed apostacy. The orthodoxy of the West stood out in bold relief at the Council of Sardica.^h

At this council, held under the protection, and within the realm of the orthodox Constans, the occupation of all the greater sees in the East by Arian or semi-Arian prelates, the secession of the Eastern mi-

^h Even those Latin writers (for Latin Christianity could not altogether be silent on the controversy) who treated on the Trinity, rather set forth or explained to their flocks the orthodox doctrines determined in the East, than refuted native heresies, or proposed their own irrefragable judgment. Nor were the more important treatises written in the capital, or in the less barbarised Latin of Rome, but by Hilary, the Gallic bishop of Poitiers, in the rude and harsh Roman dialect of this province; and Hilary had

been banished to the East, where he had become impregnated with the spirit, to his praise be it said, by no means with the acrimony of the strife. At the close of the controversy a Latin creed embodied the doctrines of Athanasius and of the anti-Nestorian writers; but even this was not so much a work of controversy, as a final summary of Latin Christianity, as to the ultimate result of the whole. It is the creed commonly called that of St. Athanasius.

nority from the council, left Latin Christianity, as it were, the representative of Christendom. It assumed to itself the dignity and authority of a General Council, and it might seem that the suffrage A.D. 347. of that Council awed the reluctant Constantius, and enforced the restoration of Athanasius to his see. By some happy fortune, by some policy prescient of future advantage, it might be unwillingness to risk his dignity at so great a distance from his own city, the trouble or expense of long journeys, or more important avocations at home, or the uncertainty that he would be allowed the place of honour, the Bishop of Rome (Julius I.) was absent from Sardica as from Nicæa. Hosius Council of Sardica. of Cordova again presided in that assembly. Three Italian bishops appended their signatures after that of Hosius, as representing the Roman Pontiff. Unconsciously the representatives of these times prepared the way for the Legates of future ages. Western Christendom might seem disposed to show its gratitude to Rome for its pure and consistent orthodoxy, by acknowledging at Sardica a certain right of appeal to the Bishop of Rome from Illyricum and Macedonia. These provinces were still part of the empire of the West, and the decree might seem as if the Primacy of Rome was to be co-extensive with the Western Empire. The metropolitan power of Latin Christianity thus gathered two large provinces, mostly Greek in race and in language, under its jurisdiction. The bishops of Illyricum and Macedonia, in seeking a temporary protector (no doubt their immediate object) from the lawless tyranny of their Eastern and heterodox superiors, foresaw not that they were imposing on themselves a master who would never relax his claim to their implicit obedience.

Liberius, the successor of Julius I., had to endure the fiercer period of conflict with the Arian Emperor. Constantius was now sole master of the Roman world. From the councils of Arles and of Milan had been extorted by bribes, by threats, and by force, the condemnation of Athanasius. Liberius had commenced his pontificate with an act of declared hostility to Athanasius. He had summoned the Prelate of Alexandria to Rome: he had declared him cut off from the communion of the West.¹ But if, from fear of Constantius, he had rejected Athanasius, he soon threw off his timidity: he as suddenly changed his policy as his opinions. He disclaimed his feeble Legate, the Bishop of Capua, who in his name had subscribed at Arles the sentence against the great Trinitarian. Himself, at length, after suffering menace, persecution, exile, was reduced so far to compromise his principles as to assent to that condemnation. Yet nothing could show more strongly the different place now occupied by the Bishop of Rome, in the estimation of Rome and of the world. Liberius is no martyr, calmly laying down his life for Christianity, inflexibly refusing to sacrifice on an heathen altar. He is a prelate, rejecting the summary commands of a heretical sovereign, treating his messages, his blandishments, his presents, with lofty disdain. The Arian Emperor of the world discerns the importance of attaching the Bishop of Rome to his party, in his mortal strife with Athanasius. His chief minister, the Eunuch Eusebius, appears in Rome to negotiate the alliance, bears with him rich presents, and

¹ Liberii Epistol. apud Hilar. Fragm. v.

a letter from the Emperor.^k Liberius coldly answers that the Church of Rome having solemnly declared Athanasius guiltless, he could not ^{A.D. 356.} condemn him. Nothing less than a Council of the Church, from which the Emperor, his officers, and all the Arian prelates shall be excluded, can reverse the decree. Eusebius threatens, but in vain; he lays down the Emperor's gifts in the Church of St. Peter. Liberius orders the infected offerings to be cast out of the sanctuary. He proceeds to utter a solemn anathema against all Arian heretics. Thus Roman liberty has found a new champion. The Bishop stands on what he holds to be the law of the Church; he is faithful to the Prelate, whose creed has been recognised as exclusive Christian truth by the Senate of Christendom. He disfranchises all, even the Emperor himself, from the privileges of the Christian polity. Constantius, in his wrath, orders the seizure of his rebellious subject; but the Bishop of Rome is no longer at the head of a feeble community: he is respected, beloved by the whole city. All Rome is in commotion in defence of the Christian prelate. The city must be surrounded, and even then it is thought more prudent to apprehend Liberius by night, and to convey him secretly out of the city. He is sent to the Emperor at Milan. He appears before Constantius, with the aged ^{Liberius at Milan.} Hosius of Cordova, and all the more distinguished orthodox prelates of the West, Eusebius of Vercelli, Lucifer of Cagliari, Hilary of Poitiers. He maintains the same lofty tone. Constantius declares that Athanasius has been condemned by a Council of the Church;

^k Athanas. Hist. Arian. Ad Monach. | ii. c. 15, 16. Sozomen, iv. c. 11.
p. 764, *et seqq.* Theodoret, H. E. | Ammian. Marcell. xv. c. 7.

he insists on the treason of Athanasius in corresponding with the enemies of the Emperor. Liberius is unshaken: "If he were the only friend of Athanasius, he would adhere to the righteous cause." The Bishop of Rome is banished to cold and inhospitable Thrace. He scornfully rejects offers of money, made by the Emperor for his expenses on the way. "Let him keep it to pay his soldiers." To the eunuch who made the like offer, he spoke with more bitter sarcasm. "Do you, who have wasted all the churches of the world, presume to offer me alms as a criminal? Away, first become a Christian!"^m

Two years of exile in that barbarous region, the dread of worse than exile, perhaps disastrous news from Rome, at length broke the spirit of Liberius; he consented to sign the semi-Arian creed of Sirmium, and to renounce the communion of Athanasius.ⁿ

For the Emperor had attempted to strike a still heavier blow against the rebellious exile. A rival bishop, as though the See were vacant, had usurped the throne. Felix was elected, it was said, by three eunuchs, who presumed to represent the people of Rome, and consecrated by three courtly prelates, two of them from the East. But the Clergy of Rome, and the people with still more determinate resolution, kept aloof from the empty churches, where Bishop Felix, if not himself an Arian, did not scruple to communicate with Arians.^o The estrangement con-

^m Athanas. Apolog. Contra Arian. p. 205. Ad Monach. p. 368. Theodoret, ii. c. 16, 17.

ⁿ The jealousy of Felix, according to Baronius (sub ann. 357), was the

Dalila which robbed the Episcopal Samson (Liberius) of his strength and fortitude.

^o Theodoret (H. E. ii. 16) and Sozomen (H. E. iv. 15) plainly assert

tinned through the two years of the exile of Liberius; the Pastor was without a flock. At the close of this period, the Emperor Constantius visited A.D. 357. Rome; the females, those especially of the upper rank (history now speaks as if the whole higher orders were Christians), had most strenuously maintained the right of Liberius, and refused all allegiance to the intrusive Felix. They endeavoured to persuade the Senators, Consulars, and Patricians, to make a representation to the Emperor; the timid nobles devolved the dangerous office on their wives. The female deputation, in their richest attire as befitting their rank, marched along the admiring streets, and stood before the Imperial presence; by their fearless pertinacity they obtained a promise for the release of Liberius. Even then Constantius was but imperfectly informed concerning the strength of the factions which himself having exasperated to the utmost, he now vainly attempted to reconcile. His Edict declared that the two Bishops should rule with conjoint authority, each over his respective community. Such an edict of toleration was premature by nearly fourteen

that Felix adhered to the creed of Nicæa. Socrates (H. E. ii. 37) condemns him as infected by the Arian heresy. By Athanasius (ad Monach., p. 861) he is called a monster, raised by the malice of Antichrist, worthy of, and fit to execute, the worst designs of his wicked partisans. This prelate of questionable faith, this usurper of the Roman See, has stolen, it is difficult to conjecture how, into the Roman Martyrology. It seems clear that he retired from Rome, and died a few years after in peace. Gregory the Thirteenth, when searching investiga-

tions into ecclesiastical history became necessary, startled by the perplexing difficulty, perhaps of a canonized Arian, certainly of an antipope with the honours of a martyr, ordered a regular inquiry into the claims of Felix. (Baron. Ann. sub ann. 357.) The case looked desperate for the memory of Felix: he was in danger of degradation, when, by a seasonable miracle, his body was discovered with an ancient inscription, "Pope and Martyr." Baronius wrote a book about it, which was never published.

centuries or more. In that place, the uncongenial atmosphere of which we should hardly have expected Christian passions to have penetrated, the Circus of Rome, the Edict was publicly read. "What!" exclaimed the scoffing spectators, "because we have two factions here, distinguished by their colours, are we to have two factions in the Church?" The whole audience broke forth in an overwhelming shout, "One God! one Christ! one Bishop!"

Liberius returned, in the course of the next year, to Rome. His entrance was an ovation; the people thronged forth, as of old to meet some triumphant Consul, or Cicero on his return from exile. The rival bishop, Felix, fled before his face;^p but Felix and his party would not altogether abandon the co-equal dignity assigned him by the decree of Constantius, and confirmed by the Council of Sirmium. He returned; and, at the head of a body of faithful ecclesiastics, celebrated divine worship in the basilica of Julius, beyond the Tiber. He was expelled, patricians and populace uniting against this, one of the earliest Antipopes who resisted armed force.^q A tradition has survived in the Pontifical Annals, of a proscription, a massacre.^r The streets, the baths, the churches ran with blood,—the streets, where the partisans of rival bishops encountered in arms: the baths, where Arian and Catholic could not wash together

^p Hieron. Chron. Marc. et Faust. p. 4.

^q This curious passage in the Pontifical Annals (apud Muratori iii. sub ann.) is evidently from the party of Felix;—it asserts his Catholicity.

^r Gibbon (who for once does not quote his special authority, nevertheless accepts it), c. xxi. v. iii. p. 385. It is rejected by Bower (v. i. p. 141) and by Walch, 'Lives of Popes,' *in loc.*

without mutual contamination; the churches where they could not join in common worship to the same Redeemer. Felix himself escaped; and lived some years in peace, on an estate near the road to Portus.^s Liberius, Rome itself, sinks back into obscurity; the Pope mingled not, as far as is known, in the fray, which had now involved the West as well as the East, Latin as well as Greek Christianity; A.D. 359. he was absent from the fatal Council of Rimini,^t which deluded the world into unsuspected Arianism.^u

The Emperor Julian, during his short and eventful reign, might seem to have forgotten that there was such a city as Rome. Paris, Athens, A.D. 361-363 Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, perhaps Alexandria, might seem to be the only Imperial cities worthy of his regard. It was a Greek religion Julian Emperor. which he aspired to restore; his philosophy was Greek; his writings Greek; he taught, ruled, worshipped, perished in the East.^x Under his successors (after Jovian), Valentinian, and Valens, while Valens Valentinian. Sept. 23 or 24, 366. afflicted the East by his feeble and frantic zeal for Arianism, Valentinian maintained the repose of the West by his rigid and impartial toleration.^y

On the death of Liberius, the factions, which had smouldered in secret, broke out again with fatal fury. The Pontificate of Damasus displays Christianity now not merely the dominant, it might almost seem the

^s He died the year before Liberius, 365.

^t Hist. of Christ. ii. p. 445.

^u Liberius had already subscribed, during his banishment, the creed of Sirmium. Constantius and his semi-Arian or Arian counsellors may have

been content with that act of submission, which had not been formally revoked.

^x On Julian, Hist. of Christ. Book iii. c. vi.

^y Compare Hist. of Christ. iii. p. 32.

sole religion of Rome; and the Roman character is working as visibly into Christianity. The Strife on the death of Liborius. election to the Christian bishopric arrays the people in adverse factions; the government is appalled; churches become citadels, are obstinately defended, furiously stormed; they are defiled with blood. Men fall in murderous warfare before the altar of the Prince of Peace. In one sense it might seem the reanimation of Rome to new life; ancient Rome is resuming her wonted but long-lost liberties. The iron hand of despotism, from the time of the last Triumvirate, or rather from the accession of Augustus to the Empire, had compressed the unruly populace, which only occasionally dared to break out, on a change in the Imperial dynasty, to oppose, or be the victims of, the Prætorian soldiery. Now, however, the Roman populace appears quickened by a new principle of freedom; of freedom, if with some of its bold independence, with all its blind partisanship, its headstrong and stubborn ferocity. The great offices, which still perpetuated in name the ancient Republic, the Senatorship, Quæstorship, Consulate, are quietly transmitted according to the Imperial mandates, excite no popular commotion, nor even interest; for they are honorary titles, which confer neither influence, nor authority, nor wealth. Even the Prefecture of the city is accepted at the will of the Emperor, who rarely condescends to visit Rome. But the election to the bishopric is now not merely an affair of importance—the affair of paramount importance it might seem,—in Rome; it is an event in the annals of the world. The heathen historian,² on whose notice had already been

² I assume, without hesitation, the heathenism of Ammianus, though, with regard to him, as to other writers of the time, there is as much truth as sagacity in the observation of Heyne —Est obvia res in lectione scriptorum

forced the Athanasian controversy, Athanasius himself, and the acts and the exile of Liberius, assigns the same place to the contested promotion of Damasus which Livy might to that of one of the great consuls, tribunes, or dictators. He interprets, as well as relates, the event: ^a—“No wonder that for so magnificent a prize as the Bishopric of Rome, men should contest with the utmost eagerness and obstinacy. To be enriched by the lavish donations of the principal females of the city; to ride, splendidly attired, in a stately chariot; to sit at a profuse, luxuriant, more than imperial, table—these are the rewards of successful ambition.” ^b The honest historian contrasts this pomp and luxury with the abstemiousness, the humility, the exemplary gentleness of the provincial prelates. Ammianus, ignorant or regardless as to the legitimacy of either election, arraigns both Damasus and his rival Ursicinus ^c as equally guilty

istius temporis, prudentiorum ple-
rosque nec patrias religiones abjecisse,
nec novas damnasse, sed in his quoque
pro suorum ingeniorum facultate pro-
banda probasse. Heynii Prolus. in
Wagneri edit. p. cxxxv.

^a Ammianus Marcellinus, xxvii. 3,
sub ann. 367.

^b Compare—it is amusing and in-
structive — the Cardinal Baronius
writing in the splendid Papal court,
and the severe Jansenist Tillemont, on
this passage.

^c On the side of Ursicinus (Ursinus)
is the remarkable document published
by Sirmond (*Opera*, i. p. 127), the
petition of Marcellinus and Faustinus
to the Emperor Theodosius, who, in

his answer, though they were after-
wards Luciferians (an unpopular sect),
testifies to their character by his
gracious promises of protection. Ac-
cording to the Preface (is it quite
certain that the Preface is of the same
date?) to this *Libellus Precum*, Da-
masus was supported by the party of
Felix; he was the successor of Felix,
the reputed Arian, Ursicinus of Libe-
rius.* The Presbyters, Deacons, and
faithful people, who had adhered to
Liberius in his exile, met in the Julian
Basilica, and duly elected Ursicinus
who was consecrated by Paul, bishop
of Tibur. Damasus was proclaimed
by the followers of Felix, in S. M.
Lucina. Damasus collected a mob of

* Damasus, from other authority, is said to have sworn as Presbyter to own no bishop but Liberius, to have accompanied him in exile, but speedily deserted him, returned to Rome, and at last submitted to Felix.

authors of the tumult. Of the Christian writers (and there are, singularly enough, contemporary witnesses, probably eye-witnesses, on each side), the one asserts the priority and legality of election in favour of Damasus, the other of Ursicinus; the one aggravates, the other extenuates the violence and slaughter. But that scenes occurred of frightful atrocity is beyond all doubt. So long and obstinate was the conflict, that Juventius, the Præfect of the city, finding his authority contemned, his forces unequal to keep the peace, retired into the neighbourhood of Rome. Churches were garrisoned, churches besieged, churches stormed and deluged with blood. In one day, relates Ammianus, above one hundred and thirty dead bodies were counted in the basilica of Sisinnius. The triumph of Damasus cannot relieve his memory from the sanction, the excitement of, hardly

charioteers and a wild rabble, broke into the Julian Basilica, and committed great slaughter. Seven days after, having bribed a great body of ecclesiastics and the populace, and seized the Lateran Church, he was elected and consecrated bishop. Ursicinus was expelled from Rome. Damasus, however, continued his acts of violence. Seven Presbyters of the other party were hurried prisoners to the Lateran: their faction rose, rescued them, and carried them to the Basilica of Liberius (S. Maria Maggiore). Damasus, at the head of a gang of gladiators, charioteers, and labourers, with axes, swords, and clubs, stormed the church: a hundred and sixty of both sexes were barbarously killed; not one on the side of Damasus. The party of Ursicinus were obliged to withdraw,

vainly petitioning for a synod of bishops to examine into the validity of the two elections. Ursicinus returned from exile more than once, but Damasus had the ladies of Rome in his favour; and the council of Valentinian was not inaccessible to bribes. New scenes of blood took place. Ursicinus was compelled at length to give up the contest.

On the other hand Damasus had on his side the great vindicator—success. Rufinus and Jerome (then at Rome, afterwards the secretary of Damasus) assert, with the same minuteness and particularity, the priority and the lawfulness of his election: they treat Ursicinus as a schismatic; but they cannot deny, however they may mitigate, the acts of violence and bloodshed.

from active participation in, these deeds of blood.^d Nor did the contention cease with the first discomfiture and banishment of Ursicinus; he was more than once recalled, exiled, again set up as rival bishop, and re-exiled. Another frightful massacre took place in the church of St. Agnes. The Emperor was forced to have recourse to the character and firmness of the famous heathen Prætextatus, as successor to Juventius in the government of Rome, in order to put down with impartial severity these disastrous tumults. Some years elapsed before Damasus was in undisputed possession of his see.

The strife between Damasus and Ursicinus was a prolongation or revival of that between Libe- ^{Damasus}rius and Felix, and so may have remotely ^{Pope.} grown out of the doctrinal conflict of Arianism and Trinitarianism.^e No doubt too it was a conflict of personal ambition, for the high prize of the Roman Episcopate. But there was another powerful element of discord among the Christians of Rome. The heathen historian saw and described the outward aspect of things, the tumults which disturbed the peace of the city, the conflagrations, the massacres, the assaulted and defended churches, the two masses of believers striving in arms for the mastery. So too he saw the more notorious habits, the public demeanour of the bishops and of the clergy, their pomp, wealth, ceremony.

^d Baronius ingeniously discovered a certain Maximus, a man of notorious cruelty, who afterwards held a high office, and might, perhaps, have been accessory to the late scenes of tumult; and so quietly exculpates Damasus, by laying all the carnage upon Maximus, who was not in authority, possibly not in Rome at the commencement of the strife.

^e Jerome, Epist. xv. t. i. p. 39, asserts the orthodoxy of Damasus, the Arianism of Ursicinus: but Jerome is hardly conclusive authority against the enemy of Damasus. See S. Basil. Ep. 266, for an unfavourable character of Damasus.

The letters of Jerome, while they confirm the statements of Ammianus, reveal the internal state, the more secret workings, in this new condition of society. Athanasius had not merely brought with him into the West the more speculative controversies which distracted Greek Christianity, he had also introduced the principles and spirit of Eastern Monasticism: and this too had been embraced with all the strength and intensity of the Roman character. That which during the whole of the Roman history had given a majesty, a commanding grandeur to the virtues and to the vices of the Romans, to their patrician pride and plebeian liberty, to their frugality and rapacity, to their courage, discipline, and respect for order; to their prodigality, luxury, sensuality; to their despotism and their servility; now seemed to survive in the force and devotion with which they threw themselves into Christianity, and into Christianity in its most extreme, if it may be so said, excessive form. On the one hand the Bishop and the clergy are already aspiring to a sacerdotal power and pre-eminence hardly attained, hardly aimed at, in any other part of Christendom; the Pontiff cannot rest below a magnificence which would contrast as strongly with the life of the primitive Bishop, as that of Lucullus with that of Fabricius. The prodigality of the offerings to the church and to the clergy, those more especially by bequest, is so immoderate, that a law^f is necessary to restrain the profuseness on one hand, the avidity on the other, a law which the statesman Ambrose^g and the Monk Jerome approve,

Monasticism
in Rome.

Law against
Heredipety.

^f The law of Valentinian (A.D. 370), addressed to Damasus, bish: p of Rome, and ordered to be read in all the churches of the city. Cod. Theodos. xiv. 2, 20.

^g Ambros. Epist. xxii. l. 5, p. 200

as demanded by the abuses of the times. "Priests of idols, mimes, charioteers, harlots may receive bequests; it is interdicted, and wisely interdicted, only to ecclesiastics and monks." The Church may already seem to have taken the place of the Emperor as universal legatee. As men before bought by this posthumous adulation the favour of Cæsar, so would they now that of God. Heredipety, or legacy hunting, is inveighed against, in the clergy especially, as by the older Satirists. Jerome in his epistles is the Juvenal of his times, without his grossness indeed, for Christianity no doubt had greatly raised the standard of morals. The heathen, as represented by such men as Prætextatus (they now seem to have retired into a separate community, and stood in relation to the general society, as the Christians had stood to the heathen under Vespasian or the Antonines), had partaken in the moral advancement. But with this great exception, this repulsive licence, Jerome, both in the vehemence of his denunciations, and in his description of the vices, manners, habits of Rome, might seem to be writing of pre-Christian times.^h

Hieronym. Epist. ii. p. 13. Solis clericis et monachis hæc lege prohibetur, et prohibetur non a persecutoribus, sed a principibus Christianis. Nec de lege conqueror, sed doleo cur meruerimus hanc legem.—Hieronym. ad Nepotian.

^h Prudentius, with poetic anachronism, throws back the jealousy of the heathens of the enormous wealth offered on the altars of the Christians, and the alienation of estates from their right heirs, into the third century. The Prefect of Rome reproaches the Deacon

Laurentius, before his martyrdom (about 258), with the silver cups and golden candlesticks of the service:—

"Tum summa cura est fratribus—Ut sermo testatur loquax,
Offerre, fundis venditis—Sestertiorum millia.
Addicta avorum prædia—Fœdis sub auctionibus,
Successor exhæres gemit—Sanctis egens parentibus
Hæc occuluntur abditis—Ecclesiarum in angulis,
Et summa pietas creditur—Nudare dulces liberos."—*Peristeph. Hymn 11.*

Compare Paolo Sarpi delle Materie Beneficarie, c. vi. v. iv. p. 74.

But the Roman character did not interwork into the general Christianity alone, it embraced monastic Christianity, in all its extremest rigour, its sternest asceticism, with the same ardour and energy. Christian Stoicism could not but find its Catos; but it was principally among the females that the recoil seemed to take place from the utter shamelessness, the unspeakable profligacy of the Imperial times, to a severity of chastity, to a fanatic appreciation of virginity as an angelic state, as a kind of religious aristocratical distinction far above the regular virtues of the wife or the matron. Pope Damasus, though by no means indifferent to the splendour of his office, was the patron, as his secretary Jerome was the preacher, of this powerful party; and between this party and the priesthood of Rome there was already that hostility which has so constantly prevailed between the Regulars, the observants of monastic rule, and what were called in later times the secular clergy. The Monastics inveighed against the worldly riches, pomp, and luxury of the clergy: the clergy looked with undisguised jealousy on the growing, irresistible influence of the monks, especially over the high born females.¹ Jerome hated,

¹ Jerome spared neither the clergy nor the monks. On the clergy, see the passage (ad Eustochium): *Sunt alii, de hominibus loquor, mei ordinis, qui ideo presbyteratum et diaconatum ambiunt ut mulieres licentius videantur.* Then follows the description of a clerical coxcomb. His whole care is in his dress, that it be well perfumed; that his feet may not slip about in a loose sandal; his hair is crisped with a curling-pin; his fingers glitter with rings; he walks on tiptoe lest he

should splash himself with the wet soil; when you see him, you would think him a bridegroom rather than an ecclesiastic. Jerome ends the passage. *Et isti sunt sacerdotes Baal.* Then on the monks (ad Nepot.): *Nonnulli sunt ditiores monachi, quam fuerant sæculares et clerici, qui possident opes sub Christo paupere, quas sub locuplete et fallaci Diabolo non habuerant, et seqq.* Compare, throughout, the account of Jerome, in the *Hist. of Christianity*, vol. iii. p. 225, *et seqq.*

and was hated with the most cordial reciprocity. The austere Jerome was accused, unjustly no doubt, of more than spiritual intimacy with his distinguished converts; his enemies brought a charge of adultery against Pope Damasus himself.^k

Nor was this a question merely between the superior clergy and a man in the high and invidious position of Jerome, renowned for his boundless learning, and holding the eminent office of secretary under Pope Damasus. It was a dispute which agitated the people of Rome. Among the female proselytes who crowded to the teaching of Jerome, and became his most fervent votaries, were some of the most illustrious matrons, widows, and virgins. Marcella had already, when Athanasius was at Rome, become enamoured of the hard and recluse life of the female Egyptian anchorites. But she was for some time alone. The satiric Romans laughed to scorn this new and superstitious Christianity. A layman, Helvidius, wrote a book against it, a book of some popularity, which Jerome answered with his usual controversial fury and contemptuousness. Marcella was a widow of one of the oldest patrician houses, connected with all the consular families and with the prefect of the city. She was extremely rich. She became the most ardent of Jerome's hearers; her example spread with irresistible contagion. The sister of Marcella, Paula, with her two daughters, Blesilla and Eustochium,^m

^k Quem in tantum matronæ diligebant, ut matronarum auriscalpius diceretur.—So says the preface to the hostile petition, the Libellus Precum. Apud Sirmond. i. p. 136. The charge of adultery is in Anastasius Vit. Damasi.

^m Among the other names of Jerome's female admirers, one sounds Hebrew,—Lea; some Greek,—Eustochium, Melanium; besides these are Principia, Felicitas, Feliciana, Marcellina, Asella. On Asella and the whole subject, see Hist. of Christi

threw themselves passionately into the same devotion. Paula, like her sister, was very wealthy; she possessed great part of Nicopolis, the city founded by Augustus to commemorate the battle of Actium. Blesilla, her younger daughter, was a widow at the age of twenty. She rejected the importunate persuasions of her friends to contaminate herself with a second marriage. She abandoned herself entirely to the spiritual direction of Jerome; her tender frame sank under the cruel penances and macerations which he enjoined. The death of the young and beautiful widow was attributed to these austerities. All Rome took an indignant interest in her fate; her mother, for her unnatural weakness, became an object of general reprobation, and the public voice loudly denounced Jerome as guilty of her death. A tumult broke out at the funeral; there was a loud cry,—“Why do we tolerate these accursed monks? Away with them, stone them, cast them into the Tiber!”

The pontificate of Damasus, with those of his two immediate successors, Siricius and Anastasius, is an epoch in the history of Latin Christianity, distinguished by the commencement of three great changes:—I. The progress towards sovereignty, at least over the Western Church: the steps thus made in advance will find their place in the general view of the Papal power on the accession of Innocent I. II. The rapidly increasing power of monasticism. III. The promulgation of a Latin version of the Scriptures, which became the religious code of the West, was received as of equal authority with the original Greek or Hebrew, and thus made the Western independent of the Eastern churches, super-

seded the original Scriptures for centuries in the greatest part of Christendom, operated powerfully on the growth of Latin Christian literature, contributed to establish Latin as the language of the Church, and still tends to maintain the unity with Rome of all nations whose languages have been chiefly formed from the Latin.

Of both these events, the extension of monasticism, and the promulgation of the Vulgate Bible, Jerome was the author; of the former principally, of the latter exclusively. This was his great and indefeasible title to the appellation of a Father of the Latin Church. Whatever it may owe to the older and fragmentary versions of the sacred writings, Jerome's Bible is a wonderful work, still more as achieved by one man, and that a Western Christian, even with all the advantage of study and of residence in the East. It almost created a new language. The inflexible Latin became pliant and expansive, naturalising foreign Eastern imagery, Eastern modes of expression and of thought, and Eastern religious notions, most uncongenial to its own genius and character; and yet retaining much of its own peculiar strength, solidity, and majesty. If the Northern, the Teutonic languages, coalesce with greater facility with the Orientalism of the Scriptures, it is the triumph of Jerome to have brought the more dissonant Latin into harmony with the Eastern tongues. The Vulgate was even more, perhaps, than the Papal power the foundation of Latin Christianity.

Jerome cherished the secret hope, if it was not the avowed object of his ambition, to succeed Damasus as the Bishop of Rome. He was designated, he says, almost by unanimous consent for that dignity.^a Is the

^a *Omnium pæne judicio, dignus summo sacerdotio decernebatur.* Epist. xlv. ad Asellam, 3.

rejection of an aspirant so singularly unfit for the station, from his violent passions, his insolent treatment of his adversaries, his utter want of self-command, his almost unrivalled faculty of awakening hatred, to be attributed to the sagacious and intuitive wisdom of Rome? Or, as is far more probable, did the vanity of Jerome mistake outward respect for general attachment, awe of his abilities and learning for admiration, and so blind him to the ill-dissembled, if dissembled hostility which he had provoked in so many quarters? It is difficult to refrain from speculating on his elevation. How signally dangerous would it have been to have loaded the rising Papacy with the responsibility or all, or even a large part of the voluminous works of Jerome! The station of a Father of the Church, one of the four great Latin Fathers, committed Christendom to a less close adherence to all his opinions, while at the same time it placed him above jealous and hostile scrutiny. It was not till two centuries later, when speculative subjects had ceased to agitate the Christian mind, and the creed and the discipline had settled down to a mature and established form, that a Father of the Church, a voluminous writer, could safely appear on the episcopal throne of Rome. Gregory the Great was at once the representative and the voice of the Christianity of his age. Nor could the great work of Jerome have been achieved at Rome, assuredly not by a Pope. It was in his cell at Bethlehem, meditating and completing the Vulgate, that Jerome fixed for centuries the domination of Latin Christianity over the mind of man. Siricius was the successor of Damasus.^o Jerome left ungrateful Rome, against whose sins the

Pope Siricius.
A.D. 384-398.

• Damasus died Dec. 11.

recluse of Palestine becomes even more impassioned, whose clergy and people become blacker and more inexcusable in his harsher and more unsparing denunciations.

The pontificate of Siricius is memorable for the first authentic Decretal, the first letter of the Bishop of Rome, which became a law to the Western Church, and the foundation of the vast system of ecclesiastical jurisprudence. It betrays the Roman tendency to harden into inflexible statute that which was left before to usage, opinion, or feeling. The East enacted creeds, the West discipline.

The Decree of Siricius was addressed to Himerius, Bishop of Tarragona.^p Himerius had written before the death of Damasus to consult the Bishop of Rome on certain doubtful points of usage, the validity of heretical baptism, the treatment of apostates, of religious persons guilty of incontinence, the steps which the clergy were to pass through to the higher ranks, and the great question of all, the celibacy of the clergy. The answer of Siricius is in the tone of one who supposes that the usages of the Church of Rome were to be received as those of Christendom. It was to be communicated beyond the province of Tarragona, throughout Spain, in Carthagera, Bætica, Lusitania, Galicia: it appears, by an allusion in a writing of Pope Innocent I., even in Southern Gaul. The all-important article was on the marriage of the clergy; this was peremptorily interdicted, as by an immutable ordinance, to all priests and deacons. This law, while it implied the ascendancy of monastic opinions, showed likewise that there was a large part of the clergy who could only

The Decretal
A.D. 385.

^p Apud Mansi, s^o ann. 385, or Constant. Epist. Pontificum.

be controlled into celibacy by law. Even now the law was forced to make some temporary concessions. Those who confessed that it was a fault, and could plead ignorance that celibacy was an established usage of the Church, were exempted from penalties, but could not hope for promotion to a higher rank.

This unrepealed law was one of the characteristics of Latin Christianity. Her first voice of authority might seem to utter the stern prohibition. This, Celibacy of the Clergy. more than any other measure, separated the sacerdotal order from the rest of society, from the common human sympathies, interests, affections. It justified them to themselves in assuming a dignity superior to the rest of mankind, and seemed their title to enforce acknowledgment and reverence for that superior dignity. The Monastic principle admitting, virtually at least, almost to its full extent, the Manichean tenet of the innate sinfulness of all sexual intercourse as partaking of the inextinguishable impurity of Matter, was gradually wrought into the general feeling. Whether marriage was treated as in itself an evil, perhaps to be tolerated, but still degrading to human nature, as by Jerome^a and the more ascetic teachers; or honoured, as by Augustine, with a specious adulation, only to exalt virginity to a still loftier height above it: the clergy were taught to assert it at once as a privilege, as

^a On Jerome's views see quotations Hist. of Christianity, iii. 221, *et seqq.*

^r Gaudium virginum Christi:—de Christo, in Christo, cum Christo, post Christum, per Christum, propter Christum. Sequantur itaque agnum qui virginitatem corporis amiserunt,

non quocunque ille ierit, sed quousque ipsi potuerint. De Sanct. Virgin. cap. 27.—The virgin and her mother may both be in heaven, but one a bright, the other a dim star. Serm 354, ad Continent.

a distinction, as the consummation and the testimony to the sacredness of their order. As there was this perpetual appeal to their pride (they were thus visibly set apart from the vulgar, the rest of mankind),^s so they were compelled to its observance at once by the law of the Church, and by the fear of falling below their perpetual rivals, the monks, in the general estimation. The argument of their greater usefulness to Christian society, of their more entire devotion to the duties of their holy function by being released from the cares and duties of domestic life; the noble Apostolic motive, that they ought to be bound to the world by few, and those the most fragile ties, in order more fearlessly to incur danger, or to sacrifice even life more readily in the cause of the Cross; such low incentives were disdained as beneath consideration. Some hardy opponents, Helvidius, Jovinian, Vigilantius, and others of more obscure name, endeavoured to stem the mingling tide of authority and popular sentiment; they were swept away by its resistless force.^t They boldly called in question the first principles of the new Christian theory, and in the name of reason, nature, and the New Testament, denied this inherent perfection of virginity, as compared with lawful marriage. Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine lifted up at once their voices against these unexpected and mistimed adversaries. Jerome went so far in his disparagement of marriage, as to be disclaimed by his own ardent admirers; but still his adversaries have been handed down to posterity under the ill-omened name of heretics, solely, or almost solely on this account. They

^s *Quid interesset inter populum et sacerdotem, si iisdem adstringerentur legibus.* Ambros. Epist. lxxiii. ad Eccl. Verocell.

^t I have entered somewhat more at length into this controversy in the *Hist. of Christianity.*

live in his vituperative pages, objects of scorn more than of hatred. So unpopular was their resistance to the spirit of the age. The general feeling shuddered at their refusal to admit that which had now become one of the leading articles of Latin Christian faith. Yet, notwithstanding this, the law of the Celibacy of the Clergy, even though imposed with such overweening authority, was not received without some open and more tacit resistance. There were few, perhaps, courageous or far-sighted enough to oppose the principle itself, though even among bishops Jovinian was not without followers. Others, incautiously admitting the principle, struggled to escape from its consequences. In some regions the married clergy formed the majority, and, always supporting married bishops by their suffrages and influence, kept up a formidable succession. Still Christendom was against them; and in most cases, those who were conscientiously opposed to these austere restrictions, had recourse to evasions or secret violations of the law, infinitely more dangerous to public morals. Throughout the whole period, from Pope Siricius to the Reformation, as must appear in the course of our history, the law was defied, infringed, eluded. It never obtained anything approaching to general observance, though its violation was at times more open, at times more clandestine.

The Pontificates of Damasus and Siricius beheld almost the last open struggles of expiring Paganism. Roman Paganism, the dispute concerning the Statue of Victory in the Senate, the secession of a large number of the more distinguished senators, the pleadings of the eloquent Symmachus for the toleration of the religion of ancient Rome. To such humiliation were reduced the deities of the Capitol, the gods, who

as was supposed, had achieved the conquest of the world, and laid it at the feet of Rome. But in this great contest the Bishop of Rome filled only an inferior part; it was Ambrose, the Bishop of Milan, who enforced the final sentence of condemnation against paganism, asserted the sin, in a Christian Emperor, of assuming any Imperial title connected with pagan worship, and of permitting any portion of the public revenue to be expended on the rites of idolatry. It was Ambrose, who forbade the last marks of respect to the tutelary divinities of Rome in the public ceremonies.

Latin Christianity, in truth, in all but its monarchical strength, in its unity under one Head, and under one code of ecclesiastical law, enacted and executed in its last resort by that Head, was established in its dominion over the human mind without the walls of Rome. It was Jerome, who sent forth the Vulgate from his retreat in Palestine; it was Ambrose of Milan who raised the sacerdotal power to more than independence, limited the universal homage paid to the Imperial authority, protected youthful and feeble Emperors, and in the name of justice and of humanity rebuked the greatest sovereign of the age. It was Augustine, Bishop of the African Hippo, who organized Latin theology; wrought Christianity into the minds and hearts of men by his impassioned autobiography; and finally, under the name of the "City of God," established that new and undefined kingdom, at the head of which the Bishop of Rome was hereafter to place himself as Sovereign; that vast polity, which was to rise out of the ruins of ancient and pagan Rome; if not to succeed at once to the temporal supremacy, to superinduce a higher government, that of God himself. This divine government was sure eventually to fall to those who were already

aspiring to be the earthly representatives of God. The Theocracy of Augustine, comprehending both worlds, Heaven as well as earth, was far more sublime, as more indefinite, than the spiritual monarchy of the later Popes. It established, it contemplated no such external or visible autocracy, but it prepared the way for it in the minds of men; the spiritual City of God became a secular monarchy ruling by spiritual means.

It may be well here to close the fourth century of Christianity, which ended in the uneventful pontificate of Anastasius I. Four hundred years had now elapsed since the birth of the Redeemer. The Gospel was the established religion of both parts of the Roman Empire; Greek and Latin Christianity divided the Roman world. Most of the barbarians, who had settled within the frontiers of the Empire, had submitted to her religion. With Christianity the hierarchical system had embraced the world.

BOOK II.—CONTEMPORARY CHRONOLOGY.

POPEs		BISHOPS OF CONSTANTINOPLE.		PATRIARCHS OF ALEXANDRIA.		PATRIARCHS OF ANTIOCH.		BISHOPS OF JERUSALEM.		EMPERORS OF THE WEST.		EMPERORS OF THE EAST.	
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
		397. Chrysostom.	404.	395. Theophilus.	412.	381. Flavianus.	404.	396. John.	416.	385. Honorius.	428.	305. Arcadius.	406.
402. Innocent I.	417.	404. Arsacius.	405.			404. Porphyrius.	414.					408. Theodosius II.	450.
		406. Atticus.	425.										
417. Zosimus.	418.			412. Cyril.	444.	414. Alexander.	421.	416. Praylus.	423.				
418. Bonifacius.	422.												
418. (Eulalius, Antipope).	419.												
422. Coelestinus I.	432.	426. Sisinnius.	427.			421. Theodotus.	429.	428. Juvenalis.	458.	424. Valentinian III.	455.		
		428. Nestorius, (deposed).	431.			429. John I.	442.						
432. Sixtus III.	440.	431. Maximianus.	434.										
		434 Proclus.	447.										
440. Leo I.	461.	447. Flavianus, (murdered.)	449.	444. Dioscorus, (deposed.)	451.	442. Domnus II. (deposed.)	449.						
		449. Anatolius.	458.			449. Maximus.	453.						
		458. Gennadius.	471.	451. Proterius, Timotheus Ælusus, rival bishops.	460.	456. Basilus.	458.	452. Anastasius.	478.	455. Maximus Avitus, Majorian.	461.	450. Marcian.	457.
				460. Salofaciolus T. Ælurus.	447.	458. Acacius.	459.			461. Severus.	464.	457. Leo I.	474.
						460. Martyrius. (abdicated.)	471.						

BOOK II.



CHAPTER I.

Innocent I.

THE fifth century of Christianity has begun, and now arises a line of Roman prelates, some of them from their personal character, as well as from the circumstances of the time, admirably qualified to advance the supremacy of the See of Rome, at least over Western Christendom.

Christianity, in its Latin form, which for centuries was to be its most powerful, enduring, prolific development, wanted, for her stability and unity of influence, a capital and a centre; and Rome might seem deserted by her emperors for the express purpose of allowing the spiritual monarchy to grow up without any dangerous collision against the civil government. The Emperors had long withdrawn from Rome as the royal residence. Of those who bore the title, one ruled in Constantinople, and, more and more absorbed in the cares and calamities of the Eastern sovereignty, became gradually estranged from the affairs of the West. Nor was it till the time of Justinian that any attempt was made to revive his imperial pretensions to Rome. The Western Emperor lingered for a time in inglorious obscurity among the marshes of Ravenna, till at length the faint shadow of monarchy melted away, and a bar-

Rome centre
of the West.

barian assumed the power and the appellation of Sovereign of Italy. Still, of the barbarian kings, not one ventured to fix himself in the ancient capital, or to inhabit the mouldering palaces of the older Cæsars. Nor could Ravenna, Milan, or Pavia, though the seats of monarchs, obscure the greatness of Rome in general reverence: they were still provincial cities; nor could they divert the tide of commerce, of concourse, of legal, if not of administrative business, which, however more irregular and intermitting, still flowed towards Rome. The internal government of the city retained something of the old republican form which had been permitted to subsist under the despotism of the emperors. Above the consuls or Senate, the shadows of former magistracies, the supreme authority was vested in a delegate, or representative of the Emperor, the prefect, or governor; but, with the empire, that authority became more and more powerless. The aristocracy, as we shall ere long see, were scattered abroad after the capture of the city by Alaric, and were never after reorganised into a powerful party. Some centuries elapsed before that feudal oligarchy grew up, which, at a later period, were such dangerous enemies to the Papacy, degrading it to the compulsory appointment of turbulent or immoral prelates, or by the personal insult, and even the murder, of popes. During the following period, therefore, the Bishop of Rome, respected by the barbarians, even by the fiercest pagans, none of whom were quite without awe of the high priesthood of the Roman religion, and, by that respect, commended still more strongly to the reverence of all Latin Christians; alone hallowed, as it were, and permitted to maintain his serene dignity amid scenes of violence, confusion, and bloodshed; grew rapidly up to be the most important

person in the city; if not in form the supreme magistrate, yet dominant in influence and admitted authority, the all-venerated Head of the Church; and where the civil power thus lay prostrate, assuming, without awakening jealousy and for the public advantage, many of its functions, and maintaining some show of order and of rule.

It was not solely as a Christian bishop, and bishop of that city, which was still, according to the prevailing feeling, the capital of the world, but as the Succession to St. Peter. successor of St. Peter, of him who was now acknowledged to be the head of the apostolic body, that the Roman pontiff commanded the veneration of Rome and of Christendom. The primacy of St. Peter, and the primacy of Rome, had been long reacting upon each other in the minds of men, and took root in the general sentiment. The Church of Rome would own no founder less than the chief Apostle; and the distance between St. Peter and the rest of the Apostles, even St. Paul himself, was increased by his being acknowledged as the spiritual ancestor of the Bishop of Rome. At the commencement of the fifth century, the lineal descent of the Pope from St. Peter was an accredited tenet of Christianity. As yet his pretensions to supremacy were vague and unformed; but when authority is in the ascendant, it is the stronger for being indefinite. It is almost a certain sign that it is becoming precarious, or has been called in question, when it condescends to appeal to precedent, written statute, or regular jurisdiction.

Everything tended to confirm, nothing to impede or to weaken the gradual condensation of the supreme ecclesiastical power in the Supreme Bishop. The majesty of the notion of one all-powerful ruler, to which

the world had been so long familiarised in the emperors ; the discord and emulation among the other prelates, both of the East and West, and the manifest advantage of a supreme arbiter ; the Unity of the visible Church, which was becoming—or had, indeed, ^{Unity of the Church.} become—the dominant idea of Christendom ; all seemed to demand, or, at least, had a strong tendency to promote and to maintain the necessity of one Supreme Head. As the unity in Christ was too sublimely spiritual, so the supremacy of the collective episcopate, which endowed each bishop with an equal portion of apostolic dignity and of power, was a notion too speculative and metaphysical for the common mind. Councils were only occasional diets, or general conventions, not a standing representative Senate of Christendom. There was a simplicity and distinctness in the conception of one visible Head to one visible body, such as forcibly arrests and fully satisfies the less inquiring mind, which still seeks something firm and stable whereon to repose its faith. Cyprian, in whom the unity of the Church had taken its severest form, though practically he refused to submit the independence of the African churches to the dictation of Rome, did far more to advance her power by the primacy which he assigned to St. Peter, than he impaired it by his steady and disdainful repudiation of her authority, whenever it was brought to the test of submission.*

In the West, throughout Latin Christendom, the Roman See, in antiquity, in dignity, in the more regular

* Qui cathedram Petri, super quem fundata est Ecclesia, deserit, in ecclesiâ se esse confidit? This was a plain and intelligible doctrine. Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur—was a conception far more vague and abstract, and, therefore, far less popular. De Unit. Eccl. See for the dispute with Stephen, Bishop of Rome, ch. i.

succession of its prelates, stood alone and unapproachable. In the great Eastern bishoprics the holy lineage had been already broken and confused by the claims of rival prelates, by the usurpation of bishops accounted heretical, at the present period Arians or Macedonians or Apollinarians, later Nestorians or Monophysites. Jerusalem had never advanced that claim to which it might seem entitled by its higher antiquity. Jerusalem was not universally acknowledged as an Apostolic See; at all events it was the capital of Judaism rather than of Christianity; and the succession, at the time of the Jewish war, and during the period of desolation to the time of Hadrian, had been interrupted at least in its local descent. At one period Jerusalem was subordinate to the Palestinian Cæsarea. Antioch had been perpetually contested; its episcopal line had been vitiated, its throne contaminated by the actual succession of several Arian prelates.^b In Alexandria the Arian prelates had been considered lawless usurpers the orthodox Church had never voluntarily submitted to their jurisdiction; and Alexandria had been hallowed as the episcopal seat of the great Athanasius. But Athanasius himself, when driven from his see, had found a hospitable reception at Rome, and constant support from the Roman Bishops. His presence had reflected a glory upon that see, which, but for one brief period of compulsory apostacy, had remained rigidly attached to the orthodox Trinitarian opinions. Constantinople was but a new city, and had no pretensions to venerable or

^b The obvious difficulty of the Primacy of Antioch as the first See of St. Peter, which, it might seem, had been, if not objected, at least suggested, was thus met by Innocent I. *Quæ urbis Romæ sedi non cederet, nisi quod ipsa in transitu meruit, ista susceptum apud se, consummatumque gaudet. — Innocent. Epis. xix. ad Alexand.*

apostolic origin. It had attained, indeed, to the dignity of a patriarchate, but only by the decree of a recent council; in other respects it owed all its eminence to being the prelacy of new Rome, of the seat of empire. The feuds and contests between the rival patriarchates of the East were constantly promoting the steady progress of Rome towards supremacy. Throughout the fierce rivalry between Alexandria and Constantinople, the hostilities which had even now begun between Theophilus and Chrysostom, and which were continued with implacable violence between Cyril and Nestorius, Flavianus and Dioscorus, the alliance of the Bishop of Rome was too important not to be purchased at any sacrifice; and if the independence of the Eastern churches was compromised, if not by an appeal to Rome, at least by the ready admission of her interference, the leaders of the opposing parties were too much occupied by their immediate objects, and blinded by factious passions, to discern or to regard the consequences of these silent aggressions. From the personal or political objects of these feuds the Bishop of Rome might stand aloof; in the religious questions he might mingle in undisturbed dignity, or might offer himself as mediator, just as he might choose the occasion, and almost on his own terms. At the same time, not merely on the great subject of the Trinity, had Rome repudiated the more obnoxious heresy, even on less vital questions, the Latin capital happy in the exemption from controversial bishops, had rarely swerved from the canon of severe orthodoxy; and if any one of her bishops had been forced or perplexed into a rash or erroneous decision, as Liberius, during his short concession to semi-Arianism; or, as we shall see before long, Zosimus to Pelagianism; and a still later pope, who was bewildered into Monophysitism; their

errors were effaced by a speedy, full, and glorious recantation.

Thus the East, agitated by furious conflicts concerning the highest doctrines of Christianity, concerning the pre-eminence of the rival sees for dominant influence with the Emperor, was still throwing itself, as each faction was oppressed by its rival, at the feet of remote and more impartial Rome. In the West, at the same time, the disputes which were constantly arising about points of discipline, the succession of bishops, the boundaries of conflicting jurisdictions, still demanded and were glad to have recourse to a foreign arbitrator; and who so fitting an arbiter as the Bishop of that city, which, in theory at least, was still the centre of civil government, the seat of Cæsar's tribunal, to whom the Roman world had acquired a settled and inveterate habit of appeal? Rome, the mother of civil, might likewise give birth to canonical jurisprudence.^c

For the great talisman of the Papal influence was the yet majestic name of Rome. The bishops gave laws to the city, which had so long given, and still to so great an extent, gave laws to the world. In the sentiment of mankind, at least in the West, Rome had never been dethroned from her supremacy. There were still Roman armies, Roman laws, Roman municipalities, Roman literature, in name at least a Roman Empire.^d Constantinople boasted rather than disdained

^c Until the Roman Curia became inordinate in its exactions, and so utterly venal as it is universally represented in later centuries, this arbitration, when so much was yet unsettled, while the new society was yet in the process of formation, must

have tended to peace and so to the strength of Christianity.

^d See in Ausonius the curious ordo of the cities of the Empire.—1. Prima urbes inter, divum domus, aurea Roma.—2. Constantinople, before whom bows 3. Carthage—4. An-

the appellation of New Rome. But while the Bishops of Rome retained much of the awe and reverence which adhered to the name, they stood aloof from all which desecrated and degraded it. It was the idolatrous and pagan Rome which fell before the barbarians, or rather was visited for its vices and crimes, its persecutions, and its still obstinate infidelity, by those terrible instruments of the divine vengeance. As our history will show, the discomfiture of the heathen Rhadagaisus, and the tutelary, though partial, protection which Christianity spread over the city during the capture by Alaric (to which Augustine triumphantly appealed), were not obliterated by the unawed and remorseless devastation of Genseric. The retreat of Attila, the most terrible of all the Northern conquerors, before the imposing sanctity, as it was universally believed, of Pope Leo, blended again in indissoluble alliance the sacred security of Rome with the authority of her bishop. Leo himself, as will be hereafter seen, exalts St. Peter and St. Paul into the Romulus and Remus of the new universal Roman dominion.

It was at this period (the commencement of the fifth century), when the Imperial power was declining towards extinction in the hands of the feeble Honorius, and the Roman arms were for the last time triumphant, under Stilicho, over the Northern barbarians, that a prelate was placed on the episcopal throne of Rome, of a bolder and more imperious nature, of unimpeachable holiness, who held the pontifical power for a longer period than usual in the rapid succession of

Accession of Innocent.

Joch—5. Alexandria—6. Treves—7. — 16. Narbonne — 17. Bordeaux.
 Milan—8. Capua—9. Aquileia—10. The poet is a Gaul, a native of Bor-
 Arles—11. Merida—12. Athens—13. deaux. Ravenna seems to have fallen
 14. Catania, Syracuse—15. Toulouse | into obscurity. Ausonii Poem.

the bishops of Rome. Ambrose was now dead, and there was no Western prelate, at least in Europe, whose fame and abilities could obscure that pre-eminence, which rank and position, and in his case, commanding character, bestowed on the Bishop of Rome. Innocent, like most of the greater Popes, was by birth, if not a Roman, of the Roman territory. He was born at Albano.^e The patriotism of a Roman might mingle with his holier aspirations for the spiritual greatness of the ancient mistress of the world. Upon the mind of Innocent appears first distinctly to have dawned the vast conception of Rome's universal ecclesiastical supremacy, dim as yet and shadowy, yet full and comprehensive in its outline.

Up to the accession of Innocent, the steps by which the See of Rome, during the preceding century, had advanced towards the legal recognition of a supremacy, were few but not unimportant; the first had been made by the Council of Sardica, the renown of whose resolute orthodoxy gave it peculiar weight in all parts of Christendom, where the Athanasian Trinitarianism maintained its ascendancy. It is not difficult to trace the motives which influenced the Bishops of Sardica. Great principles are often established by measures which grow out of temporary interests. The Western orthodox Bishops at Sardica hardly escaped being out-numbered by their heretical adversaries; there were ninety-four on one side, seventy-six on the other. Had not the turbulent, but irresolute, minority withdrawn to Philip-

* There is an expression in one of St. Jerome's letters, which, taken literally, asserts Innocent to have been the son of his predecessor Anastasius, Qui apostolicæ cathedræ et supradicti viri successor et *filius* est. Is it to be presumed that this is an incautious metaphor of St. Jerome?

popolis, and there set up a rival synod, the issue might have been almost doubtful; at all events, where parties were so evenly balanced, intrigue, accident, activity on one part, supineness on the other, or the favour of the Emperor, might summon an assembly, in which the preponderance would be in favour of Arianism (it was so a few years after at Rimini); and thus might heresy gain the sanction of a Council of Christendom. But Rome had, up to this time, before the fall of Liberius, so firmly, so repeatedly, so solemnly, embraced the cause of Athanasius, that it might seem to be irrevocably committed to orthodoxy; an appeal to Rome, therefore, would always give an opportunity to an orthodox minority, to annul or to suspend the decrees of an heretical Church. In all causes, therefore, of bishops (and not merely were the bishops in general the chief members of Councils, but the first proceeding of all the Councils, at this period, was to depose the prelates of the opposite party) an appeal to Rome would both secure a second hearing, by more favourable judges, of the subject under controversy, and might maintain, notwithstanding adverse decrees, all the orthodox bishops upon their thrones. The Council of Sardica, therefore, in its canons, established the law, that on an appeal to the Bishop of Rome, he might decide whether the judgement was to be reconsidered, and appoint judges for the second hearing of the cause; he might even, if he thought fit, take the initiative; and delegate an ecclesiastic "from his side," to institute a commission of inquiry.^f

^f Et si judicaverit renovandum esse | quæ decreverant, confirmata erant.
 judicium, renovetur, et det iudices; si | Can. 3.—Can. 5 permits him to send
 autem probaverit, talem causam esse, | this presbyterum a latere. Mansi,
 ut non refricetur, ea quæ actæ sunt, | sub ann.

The right of appeal to Rome, thus established by ecclesiastical, was confirmed by Imperial authority during the reign of Valentinian III. Up to A.D. 421. that time the Emperors, if they did not possess by the constitution of the Church, exercised nevertheless by virtue of their supreme and indefeasible authority, and by the irresistible, and, as yet rarely contested, tenure of power, the right of summary decision in religious as in civil causes. A feeble emperor would willingly devolve on a more legitimate court these troublesome and perplexing affairs. To a monarch, another spiritual Monarch would appear at once the most natural and the most efficient delegate to relieve him from these burthens; he would feel no jealousy of such useful and unconflicting autocracy; and the Western Emperor would of course invest in this part of the Imperial prerogative the Bishop of the Imperial City.

Now too the temporal power, the Empire, was sinking rapidly into the decrepitude of age, the Papacy rising in the first vigour of its youthful ambition. Honorius was cowering in the palace of Ravenna from the perils which were convulsing the empire on all sides, while the provinces were withdrawing their doubtful allegiance, or in danger of being dis severed from the Roman dominion. Innocent was on the episcopal throne of Rome, asserting his almost despotic spiritual control over those very provinces.

Innocent, in his assertion of supremacy, might seem to disdain the authority of Council or Emperor. He declares, in one of his earliest epistles, that all the churches of the West, not of Italy alone, but of Gaul, Spain, and Africa, having been planted by St. Peter and his successors, owe filial obedience to the parent See, are bound to follow her example in all points of

discipline, and to maintain a rigid uniformity with all her usages.^s To the minutest point Rome will again be the legislator of the world; and it is singular to behold a representative, as it were, of each of these provinces bringing the first fruits of that deference, which was construed into unlimited allegiance, to the feet of the majestic Pontiff. The Bishop of Rouen requests from the Bishop of Rome, the rules of ecclesiastical discipline observed within his See.^b Innocent approves the zeal of the Gaulish Bishop for uniformity, so contrary to the lawless spirit of innovation, which prevailed in some parts of the Christian world; and sends him a book containing certain regulations of peculiar severity, especially as to the celibacy of the clergy. Exuperius, Bishop of Toulouse, is com-
 404. Feb. 15
 mended in a still more lofty and protecting tone of condescension for his wise recourse to the See of Rome, rather than the usurpation of undue authority.¹ To the Spanish Synod of Toledo, the Bishop of Rome speaks something in the character of an appellant judge. The province of Illyricum, including Macedonia and Greece, on the original division, had been adjudged to the Western Empire. The Bishop of Rome exercised a certain jurisdiction, granted or recognised by the

^s Cum sit manifestum in omnem Italiam, Gallias, Hispanias, Africam atque Siciliam insulasque intervenientes nullum instituisse ecclesias nisi eos quos venerabilis Apostolus Petrus ejusque successores constituerint sacerdotes. Epist. ad Decent. Episcop. Eugubin.

Jaffe dates this Epist. 416. March 19. Labbe, ii. p. 1249.

^b In the third rule, which gives the provincia. synods of bishops supreme authority in their own province, the

words "sine prejudicio tamen Romanæ ecclesiæ, cui in omnibus causis debet reverentia custodiri," are rejected as a late interpolation. Epist. ad Victricium. Labbe, ii. p. 1249.

¹ Dilectio tua institutum secuta prudentium, ad sedem apostolicam referre maluit, quid de rebus dubiis custodiri deberet, potius quam usurpatione præsumptâ, quæ sibi viderentur, de singulis obtinere. Ad Exup. Episc. Tol. Labbe, ii. p. 1254.

Council of Sardica, as the Metropolitan of the West.

405. Feb. Damasus had appointed the Bishop of Thessalonica, as a kind of legate or representative of his authority. Innocent, in his epistle to the Bishops of Macedonia, expresses a haughty astonishment that his decisions are not admitted without examination, and gravely insinuates that some wrong may be intended to the dignity of the Apostolical See.^j More doubtful was the allegiance of Africa. At the commencement of

A.D. 414. Innocent's pontificate, his influence with the

Emperor was solicited for the suppression of the obstinate Donatists. Towards the close of his life, a correspondence took place concerning Pelagius and his doctrines. The African Churches, even Augustine himself, did not disguise their apprehension, that Innocent might be betrayed into an approbation of those tenets; they desired to strengthen their own stern and peremptory decrees with the concurrence of the Bishop of

A.D. 417. Rome. The language of Innocent was in his wonted imperious style; the African Churches seem to have treated his pretensions to superiority with silent disregard.

In the East, Constantinople, Alexandria, and even Antioch, were driven by their own bitter feuds and hostilities, to court the alliance of Rome; it could hardly be without some compromise of independence.

Innocent and
Chrysostom.
A.D. 404.

In espousing the cause of Chrysostom against his

^j In quibus (epistolis) multa posita pervidi quæ stuporem mentibus nostris inducerent, facerentque nos non modicum dubitare utrum aliter putaremus an ita esse posita, quemadmodum personabant. Quæ cum sæpius repeti

fecissem, adverti, sedi apostolicæ ad quam relatio, quasi ad caput ecclesiarum missa esse debebat, aliquam fieri injuriam, cujus adhuc in ambiguum sententia, duceretur. Epist. xxii. ad Episc. Macedon. Labbe, ii, 1272.

rival Theophilus of Alexandria, Innocent took that side which was supported by the better and wiser, as well as by the popular voice of Christendom. He was the fearless advocate of persecuted holiness, of eloquence, of ecclesiastical dignity, against the aggressions of a violent foreign prelate, who was interfering in an independent diocese, and against the intrigues of a court notoriously governed by female influence. The slight asperities of Chrysostom's character, the monastic austerities which seemed to some ill suited to the magnificence of so great a prelate, the aggressions on the privileges of some churches not strictly under his jurisdiction, but which were notoriously ventured for the promotion of Christian holiness by the suppression of simony and other worse vices; these less obvious causes of Chrysostom's unpopularity hardly transpired beyond the limits of his diocese, were lost in the dazzling splendour of his talents and his virtues, or forgotten among his cruel wrongs.^k Chrysostom appeared before the more distant Christian world as the greatest orator who had ever ascended the pulpit of the church. His name, the Golden Mouth, expressed the universal admiration of his powers.

After having held Antioch under the spell of his oratory for many years, Chrysostom had been called to the episcopal throne of the Eastern Metropolis by general acclamation. Now, notwithstanding the fond attachment of the greater part of Constantinople, and the manifest interposition, as it was supposed, of heaven, which on his banishment had shaken the guilty city with an earthquake and compelled his triumphant recall, he was again driven from his see, degraded by the precipitate decree of an illegal and partial council, and exposed to the

^k Compare Hist. of Christianity. b. iii. c. ix.

most merciless persecution. The one crime, which could have blinded into hatred the love and admiration of the Christian world, heterodoxy of opinion, was not charged against him by his most malicious enemies. His only ostensible delinquency was the uncompromising rebuke of vice in high places, and disrespect to the Imperial Majesty, which, even if true to the utmost, however it might astonish the timidity, or shock the servility of the East, in the West, to which the dominion of Arcadius and Eudoxia did not extend, would be deemed only a bold and salutary assertion of episcopal dignity and Christian courage. The letter addressed by Chrysostom, according to the copies in the Greek writers, to the three great prelates of the West, the Bishops of Rome, Milan, and Aquileia, in the Roman copies to Innocent alone,¹ was written with all his glowing fervour and brilliant perspicuity. After describing the scenes of outrage and confusion in the church at Easter, the violation of the sanctuary, and the insults inflicted on the sacred persons of priests and dedicated virgins and bishops, the Bishop of Constantinople entreats the friendly interposition of the Western prelates to obtain

¹ There is great variation in different parts of the Roman copy: it is sometimes addressed to persons in the plural number, sometimes to an individual in the singular. This appears to me no very important argument, though adduced by the most candid Protestant writers, *e.g.* Shroeck. This cry of distress would not be carefully or suspiciously worded, so as to provide against any incautious admission of superiority, of which Chrysostom, under such circumstances, thought little, even if any such claims had

been already made. But the strongest proofs (if I must enter into the controversy) that Chrysostom and his followers addressed themselves to the bishops of Italy, as well as to that of Rome, seems to me the very passage in the Epistle of the Emperor Honorius, which is adduced, even by Pagi, to prove the contrary. *Missi ad sacerdotes urbis æternæ atque Italiae utrâque ex parte legati; expectabatur ex omnium auctoritate sententia . . . Namque hi, quorum expectabatur auctoritas.*

a general and legitimate Council empowered to examine the whole affair. The answer of Innocent is calm, moderate, dignified, perhaps artful. He expresses his awful horror at these impious scenes of violence, deep interest in the fate of Chrysostom; he does not however prejudge the question, he does not even refuse to communicate with Theophilus, till after the solemn decree of a council. Yet the sympathies of Innocent, as of all the better part of Christendom, were with the eloquent, oppressed, and patient exile. The sentiments as well as the influence of the Roman prelate were ere long proclaimed to the world, by an Imperial letter in favour of Chrysostom, which no persuasion but that of Innocent could have obtained from the Emperor of the West. Honorius openly espoused the cause of the exile: and though, throughout the whole of the transaction, the East, with something of the irritable ^{A.D. 406.} consciousness of wrong and injustice, resented the interference of the West, and treated the messengers of the Italian prelates with studied neglect and contumely, the defenders of Chrysostom were so clearly on the side of justice, humanity, generous compassion for the oppressed, as well as of ecclesiastical order, that the Bishop of Rome, the Head at least of the Italian prelates, could not but rise in the general estimation of Christendom. The fidelity of Innocent to the cause of Chrysostom did not cease with the death of the persecuted prelate: he refused to communicate with Atticus, his successor, or the usurper, according to the conflicting parties, of the See of Constantinople, unless Atticus would acknowledge Chrysostom to have been the rightful bishop until his death.^m Common reverence for Chrysostom, and

^m There is a regular act of excommunication, in some of the Latin writers—(it was brought to light by Baronius)—in which Innocent boldly

common hostility to Atticus, brought Innocent into close alliance with Alexander, Bishop of Antioch. A.D. 416. During his correspondence with Alexander, Innocent is disposed to attribute a subordinate primacy to Antioch, as the temporary See of St. Peter. Rome now chose to rest her title to supremacy on the succession from the great Apostle. Peter could hardly have passed through any see, without leaving behind him some inheritance of peculiar dignity; while Rome, as the scene of his permanent residence and martyrdom, claimed the undoubted succession to almost monarchical supremacy.

That which might have appeared the most fatal blow to Roman greatness, as dissolving the spell of Roman empire, the capture, the conflagration, the plunder, the depopulation of Rome by the barbarian Goths, tended directly to establish and strengthen the spiritual supremacy of Rome. It was pagan Rome, the Babylon of sensuality, pride, and idolatry which fell before the triumphant Alaric; the Goths were the instruments of divine vengeance against paganism, which lingered in this its last stronghold. Christianity hastened to disclaim all interest, all sympathy in the fate of the "harlot that sat on the seven

excludes the Emperor Arcadius from the communion of the faithful. It is expressed with all the proud humility, the unctuous imperiousness of a later period. It is given up, by all the more sensible writers of the Roman Catholic church, principally on account of a fatal Elunder. It includes the Dalila, the Empress Eudoxia, under the Anathema. Eudoxia had been dead several years. (See Pagi, sub ann. 407.) I

am in constant perplexity; fearing, on one hand, to omit all notice of, on the other feeling something like contempt for, these forgeries, which are always so injurious to the cause they wish to serve. As an impartial historical inquirer, I continually rise from them with my suspicion, even of better attested documents, so much sharpened, that I have to struggle vigorously against a general scepticism.

hills." Paganism might seem rashly to accept this desperate issue, girding itself for one final effort, and proclaiming, that as Rome had brought ruin on her own head by abandoning her gods, so her gods had for ever abandoned the unfaithful capital. The eternal city was manifestly approaching one of the epochs in her eternity. Three times during the first ten years of the fifth century and of the pontificate of Innocent, the first time under Alaric, the second under Rhadagaisus, the third again under Alaric, the barbarians crossed the Alps with overwhelming forces. Twice the valour and military abilities of one man, Stilicho, diverted the storm from the walls of Rome. In his first expedi-^{400 to 403.} tion Alaric, after his defeat at Pollentia,^{Battle of} endeavoured to throw himself upon the capital. He was recalled by the skilful movements of Stilicho, to suffer a final discomfiture under the walls of Verona. The poet commemorates the victories of Stilicho, the triumph of Honorius in Rome for these victories. In the splendid verses on the ovation of Honorius, it is no wonder that Pope Innocent finds no place. Claudian maintains his invariable and total silence as to the existence of Christianity. From his royal mansion on the Palatine Honorius looks down on no more glorious sight than the temples of his ancestors, which crowd the Forum in their yet inviolable majesty; the eye is dazzled and confounded with the blaze of their bronzed columns and their roofs of gold; and with their statues which studded the skies: they are the household gods of the emperor. That the emperor worshipped other gods, or was ruled by other priests, appears from no one

• Gibbon, c. xxx.

word.^o The Jove of the Capitol might seem still the tutelar god of Rome. Claudian had wound up his poem on the Gothic war, in which he equals the victory of Pollentia with that of Marius over the Cimbrians; he ends with that solemn admonition, "Let the frantic barbarians learn hence respect for Rome."

But three years after, the terrible Rhadagaisus, at the head of an enormous force of mingled barbarians, swept over the whole North of Italy, and encamped before the walls of Florence. Rhadagaisus was a pagan; he sacrificed daily to some deity, whom the Latin writers call by the name of Jove. The party at Rome, attached to their ancient worship, are accused of having contemplated with more than secret joy the approach of, it might seem, the irresistible barbarian. They did this, notwithstanding his terrible threats that he would sacrifice the senate of Rome on the altars of the gods which delight in human blood. The common enmity to Christianity, according to St. Augustine, quenched the love of their country, their proud attachment to Rome. But God himself, by the unexpected discomfiture of Rhadagaisus, crushed their guilty hopes, and rescued Rome from the public restoration of paganism.

A.D. 405.

The consummate generalship of Stilicho,^p by which he gradually enclosed the vast forces of Rhadagaisus among the mountains in the neighbourhood of Florence, himself on the ridge of Fæsulæ, till they died off by

* "Tot circum delubra videt, tantisque
Deorum
Cingitur excubiis. Juvat infra tecta
Tonantis
Cernere Tarpeiâ pendentes rupe Gigan-
tas,
Celatasque fores, mediisque volantis
signa
Nubibus, et densum stipantibus æthera
templis.
Acies stupet igne metalli,

Et circumfuso trepidans obtunditur auro,
Agnoscisne tuos, Princeps venerande,
Penates?"—*de VI. Cons. Hon.* 43, 53.

Compare on Claudian note in Hist. of Christianity.

^p Gibbon, loc. cit., will furnish the authorities.

famine and disease, was utterly incomprehensible to his age. Christianity took to itself the whole glory of Stilicho, the relief of Florence, the dispersion and reduction to captivity of the barbaric forces, and the death of Rhadagaisus, who was ordered to summary execution. A vision of St. Ambrose had predicted the relief of Florence, and nothing less than the immediate succour of God, or of his Apostles, could account for the unexpected victory: and this strong religious feeling no doubt mingled with the common infatuation which seized all parties. Rome, it was thought, with a feeble emperor at a distance, with few troops, and those mostly barbarians, was safe in the majesty of her name and the prescriptive awe of mankind. Christ, or her tutelar Apostles, who had revealed the discomfiture of Rhadagaisus, had protected, and would to the end protect, Christian Rome against all pagan invaders, baffle the treasonable sympathy, and disperse the sacrilegious prayers, of those who, true to the ancient religion, were false to the real greatness of Rome. So often as heathen forces should menace the temples, not of the Capitoline Jove, or those yet uncleansed from the pollutions of their idolatries, but those, if less splendid, more holy fanes protected by the relics of Apostles and Martyrs, Rome would witness, as she had already witnessed, the triumph of her Christian emperor, the consecration of the spoils of the defeated barbarians on the altars of St. Paul, St. Peter, and of Christ.⁹

The sacrifice of Stilicho^r to the dark intrigues of the

⁹ Paulinus in vit. Ambrosii, c. 50. Augustin. de Civ. Dei, v. 23. Orosius, vii. 37.

^r Stilicho was married to Serena,

the sister of Honorius. Honorius had married in succession Maria and Thermania, the daughters of Stilicho.

court of Ravenna was the last fatal sign of this pride and security. Both Christian and pagan writers combine to load the memory of Stilicho with charges manifestly intended to exculpate the court of Honorius from the guilt and folly of his disgrace, his surrender by a Christian bishop after he had sought, himself a Christian, sanctuary at the altar of the church of Ravenna, and his perfidious execution. The Christians accuse him of a design to depose the emperor, who was both his brother-in-law and his son-in-law, and to elevate his own heir Eucherius to the Imperial throne. Eucherius, it is asserted, but with no proof, and with all probability against it, was a pagan; the public restoration of paganism, as the religion of the Empire, was to be the first act of the new dynasty.⁸ The ungrateful pagans seem to have been ignorant of this magnificent scheme in their favour; they too brand Stilicho with the name of traitor, and ascribe to his perfidious dealings with Alaric the final ruin of Rome.⁹ They hated him as the enemy, the despoiler of their religion; as having robbed the temples of their treasures, burned the Sibylline books, stripped from the doors of the Capitol the plates of gold. Stilicho knew the weakness as well as the strength of Rome; that may have been but wise and necessary policy, in order, by timely concession and tribute under the honourable name of boon or largess, to keep the formidable barbarian beyond the frontiers of Italy, which may have seemed treasonable degradation

⁸ Orosius, vii. 38.

⁹ So Rutilius Numatianus, who hated Christianity—

“Quo magis est facinus diri Stilichonis in-
quum,
Proditor arcani qui fuit imperii.

Romano generi dum nititur esse super-
stes,
Crudelis summis miscuit ima furor.
Dumque timet, quicquid se fecerat ante
timeri,
Immisit Latæ barbara tela nece.”
Rutil. Itin. ii. 41.

to the haughty court, blind to its own impotence.^u The death of Stilicho was the signal for the reap-^{Alaric's second invasion.}pearance of Alaric again in arms in the centre of Italy. His pretext for this second invasion was the violation of the treaties entered into by Stilicho. At all events, the unanswerable testimony to the abilities of Stilicho, if not to his fidelity, is that which seemed to be the immediate, inevitable consequence of his disgrace and execution. No sooner was Stilicho dead, than Rome lay open to the barbarian conqueror. Unopposed, almost without a skirmish, laughing to scorn the slow and inefficient preparations of the emperor and of Olympius who ruled the emperor, and who had misguided him to the ruin of Stilicho, Alaric advanced from the Alps to the walls of Rome. The first act of defence adopted by the senate of Rome was the judicial murder of Serena, the widow of Stilicho. She was accused of a design to betray the city to the Goth. Both parties seem to have consented to this deed. The heathens remembered that when Theodosius the Great had struck the deadly blow against the rites and the temples of paganism, by prohibiting all public expenditure on heathen ceremonies, Serena had stripped a costly necklace from the statue of Rhea, the most ancient and venerable of Rome's goddesses, and herself ostentatiously wore the precious spoil; that neck was now given up to strangulation, a righteous and appropriate punishment for her impiety. The historian seems to intimate^x that the Romans were surprised that the death of Serena produced no effect on the remorseless Goth. The siege^{Siege of Rome. A.D. 408.}of Rome was formed; the vast population, accustomed to live, the wealthy in luxury perhaps to no

^u Compare Gibbon, c. xxx.

^x Zosimus—Sozomen, ix. 6.

great extent moderated by Christianity, the poor by gratuitous distributions at the expense of the public or of the rich, to which Christian charity had now come in aid,^y were suddenly reduced to the worst extremities of famine. The public distributions were diminished to one half, to one third. The heaps of dead bodies, which there wanted space to bury, produced a pestilence. In vain the Senate endeavoured to negotiate an honourable capitulation. Alaric scorned alike their money, their despair, their pride. When they spoke of their immense population, he burst out into laughter,—“The thicker the hay, the easier it is mown.” On his demand of an exorbitant ransom, the Senate humbly inquired, “What, then, do you leave us?” “Your lives!” replied the insulting Goth.

During this first siege Innocent was in Rome. The strange story of the desperate proposition to deliver the city by the magical arts of certain Etruscan diviners, who had power, it was supposed, to call down and direct the lightnings of heaven, appears, in different forms, in the pagan and Christian historians.^z Innocent himself is said, by the heathen Zosimus, to have assented to the idolatrous ceremony. If this be true, it is possible that the mind of the Christian Prelate may have been so entirely unhinged by the terrors of the siege and the dreadful sufferings of the people, that he may have yielded to any hope, however wild, of averting the ruin. It is possible, though less probable, that he may have known or supposed the Etruscans to be possessed of some skilful, and in no way supernatural,

^y Læta, the wife of Gratian, and her mother, were distinguished by their abundant charities, which at least mitigated the sufferings of multitudes.

^z Compare Hist. of Christianity, iii. 96. Zosimus, v. 41. Sozomen, ix. 6.

means of producing apparent wonders,^a which might awe the ignorant barbarians, and of which the use might be justified by the dreadful crisis; and if these arts were thought supernatural, it was not for him to expose, at least for the present, the useful delusion. At all events, to judge the conduct of Innocent, we must throw ourselves completely back into the terror and affliction, the confusion and prostration of that disastrous time. The whole history is obscure and contradictory. The Christian writer asserts that the ceremony did take place, but that the Christians (he does not name Innocent) stood aloof from the profane and ineffectual rite. The heathen aver, that the Senate, after grave deliberation, refused to sanction its public performance, and that, in fact, it did not take place. The barbarian, at length, condescended to accept a ransom, in ^{Capitulation.} some proportion to the wealth of the city—5000 pounds of gold, 30,000 of silver, four thousand silken robes, 3000 pieces of scarlet cloth, 3000 pounds of pepper. To make up the deficiency of the precious metals, the heathen temples, to the horror of that party, were despoiled; the time-honoured statues of gods were melted to make up the amount demanded by the barbarian. The last fatal sign and omen of the departure of Roman greatness was, that the statue of Fortitude, or Virtue, was thrown into the common mass.^b

Alaric retired from Rome, his army increased by multitudes of slaves from the city and the neighbour-

^a See Eusebe Salverte, on the knowledge possessed by the ancients in conducting lightning.—Sciences Oc-

cultes.
^b ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐχώνευσάν τινεσ τῶν ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου πεποιημένων, ὧν

ἦν καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀνδρίας, ἣν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι Οὐίρτουτεμ' οὐπερ διαφθαρέντος, ὅσα τῆς ἀνδρίας ἦν καὶ ἀρέτης παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέσβη. . . . Zosimus, v. 41.

hood, who, it is said, to the number of 40,000, had found refuge in his camp. The infatuated pride, the insincerity, the treachery of the court of Ravenna, rendered impracticable all negotiations for peace. The minister Olympius, the chief agent in the assassination of Stilicho, has found favour, of which he seems to have been utterly unworthy, from Christian writers, on account of some letters addressed to him by St. Augustine. Even his fall produced no great change. Honorius, indeed, seems to have occupied his time at this crisis in framing edicts against Jews and heretics, and other decrees, as if for a peaceful and extensive empire. Under Olympius, he had promulgated the Imperial rescript, which deprived the heathen temples of their last revenue; it was confiscated for the use of the devout soldiers. The statues of the gods were ordered to be thrown down; the temples in the cities were seized for public uses, others were to be destroyed; the banquets (*epulæ*) prohibited.^c But he was compelled to repeal a law which deprived him of the services of all heathens. Generides, a valiant and able pagan, was permitted to resume the military belt, and to take the command of part of the Imperial forces. A second time Alaric appeared before Rome. He seized upon the port of Ostia, and this cut off at once almost all the supplies of the city.^d Rome opened her gates, and Alaric set up a pageant emperor, Attalus, as a rival to the emperor in Ravenna. The Christians beheld the elevation of Attalus, a pagan, who submitted to Arian baptism, but openly attempted to

Attalus
Emperor.
A.D. 409.

^c This law is dated the 17th of the calends of December, 408. *Templorum detrahantur annonæ et rem annonariam jubent, expensis devotissimorum militum profuturæ, &c.* Compare Beugnot, ii. p. 49, *et seqq.* Cod. Theodos. xvi.10, 11.

^d As usual, the dealers in grain were accused of hoarding their stores, in order to possess themselves of all the remaining wealth of the city.

restore the party of paganism, with undisguised aversion. Lampadius, the Senator, at the head of this party, was Prætorian Præfect, Tertullus Consul. Tertullus boldly declared that to the Consulate he should add the High Priesthood.^o The Pagan historian describes the universal joy of Rome at the elevation of such just and noble magistrates. The Christians^f looked eagerly to the court of Ravenna. Alaric was encamped between the Christian and pagan cities, between Ravenna and Rome. The feeble government of Attalus had to encounter an enemy even more formidable than the Christians. The Count Heraclian closed the ports of Africa: a famine even more terrible than during the former siege, and even that had reduced men to the most loathsome and abominable food, afflicted the enfeebled and diminished population. A strange and revolting anecdote illustrates at once Roman manners and this dire calamity. The Romans, though they had no bread, had still their Circensian games. In the midst of the excitement, the ears of the Emperor were assailed with a wild cry—Fix the tariff for human flesh.^g All these calamities the Christians ascribed to the restoration of heathen rites.

Attalus, at the word of his Gothic master, descended from his throne, and sank back to his former insignificance. But Rome, when Alaric appeared a third time under her walls, prepared to close her gates, and to act on the defensive (the Emperor Honorius had received the scanty succour of six cohorts

^o Sozom. ix. 9. ^f Oros. vii. 42. | price of bread, as of all other articles,
^g Zosimus inserts the words in Latin | was fixed by the government. Zosimus.
 --Pone pretium carni humanæ. The | vi. 1^t

from the East, and Rome was in frantic hope of rescue from Ravenna). Weakness or treachery baffled this desperate, if courageous, determination. At the dead of night, the Salarian gate was opened; the morning beheld Rome in the possession of the conqueror; but the conqueror, though a barbarian and a heretic, was a Christian. Over the fall of Rome, history might seem, in horror, to have dropped a veil.^b

However the first appalling intelligence of this event shook the Roman world to the centre, and the fearful scene of pillage, violation, and destruction by fire and sword, was imagined to surpass in its horrors everything recorded in profane or sacred history, yet the shock passed away; and Rome quietly assumed her second, her Christian empire. When the first stunning tidings of the fall of the Imperial City reached Jerome in his retirement in Palestine, even some time after, when he had held intercourse with fugitives from Rome, the capture represents itself to his vivid fancy as one dark and terrific mass of havoc and ruin. It was accompanied by no mitigating or relieving circumstances; by none of those striking incidents of Christian piety and mercy, which, in the pages of Augustine and Orosius, are thrown across the general gloom. The sudden horror, as well as consternation, joined with the gloomy temperament of Jerome to deepen the darkness of the scene.¹ He asserts that the

^b Rome may be said to have fallen without an historian. Her ruin was indeed described by the Greek Zosimus, but his sixth book is lost. Orosius cannot be dignified by the name—his work is but a summary of Augustine's *City of God*.

¹ *Terribilis de Occidente rumor affertur . . . —Hæret vox et singultus intercipiunt verba dictantis. Capitur urbs, quæ totum cepit orbem, imo fame perit, antequam gladio, et vix pauci, qui caperentur, inventi sunt. Epist. xciv. Marcellæ Epitaph. Yet,*

famine had already so thinned the population, that few remained in the city to be taken. He leaps together the awful passages in the Old Testament, on the capture of Jerusalem and other eastern cities, and the noble lines of Virgil on the sack of Troy, as but feebly descriptive of the night in which fell the Moab of the West. Nor can it be supposed that, whatever the disposition or even the orders of Alaric, the capture of a city so wealthy, so luxurious, so populous, by a vast and ill-disciplined host of barbarians, at least at their first irruption, could be more than a wild tumult of fury, licence, plunder, bloodshed, and conflagration. Multitudes of that host, no doubt, still held their old warlike Teutonic faith. In those who were called Christians the ferocity of the triumphant soldier was hardly mitigated by the softening influences of the Gospel. The forty thousand slaves said to have joined the army of Alaric, brought their revenge and their local and personal knowledge of the richest palaces, and of the most opulent families, which would furnish the most attractive victims to lust or to pillage. But the calamities that involved in ruin almost the whole pagan population and the palaces of the ancient families, which still adhered to their ancestral gods, are lost in oblivion; while Christianity has boastfully, or gratefully, preserved those exceptional incidents in which through her influence, and in her behalf, the common disaster was rebuked, checked, mitigated. The last feeble murmurs of paganism arraigned Christianity as the cause of the desertion of the city by her ancient and mighty

Extinction of
paganism.

in the same letter, he writes to Marcella—*Sit mihi fas audita loqui; imo a sanctis viris visa narrare, qui interfuere presentes.*—*Ibid.*

Nocte Moab capta est, nocte cecidit murus ejus. Hieronym. i. 121, ad Principem

gods, and, therefore, of her inevitable fate. Christianity was now so completely the mistress of the human mind, as to assert that it was, indeed, the power of her God—her justly provoked and righteously avenging God—which had brought to its final close the Gentile sovereignty of Rome. Nothing pagan had escaped, but that which found shelter under Christianity. For Alaric, though an Arian, was a Christian. His conduct was strongly contrasted with what might have been feared from the heathen Rhadagaisus, if God had abandoned Rome to his fury. The Goth had been throughout under the awful control of Christianity.^k He is said to have issued a proclamation, which, while it abandoned the guilty and luxurious city to plunder, commanded regard for human life; and especially the most religious respect for the Churches of the Apostles. In obedience to these commands, and under the especial control of the Almighty, among the smoking ruins, the plundered houses and temples, the families desolated by the sword, or by outrages worse than death, the Christian edifices alone commanded at least some reverence and security. Everywhere else was promiscuous massacre, peace and safety alone in the

Influence of
Christianity.

^k The great Christian argument is summed up in this noble passage of Augustine:—

Quicquid igitur vastationis, trucidationis, depredationis, concremationis, afflictionis in istâ recentissimâ Romanâ clade commissum est: facit hoc consuetudo bellorum. Quod autem more novo factum est, quod inusitatâ rerum facie immanitas barbara tam mitis apparuit, ut amplissimæ basilicæ im-

plendæ populo, cui parceretur, eligerentur et decernerentur, ubi nemo feriretur, unde nemo raperetur, quæ liberandi multi a miserantibus hostibus ducerentur, unde captivandi nulli, nec a crudelibus hostibus abducerentur: hoc Christi nomini, hoc Christiano tempore tribuendum, quisquis non videt cæcus; quisquis videt, nec laudat, ingratus; quisquis laudanti reluctatur insanus est. Augustin. Tract. de excid Urbis.

churches. The heathens themselves fled to these, the only places of refuge; they took shelter, in their terror and despair, under the altars which they despised or hated. The more solid and majestic structures of paganism would, no doubt, defy the injuries which might be wrought by barbarians, more intent on plunder than destruction, but their most hallowed sanctuaries were violated. Before the Christian Churches alone rapacity, and lust, and cruelty were arrested, and stood abashed. When the conflagration raged, as it did in some parts of the city, amid private houses, palaces, or temples, some of the sacred edifices of the Christians might be enveloped in the flames. But the more important churches—those of St. Peter and St. Paul—were respected by the spreading fires, as well as by the infuriated soldiery.^m There the obedient sword of the conqueror paused in its work of death, and even his cupidity was overawed.ⁿ Of all the temple treasures, the public or private hoards of precious metals, which the owners were compelled to betray by the most excruciating tortures, the jewels, the plate, the spoils of centuries of conquest, the accumulated plunder of provinces, only the sacred vessels and ornaments of Christian worship remained inviolate. It was said that sacred vessels found without the precincts of the Church were borne with reverential decency into the sanctuary. Of this Orosius relates a remarkable and particular history. A fierce soldier entered in quest of plunder into the dwelling of an aged Christian virgin. He demanded,

^m Augustin. de Civ. Dei, ii. 1. a. 7. Yet this was unknown to Jerome. He says, *In cineres ac favillas sacre quondam ecclesie considerunt.* Epist. xciii.

ⁿ Perhaps the remote and even extramural situation of these churches might tend to their security.

in courteous terms, the surrender of her treasures. She exposed to his view many vessels of gold, of great size, weight, and beauty; vessels of which the soldier knew neither the use nor name. "These," she said, "are the property of the Apostle St. Peter. Take them, if you dare, and answer for your act to God. A defenceless woman, I cannot protect them from your violence; my soul, therefore, is free from sin." The soldier stood awe-struck. A message was sent to Alaric, and orders were instantly despatched that the virgin and her holy treasures should be safely conducted to the Church of the Apostle. The procession (for the virgin's dwelling was far distant from the Church) was led through the long and wondering streets. The people broke out into hymns of adoration, and amid the tumult of disorder and ruin, the tranquil pomp pursued its course; the name of Christ rose swelling above the wild dissonance of the captured city. Even more lawless passions yielded to the holy control. In the loathsome scenes of violation, the chastity of Christian virgins alone—at least, in some instances—found respect from the lustful barbarian.^o There is an instance of a beautiful virgin who thus preserved her honour. Indignant at her resistance, the young soldier into whose power she had fallen, drew his sword and slightly wounded her. Though bleeding, she calmly held out her neck to the stroke of death. The soldier, though an Arian, observes the Catholic writer, could not but admire her

^o Demetrius escaped, according to St. Jerome. Dudum inter barbaras tremuisti manus; aviæ et matris sinu et palliis tegebaris. Vidisti te captivam, et pudicitiam tuam non tuæ potestatis: horruisti truces hostium vultus: raptas virgines Dei gemitu tacite conspexisti. Hieronym. Epist. 8. Compare Augustin de Civ. Dei, 1. 16.

fidelity to Christ her spouse. He led her to the Church, and, with a gift of six pounds of gold, surrendered her to those who were on guard over the sanctuary.^p Marcella, the friend of Jerome, did not escape so easily the only dangers to which, on account of her age, she was exposed. As he had heard from eye-witnesses of the scene, it was not till she had been beaten and scourged,^q to compel her to reveal her secret treasures, treasures long before expended in charity, that her admirable courage and patience enforced the respect of the spoiler and induced him to lead her to the asylum of the Church of St. Paul.^r

^p Sozomen, H. E. ix. 10.

^q Cæsam fustibus flagellisque, aiunte non sensisse tormenta. Hieronym. Epist. loc. cit.

^r The most extraordinary passage relating to the sack of Rome is in St. Jerome's next letter. All the horrors on which he has dwelt,—the capture of Rome, the massacre, rape, pillage, and conflagration,—are not merely *mitigated*, but amply *compensated* to Rome and to the world by the profession of virginity made by Demetrias. It was as great a triumph as the discomfiture of the Gothic army would have been. We can neither understand Jerome nor his age without considering these strange sentences. Her vows of chastity were against the wishes of her whole family; the greater, therefore, their merit. Hence "invenisse eam quod præstaret generi, quod *Romanæ urbis cineres mitigaret.*" After describing the rejoicing of Africa, he proceeds: Tunc lugubr s vestes Italia mu-

tavit, et *semirutæ urbis Romæ mœnia, pristinum in parte recepere fulgorem, propitium sibi existimantes Deum, sic alumnae conversione perfectâ.* Putares extinctam Gothorum manum, et coluviem perugarum et servorum, Domini desuper intonantis fulmine cecidisse. Non sic post Trebiam, Thrasymenum, et Cannas, in quibus locis Romanorum exercituum cæsa sunt millia, Marcelli primum apud Nola prælio, se populus Romanus erexit, &c. &c. Jerome has some notion that he is surpassing Tully and Demosthenes, whose eloquence would be unequal to this wonderful event. Compare with this letter the Epistle addressed to the same Demetrias, there is little doubt, by no less a person than the heresiarch Pelagius. Pelagius, in the spirit of his age, is an admirer of virginity. But throughout the Epistle there is a singular calmness as well as elegance of style, which forcibly contrasts with the passionate hyperboles of Jerome.

Innocent was happily absent from Rome during the last siege and sack of the city. After the second retreat of Alaric from before the walls, he had accompanied a deputation to Ravenna, to seek, and seek in vain, from the powerless Emperor, some protection for the capital. He did not return, and the fate of the city was left to the resolutions of the Senate. He thus escaped the horrors of that fatal night, and the three days' pillage of the city. If his presence did not contribute to the comparative security of the Christians, neither did his holy person endure the peril of exposure to insult, or the blind and indiscriminating fury of a heathen soldiery. Innocent returned to a city, if in some parts ruined and desolate, now entirely Christian; the ancient religion was buried under the ruins. Many of the noblest families of Rome were reduced to slavery by the Goths; some had anticipated the capture of the city by a shameful flight: many more abandoned for ever their doomed and hopeless country. Alaric, and his host, satiated with three days' plunder, at the end of six days broke up from Rome to ravage the rich and defenceless cities of southern Italy. The estates, which had so long maintained the enormous luxury of the Roman patricians, were ravaged or confiscated: whole families swept away into bondage. Without the city, as within, almost all that remained of eminent and famous names,

Pelagius, too, alludes to the sack of Rome, and urges it as an image of the last day. Eadem omnibus imago mortis, nisi quia magis eam timebant illi, quibus fuerat vita jucundior. Si ita mortales timeamus hostes, et humanam manum, cum clangore terribili tuba intonare de cælo cœperit, &c. *In Oper. Hieronym. v. p. 29*

the ancestral houses, which kept up the tradition of the glory of the republic, or the wealth of the Empire, sank into obscurity or total oblivion. The fugitives from Rome were found in all parts of the world,^s and among these no doubt were almost all the more distinguished heathens,^t who, no longer combining into a powerful party, no longer held together by the presence of the old ancestral temples, or by the household gods of their race and family, reduced to poor and insignificant outcasts from descendants and representatives of the noblest houses in Rome, gradually melted into the general Christian population of the empire. Those, whom Jerome beheld at Bethlehem, were doubtless Christians; but the whole coasts, not only of Italy and its islands, of Africa, Egypt, and the East, swarmed with these unfortunate exiles.^u Carthage was full of those who, to the great indignation of Augustine, notwithstanding this visible sign of Almighty wrath, crowded the theatres, and raised turbulent factions concerning rival actors; they carried with them no doubt, and readily promulgated that hostile sentiment towards Christianity, which attributed all the calamities of the times, consummated in the sack of Rome, to the new religion. It was this last desperate

^s Nulla est regio, quæ non exules Romanos habeat.—Hieronym. Epist. xviii.

^t Compare Prefat. ad Ezekiel.

^u Honorius, in the mean time, was still issuing sanguinary edicts against heretics. Oraculo penitus remoto, quo ad ritus suos hæreticæ superstitionis obrepserant, sciant omnes sanctæ legis inimici, plectendos se pœnâ et pro-

scriptionis et sanguinis, si ultra convenire per publicum execrandâ sceleris sui temeritate tentaverint. To this law, addressed to Heraclian, count of Africa, (Cod. Theodos. c. 51, de Hæret.) Baronius ascribes the speedy deliverance of the city from Alaric, so highly was it approved by God! Sub ann. 410.

remonstrance of paganism which called forth Augustine's City of God, and the brief and more lively perhaps, but meagre and superficial work of Orosius. Babylon has fallen, and fallen for ever; the City of God, at least the centre and stronghold of the City of God, is in Christian Rome.

Nor did Innocent return to rule over a desert. The wonder, which is expressed at the rapid restoration of Rome, shows that the general consternation and awe, at the tidings of the capture, had greatly exaggerated the amount both of damage and of depopulation. Some of the palaces of the nobles, who had fled from the city, or perished in the siege, may have remained in ruins; above all the temples, now without funds to repair them from their confiscated estates, from the alienated government, or from the munificence of wealthy worshippers, would be left exposed to every casual injury, and fall into irremediable dilapidation, unless seized and appropriated to its own uses by the triumphant faith. Now probably began the slow conversion of the heathen fanes into Christian churches.* It took many more sieges, many more irruptions of barbaric conquerors, to destroy the works of centuries in the capital of the world's wealth and power. If deserted temples were left to decay, churches rose; palaces found new lords; the humbler buildings, which are for the most part the prey of ruin and conflagration, are speedily repaired; it is hardly less labour to demolish than to build solid, massy and substantial

* In Rome this was rare, till the late conversion of the Pantheon into a Christian church. Few churches stand even on the sites of ancient temples. The Basilica seems to have been preferred for Christian worship.

habitations; and fire, which probably did not rage to any great extent, was the only destructive agent which, during Alaric's occupation, endangered the grandeur or majesty of the city.

If Christian Rome rose thus out of the ruin of the pagan city, the Bishop of Rome rose in proportionate grandeur above the wreck of the old institutions and scattered society. Saved, as doubtless it seemed, by the especial protection of God from all participation, even from the sight of this tremendous, this ignominious disaster, according to the phrase of the times, as Lot out of the fires of Sodom,^y he alone could lift up his head, if with sorrow without shame.

Honorius hid himself in Ravenna, nor did the Emperor ever again, for any long time, make his residence at Rome. With the religion expired all the venerable titles of the religion, the Great High Priests and Flamens, the Auspices and Augurs. On the Pontifical throne sat the Bishop of Rome, awaiting the time when he should ascend also the Imperial throne; or, at least, if without the name, possess the substance of the Imperial power, and stand almost as much above the shadowy form of the old republican dignities, which still retained their titles and some municipal authority, as the Cæsars themselves. The capture of Rome by Alaric was one of the great steps by which the Pope arose to his plenitude of power. There could be no question that from this time the greatest man in Rome was the Pope; he alone was invested with permanent and real power; he alone possessed all the attributes of supremacy, the reverence, it was his own fault, if not the love of the people. He had a sacred indefeasible

Greatness
of Bishop.

A.D. 411.

title ; authority unlimited, because undefined ; wealth, which none dared to usurp, which multitudes lavishly contributed to increase by free-will offerings ; he is, in one sense, a Cæsar, whose apotheosis has taken place in his lifetime, environed by his Prætorian guards, his ecclesiastics, on whose fidelity and obedience he may, when once seated on the throne, implicitly rely ; whose edicts are gradually received as law ; and who has his spiritual Prætors and Proconsuls in almost every part of Western Christendom.

CHAPTER II.

Pelagianism.

THE Pelagian question agitated the West during the later years of Innocent's pontificate. This has been the great interminable controversy of ^{Pelagian} _{controversy.} Latin, of more than Latin, of all Western Christianity. The nature of the Godhead and of the Christ was the problem of the speculative East: that of man, his state after the fall, the freedom or bondage of his will, the motive principle of his actions, that of the more active West. The East might seem to dismiss this whole dispute with almost contemptuous indifference. Though Pelagius himself, and his follower Celestius, visited Palestine and obtained the suffrages of a provincial council in their favour; though from his cell near Bethlehem, Jerome mingled in the fray with all his native violence,—there the controversy died rapidly away, leaving hardly a record in Grecian theology, none whatever in Greek ecclesiastical history.^a

So completely, however, throughout the Roman world is Christianity now an important part of ^{Pelagius.} human affairs, as to become a means of intercourse and communication between the remotest provinces. On the one hand new, and, as they are

^a Walch has observed, that none of the Greek historians, neither Socrates, Sozomen, nor Theodoret, notice the Pelagian controversy. *Ketzer-Geschichte*, iv. p. 531.

esteemed, heretical opinions are propagated, usually by their authors or by their partisans, from the most distant quarters, and so spread throughout Christendom; on the other hand, the Christian world is leagued together in every part to suppress these proscribed opinions. A Briton, Pelagius, by some accounts two Britons, Pelagius and Celestius, leave their home at the extremity of the known earth, perhaps the borders of Wales, the uttermost part of Britain, to disturb the whole Christian world. Pelagius is said to have been a monk, and though no doubt bound by vows of celibacy, yet was under the discipline of no community. He arrives in Rome, from Rome he passes to Africa, from Africa to Palestine. Everywhere he preaches his doctrines, obtains proselytes, or is opposed by inflexible adversaries. The fervid religion of the African Churches repudiated with one voice the colder and more philosophic reasonings of Pelagius: ^b they submitted to the ascendancy of Augustine, and threw themselves into his views with all their unextinguishable ardour.

But in the East the glowing writings of Augustine were not understood, probably not known; ^c Pelagius in the East. his predestinarian notions never seem to have been congenial to the Christianity of the Greeks. In Palestine, however, Pelagius was encountered by two

^b My history of the earlier period of Christianity entered into the general character of Pelagianism, especially as connected with the character and writings of Augustine. I consider it at present chiefly in its relation to Latin Christianity.—Hist. of Christianity, iii. pp. 171, 177.

^c Except by Jerome, who, however, received his writings irregularly and

with much delay.—The ordinary correspondence between the provinces seems now to have been slow and precarious. Nothing, writes Augustine to Jerome, grieves me so much as your distance from me—"ut vix possim meas dare, vel recipere tuas litteras, per intervalla non dierum, non mensium, sed aliquot annorum."—August. Epist. xxviii. Were any of his works translated into Greek?

implacable adversaries, Heros and Lazarus, bishops of Gaul.^d It is probable, indeed, that the persecution was to be traced to the cell of Jerome,^e with whose vehement and superstitious temperament his doctrines clashed as violently as with those of Augustine. Pelagius was arraigned before a synod of fourteen prelates, Council of Diospolis. at Diospolis (the ancient Lydda), and, to the astonishment and discomfiture of his adversaries, solemnly acquitted of all heretical tenets. It is asserted that the fathers of Diospolis were imposed upon by the subtle and plausible dialectics of Pelagius. Considering, indeed, that his accusers, the Gallic bishops (neither of whom personally appeared), and his third adversary, Orosius, the friend and disciple of Augustine, only spoke Latin, that the Palestinian bishops only understood Greek (perhaps imperfectly any language but their own vernacular Syrian), and that Pelagius had the command of both languages; that these questions, which demanded the most exquisite nicety of expression and the

^d Orosius too was in Palestine, it should seem, in search of relics. He had the good fortune to carry off the body of the proto-martyr St. Stephen. Compare Baronius, sub ann.

^e The letter to Demetrias, in the works of St. Jerome, seems admitted to be a genuine writing of Pelagius. That both Pelagius and his antagonist Jerome should have addressed an epistle to the same Demetrias suggests the suspicion of some strong personal rivalry. They were striving, as it were, for the command of this distinguished and still probably wealthy female.

The whole tenor of the letter of Pelagius confirms the position, that

the opinions of Pelagius had no connexion with monastic enthusiasm, and did not arise out of that pride "of good works" which may belong to the consciousness of extraordinary austerities. (Compare Neander, *Christliche Kirche*.) Pelagius arrives at his conclusions by a calm, it might seem cold, philosophy. Excepting as to the praise of virginity, the greater part of the letter might have been written by an ancient Academic, or by a modern metaphysical inquirer. Jerome traces the origin of Pelagianism to the Greek, particularly the Stoic philosophy. He quotes Tertullian's saying, *Philosophi patriarchæ hæreticorum*.—*Pieronym*, *Epist. ad Ctesiphont*.

strictest accuracy of definition, must have been carried on by the clumsy means of interpreters,—the council of Diospolis, to the dispassionate inquirer, cannot carry much weight. The usual consequences of religious controversies in those days, and in those regions, were not slow to appear. Jerome was attacked in his retirement, his disciples maltreated by their triumphant adversaries. Pelagius himself seems entirely exempted from any concurrence in these lawless proceedings; but his fanatic followers (and even his calm tenets in the East could for once kindle fanaticism) are accused of perpetrating every crime, pillage, murder, conflagration on the peaceful disciples of Jerome, especially on some of the noble Roman ladies who shared his solitude.^f

While ignorance, or indifference, or chance, or personal hostility to the asserters of anti-Pelagian opinions decided the question in the East, the West demanded a more solemn and authoritative adjudication on this absorbing controversy. By the decrees of the Council of Diospolis, Africa and the East were at direct issue; and where should the Africans seek the arbiter, or the

^f Innocent Epist. ad Aurel. et ad Johannem, Episcop. Hierosolym. These revengeful violences against Jerome appear to me better evidence that he was at least supposed to be the head of the faction opposed to Pelagius, than the reasons alleged by P. Daniel, Hist. du Concile de Palestine, and Walch, p. 398. The strong expressions as to these acts are from Innocent's letter. *Direptiones, cædes, incendia, omne facinus extremæ dementiæ, generosissimæ sanctæ virgines deploraverunt in locis ecclesiæ tuæ perpetrasse diabolum, nomen enim hominis causamque retulerunt.*—Apud Labbe, Concil., ii. p.

1315. If the odious Pelagius had been the man, they would hardly have suppressed his name. And it must be acknowledged that Jerome suffered only the natural results of his own principles. In his third dialogue against the Pelagians he introduces their advocate as scarcely daring to speak out, lest he should be stoned: *Statim in me populorum lapides conicias, et quem viribus non potes, voluntate interficias.* To this the Catholic rejoins, *Ille hæreticum interficit, qui hæreticum esse patitur.*—Hieronym. Oper., iv. 2. p. 544.

powerful defender of their opinions, but at Rome? Constantinople, and Alexandria, and Antioch, took no interest in these questions, or were occupied, especially the two former, by their own religious and political quarrels. The African Church, when such a cause was on the issue, stood not on her independence. As a Western monk, Pelagius was amenable, in some degree, to the patriarchal authority of the Bishop of Rome. Both parties seemed at least to acquiesce in the appeal to Innocent: the event could not be doubtful in such an age and before the representative of Latin Christianity.

All great divergencies of religion, where men are really religious (and this seems acknowledged as to Pelagius himself, and still more as to some of his semi-Pelagian followers, Julianus of Eclana and the Monastic Cassian), arise from the undue dominance of some principle or element in our religious nature. This controversy was in truth the strife between two such innate principles, which philosophy despairs of reconciling, and on which the New Testament has not pronounced with clearness or precision. The religious sentiment, which ever assumes to itself the exclusive name and authority of religion, is not content without feeling, or at least supposing itself to feel, the direct, immediate agency of God upon the soul of man. This seems inseparable from the Divine Sovereignty, even from Providential government, which it looks like impiety to limit, and of which it is hard to conceive the self-limitation.⁵ Must not God's grace, of its nature, be irresistible? What can bound or fetter Omnipotence?

⁵ The absolute abandonment of free will seems the highest point of true devotion. Prosper thus writes of Augustine:—

"Et dum nullo sibi tribuit bona, fit Deus illi Omnia, et in sancto regnat Sapientia templo."

This seems the first principle admitted in prayer, in all intercourse between the soul of man and the Infinite: it is the life-spring of religious enthusiasm, the vital energy, not of fanaticism only, but of zeal.^h On the other hand, there is an equally intuitive consciousness (and out of consciousness grows all our knowledge of these things) of the freedom, or self-determining power, of the human will. On this depends all morality, and the sense of human responsibility; all conception, except that which is unreasoning and instinctive, of the divine justice and mercy. This is the problem of philosophy; the degree of subservience in the human will to influences external to itself, and in no way self-originated or self-controlled, and to its inward self-determining power.ⁱ In Christianity it involved not merely the metaphysic nature, but the whole biblical history of man; the fall, and the sin inherited by the race of Adam; the redemption of Christ, and the righteousness communicated to mankind by Christ.

Pelagius came too early for any calm consideration of his doctrines, or any attempt to reconcile the difficulties which he suggested, with the sacred writings. In his age the religious sentiment was at its height, and to the religious sentiment that system was true which brought the soul most strongly and immediately under divine agency. To substitute a law for that direct agency, to interpose in any way between the Spirit of God and the spirit of man, was impiety, blasphemy, a degradation of God and of his sole sovereignty. This sentiment was at its height in Western Christendom.

^h Compare this argument in another form, *Hist. of Christianity*, iii. p. 174.

ⁱ Edwards on the Will throughout which on this point coincides with the philosophy of Hume.

In no part had it grown to a passion so overwhelming as in Africa, in no African mind to such absorbing energy as in that of Augustine.

Augustine, after the death of Ambrose, was the one great authority in Latin Theology : from him was now anxiously expected, if it had not appeared, the great work which was to silence the last desperate remonstrances of Paganism, the City of God.^b His Confessions had become at once the manual of passionate devotion, and the history of the internal struggle of sin and grace in the soul of man. Augustine had maintained great influence at the court of Ravenna : of the ministers of Honorius some were his personal friends, others courted his correspondence. Africa, the only granary, held the power of life and death over Italy : and political and religious interests were now inseparably moulded together. But it was probably not so much either the authority or the influence of Augustine, which swayed the mind of Innocent to establish the Augustinian theology as the theory of Western Christianity ; it was rather its full coincidence with his own views of Christian truth.

Augustinianism was not merely the expression of the universal Christianity of the age as administering to, as being in itself the more full, fervent, continuous excitement of the religious sentiment, it was also closely allied with the two great characteristic tendencies of Latin Christianity.

Latin Christianity, in its strong sacerdotal system, in its rigid and exclusive theory of the church, at once admitted and mitigated the more repulsive parts of the Augustinian theology. Predestin-

Latin Christianity anti-Pelagian.

^b On the City of God compare Hist. of Christianity, iii. p. 185, 187.

arianism itself, to those at least within the pale, lost much of its awful terrors. The Church was the predestined assemblage of those to whom and to whom alone, salvation was possible; the Church scrupled not to surrender the rest of mankind to that inexorable damnation entailed upon the human race by the sin of their first parents. As the Church, by the jealous exclusion of all heretics, drew around itself a narrower circle; this startling limitation of the divine mercies was compensated by the great extension of its borders, which now comprehended all other baptized Christians. The only point in this theory at which human nature uttered a feeble remonstrance^m was the abandonment of infants, who never knew the distinction between good and evil, to eternal fires. The heart of Augustine wrung from his reluctant reason, which trembled at its own inconsistency, a milder damnation in their favour. But some of his more remorseless disciples disclaimed the illogical softness of their master.ⁿ

Through the Church alone, and so through the hierarchy alone, man could be secure of that direct agency of God upon his soul, after which it yearned with irrepressible solicitude. The will of man

Sacerdotal system.

^m Julianus of Eclana put well the insuperable difficulty which has constantly revolted the human mind, when not under the spell of some absorbing religious excitement, against the extreme theory of Augustine and of Calvin. Deus, ais, ipse qui commendat caritatem suam in nobis, qui dilexit nos, et filio suo non pepercit, sed pro nobis illum tradidit, ipse sic judicat, ipse est nascentium persecutor, ipse pro malâ voluntate æternis ignibus parvu-

los tradit, quos nec bonam nec malam voluntatem scit habere potuisse.—Apud Augustin. Oper. Imperf. i. 48. Augustine struggles in vain to elude the difficulty. Julianus as well as Pelagius himself strenuously asserted the necessity of infant baptism, not however as giving remission of sins, but as admitting to Christian privileges and blessings.

ⁿ Compare Hist. of Christ., iii. 176, note, and quotation from Fulgentius.

surrendered itself to the clergy, for on them depended its slavery or its emancipation, as far as it was capable of emancipation. In the clergy, divine grace, the patrimony of the Church, was vested, and through them distributed to mankind. Baptism, usually administered by them alone, washed away original sin; the other rites and sacraments of which they were the exclusive ministers, were still conveying, and alone conveying, the influences of the Holy Ghost to the more or less passive soul. This objective and visible form as it were, which was assumed for the inward workings of God upon the mind and heart, by the certitude and security which it seemed to bestow, was so unspeakably consolatory, and relieved, especially the less reflective mind, from so much doubt and anxiety, that mankind was disposed to hail with gladness rather than examine with jealous suspicion these claims of the hierarchy. Thus the Augustinian theology coincided with the tendencies of the age towards the growth of the strong sacerdotal system; and the sacerdotal system reconciled Christendom with the Augustinian theology. But the invariable progress of the human mind, as to this question, is in itself remarkable; and necessary for the full comprehension of Christian history. All established religions subside into Pelagianism, or at least semi-Pelagianism. The interposition of the priest, or the sacrament, or of both, between the direct agency of God and the soul of man, for its own purposes, gradually admits a growing freedom of the will. Conformity to outward rites, obedience to orders or admonitions, every religious act is required on the one hand, as within the self-determining power of the will, and is in itself a more and more conscious exertion of that power. The sacerdotal system, in order that it may censure with more awful-

ness, and incite with more persuasiveness, admits a greater spontaneity of resistance to evil, and of inclination to good. It emancipates to a certain extent, that it may rule with a more absolute control. And as it was with Pelagius, so it is with his followers. No Pelagian ever has or ever will work a religious revolution. He who is destined for such a work must have a full conviction that God is acting directly, immediately, consciously, and therefore with irresistible power, upon him and through him. It is because he believes himself, and others believe him to be thus acted upon, that he has the burning courage to undertake, the indomitable perseverance to maintain, the inflexible resolution to die for his religion; so soon as that conviction is deadened, his power is gone. Men no longer acknowledge his mission, he himself has traitorously or timidly abandoned his mission. The voice of God is no longer speaking in his heart; men no longer recognise the voice of God from his lips. The prophet, the inspired teacher, the all but apostle, has now sunk to an ordinary believer. He who is not predestined, who does not declare, who does not believe himself predestined as the author of a great religious movement, he in whom God is not manifestly, sensibly, avowedly working out his pre-established designs, will never be Saint or Reformer.

But there was another part of the Augustinian the-
 ology, which has quietly dropped from it in
 all its later revivals, yet in his day was an
 integral, almost the leading doctrine of the system;
 and falling in, as it did, with the dominant feelings of
 Christendom, contributed powerfully to its establishment,
 as the religion of the Church. Augustine was not content to assert original sin, in the strongest language, against Pelagius, but did not scruple to dogmatize as to

The Trans-
 mission of
 original sin.

the mode of its transmission. This was by sexual intercourse,^o which he asserts in arguments, which the modesty of our present manners will not permit us to discuss, would have been unknown but for the Fall; and was in itself essentially evil,^p though an evil to be tolerated in the regenerate, for the procreation of children, themselves to be regenerate.^q

Thus this great Oriental principle of the inherent evil of matter, as we have seen in the course of our Christian history, was the dominant and fundamental tenet of Gnosticism, lay at the root of Arianism, and will hereafter appear as the remote parent of Nestorianism; and this was the primary axiom of all Monasticism, and so

* The whole argument of the Book de Concupiscentia et de Nuptiis. Intentio igitur hujus libri est ut . . . carnalis concupiscentiæ malum, propter quod homo qui per eam nascitur, trahit originale peccatum, discernamus a bonitate nuptiarum.

^p Sed quia sine illo malo (carnalis concupiscentiæ) fieri non potest nuptiarum bonum, hoc est propagatio filiorum, ubi ad hujusmodi opus venit, secreta quærentur. Hinc est quod infantes etiam, qui peccare non possunt, non tamen sine peccati contagione nascuntur, non ex hoc quod licet, sed ex hoc quod dedecet. — De Peccat. Origin., c. xxvii. His standing argument is from natural modesty, which he confounds with the shame of conscious guilt.

^q The doctrine of original sin, as it is explicated by St. Austin, had two parents; one was the doctrine of the Encratites and some other heretics, who forbade marriage, and supposing it to be evil, thought that they were

warranted to say it was the bed of sin, and children the spawn of vipers and sinners; and St. Austin himself, and especially St. Hierome, speaks some things of marriage, which if they were true, then marriage were highly to be refused, as being the increaser of sin rather than of children, and a semination in the flesh and contrary to the spirit; and such a thing, which being mingled with sin, produces univocal issues; the mother and the daughter are so alike that they are worse again. — Jer. Taylor, Answer to a Letter.

This is thus stated by Julius Müller. *Die Christliche Lehre von der Sünde*, ii. p. 525. Wir sind dabei durchaus nicht veranlasst die sinnliche Geschlechts-gemeinschaft als etwas an sich Sündhaften zu verstehen, welche sich Augustinus von der *concupiscentia* als der Strafe des Sünderfalls gebildet, und durch sein Ansehen in die scholastische und zum Theil in die Protestantische Theologie fort geplatzt hat.

became, almost imperceptibly, the first recognised principle of all Latin theology. Augustine, in this theory of the transmission of sin, betrays that invincible horror of the intrinsic evil of the material and corporeal, which had been infused into his mind by his youthful Manicheism.^r Most of the other leading tenets of the Manicheans, the creation of man by the antagonistic malignant power, the unreality of the Christ, the whole mystic mythology of the imaginative Orientals, Augustine had rejected with indignation, and with the practical wisdom of the West; but, notwithstanding all his concessions on the dignity of marriage, he is, in this respect, an irreclaimable Manichean. Sin and all sensual indulgence, as it was called, all, however lawful, union between the sexes, were convertible terms, or terms so associated in human thought as to require some vigour of mind to discriminate between them. It was the vice of the theology of this period, and not, perhaps, of this period alone, that it seemed to make the indulgence of one passion almost the sole unchristian sin; a passion which is probably strengthened rather than suppressed by compelling the mind to dwell perpetually upon it. This (and on this the whole stress was laid throughout the controversy) was, the concupiscence of the flesh, inherited from Adam, which was not washed away in the sanctifying waters of baptism, but still clave to the material nature of man, and was to be kept under control only by the most rigid asceticism. Celibacy thus became not merely a hard duty, but a glorious distinction: the clergy, and those females who aspired to more perfect Christianity, not merely chose a

^r Augustine strongly protests against | against him of Manicheism.—De Con-
the charge which was even then made | cup. et Nupt., lib. ii.

more difficult, and therefore, if successful, a more noble career—but were raised far above those lower mortals, who, in the most legitimate and holy form, that of faithful marriage, submitted to be the parents of children.

Pelagius himself,^s so completely was the human mind possessed with this notion, almost rivalled Augustine in his praises of virginity, which he considered the great test of that strength of free will which he asserted to be weakened only, if weakened, by the fall of Adam.

The Augustinian theology, exactly to the extent to which it coincided with Latin Christianity, would no doubt harmonize with the opinions of one ^{so} completely representing that Christianity as ^{Innocent Augustinian. 417. Jan. 27.} Innocent I. When the African Churches, in their councils at Carthage, and at Milevis in Numidia, addressed the Pontiff on this momentous subject, the character, as well as the station of Innocent, might command more than respectful deference. Had they felt any jealousy as to their own independence, under the absorbing passion, the hatred of Pelagianism, they would have made any sacrifice to obtain the concurrence of the Bishop of Rome. The letters inform Innocent that the Africans had renewed the unregarded anathema pronounced against this wicked error, especially of Celestius, which had been issued five years before. They assert the power of Innocent to summon Pelagius to Rome to answer for his guilt, and to exclude him from the communion of the faithful.^t They implore the dignity of the Apostolic throne, of the successor of

^a Epist. ad Demetriad.

^b Aut ergo a tuâ veneratione accerendus est Romam, et diligente in-

terrogandus. — Epist. Conc. Milev Labbe, ii., p. 1547.

St. Peter, to complete and ratify that which is wanting to their more moderate power.^u Pelagius himself, even if he did not acknowledge the jurisdiction of the tribunal, endeavoured to propitiate the favour of the judge: he addressed an explanatory letter, and a profession of faith, to the Bishop of Rome.^x

Yet Augustine and the Africans were not without solicitude as to the decision of Innocent. Since Pelagius, they knew, lived in Rome, undisturbed by the inquisitive zeal of the bishop, Augustine, in a private letter, signed by himself and four bishops, informed the Pope that some of these persons boasted that they had won him to their cause, or, at least, to think less unfavourably of Pelagius.^y

The answer of Innocent allayed their fears. He did not pass by the opportunity of asserting, as an acknowledged maxim, the dignity of the Apostolic See, the source of all episcopacy, and the advantage of an appeal to a tribunal, which might legislate for all Christendom.^z On the Pelagian question he places himself on the broad, popular, and unanswerable ground, that all Christian devotion implies the assistance of divine grace; that it is admitted in every response of the service, in every act of worship. He pronounces the opinions anathematised by the African bishops to be

^u Ut statutis nostræ mediocritatis, etiam apostolicæ sedis adhibeatur auctoritas, pro tuendâ salute multorum et quorundam etiam perversitate corrigendâ.—Epist. Conc. Carthag. ad Innocent. Labbe, ii. p. 1514.

^x Augustin. de Grat. Christ., cap. 30. De Pecc. Origin., 17, 21, &c.

^y Quidam scilicet quia vos talia persuasisse perhibent.—Ibid.

^z Qui ad nostrum referendum approbastis esse iudicium, scientes quid Apostolicæ sedi (cum omnes hoc loco positi ipsum sequi desideremus Apostolum) debeatur, a quo ipse episcopatus et tota auctoritas nominis hujus emerit.—Innocent. Epist. ad Episc. Afric.

Ut per cunctas orbis totius ecclesias, quod omnibus probit, decernendum unum esse deprecistis.—Ibid.

heretical; and declares that the unsound limb must be severed without remorse, lest it should infect the living body.* Africa, and all those who held the opinions of Augustine, triumphed in what might seem the unqualified sentence of the Bishop of Rome. At this period in the controversy, and before the arrival of the letter from Pelagius, died Pope Innocent I.

Death of
Innocent.
A.D. 417.
March 12.

So far the Bishop of Rome had floated onwards towards supremacy on the full tide of dominant opinion; his decrees were so acceptable to the general ear, that the tone of authority in which they began to be couched, jarred not on any quivering chord of jealousy or suspicion. The secret of that power lay in Rome's complete impregnation with the spirit of the age; and this lasted, almost unbroken, till the Reformation. It were neither just nor true to call this worldly policy, or to suppose that the Bishops of Rome dishonestly conformed, or bent their opinions to their age for the sake of aggrandising their power. Their sympathy with the general mind of Christianity constituted their strength; from their conscious strength grew up, no doubt, their bolder spirit of domination; but they became masters of the Western Church by being the representative, the centre, of its feelings and opinions. It was not till a much later period that the claim to personal infallibility, to the sole dictatorship over the Christianity of the world, was either advanced or thought necessary; the present infallibility was but the expression of the

* The lines of Prosper, who has written a long poem on this abstruse subject, have been referred to this decree of Innocent I. :—

"In causam fidei flagrantius Africa nostra
Exequeris; tecumque suum jungente
vigorem
Juris Apostolici solio, fera viscera belli
Conficis, et lato prosternis limite victos."

universal, or at least predominant sentiment of mankind.

Once at this period, and but for a short time, the Bishop of Rome threw himself directly across the stream of religious opinion. Zosimus, the successor of Innocent, was by birth a Greek,^b and seemed disposed to treat the momentous questions agitated by the Pelagian controversy with the contemptuous indifference of a Greek. Whether from this uncongeniality of the Eastern mind with these debates; whether from the pride of the man, which was flattered by the submission of both these dangerous heresiarchs to his authority; whether from an earnest and well-intentioned, but mistaken hope, of suppressing what appeared to him a needless dispute, Zosimus annulled at one blow all the judgements of his predecessor, Innocent; and absolved the men, whom Innocent, if he had not branded with a direct anathema, had declared deserving to be cut off from the communion of the faithful.

The address of Pelagius to Innocent had not arrived in Rome before the death of that prelate; it was accompanied with a creed elaborately and ostentatiously orthodox on all the questions which agitated the Eastern mind, and a solemn and minute repudiation of all the heresies relating to the nature of the Godhead. It might seem almost prophetically intended to propitiate the favour of a Greek Pope. He touched but briefly on the freedom of the will, and the necessity of divine grace; rejecting, as Manichean, the doctrine, that sin was inevitable; as a doctrine which he ascribes to Jovinian, the impeccability of the Christian.^c Celestius,

^b Anastasius Bibliothec., c. 42.

^c The creed apud Baronium—sub
ann. 417—Liberum sic esse confitemur

arbitrium, ut dicamus nos semper Dei
indigere auxilio, et tam illos errare qui
cum Manicheis dicunt hominem pecca-

who had remained some time in peaceful retirement at Ephesus, had passed to Constantinople; from thence he is said to have been expelled by the Bishop Acacius. He now appeared in Rome, and throwing himself, as it were, at the feet of the Pontiff, declared that he was ready to submit to a dispassionate examination and authoritative judgement on his tenets.

A solemn hearing was appointed in the Basilica of St. Clement. Celestius was listened to with favour; if the positive sentence was delayed, his accusers Heros and Lazarus, the Gallic bishops, were denounced in the strongest terms to the African Council as vagabond, turbulent, and intriguing prelates, who had either abdicated or abandoned their sees, and travelled about sowing strife and calumny wherever they went.^d The African prelates were summoned within a short period to make good their charges against Celestius, who in this first investigation had appeared unimpeachable.^e Zosimus went further: he had warned Celestius and his accusers alike to abstain from these idle questions and unedifying disputes, the offspring of vain curiosity, and of the desire for the display of eloquence on subjects unrevealed.^f Such to

tum vitare non posse, quam illos qui cum Joviniano asserunt, hominem non posse peccare: uterque enim tollit libertatem arbitrii.—Was the first clause aimed at Augustine and the Africans?

^d Zosimus Aurelio et univ. Episcop. Africae.—Apud Labbe, ii., 1559.

Heros, according to Zosimus, had been Bishop of Arles, Lazarus of Aix. Their rise was owing entirely to the tyrant (probably the usurper Constan-

tine); it was accompanied with tumult and bloodshed, persecution of the priesthood who opposed them. With Constantine they fell, driven out by the execrations of the people, and abdicating their sees.—So the Bishop of Rome. S. Prosper gives a high character of both.—S. Prosper, Chron.

^e Innotescere sanctitati vestræ super absoluta Cœlestii fide nostrum examen.—Ibid.

^f Admoneri, has tenticulas quæ-

Pelagius and
Celestius
declared
orthodox.

Zosimus appeared these questions, which had wrought Africa into a frenzy of zeal and distracted the whole

Sept. 21. West. The trial of Celestius was followed by the public recital of a letter from Praylas, Bishop of Jerusalem, asserting in the most unqualified terms the orthodoxy of Pelagius. It was read with joy, with admiration, almost with tears of delight. "Would," writes Zosimus to the African bishops, "that one of you had been present at the edifying scene. That such a man should be impeached, and impeached by a Heros and a Lazarus! There was no point in which the grace and assistance of God could be asserted by a faithful Christian, which was not fully acknowledged by them."*

But the authority, which was received with deferential homage, so long as it concurred with their own views, lost its magic directly that it espoused the opposite cause. The African bishops inflexibly adhered to the condemnation of Pelagius, of Celestius, and their doctrines. Carthage obstinately refused to yield to Rome; it appealed to the sentence of Innocent, and disdainfully rejected the annulling power of Zosimus. Augustine, indeed, continued to speak with conciliating mildness of the Roman Prelate; but he let fall some alarming and significant expressions as to the prevarication of the whole Roman clergy.

To the long representation addressed to him by the Council of Carthage, Zosimus replied in a haughty tone, asserting that, according to the tradition, no one might dare to dispute the judgement of

tionum, et inepta certamina quæ non edificant, sed magis destruunt, ex illâ curiositatis contagione profluere, dum unusquisque ingenio suo et intemperanti eloquentiâ supra scripta abutitur.—Ibid.

* Tales enim absolutæ fidei infamari posse? Est ne ullus locus in quo Dei gratia vel adjutorium prætermissum sit? Zosim. ad Episcop. Afric. Labbe. ii. p. 1561.

the Apostolic See. But the close of the epistle betrayed his embarrassment. Whether his natural sagacity had discovered that he had rashly attempted to stem the torrent of opinion; his brotherly love for the African Churches would induce him to communicate all his determinations to them, in order that they might act together for the common good of Christendom. He had stayed, therefore, all further proceedings in the affair of Celestius.^b

It was time for Zosimus to retrace his precipitate course. Augustine and the African bishops had summoned to their aid a more powerful ^{Appeal to} ally than even the Bishop of Rome. While the Pope either still adhered to the cause of Pelagius, or but ^{the Emperor.} began to vacillate, an Imperial edict was issued from the court of Ravenna, peremptorily deciding on this abstruse question of theology.ⁱ This law was issued before the final sitting of the Council of Carthage, in which, on the authority of two hundred and twenty-three bishops, eight canons were passed, condemnatory of Pelagianism. There can be no doubt, that the law was obtained by the influence of the African bishops with the Emperor or his ministers; there is great likelihood by the personal authority of Augustine with the Count Valerius. Italy, indeed, could hardly refuse to listen to the voice of Africa. This appeal to the civil magistrate is but another instance, that the ecclesiastical power has no scruple in employing in its own favour those arms of which it deprecates the use, the employment of which it treats as impious usurpation, when put forth against it. By this law it became

^b Zosim. ad Episcop. Africæ.

The law is dated April 30, A.D.

418. The final council was held early in May.

a crime against the state, to be visited with civil penalties, to assert that Adam was born liable to death.^k The dangerous heresiarchs were condemned by name, and without hearing or trial, to banishment from Rome.^m Informers were invited or commanded to apprehend and drag before the tribunals, and to accuse the maintainers of these wicked doctrines. In the order issued by the Prætorian Prefects of Italy and the East, to carry this law into effect, not merely were the heresiarchs banished, but their accomplices condemned to the confiscation of their estates, and to perpetual exile.ⁿ

Zosimus threw off the dangerous tenderness with which he had hitherto treated Celestius and his party. Already, before the promulgation of the Imperial edict, he had demanded his unequivocal condemnation of certain errors, charged against him by Paulinus, a Carthaginian deacon, who had been sent to Rome to represent the African opinions. Celestius was now again summoned to render an account of his tenets; under the ban of the Imperial law, an object of hatred to the populace, certain that the Pope had withdrawn his protection, of course he dared not appear; he had quietly retired from Rome.^o Zosimus proceeded to condemn the faith, to anathematise the doctrines of

Zosimus
retracts.

^k Hi parenti cunctorum Deo . . . tam trucem inclementiam sævæ voluntatis assignant . . . ut mortem præmitteret nascituro (Adamo, sc.), non hanc insidiis vetiti fluxisse peccati, sed exegisse penitus legem immutabilis præstituti.—Rescript. Honor. et Theodos. apud Augustin. Oper. x., Append., p. 106.

^m Hos ergo repertos ubicunque de hoc tam nefando scelere conferentes a quibuscunque jubemus corripere, de-

ductosque ad audientiam publicam promiscuè ab omnibus accusari . . . ipsis inexorati exilii deportationi damnatis.—Ibid.

ⁿ The convicted heretic, by the edict of Palladius, was to be facultatum publicatione nudatus.

^o Augustin. de Pecc. Origin., c. 6. The gratulatory letter of Paulinus himself on the condemnation of Celestius in Baronius, sub ann. 418

Pelagius and Celestius, to excommunicate them from the body of the faithful, if they did not renounce and abjure the venomous tenets of their impious and abominable sect. Nor was this all: the Bishop of Rome addressed a circular letter to all the bishops of Christendom, condemning the doctrines of Pelagius. To this anathema they were expected to subscribe.^p

Eighteen bishops alone, of those who took this letter into consideration, refused to condemn their fellow Christians unheard. They turned Eighteen recusants. against Zosimus his own language to the African bishops, in which he had accused their precipitancy and injustice in condemning these very men without process or trial. They appealed to a General Council.

Of these eighteen, the most distinguished was Julianus, Bishop of Eclana, in Campania. His Julianus of Eclana. opinions did not altogether agree with those of Pelagius and Celestius;^q he was the founder of what has been called Semi-Pelagianism. Julianus from his birth, his character, and the events of his life, was a remarkable man. He was of a noble family, the son of a bishop, Memor, for whom Augustine entertained the warmest friendship.^r He was early admitted into the lower order of the clergy, and married a virgin of birth and virtue equal to his own. She was of the Æmilian family, daughter of the Bishop of Beneventum.

The epithalamium of Julianus and Ia was written by the holy Paullinus, Bishop of Nola. The poet urges

^p Augustin. de Pecc. Orig., 3, 4; in Julian, 1, c. 4. Prosper in Chronic.

^q The great point of difference was that Pelagius held Adam to have been

born mortal; Julianus admitted that the sin of Adam had brought death into the world.

^r Augustin. contr. Julian., i. 12.

upon the young and ardent couple not to break off their dangerous nuptials, but after their marriage to preserve their inviolate chastity. The pious bishop has, indeed, some misgivings as to the success of his poetic persuasions, and adds, that if they are betrayed into the weakness of having offspring, he trusts that they will make compensation to that state, which they have robbed of its brightest ornaments, by dedicating all their children, a sacerdotal family, to virginity.⁵ Julianus was a man of great accomplishments, well read in the writers, especially the poets of Italy and Greece. But neither his illustrious descent, his Roman or his Christian kindred, nor his talents, nor his virtues, nor his station availed in the least in this desperate conflict at once with power and popular opinion. There were now arrayed in formidable and irresistible confederacy, the three commanding influences in Western Christendom, the Pope, the Emperor, and Augustine. The Pope, indignant at the demand for a General Council, proceeded to involve Julianus and the rest of the eighteen remonstrants under the anathema pronounced against Pelagius, and to depose him from his see. Julianus had but the unsatisfactory consolation of asserting that Zosimus dared not meet him before a General Council. The Emperor was at first disposed to accede to the demand for a Council, but the influence of Augustine with the Count Valerius changed the impartial judge into an implacable adversary. He is even accused, and by his most respected adversary Julianus, of employing every means, even those of cor-

⁵ Ut sit in ambobus concordia virginitatis
Aut sint ambo sacris semina virginibus.
Votorum prior hic gradus est, ut nescia carnis
Membra gerant, quod si corpore con-
gruerint

Casta sacerdotale genus ventura propago,
Et domus Aaron sit tota domus Memo-
ris.
Paull. Nolan. *Epithalamium*, circa finem.

ruption, to inflame the minds of the powerful against the followers of Pelagius.^t A new Imperial edict sentenced to exile Julianus and all the bishops who had fallen under the anathema of Zosimus. A second re-script followed, commanding all bishops not merely to subscribe the dominant opinions on these profound and abstruse topics, but to condemn their authors, Pelagius and Celestius, as irreclaimable heretics, and this under pain of deprivation and banishment. Justly might Julianus taunt his ecclesiastical brethren with this attempt to crush their adversaries by the civil power. With shame and sorrow we hear from Augustine himself that fatal axiom, which for centuries reconciled the best and holiest men to the guilt of persecution, the axiom which impiously arrayed cruelty in the garb of Christian charity—that they were persecuted in compassion to their souls;^u that they ought to be thankful for the kind violence, which did them no real injury, but coerced them for their good; and that if for this end the secular power was called in, it was to restrain them from their sacrilegious temerity.^x

Thus then, on these men had fallen the ban of ecclesiastical and secular power, and in the West, at least, of popular opinion.^y Pelagius vanishes at this time from history; he had been condemned by

^t See note infra.

^u Non impotentiae contra vos precamur auxilium, sed pro vobis potius ut ab ausu sacrilego conibeamini, Christianae potentiae laudamus officium.—Oper. Imperf., l. ii., c. 14.

^x Compare I. 10, where he says that Christian powers (he means the civil powers) are bound to use disciplinam coercionis against all opponents

of the Catholic faith.

^y Julianus, it appears, objected to Augustine that all his authorities were Western bishops. This Augustine does not deny, but demands whether the authority of St. Peter and his successor, Innocent, is not enough.—Contr. Julian., 1, c. 13. He quotes, however, Gregory of Nazianzum and Basil.

a Council at Antioch, and driven, a second Catiline as he is called by Jerome, from Jerusalem: of his end nothing is known. The more courageous and active Celestius still kept up the vain strife. Twice he returned to Rome during the episcopacy of the successor of Zosimus, and twice again was banished. At length, with Julianus, he took refuge at Constantinople, where he obtained a more favourable hearing both from the reigning Emperor, the younger Theodosius, and from Nestorius, the bishop. But his enemies were watchful, and Constantinople refused to entertain the condemned heresiarch: of his death likewise history is silent. The accomplished Julianus,² exiled from his see, proscribed not merely by the harsh edicts of power, but hunted by popular detestation from town to town, wandered through Christendom, as if he bore a divine judgement upon him. His long and weary life was protracted thirty years after his exile.^a At length he settled as teacher of a school, in an obscure town of Sicily. The last act of the proscribed heretic was to sacrifice all he had to relieve the poor in a grievous famine. Some

^a The fragments of the writings of Julianus, especially those in the *Opus Imperfectum* of Augustine, show great acuteness and eloquence, and a facility and perspicuity of style which bears no unfavourable comparison with the great African father. His piety is unimpeachable.

² Julianus constantly taunts Augustine with this appeal to the passions of the rude and ignorant vulgar on such abstruse subjects, and with even worse means of persecuting his adversaries. *Cur seditioes Romæ conductis populis excitâstis? Cur de sumtibus pauperum saginâstis per totam pæne*

Africam, equorum greges, quos prosequenti Olybrio, tribunis et centurionibus destinâstis? Cur matronarum oblatiis hæreditatibus potestates sæculi corrupistis, ut in nos stipula furoris publice ardeat? Cur dissipâstis Ecclesiarum quietem? Cur religiosi principis tempora persecutionum impietate maculâstis?—Oper. Imperfect., iii. 74.

Augustine contents himself by simply denying these charges, the last of which, by his own showing and by the extant edicts, was too true.

In another place Julianus says, *Ut erecto cornu dogma populare.*—*Oper. Imperfect., ii. 2.*

faithful follower, it is said, whether in zeal for his tenets or admiration for his virtues, inscribed on his tomb, "Here sleeps in peace Julianus, the Catholic Bishop."

While the West in general bowed before the commanding authority of Augustine; trembled and shrunk from any opinion which might even seem to impeach the sovereignty of God; laid its free will down a ready sacrifice before divine grace, as contained in the sacraments of the Church and administered by the awful hierarchy; hesitated not to abandon the whole world, external to the Church, to that inevitable hell which was the patrimony of all the children of Adam; Semi-Pelagianism arose in another quarter, and under different auspices, and maintained an obstinate contest for considerably more than a century. This school grew up among the monasteries in the south of France. Among its partisans were some of the most eminent bishops of that province. The most distinguished, if not the first founder, of this Gallic Semi-Pelagianism was the monk Cassianus. The birth-place of Cassianus is uncertain, but if not Greek or Oriental by birth, he was either one or the other, or both, by education.^b His youth was passed in the Eastern monasteries, first in Bethlehem, afterwards in Egypt. Eastern and Egyptian monachism, like its more remote ancestor in India, and its more immediate parent, the Essenism or Therapeutism of the Jews, was anything but a blind or humble Predesti-

Semi-Pelagianism.

Cassianus.

^a Notwithstanding the express words of Gennadius, Cassianus natione Scytha, he has been supposed an African. He is called Afer in the list of ecclesiastical writers by Honorius (lxi. c. 84); an Egyptian (Pagi, Basnage, Fabricius); a Latin (Photius, c. 197); a Gaul (Card. Norris and the Benedictines Hist. Lit. de la France).

narianism. It was the strength and triumph of the human will. It was the self-wrought victory over the bondage of matter; the violent avulsion and stern estrangement from all the indulgences, the pursuits, the affections, the society of the world. The dreamy and passive state of the monk, in which he was surrendered to spiritual influences, began not till his own determination had withdrawn him into the austere and eremetical solitude. There man might be commingled, in absolute identity, with the Godhead. Every act of remorseless asceticism was a meritorious demand on the divine approbation. The divine influence was wrestled for and won by the resolute and prevailing votary, not bestowed as the unsought gift of God. Cassianus passed from Egypt to Constantinople, where he became the favoured pupil of that Greek Father whose writings are throughout the most adverse to the Augustinian system. The whole theology of Chrysostom, in its general impression, is a plain and practical appeal to the free will of man. He addresses man as invested in an awful responsibility, but as self-dependent, self-determining to good or evil. The depravity against which he inveighs is no inherited, inherent corruption, to be dispossessed only by divine grace, but a personal, spontaneous, self-originating, and self-maintained surrender to evil influences; to be broken off by a vigorous effort of religious faith, to be controlled by severe self-imposed religious discipline. As far as is consistent with prayer and devotion, man is master of his own destiny. The Augustinian questions of predestination, grace; the foreknowledge of God, even, in general, the atonement and the extent of its consequences, lie without the sphere of Chrysostom's theology. Cassianus received at least

the first holy orders from Chrysostom. During the disturbances in Constantinople relating to his deposal, Cassianus was sent to Rome on a mission to Pope Innocent I. To the memory of Chrysostom he preserved the most fervent attachment. Chrysostom was to him a second John the Evangelist.^c

Probably after the fall of Chrysostom, Cassianus settled at Marseilles, and founded two monasteries, one of men and one of women, in which ^{Cassianus in Gaul.} he introduced the severe discipline of the East. Marseilles was Greek; it retained to a late period the character and, to some degree, the language of a Grecian colony; no doubt, on that account, it was congenial to Cassianus. But Cassianus became so completely master of Latin as to write in that language his *Monastic Institutes*, the austere and inflexible code followed in most of the cœnobitic foundations north of the Alps; and it is chiefly from this work that posterity can collect the Semi-Pelagian opinions of its author.^d Already, however, some of the faithful partisans of Augustine had given the alarm at this tendency towards rebellion against the dictatorship of their master. Prosper and Hilarius denounced this yet more secret defection of those who presumed to impugn with

^c *Adoptatus a beatissimæ memoriæ Joanne in ministerium sacrum atque oblatum Deo Mementote magistrorum vestrorum veterum sacerdotumque vestrorum Joannis fide ac puritate mirabilis: Joannis inquam, Joannis illius qui verè ad similitudinem Joannis Evangelistæ, et discipulus Jesu et Apostolus, quasi super pectus domini semper affectumque discubuit . . . Qui*

communis mihi ac vobis magister fuit; cujus discipuli et institutio sumus, et segg.—Cassianus de Incarn. c. 31.

^d There has been a controversy whether Cassianus was a Semi-Pelagian. With his works before them, even from the same passages of his works, grave and learned men have argued on both sides.

vain objections the holy Augustine on the grace of God.^e The last works which occupied Augustine were addressed to Prosper and Hilarius, in order to check this daring inroad, and to establish on irrefragable grounds the predestination of the saints and the gift of perseverance.^f

The partisans of Augustine continued to wage the war with all the burning zeal and imperious authority of their master. A school arose, not of theology alone, but of poetry. Prosper, in a long poem, compelled the reluctant language and form of Latin verse to condemn the "ungrateful," who in their wanton pride ascribed partly to themselves, not absolutely to the Grace of God, the work of their salvation. Prosper and Hilarius were followed by a long line of assertors of the Augustinian Predestinarianism, of which Fulgentius was the most rigid and inexorable advocate.^g

Cassianus, on the other side, handed down to a succession of more or less bold disciples the aversion to the extreme views of Augustine. It is doubtful whether the Vincentius, who espoused his opinions, was the celebrated Abbot of Lerins, the author of the 'Commo-nitory.' At a later period Faustus, Bishop of Riez, brought the sanction of learning, high character, and sanctity to the same cause.

^e Gratiam Dei, qua Christiani sumus, qui tam dicere audent a sanctæ memoriæ Augustino Episcopo non rectè esse defensam, librosque ejus contra errorem Pelagianum conditos immoderatis calumniis impetere non quiescunt. — Prosper contr. Collatorem, c. 1.

^f De Prædestinatione Sanctorum.

liber ad Prosperum et Hilarium De dono perseverantiæ liber ad Prosperum et Hilarium secundus.

^g Fulgentius was the predecessor of that modern divine who is said to have spoken of the *comfortable* doctrine of the eternal damnation of little children.

Semi-Pelagianism aspired to hold the balance between Pelagius and Augustine; ^h to steer a safe and middle course between the abysses into which each, on either side, had plunged in desperate presumption.ⁱ It emphatically repudiated the heresy of Pelagius in the denial of original sin; it asserted divine grace, but it seemed to confine divine grace to the outward means, the Scriptures and the sacraments, rather than to its inward and direct workings on the soul itself.

But it condemned with equal resolution the system of Augustine, by which the grace of God was hardened into an iron necessity; it reproached him with that Manicheism which divided mankind into two hard antagonistic masses.^k

But of all religious controversies this alone had the merit of not growing up into a fatal and implacable schism.^m The Semi-Pelagians, though condemned in several successive councils, were not cast out of the Church, and did not therefore form separate and hostile

^h Sed nec cum hæreticis tibi, nec cum Catholicis plena concordia est . . . tu informe, nescio quid, tertium et utraque parte inconveniens reperisti, quo nec inimicorum consensum adquireres, nec in nostrorum permaneres.— Prosper, c. ii. p. 117.

ⁱ Compare Walch, v. p. 55.

^k Compare the letter of Prosper to Rufinus, in which Augustine is said to make duas humani generis massas, an error as bad as that of heathens or Manicheans.

^m No question has been more disputed in later days, or with less certain result, than whether there was

a distinct sect of Predestinarians at this period. The controversy originated in the publication of a remarkable tract, the "Prædestinatus," by the Jesuit Sirmond. The great object was to clear the memory of Augustine, who was claimed both by Jesuits and Jansenists. Such a sect, if it existed, would carry off from St. Augustine all the charges heaped upon Predestinarianism at that time. If they were heretics, Augustine was of unimpeached orthodoxy, and therefore could not have held a condemnable Predestinarianism. Walch discusses the question at length, vol. v.

communities. This rare mutual respect, which now prevailed, is no doubt to be attributed to one important cause. The monasteries, which were held in such profound and universal veneration, were the chief schools of these doctrines; some of the most austere and most admired of these Cœnobites were the chief assertors of the free will of man.ⁿ

ⁿ Prosper himself betrays this enforced respect and its peculiar source:—

Nec tibi fallacis subrepat imago decoris,
Nullum ex his errare putes, licet in Cruce
vitam

Ducant, et jugi afficiant sua corpora morte:
Abstineant opibus; sint casti; sintque be-
nigni;

Terrenisque ferant animum super astra re-
lictis;

Si tamen hæc propria virtute capessere
quenquam

Posse putant. sitve ut dignus labor iste
invari.

Ingenium meruisse aiunt bona vera pe-
tentis;

Crescere quo cupiunt, minuuntur; profi-
ciendo

Deficiunt; surgendo cadunt, currendo re-
cedunt;

Unde etenim vani frustra splendescere
quærunt,

Inde obscurantur: quoniam sua, laudis
amore,

Non quæ sunt Christi quærunt, nec fit Deus
illis

Principium et capiti non dant in corpore
regnum.

Prosper ad Ingratos. xxxvii.

CHAPTER III.

Nestorianism.

ZOSIMUS filled the See of Rome only a year and nine months. His short pontificate was agitated not only by the Pelagian controversy, but by disputes with the bishops of Southern Gaul and of Africa, hereafter to be considered when the relations of those provinces to the See of Rome shall take their place in our history.

Mar. 18, 417.
Dec. 26, 418.
Death of
Zosimus.

The death of Zosimus gave rise to the third contested election for the See of Rome.

The greater the dignity of the Bishop of Rome, and the more lofty his pretensions to supremacy, the more would ambition covet this post of power and distinction; the more, on the other hand, would holy and Christian emulation aspire to place the worthiest prelate in this commanding station; and men's opinions would not always concur as to the ecclesiastic best qualified to preside over Western Christendom. Thus while the most ungovernable worldly passions and interests would intrude themselves into the election, honest religious zeal, often the blindest, always the most obstinate of human motives, would esteem it a sacred duty to espouse, an impious weakness to abandon, some favourite cause.

Disputed
election,
Dec. 27, 28.

The unsettled form of the election, and the undefined rights of the electors, could not but increase the difficulty and exasperate the strife.

Unsettled
form of
election.

The absolute nomination by the clergy would have

been no security against contested elections; for in every double election a large part of the clergy was ranged on either side, and formed the rival factions. A certain assent of the people was still considered necessary to ratify the appointment. At all events, the people looked on the election with such profound interest, during a contest with such violent excitement, that it was impossible to exclude them from interference; and both factions were so anxious for their support, that only the losing party would see the impropriety of their tumultuous mingling in the fray. The election of the Bishop was now as much an affair of the whole city as that of a consul or a dictator of old, without the ancient and time-honoured regulations for collecting the suffrages by centuries or by tribes.

And who were the people? Was this right equally shared by all the members of the religious community, now almost co-extensive in number with the inhabitants of the city? Had the Senate any special privilege, or were all these rights of the laity vested in the Emperor alone as the supreme civil power, and so in the Prefect of Rome, the representative of imperial authority? The popular universal suffrage, which, in a small primitive church, one pervaded with pure Christian piety, tended to harmony, became an uncontrolled democratic anarchy when the bishopric included a vast city. It is surprising that this difficulty, which was not removed until, at a comparatively recent period, the election was vested in the College of Cardinals, was not fatal to the supremacy of Rome. But though the wild scenes of anarchy and tumult, which, especially from the eighth to the eleventh century, impaired the authority of the Pope in Rome itself, and desecrated his person; though the successful Pou-

tiff was often only the head of a triumphant faction, and was either disobeyed, or obeyed with undisguised reluctance, by the defeated party ; still distance seemed to soften off all this unseemly confusion, above which the Pope appeared seated on his serene and lofty throne in undiminished majesty. It constantly happened that at the very time at which in Rome the Pope was insulted, maltreated, wounded, imprisoned, driven from the city, the extreme parts of Christendom were bowing to his decrees in unshaken reverence.

Twice already—perhaps more than twice—had Rome been afflicted with a fierce and prolonged contest. The austere bigotry of Novatian had maintained his claim against the authority of Cornelius. Felix had been the antipope to Liberius. The streets of Rome had run with blood, the churches had been defiled with dead bodies, in the more recent strife of Damasus and Ursicinus.

On the death of Zosimus, some of the clergy chose the Archdeacon Eulalius in the Lateran Church ; on the same, or the next day, a larger number met in the Church of S. Theodora, and elected the Presbyter Boniface. Three bishops, among whom was the Bishop of Ostia, either compelled, it was said, or, yielding through the weakness of extreme old age, consecrated Eulalius. Boniface was inaugurated by nine bishops in the presence of seventy presbyters, in the Church of St. Marcellus. Rome might apprehend the return of those terrible and bloody days which marked the elevation of Damasus. The Prefect of Rome was Symmachus, son of that eloquent orator who had defended with so much energy the lost cause of paganism. The outward conformity, at least, of Symmachus to Christianity may be presumed from the

Dec. 27, 28.

Double election.

favour of Honorius; but it is curious to find a contest for the Papacy dependent for its decision on the son of such a father. Symmachus, in his report to the Emperor, inclines towards the party of Eulalius. Boniface was summoned to Ravenna. He delayed to obey the mandate, which reached him when he was performing his sacred functions without the city; the officers of the Prefect were maltreated by the populace of his party. The gates of Rome, therefore, were closed upon Boniface, and Eulalius, in great state, amid the acclamations of part, at least, of the people, took possession of St. Peter's, the Capitol, as it were, of Christianity.

The party of Boniface were not inactive, or without influence at the court of Ravenna. The petition to the Emperor declared that all the Presbyters of Rome would accompany Boniface, to make known her will or, rather, the judgement of God.^a Honorius issued a rescript, with supercilious impartiality commanding both prelates to remain at a distance from the city, until the cause should be decided by a synod of bishops from Italy, Gaul, and Africa. In the mean time, as the Roman people could not be deprived of the solemn rites of Easter, Achilleus, Bishop of Spoleto, was ordered to officiate during the vacancy. Eulalius would not endure this sacrilegious usurpation of the powers of his see. He surprised by night, at the head of that part of the populace which was on his side, the Lateran Church; and in contempt of the Emperor's orders, celebrated the holy rites. But the days of suc-

^a *Praelectis singulis Titulis, presbyteri omnes aderunt, qui voluntatem suam, hoc est, iudicium Dei prolo-* quantur.—Apud Baronium, sub ann. 419.

cessful conflict with the civil power were not yet come. The rashness of Eulalius estranged even Symmachus from his cause:^b this act was treated as one of rebellion. Eulalius was expelled from the city. He was threatened, as well as all the clergy who adhered to him, with still more fearful penalties. The laity who communicated with Eulalius were to be punished, the higher orders with banishment and confiscation, slaves with death. The primates of the Regions of Rome were to be responsible for all popular tumults. Such was the commanding judgement of the Emperor.^c

Boniface took possession without further contest of the Pontifical throne. He was the son of a presbyter^d named Jocondus, a Roman by birth; he was an aged prelate, of mild and blameless character; wisely anxious to prevent, as far as possible, the scandals, and even crimes, in which he had been so nearly involved. He addressed the Emperor urging the enactment of a law, a civil law, which should restrain ecclesiastical ambition, and coerce those who aspired to obtain by intrigue, what ought to be the reward of piety and holiness. Honorius issued an edict, that in case of a contested election both the rival candidates should be excluded from the office, and a new appointment made. Thus the Imperial power assumed, and was acknowledged to possess, full authority to regulate the election of Bishops of Rome.^e During the three years of the pontificate of Boniface, the Pelagian controversy was still drawing out its almost interminable length.

^b Symmachi rescript. apud Baron.
^c See the rescript of Honorius, apud Baronium.

^d Platin. vit. Bonifac.
^e Rescriptum Honorii, apud Baronium.

On the death of Boniface,^f Eulalius refused to leave the seclusion into which he had retired; the decline of life may have softened his ambition—for he died the following year. Celestine was elected, and ruled in peace the see of Rome. The Pontificates of Celestine I.^g and his successor Sixtus III.^h were occupied by the Nestorian controversy: occupied, but hardly disturbed. The East, as it has appeared, had stood aloof, serene and unimpassioned, throughout the Pelagian controversy; in Palestine, the Latin Jerome alone, and his partisans the two Western bishops of doubtful fame, would not endure the presence of Pelagius. In Alexandria and Constantinople, Predestination, Grace, Free Will, excited no tumults, arrayed against each other no hostile factions, demanded no councils. The Bishop of Constantinople pronounced his authoritative decrees, which no one desired to question; and expelled from his diocese Celestius, or Pelagius himself, whom no one cared to defend. They alone, of all powerful heresiarchs in Constantinople, neither distracted the Imperial court, nor maddened the popular faction.

Latin Christianity contemplated with almost equal indifference Nestorianism, and all its prolific race, Eutychianism, Monophysitism, Monothelitism. While in this contest the two great Patriarchates of the East, Constantinople and Alexandria, brought to issue, or strove to bring to issue, their rival claims to ascendancy; while council after council promulgated, reversed, re-enacted their conflicting decrees; while separate and hostile communities were formed in every

^f Boniface died Nov. 4, 422.

July, 432.

^g Celestine I., Nov. 10, 422; died

^h Sixtus III., 432; died 440.

region of the East; and the fears of persecuted Nestorianism, stronger than religious zeal, penetrated for refuge remote countries, into which Christianity had not yet found its way: in the West there was no Nestorian, or Eutychian sect. Some councils condemned, but with hardly an audible remonstrance, these uncongenial heresies: the doctrines are condemned, but there appears no body of heretics whom it is thought necessary to strike with the anathema.

In the East, religion ceased more and more to be an affair of pure religion. It was mingled up with all the intrigues of the Imperial court, with all the furies of faction in the great cities. The council was the arena, not merely for Christian doctrine, but for worldly ascendancy. Secular ambition could no longer be distinguished, nor could the warring prelates themselves distinguish it, from zeal for orthodoxy. Religious questions being decided by the favour of the Emperor, the Empress, or the ruling minister, eunuch or barbarian, that favour was sought by the most unscrupulous means—by intrigue, by adulation, by bribery; and these means became hallowed. There was no sacrifice with which Alexandria would not purchase superiority over Constantinople, or Constantinople over Alexandria: the rivalry of the sees darkened into the fiercest personal hostility.

In the mean time the Bishop of Rome, unembarrassed with the intricacies of the question, which had no temptation for his more practical understanding, with the whole West participating in his comparative apathy, could sit, at a distance, a tranquil arbiter, and interfere only when he saw his own advantage, or when all parties, exasperated or wearied out, gladly submitted to any foreign or unpledged judgement. The Eastern

prelates, too eager to destroy each other, were either blind to, or in the heat of mutual detestation disregarded this silent aggression, and admitted principles without suspicion fatal to their own independence.

On the nature of the Godhead the inexhaustible East had not yet nearly run the whole round of speculative thought; the Greek language still found new gradations on which it might employ its fine and subtile distinctiveness. All these controversies, which began anew with Nestorianism, sprang by lineal and unbroken descent from the great ancestral principle. The same Oriental tenet (however it may not, at first sight, be apparent) which gave birth to the various Gnostic sects, and to Manicheism, had lain at the root of Arianism,ⁱ now quickened into life Nestorianism and all its kindred race. Arianism had arisen out of that profound sense of the malignancy of matter, which in its grosser influence had led to the Manichean Dualism. The pure, primal, parental Deity must stand entirely aloof from all connexion with that in which evil was inherent, inveterate, inextinguishable. This was the absolute essence of Deity; this undisturbed, unattainted Spiritualism, which disdained, repelled, abhorred the contact, the approximation of the Corporeal, which once assimilating to, or condescending to assume any of the attributes of Matter, ceased to be the Godhead.

ⁱ Hist. of Christianity, vol. ii. p. 369. Add to the authorities there quoted this decisive passage from Arius himself, apud Athanas. xvi. de Syn. *εἰ δὲ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ ἐκ γαστρὸς* (Psalm cx. 3) *καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξηλθον, καὶ ἦκω, ὡς μέρος αὐτοῦ ὁμοούσιον καὶ ὡς προβολὴ ὑπερωίων νοεῖται, σύνθετος ἔσται ὁ*

πατὴρ καὶ διαιρετὸς καὶ τρεπτὸς καὶ σῶμα κατ' αὐτοῦ. Arius accused his adversaries of destroying this pure spirituality of the Father, by asserting the *ὁμοούσια* of the Son. The Father became likewise composed of parts, divisible, mutable, corporeal; and to him this was an unanswerable argument.

By the triumph of Athanasian Trinitarianism, and by the gradual dominance which it had obtained over the general mind of Christendom, the ^{Trinitarianism established.} coequal and consubstantial Godhead in the Trinity had become an article of the universal creed in the Latin Church. Arianism survived only among the barbarians. The East adhered almost as generally to the Creed of Nicæa. The Son, therefore, had become, if the expression may be ventured, more and more divine; he was more completely not merely assimilated, but absolutely identified, with the original, perfect, uncontaminated Godhead. Yet his descent into the material world, his admixture with the external, the sensible, the created—his assumption of the form and being of man (which all agreed to be essential to the Christian scheme, not in seeming alone, according to the Docetic notion, but actually and really)—must be guarded by the same jealousy of infecting his pure and spiritual essence by the earthly contagion: that which would have been fatal to the spirituality of the Father might endanger the same prerogative of the Son. The divine and human nature could not indeed be kept separate, but they must be united with the least possible sacrifice of their essential attributes. If (according to Nestorius) the Eternal and Co-equal Word were *born*, this was a denial of his pre-existence; and to assert that he could be liable to passion or suffering,^k in ^{Views of Nestorius.} the same manner violated the pure spirituality of the Godhead. He proposed, therefore, that the appellation, Christ, should be confined, and, as it were, kept sacred, as signifying the Being, composed of the blended, yet unconfounded, God and man; and that the Virgin should

^k Patibilis.

be the mother of Christ, the God-man, not the mother of God, of the unassociated divinity.^m This is the key to the whole controversy. Never was there a case in which the contending parties approximated so closely. Both subscribed, both appealed to the Nicene Creed: both admitted the pre-existence, the impassibility of the Eternal Word; but the fatal duty, which the Christians in that age, and unhappily in subsequent ages, have imposed upon themselves, of considering the detection of heresy the first of religious obligations, mingled, as it now was, with human passions and interests, made the breach irreparable. Men like Cyril of Alexandria, in whom religion might seem to have inflamed and embittered, instead of allaying, the worst passions of our nature, pride, ambition, cruelty, rapacity; and Councils like that of Ephesus, with all the tumult and violence without the dignity of a senate or popular assembly, convulsed the East, and led to a fierce irreconcilable schism.

The stern repudiation of the term, the Mother of God, encountered another sentiment, which
Worship of the Virgin. had been rapidly growing up, as one of the dominant influences of the Christian mind. The worship of the Virgin had arisen from the confluence of many pure and gentle and many natural feelings. The reverence for everything connected with the Redeemer, especially by ties so close and tender, would not with cold jealousy watch and limit its ardent language. The more absolute deification, if it may be so said, of Christ; the forgetfulness of his humanity induced by his investment in more remote and awful Godhead,—created a want of some more kindred and

^m Χριστοτοκί: not Θεοτοκός.

familiar object of adoration. The worship of the intermediate saints admitted that of the Virgin as its least dangerous, most affecting, most consolatory part. The exquisite beauty and purity of the images, the Virgin Mother and the Divine Infant, though not as yet embodied in the highest art, by painting or sculpture, appealed to the unreasoning and unsuspecting heart. To this was added, the superior influence with which Christianity had invested the female sex, and which naturally clave to this gentler and kindred object of adoring love. In one of the earliest documents relating to this controversy, the honour conferred on the female sex by the birth of the Lord from the Virgin Mary is dwelt upon in glowing terms: woman's glory is inseparably connected with that of the Virgin Mother. The power exercised by females at the court of Constantinople, now by the sisters and wives, the Pulcherias and Eudoxias, at other times by the mothers of Emperors, the Helenas and Irenes, as in some degree springing from Christianity, was strengthened by, and in its turn strengthened, this adoration of the Virgin Mary, which interposed itself between that of Christ, and still more that of God the Father, and the worshipping Christian.

With this view accords the whole course of the history. On the death of Sisinnius Bishop of Constantinople, the Emperor, the younger Promotion of Nestorius, A.D. 428. Theodosius, to terminate the intrigues and factions among the clergy of the city, summoned Nestorius from Antioch to the Episcopal Throne of the Eastern Rome.ⁿ Nestorius appeared, simple in his dress, grave

ⁿ Nestorius was a Syrian, a native of Germanicia. — Socrat. vii. 29. Theodoret, Hæret. Fab. iv. 12. Simeon

Batharsan. apud Assemani, Biblioth. Orient. i. 346

in his demeanour, pale and meagre from ascetic observances, and with the fame of surpassing eloquence.^o He revived to the expecting city the fond remembrance of Chrysostom, who, like him, had been *called* from Antioch to Constantinople.^p The Golden Mouth was again to appal and delight the city. But the religion of Chrysostom, from its strong practical character, had escaped that speculative tinge which seemed natural to the Syrian mind. The last lingering vestiges of Gnosticism survived in Syria. Arius, though not a Syrian Presbyter, found his most ardent adherents in that province; and now from the same quarter sprang this new theory, which, though it rested its claim to orthodoxy on its irreconcilable hostility to Arianism, grew out of the same principle.

Anastasius, a presbyter, who accompanied Nestorius from Antioch, first sounded the clarion of strife and confusion. He publicly preached that it was improper and even impious to address the Virgin Mary as the Mother of God. The indignation and excitement of the city was heightened by fast-spreading rumours, that the Bishop not merely refused to silence the sacrilegious Presbyter, but openly avowed the same opinion.^q As is usual, the subtle distinctions of Nestorius were unheard or unintelligible to the common ear. He proscribed an appellation to which the pulpits and the services of the Church had habituated the general mind. The tenet jarred upon the high-strung sensitiveness of an inveterate faith, and awoke resentment,

^o Tantâ antea opinione vixisti, ut tuis te aliena civitas invideret. Such is the honourable testimony borne to the character of Nestorius by Pope Celestine.—Epistol. ad Nestor., Mansi,

iv. 1206.

^p Cassian. De Incarn. vii. 30. Tillemont, page 286.

^q Socrates, E. H. vii. 29, 32.

on which the finest argument was lost. In the great Metropolitan Church the Bishop delivered a sermon on the Incarnation of the Lord.^r As Sermons of Nestorius. an orator he placed his own theory in the most brilliant light. He dwelt on the omnipotence, the glory, and all the transcendent attributes of God the Creator, and of God the Redeemer. "And can this God have a mother?"^s "The heathen notion of a God born of a mortal mother is directly confuted by St. Paul, who declares the Lord without father and without mother. Could a creature bear the Uncreated? Could the Word, which was with the Father before the worlds, become a new-born infant? The human nature alone was born of the Virgin: that which is of the flesh is flesh.^t The manhood was the instrument of the divine purposes, the outward and visible vesture of the Invisible. God was incarnate, indeed, but God died not; his death was but casting off the weeds of mortality, which he had assumed for a time." A second and a third sermon followed, in which Nestorius still further unfolded his opinions: "Like can but bear like; a human mother can only bear a human being. God was not born—he dwelt in that which was born; the Divinity underwent not the slow process of growth and development during the nine months of pregnancy." But the more perplexing and subtle are arguments addressed to those whose judgment is already ratified by their passions, they only inflame resentment instead of working conviction. The whole city was in an uproar; every ecclesiastical rule broken asunder. The

^r Socrates, H. E. vii. 32. Evagrius,
2. Liberatus. Breviar. c. 4.

^s Socrates, ut supra.

^t Marius Mercator, edit. Garnier is
p. 5.

presbyters, in every quarter, preached against their bishop; and a bold monk (the monks were always the faithful representatives of the religious passions of their age) forbade the Bishop, as an obstinate heretic, to approach the altar. Nestorius (and in all his subsequent afflictions it must be remembered that, when in power, he scrupled not to persecute) did not bear these insults with Christian equanimity, or repress them with calm dignity. The refractory priests and the tumultuous people were seized, tried, and scourged more cruelly than in a land of barbarians. Nestorius, it is said, with his own hand, struck the presumptuous monk, and then made him over to the officers, who flogged him through the streets, with a crier going before to proclaim his offence, and then cast him out of the city."

Nestorius found in Constantinople itself a more dangerous antagonist. On a festival in honour of the Virgin, Proclus Bishop of Cyzicum (an unsuccessful rival, it is said, of Nestorius for the Metropolitan See)

* This is the account indeed of a partisan—the report of Basilius to the Emperor Theodosius. Labbe, Concil. But his whole history shows the persecuting spirit of Nestorius:—"The fifth day after his consecration he endeavoured to deprive the Arians of their church: they burned it down in despair. He was called by his enemies Nestorius the Incendiary." Socrat. vii. 29. He excited also a violent persecution against the Novatians, Quartodecimans, and Macedonians. Ibid. et c. 31. The most damning fact against him, however, is his own boast that he procured an imperial law of the utmost severity against all heretics: Ego,

certe legem inter ipsa meæ ordinationis initia contra eos, qui Christum purum hominem dicunt, et contra reliquas hæreses innovavi. Mansi, v. 731 or 763. For the Law, see Cod. Theodos. de Hæret. Vincentius Lirinensis writes of Nestorius, Ut uni hæresi aditum patefaceret, cunctarum hæreseon blasphemias insectabatur.—Commonit. c. 16. Nestorius was in character a monk, without humility. "Give me (such is the speech ascribed to him as addressed to the Emperor) a world freed from heresy, and I will give you the kingdom of heaven. Aid me in subduing the heretics, I will aid you in routing the Persians."

delivered a passionate appeal to the dominant feeling. The worship of the Virgin, in the most poetic ages of Christianity, has hardly surpassed the images which Proclus poured forth in lavish profusion in honour of the Mother of God. "Earth and sea did homage to the Virgin: the sea smoothing its serene waters, earth conducting the secure travellers who thronged to her festival. Nature exulted, and womankind was glorified." "We are assembled in honour of the Mother of God" (the appellation condemned by Nestorius); "the spotless treasure-house of virginity; the spiritual paradise of the second Adam; the workshop, in which the two natures were annealed together; the bridal chamber in which the Word wedded the flesh; the living bush of nature, which was unharmed by the fire of the divine birth: the light cloud, which bore Him which sat between the Cherubim; the stainless fleece, bathed in the dews of heaven, with which the Shepherd clothed his sheep; the handmaid and the mother, the Virgin and Heaven;"—and so on through a wild labyrinth of untranslatable metaphor.* The cloudy opening cleared off into something like argument; it became an elaborate reply to Nestorius, the declaration of war from one who felt his strength in the popular feeling.

But the war was not confined to Constantinople; it involved the whole East. Now rushed forward an adversary far more formidable in station, in ability, in that character for Christian ortho-

Cyril of
Alexandria.

* This sermon of Proclus (to be found Labbe, Concil. sub ann.) is said, in the ancient preface, to have been delivered in the great church, in the presence of Nestorius. Nestorius appears to have answered this attack with

moderation. In dieser ganzer Rede (the answer of Nestorius) herrschet so viel Bescheidenheit, als gewiss in andern polemischen Schriften dieses Zeitalters kaum angetroffen wird. — Walch, v. p. 376.

doxy of doctrine which then hallowed every act, even every crime, but from which true Christianity would avert its sight in shame and anguish, that such a champion should be accepted as the representative of the Gospel of peace and love. Cyril of Alexandria, to those who esteem the stern and uncompromising assertion of certain Christian tenets the one paramount Christian virtue, may be the hero, even the saint; but while ambition, intrigue, arrogance, rapacity, and violence are proscribed as unchristian means—barbarity, persecution, bloodshed as unholy and unevangelic wickednesses—posterity will condemn the orthodox Cyril as one of the worst of heretics against the spirit of the Gospel. Who would not meet the judgement of the Divine Redeemer loaded with the errors of Nestorius, rather than with the barbarities of Cyril?

Cyril was the nephew of Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria, a worthy successor to the see and to the character of that haughty and unscrupulous prelate, the enemy of Chrysostom. Jealousy and animosity towards the Bishop of Constantinople was a sacred legacy bequeathed by Theophilus to his nephew, and Cyril faithfully administered the fatal trust. He inherited even the bitter personal hatred of Chrysostom; refused to concur in the general respect for his memory, and in the reversal, after his death, of the unjust sentence of deposition from his see. He scrupled not to call the eloquent, and in all religious tenets and principles absolutely blameless Christian orator, a second Judas.⁷ The general voice of Christendom alone compelled him to desist from this posthumous persecution. Nor was Cyril content without surpassing his haughty

⁷ *Exist. ad Attic. apud Labbe, 204.*

kinsman in the pretensions of his archiepiscopate. From his accession, observes the ecclesiastical historian of the time, the bishops of Alexandria aspired, far beyond the limits of the sacerdotal power, to rule with sovereign authority.² They confronted, and, as will appear, contended on equal terms and with the same weapons, against the Imperial magistracy.^a

The first act of Cyril's episcopacy was that of a persecutor. He closed the churches of the Novatians, seized and confiscated all their sacred treasures, and stripped the bishop of all his possessions. The war which he commenced against the heretics he continued against the Jews and heathens. But the numerous and wealthy Jews of Alexandria, who multiplied as fast as they were diminished by their own feuds or feuds with the Christians, were not to be oppressed so easily as a small and unpopular sect of Christians. Cyril must have been well acquainted with the fierce and violent temperament of the Alexandrian populace, and with their proverbial character, that their factions never ended without bloodshed.^b But Cyril had himself too much of the hot Egyptian blood in his veins; and the bishop, instead of allaying this sanguinary propensity by the gentle and humanising influences of Christianity, was rarely the last to raise the banner of strife, never the first to lay it down, never laid it down until his enemies were prostrate at his feet. Both Jews and Christians in Alexandria had so far departed from the primitive habits of their religion, that their most frequent and

Cyril's persecutions.
The Novatians.

The Jews.

^a καὶ γὰρ ἐξ ἐκείνου ἡ ἐπισκόπη Ἀλεξανδρείας, παρὰ τῆς ἱερατικῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν. Socrat. H. E.

vii. 7.

^a Ibid. loc. cit.

^b δῖχα γὰρ αἵματος οὐ παύεται τῆς ὄρμης. Socrat. vii. 13.

dangerous collisions took place in the theatre ; and the drama, in its noblest form a part of the pagan religion, had now degenerated into such immodest or savage exhibitions, or in itself gave rise to such maddening factions that, instead of allaying hostile feelings by the common amusement and hilarity, it inflamed them to fiercer animosity.^c The contested merits of a pantomimic actor now exasperated the mutual hatred of the religious parties. Orestes, the prefect of the city, determined to suppress these tumults, and ordered strict police regulations to that effect to be hung up in the theatre. Certain partisans of the archbishop entered the theatre, with the innocent design, it is said, of reading this proclamation. Among these was one Hierax, a low schoolmaster, a man conspicuous as an admirer of Cyril, whom he was wont (according to common usage in the church) to applaud vehemently whenever he preached. From what cause is not quite clear, the Jews supposed themselves insulted by the presence of Hierax ;^d they raised a violent outcry that the man was there only to stir up a tumult. Orestes, jealous, it is said, of the archbishop on account of his encroachments on the civil authority, sided with the Jews, ordered Hierax to be seized as a disturber of the peace, and publicly scourged. The archbishop sent for the principal Jews, and threatened them with exemplary vengeance, if they did not cause all tumults against the

^c These entertainments usually took place on the Jewish Sabbath, and on that idle day the theatre was thronged with Jews, who preferred this profane amusement to the holy worship of their Synagogue.—Hist. of Jews, iii. 34.

^d My suggestion, in a former work,

that these regulations might have appointed different days for the different races of the people to attend the theatre, would make the story more clear. The excuse which Socrates suggests for the presence of Hierax implies that he had no business there.

Christians to cease. The Jews determined to anticipate the menace of their adversaries. Having put on rings of palm bark, in order to distinguish each other in the dark, they suddenly, at the dead of night, raised a cry that the great church, called that of Alexander, was on fire. The Christians rose and rushed from all quarters to save the church. The Jews fell upon them and massacred on all sides. When day dawned, the cause of the uproar was manifest. The archbishop placed himself at the head of a formidable force, attacked the synagogue of the Jews, expelled the whole race, no doubt not without much bloodshed, from the city, and allowed the populace to pillage all their vast wealth. The Jews, who from the time of Alexander had inhabited the city, were thus cast forth naked and outraged from its walls. The strong part which Orestes took against the archbishop, and his regret at the expulsion of so many thriving and opulent Jews from the city, warrant the suspicion that their rising was not without great provocation. Both parties sent representations to the Emperor: in the interval Cyril was compelled by the people of Alexandria to make overtures of reconciliation.^e On one occasion he went forth to meet Orestes with the Gospel in his hand: the prefect, probably supposing that he had not much of its spirit in his heart, refused his advances.

The monks of the Nitrian desert had already been employed in the persecutions by Theophilus. Monks of Nitria. These fiery champions of the Church took arms to the number of five hundred, and poured into the city to strengthen the faction of the patriarch.

^e τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ λαὸς τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων αὐτὸν ποιεῖν κατηνάγκασεν
Socrat. loc. cit.

They surrounded the chariot of the prefect, insulted him, and heaped on him the opprobrious names of heathen and idolater. The prefect protested, but in vain, that he had been baptized by Atticus, Bishop of Constantinople. One of these monks, named Ammonius, hurled a great stone and struck him on the head; the blood gushed forth, and his affrighted attendants fled on all sides. But the character of Orestes stood high with the people. The Alexandrians rose in defence of their magistrate; the monks were driven from the city; Ammonius seized, tortured, and put to death. Cyril commanded his body to be taken up: the honours of a Christian martyr were prostituted on this insolent ruffian; his panegyric was pronounced in the Church, and he was named Thaumasius, the Wonderful. But the more Christian of the Christians were shocked at the conduct of the Archbishop. Cyril was for once ashamed, and glad to bury the affair in oblivion.

But before long his adherents were guilty of a more atrocious and an unprovoked crime, of the Hypatia. guilt of which a deep suspicion attached to Cyril. All Alexandria respected, honoured, took pride in the celebrated Hypatia. She was a woman of extraordinary learning; in her was centred the lingering knowledge of that Alexandrian Platonism cultivated by Plotinus and his school. Her beauty was equal to her learning; her modesty commended both. She mingled freely with the philosophers without suspicion to her lofty and unblemished character. Hypatia lived in great intimacy with the prefect Orestes: the only charge whispered against her was that she encouraged him in his hostility to the patriarch. Cyril, on the other hand, is said not to have been superior to an unworthy jealousy at the greater concourse of hearers to the lectures of

the elegant Platonist than to his own sermons.^f Some of Cyril's ferocious partisans seized this woman, dragged her from her chariot, and with the most revolting indecency tore her clothes off, and then rent her limb from limb.^g The Christians of Alexandria did this, professing to be actuated by Christian zeal in the cause of a Christian prelate. No wonder, in the words of the ecclesiastical historian, that by such a deed a deep stain was fixed on Cyril and the Church of Alexandria.^h

It was this man who now stood forth as the head and representative of Eastern Christendom, the assertor of pure Christian doctrine, the antagonist of heresy on the episcopal throne of Constantinople. Cyril was not blind to the advantage offered by this opportunity of humiliating or crushing by this odious imputation the Bishop of the Imperial See, which aspired to dispute with Alexandria the primacy of the East. The patriarchs of Alexandria had seen the rise of Constantinople with undissembled jealousy. To this primacy Antioch, perhaps Jerusalem, might advance some pretensions. Ephesus boasted of her connexion with St. John. But Byzantium had been a poor see under the jurisdiction of Heraclea; its claim rested entirely on the city having become the seat of empire. This jealousy had been, no doubt, the latent cause of the bitter and persevering hostility of Theophilus towards Chrysostom. The more ambitious Cyril might now renew the contest with less suspicion of unworthy motives; he was waging war, not against a rival, but against a heretic.

^f Socrates, H. E. vii, 13.

^g Damascius apud Suidam.

^h τούτο οὐ μικρὸν μῶμον Κυρίλλῳ,

καὶ τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίᾳ
εἰργάσατο. Socrat. loc. cit.

The intelligence of the disturbances in Constantinople and the unpopular doctrines favoured at least by Nestorius spread rapidly to Alexandria: the monks of both regions probably maintained a close correspondence. Cyril commenced his operations by an Easter sermon, in which, without introducing the name of Nestorius, he denounced his doctrines. He followed up the blow with four epistles, at certain intervals: one addressed to his faithful partisans, the monks of Egypt; one to the Emperor; one to the Empress mother, the guardian of her son; the last to Nestorius himself. The address to the Emperor commences in an Oriental tone of adulation, the servility of which would have been as abhorrent to an ancient Roman as its impiety to a primitive Christian. The Emperor is the image of God upon earth: as the Divine Majesty fills heaven and awes the angels, so his serene dignity the earth, and is the source of all human happiness. This Emperor was the feeble boy, Theodosius II. To the Empresses, the mother and the sister of Theodosius, as more worthy auditors, and judges better qualified to enter on such high mysteries, Cyril pours out all the treasures of his theology. In the letter to Nestorius, who, it seems, had taken offence at the dissemination of the address to the Egyptian monks in Constantinople, Cyril states, with some calmness, that the whole Christian world, Rome, Syria, Alexandria, were equally shocked by the denial of the title "Mother of God" to the Blessed Virgin.¹ This epistle was followed by a second, which called forth an answer from Nestorius. This answer, as well as the whole of the controversy, more completely betrays the leading notions which had obtained such full possession

¹ Labbe, *Concil.* iii. p. 51.

of the mind of Nestorius. The Godhead, as immaterial is essentially impassible. The co-eternal Word must be impassible, as the co-eternal Father.^k The human nature was the temple in which dwelt the serene and impassive Divinity. To degrade the Divinity to the brute and material processes of gestation, birth, passion, death, the inalienable accidents of the flesh and the flesh alone, was pure heathenism, or a heresy worse than that of Arius or Apollinaris. Cyril himself is driven by this difficulty to the very verge of Nestorian opinions, and to admit that the Godhead cannot properly be asserted to have suffered wounds and death.^m But throughout this age the strong repulsive power of religious difference subdues the feebler attractive force of conciliation and peace. The epistolary altercation between Cyril and Nestorius grew fiercer, and with less hope of reconciliation. Nestorius, though he might

^k *καὶ τὸν θεῖον ἐκείνον τῶν πατέρων εὐρήσεις χορδὴν, οὐ τὴν ὁμοούσιον θεότητα παθητὴν εἰρήκοτα, οὐδὲ ἀναστᾶσαν τὸν τὸν λελυμένον ναὺν ἀναστήσαντα.* Epist. Nestor., apud Labbe, p. 321. *τὸν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἀπαθῆ κηρύχθεντα, καὶ δευτέρας γεννήσεως ἄδεκτον, πάλιν παθητὸν, καὶ νεώκτιστον οὐκ διδ᾽ ὅπως εἰσηγεν,* p. 322. This is throughout the point at issue. Compare the third part (in the Concil. Labbe) containing the twelve chapters of Cyril, the objections of the Oriental prelates, and the apology of Cyril for each separate chapter. The one party contend against the passibility, the mutability of the Godhead; Christ being God, is ἀπαθὴς καὶ ἀναλλοίωτος. The flesh, which endured all the passion and the change, was inti-

mately connected with the Deity; was its pavilion, its dwelling-place; and this may explain "The Word became Flesh." Compare pp. 844, 881, 892.

^m Cyril was reduced to the expression ἀπαθῶς ἔπαθε. We find, too, this remarkable passage: *οὐχ ὅτι πάντως αὐτὸς ὁ ἐκ θεοῦ κατὰ φύσιν γεννηθεὶς λόγος ἀπέθανεν, ἢ ἐνύχθη τῇ λόγῃ εἰς τὴν πλευράν, ποίαν γὰρ ἔχει, εἶπε μοι, πλευρὰν, τὸ ἄσώματος, ἢ πῶς ἂν ἀπέθανεν ἢ ζῶη ἄλλ' ὅτι ἐνωθεὶς τῇ σαρκί, εἶτα πασχούσης αὐτῆς, ὡς τοῦ ἰδίου πασχόντος σώματος, αὐτὸς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν οἰκειοῦται τὸ παθὸς.* In the Alexandrian Liturgy of S. Gregory, this expression has been introduced, *καὶ παθὼν ἐκουσίως σαρκί, καὶ μείνας ἀπαθὴς ὡς θεός.* Apud Renaudot, I. p. 114.

not foresee the formidable confederacy which was organising itself against him, might yet have known on what dangerous ground he stood even in Constantinople. The clergy of both factions, who had engaged in the strife for the advancement of Philippus or of Proclus, the rivals of the ruling archbishop for the see, mutually indignant at the intrusion of a stranger, were already combined in hatred towards Nestorius. All the monks were furious partisans of the "Mother of God." Against this confederacy Nestorius could array only the precarious favour of the Emperor, the support of some of his Syrian brethren, his archiepiscopal authority, and the allegiance of some of his clergy. Nestorius rashly precipitated the strife. Dorotheus, a bishop of his party, in his presence pronounced a solemn anathema on all who should apply the contested appellation to the Virgin.ⁿ A fiery and injurious protest^o was immediately issued, professing to speak the sentiments of the whole clergy of Constantinople, and peremptorily condemning the bishop, as guilty of heresy, and comparing his language to the unpopular and proscribed opinions of Paul of Samosata. It was read in most of the churches.^p

Both parties, Nestorius and Cyril themselves, could not but look with earnest solicitude to Rome. She held the balance of power. If the Bishop of Rome had been the most unambitious of mankind, he could hardly have declined the arbitration, which

ⁿ The chronology of the events is not quite clear, but this seems to be the natural order.

^o This protest preserves some of the expressions attributed to Nestorius. 'How could a mother, born in time,

give birth to him who was before the ages?" The word "birth," it occurred to neither party, was used in directly opposite senses.

^p Compare the strong address of the monks to the Emperor, p. 225.

was almost an acknowledgment of his supremacy. Nothing tended more to his elevation in the mind of Christendom than these successive Eastern controversies, if considered only as affecting his dignity in the eyes of the world. The deeper the East was sunk in anarchy and confusion, the more commanding the stately superiority of Rome. While the episcopal throne of Constantinople had been held in succession by the persecuted Chrysostom, by the heretic Nestorius, as it was afterwards by Flavianus, who, if not murdered, died of ill usage in a council of bishops; that of Alexandria by Theophilus, and his nephew Cyril, whose violence disgraced their orthodoxy; a succession of able, at least blameless, Pontiffs of Rome was now about to close with Leo the Great.^a

Each, too, of these Eastern antagonists for ascendancy was disposed to admit one part of the claims on which rested the supremacy of Rome. Alexandria, that of the descent from St. Peter; ancient and apostolic origin was so clearly wanting to Constantinople, that on this point the Roman superiority was undeniable. On her side, Constantinople was content to recognise the title of Rome to superiority as the city of the Cæsars, from whence followed her own secondary, if not co-equal dignity as New Rome.

Celestine, of Roman birth, who had held high language to the Churches of Africa and of Gaul, at this present period was Bishop of Rome. Pope Celestine.

Nestorius was the first who endeavoured to propitiate the Roman Pontiff. Some misunderstanding had already arisen between them concerning certain Pelagians, the only heretics whom Nestorius was slow to persecute:

^a Not immediate succession, but the succession of the greater names.

and whom, as if ignorant how obnoxious they were to Rome and the West, he had treated with something of Eastern indifference. He addressed to Celestine a letter, fully explaining the grounds of his aversion to the term "Mother of God." This he wrote in Greek; it was sent into Gaul, to be correctly translated by the famous monk Cassianus.^r

In the mean time arrived the Deacon Posidonius from Alexandria, with an elaborate letter from Cyril,^s which, with the Sermons of Nestorius, he had the forethought to send already translated into Latin. Thus the hostile representations of Cyril, though delivered last, obtained the advantage of pre-occupying the minds of the Roman clergy.^t

To them, indeed, the Nestorian opinions were utterly uncongenial, as to the whole of Western Christendom. They had not comprehended and could not comprehend that sensitive dread of the contamination of the Deity by its connexion with Matter: they were equally jealous of any disparagement of the Virgin Mary. Already her name, with the title of Mother of God, had sounded in hymns ascribed to St. Ambrose, and admitted into the public service. The Latin language was not flexible to all the fine shades of expression by which Nestorius defined his distinctive differences from the common creed.

Still Nestorius was not entirely without hope of ob-

^r Celestinus ad Nestorium. Walch rather throws doubt on this translation by Cassian, p. 433.

^s Posidonius was instructed not to deliver the letters of Cyril, if those of Nestorius had not been delivered to Celestine.—Statement of Peter the

Presbyter, Concil. Ephes. in init.

^t Nestorius bitterly complained of the misrepresentations of Cyril in this letter, by which he deceived Celestine, a man of too great simplicity to judge of religious doctrines with sufficient acuteness.—Irenæi Traged. in Synodic.

taining a favourable hearing from Celestine. The first reply of the Roman was not devoid of courtesy. But his hopes were in a short time utterly con-
 founded. A synod of Western Bishops, pre-
 sided over by Celestine, met at Rome. The
 sentence was decisive, condemnatory, imperious. Cele-
 stine, in the name of the Synod, and in his
 own,^u commanded Nestorius to recant his novel and
 unauthorised opinions in a public and written apology
 within ten days from the arrival of the moni-
 tion: in case of disobedience, he was to hold
 himself under excommunication from the Church.^x

A.D. 430.
August.

Mandate of
Celestine.

Aug. 11.

This haughty mandate to Nestorius was accompanied by an address to the clergy and people of Constantinople. It expressed the parental care of Celestine for their spiritual welfare, and announced the decree which had been issued against Nestorius by the Bishop of Rome. The Western Church would take no account of any anathema or excommunication pronounced by the Bishop of Constantinople; but having declared such anathema null and void, would continue to communicate with all persons under such interdict. And because the presence of Celestine in the East, however necessary, was impossible, on account of the distance by land and sea, he delegated his full power in the affair to his brother Cyril, in order to arrest the spreading pestilence.^y

The Syrian bishops alone, of those who, from their

^u φανερῶ καὶ ἐγγράφῳ ὁμολογία. p. 361.

^x Epist. Cyrill. p. 396.

^y καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τηλικούτῳ πράγματι ἢ ἡμετέρα σχεδὸν παρουσία ἀναγκαία ἐφαίνετο, τὴν ἡμετέραν

διαδοχὴν, διὰ τὰ κατα θαλάτταν καὶ γῆν διαστήματα, αὐτῷ τῷ ἁγίῳ ἀδελφῷ μου Κυρίλλῳ ἀπενείμαμεν, μὴ αὐτῇ ἢ νόσος ἀφορμῇ τῆς μακρότητος ἐπιτριβῆ. Epist. Cyrill. p. 373.

station and character, had weight in the Christian world, were yet uncommitted in the strife, Acacius of Bishops of Syria. Berea, the Patriarchs of Jerusalem and of Antioch. Each party courted their support. Cyril, with his usual activity, urged them to unite in the confederacy against Nestorius. Either from the sincere love of peace, or some clearer perception of the principles on which Nestorius grounded his opinions, or some secret sympathy with them, these bishops endeavoured to allay the storm. John of Antioch, in a letter full of Christian persuasiveness, entreated Nestorius not to plunge Christendom into discord on account of a word, and that word not incapable of being interpreted in his sense, but which had become familiar to the Christian ear: Rome, Alexandria, even Macedonia, had declared against him. John required no degrading concession, no disingenuous compromise or suppression of opinion. If his enemies were strong and violent before the correspondence had begun with Rome and Alexandria, how would their boldness increase after these unhappy letters² from Cyril and from Celestine! But the time for reconciliation was passed. Four bishops, Theopemptus, Daniel, Potamon, and Komarius, arrived in Constantinople, with the ultimate demands of Rome and Alexandria. They entered, after divine service, the Bishop's chamber, where were assembled the whole clergy, and many of the most distinguished laity; they delivered the letters to Nestorius. Nestorius received them coldly, and commanded them to return the next day for the answer.

² γραμμάτων τούτων τῶν ἀπευκ-
τῶν. Epist. Joan. Antioch. p. 398.
Nestorius had almost consented to yield
so far as to assert that it was no so

much the word itself as the abuse of it
which was irreconcilable with his
views of the Godhead.

The next day when they presented themselves, they were refused admission.^a Nestorius ascended the pulpit, and preached in sterner and more condemnatory language than before. Celestine and Cyril had demanded unqualified submission; Cyril had declared that it was not enough to subscribe the Creed of Nicæa, without receiving the sense of that Creed according to the interpretation of the Bishops of the Church. The twelve articles of excommunication were promulgated, by the zeal of the Bishop's adversaries, throughout Constantinople. But Nestorius, unappalled, on his side launched forth his interdict; anathema encountered anathema. Nestorius excluded from salvation those who denied salvation to him. For in the awful meaning which the act of excommunication conveyed to the Christian mind of that age, it meant total exclusion, unless after humiliating penitence, and hard-wrung absolution, from the mercy of the Most High,—inevitable, everlasting damnation.

Nestorius
excommuni-
cated, Dec. 6,
430.

With stern serenity the enemies of Nestorius contemplate these awful consequences; those of worldly strife they behold almost with satisfaction. Cyril applies to these times the much misused words of the Saviour,—“*Think not that I am come to send peace upon earth; for I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother.*” If faith be infringed—faith even in these minutest points—away with idle and dangerous reverence for parents; cast off all love of children and of brethren. Death is better than life to the pious (those who adhere to the orthodox opinions), for to them alone is the better resurrection.^b

^a The account of this transaction is given by the ἱ shops Theopemptus

and the rest.

^b πίστεως γὰρ ἀδικουμένης * *

The anathemas of Nestorius are not less remorseless.

Nestorius
excommuni-
cates Cyril.

They also aim at involving Cyril in the odious charge of heresy. Throughout is manifest the peculiar jealousy of Nestorius lest he should mingle up the Deity in any way with the material flesh of man. Christ was the Emmanuel, the God with us. The Divinity assumed at his birth the mortal form and attributes, and so became the Christ, the co-existent God and man. The Christ laid aside the manhood, which he had associated to his divinity, after his death and resurrection. Accursed is he who asserts that the Word of God was changed into flesh. Accursed is he who disparages the dignity of the divine nature by attributing to it the acts and passions of the human nature which it assumed for the display of its Godhead.*

The secret of the undaunted courage shown by Nestorius was soon revealed. He had still unshaken possession of the mind of the Imperial Court. The triumph of Cyril was arrested by an humiliating rescript from Theodosius. He was arraigned not merely for disturbing the peace of the world, but even that of the Imperial family. The rescript addressed to Cyril, in unambiguous language, relates his haughty and dictatorial demeanour, reproves him as the author of all the strife and confusion which disturbed the tranquillity of the Church. In order to sow dissension even in the palace, Cyril had written in different language to his

ἐρρέτω μὲν ὡς ἕωλος καὶ ἐπισφαλῆς ἢ πρὸς γονέας αἰδῶς· ἠρεμέτω δὲ καὶ ὁ τῆς εἰς τέκνα καὶ ἀδελφοὺς φιλοστοργίας νόμος. Cyril. Epist. p. 396.

* The anathemas of Nestorius are extant only in a bad Latin translation. It is curious to find the Syrian bishop,

Acacius, urging that the poverty of the Latin language prevented it from forming expressions with regard to the Trinity equivalent to the Greek. τῆ ἐστενωῶσθαι τὴν Ῥωμαικὴν φωνὴν καὶ μὴ δυνάσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν τῶν Γραικῶν φρασὶν τρεῖς ὑποστάσει λέγειν. Epist. Acac. p. 384.

august sister Pulcheria, and to the Empress and himself. The same curious, restless, insolent, and unpriestly spirit had led him to pry into the secrets and disturb the harmony of the Imperial family, as well as to confound the quiet of the Church, as though this confusion were his only means of obtaining fame and distinction.^d

Theodosius had already acceded to the universal demand for a General Council. This alone, according to the opinion of the time, could allay the intestine strife which had set Rome and Alexandria at variance with Constantinople, divided Constantinople into fierce and violent factions, and appeared likely to renew the fatal differences of the Arian and Macedonian contests. The Imperial summons was issued, and in obedience to that mandate assembled the first General Council of Ephesus.

It might have been supposed that nowhere would Christianity appear in such commanding majesty as in a Council, which should gather from all quarters of the world the most eminent prelates and the most distinguished clergy; that a lofty and serene piety would govern all their proceedings, profound and dispassionate investigation exhaust every subject; human passions and interests would stand rebuked before that awful assembly; the sense of their own dignity as well as the desire of impressing their brethren with the solemnity and earnestness of their belief would at least exclude all intemperance of manner

^d καὶ μὴ γεγονὸς (hostility in the Imperial family) ποιῆσαι βούλεσθαι, παντὸς, μᾶλλον ἢ ἱερέως· ὀμίης μέντοι μιᾶς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς προθεσείας τὰ τε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, τὰ τε τῶν

βασιλέων μέλλειν χωρίζειν βούλεσθαι, ὡς οὐκ οὔσης ἀφορμῆς ἑτέρας εὐδοκιμήσεως. SACR. Theodos. Imper. ad Cyrill.

and language. Mutual awe and mutual emulation in Christian excellence would repress, even in the most violent, all un-Christian violence. Their conclusions would be grave, mature, harmonious, for if not harmonious the confuted party would hardly acquiesce in the wisdom of their decrees; even their condemnations would be so tempered with charity as gradually to win back the wanderer to the still open fold, rather than drive him, proscribed and branded, into inflexible and irreconcilable schism. History shows the melancholy reverse. Nowhere is Christianity less attractive, and if we look to the ordinary tone and character of the proceedings, less authoritative, than in the Councils of the Church. It is in general a fierce collision of two rival factions, neither of which will yield, each of which is solemnly pledged against conviction. Intrigue, injustice, violence, decisions on authority alone, and that the authority of a turbulent majority, decisions by wild acclamation rather than after sober inquiry, detract from the reverence, and impugn the judgements, at least of the later Councils. The close is almost invariably a terrible anathema, in which it is impossible not to discern the tones of human hatred, of arrogant triumph, of rejoicing at the damnation imprecated against the humiliated adversary. Even the venerable Council of Nicæa commenced with mutual accusals and recriminations, which were suppressed by the moderation of the Emperor; and throughout the account of Eusebius^e there is an adulation of the Imperial convert, with something of the intoxication, it might be of pardonable vanity, at finding themselves the objects of royal favour, and partaking in royal banquets. But the more fatal

^e Hist. » Christianity, ii. p. 440.

error of that Council was the solicitation, at least the acquiescence in the infliction of a civil penalty, that of exile, against the recusant Prelates. The degeneracy is rapid from the Council of Nicæa to that of Ephesus, where each party came determined to use every means of haste, manœuvre, court influence, bribery, to crush his adversary; where there was an encouragement of, if not an appeal to, the violence of the populace, to anticipate the decrees of the Council; where each had his own tumultuous foreign rabble to back his quarrel; and neither would scruple at any means to obtain the ratification of their anathemas through persecution by the civil government.

Some considerations will at least allay our wonder at this singular incongruity. A General Council is not the cause, but the consequence, of religious dissension. It is unnecessary, and could hardly be convoked, but on extraordinary occasions, to settle some questions which have already violently disorganised the peace of Christendom. It is a field of battle, in which a long train of animosities and hostilities is to come to an issue. Men, therefore, meet with all the excitement, the estrangement, the jealousy, the antipathy engendered by a fierce and obstinate controversy. They meet to triumph over their adversaries, rather than dispassionately to investigate truth. Each is committed to his opinions, each exasperated by opposition, each supported by a host of intractable followers, each probably with exaggerated notions of the importance of the question; and that importance seems to increase, since it has demanded the decision of a general assembly of Christendom. Each considers the cause of God in his hands: heresy becomes more and more odious, and must be suppressed by every practicable means. The

essentially despotic character of the government, which entered into all transactions of life, with the deeply rooted sentiment in the human mind of the supreme and universal power of the law, the law now centred in the person of the Emperor, who was the State; the apparent identification of the State and Church by the adoption of Christianity as the religion of the Empire, altogether confounded the limits of ecclesiastical and temporal jurisdiction. The dominant party, when it could obtain the support of the civil power for the execution of its intolerant edicts, was blind to the dangerous and unchristian principle which it tended to establish. As the Council met under the Imperial authority, so it seemed to commit the Imperial authority to enforce its decisions. Christianity, which had so nobly asserted its independence of thought and faith in the face of heathen emperors, threw down that independence at the foot of the throne, in order that it might forcibly extirpate the remains of Paganism, and compel an absolute uniformity of Christian faith.

Meeting of
Council, A.D.
431. Easter,
April 19;
Whit-Sun-
day, June 7.

The Council of Ephesus was summoned to open its deliberations at Pentecost; the fifty days from Easter were allowed for the assembling of the Prelates.

Candidianus, Count of the domestics, a statesman of high character, was appointed to represent the Emperor in the Council. His instructions were, not to interfere in the theological question, the exclusive province of the Bishops; to expel all strangers, monks and laymen, from the city, lest they should disturb the proceedings; to maintain order, lest the animosities of the Bishops should prevent the fair investigation of the truth; to permit no one to leave the Council, even under pretence of going to the Court; to permit no extraneous

discussions to be introduced before the assembly. Candidianus did not arrive till after Pentecost.

Already, however, Ephesus had begun to be crowded with strangers from all quarters. Nestorius came accompanied by not more than sixteen Bishops of his party. Cyril arrived attended by fifty Egyptian Bishops; Memnon, the Bishop of Ephesus, a declared enemy of Nestorius, had summoned thirty Prelates from Asia Minor. Nor were these antagonists content with mustering their spiritual strength; each was accompanied by a rabble of followers of more unseemly character; Cyril by the bath-men and a multitude of women from Egypt; Nestorius by a horde of peasants, and some of the lower populace of Constantinople. The troops of Candidianus, after his arrival, begirt the city; Irenæus, with a body of soldiers, was entrusted, by the special favour of the Emperor, with the protection of the person of Nestorius.

The adverse parties could not await the opening of the Council without betraying their hostility; skirmishing disputes took place,^f and no opportunity was passed of darkening the fame and the opinions of Nestorius in the popular mind. If Nestorius came under the fond hope of being heard on equal terms, and allowed to debate in a calm and dispassionate spirit the truth of his tenets, such were not the views of Cyril or of Celestine. To them the Bishop of Constantinople was already a condemned heretic; the business of the

^f ἀκροβολίστους τῶν λογῶν. So-
crat. vii. 34. Joanne Antiocheno
remorante * * * Cyrillus deflorationes
quasdam librorum Nestorii faciebat,
eum perturbare volens. Et quum
plurimi Deum confiterentur Jesum
Christum, inquit Nestorius, qui

fuit duorum vel trium mensium nun-
quam confiteor Deum; quâ gratiâ
mundus sum a sanguine vestro, et am-
modo ad vos non veniam. Liberatus,
Chron. c. 5. This is a good illastra-
tion of the Latin misconception of the
opinions of Nestorius.

Council was only the confirmation of their anathema, and the more authoritative deposition of the unorthodox Prelate. With them the one embarrassing difficulty was whether, in case Nestorius recanted his opinions, they were to annul the sentence of excommunication and of deposal, and admit him to a seat in the Council.^g

Memnon of Ephesus lent himself eagerly to all the schemes of Cyril. Nestorius was treated as a man under the ban of excommunication; all intercourse, even the common courtesies of life were refused. All the Churches of Ephesus were closed against the outcast from Christian communion. When he expressed his solicitude, if not to attend the morning and evening service, at least to partake in the solemn mysteries of that season, not merely was he ignominiously repelled from the churches, even from that of the Martyr St. John, but the avenues were beset by throngs of rude peasants brought in from the country, and prepared for any violence, and by the Egyptian sailors from the vessels of Cyril.^h

Pentecost had passed; five days after arrived Juvenalis, Bishop of Jerusalem, a Prelate known to be hostile to Nestorius. But John of Antioch, with the greater part of the Eastern Bishops did not appear. The Patriarchs of Constantinople and of Alexandria were arrayed as parties in the cause: each

^g *Etenim quæris utrum sancta synodus recipere debet hominem a se prædicata damnantem; an quia induciarum tempus emensum est, sententia dudum lata perduret.* This is from an answer to a letter of Cyril which is lost. Celestine's reply to this question is perhaps studiously ambiguous. But the letter, as extant, is

probably a translation. The secret instructions of Celestine to his legates (apud Baluzium, p. 381) show his intimate alliance with Cyril.—Labbe, Conc. p. 622. Compare Walch, p. 466.

^h Epist. Nestorii, p. 565. Epist. ad Imoer. p. 602. Epist. ad Senat. 603.

charged the other with heresy. The Roman Patriarch of the West was not present in person: the Patriarch of Antioch therefore might seem necessary, if not to the validity, to the weight and dignity of the Council. Cyril and his partisans were clamorous for the immediate opening of the Council; the Bishops had been already too long withdrawn from their dioceses. Nestorius insisted on awaiting the arrival of John of Antioch and his prelates; Candidianus gave the weight of the Imperial authority for delay. The Emperor had required the presence of John of Antioch and the Eastern Prelates at the Council.¹ Strong reasons were afterwards alleged by John of Antioch for his tardy arrival. His departure from Antioch had been arrested by a famine in the city, and daily insurrections of the people on that account; inundations had impeded his march.^k Many of the Bishops of his vast province were ten or twelve long days' journey beyond Antioch; they could not leave their cities before Easter.^m Cyril himself had received a courteous letter from John of Antioch, stating that he had arrived within six stations of Ephesus; that he was travelling with the utmost speed, but that the roads were bad; they had lost many of their beasts of burden; and some of the more aged Bishops had been unable to proceed at that rapid rate.

Cyril, however, chose to consider the delay of the Bishop of Antioch intentional and premeditated, either in order to shield the guilty Nestorius from the anathema of the Council, or to escape any participation in

¹ Defens. trium Capitular. Facundus, apud Sirmond. Opera, ii. p. 607.

the Emperor.

^m Evagrius, H. E. i. 3, 4. Labbe.

^k The epistle of John of Antioch to Concil. p. 443.

such a sentence against one so well known, and formerly at least so popular, in Antioch.ⁿ

Only sixteen days were allowed to elapse by the impatient zeal (the noblest motive that can be assigned) of Cyril for the opening a Council which was to represent Christendom, to absolve or to condemn as an irreclaimable heretic the Bishop of the second capital of the world. On Monday the 22nd of June, in the Church of the Virgin Mary (an ill-omened scene for the cause of Nestorius), met the Council of Ephesus.^o

The Count Candidianus, in a public report to his Imperial master, describes the violence, unfairness, even the treachery of the proceedings. No sooner had he heard that Cyril, Memnon, and their partisans were prepared to open the assembly, than he hastened to the Church. In the Emperor's name, he inhibited the meeting; he condescended to entreaties that they would await the arrival of the Eastern Bishops; he declared that they were acting in defiance of the Imperial Rescript. They answered that they were ignorant of the contents of that ordinance. Thus compelled, and lest he should be the cause of popular insurrection and rebellion, Candidianus read the Rescript; and concluded

ⁿ Cyril's imputations against John of Antioch are inconsistent and contradictory. In one place he charges him with hypocrisy, and insinuates that he kept aloof to favour Nestorius (if the partisan of Nestorius, his presence would have been more useful than his absence); in another that, conscious of the badness of the cause of Nestorius, he kept aloof to avoid taking any part in his inevitable condemnation: "Do what you will (*πράττετε* &

πράττετε), only let me not be personally involved in the business." Compare Cyril's Letter to the Clergy of Constantinople, p. 561, with the Epistol. Imper., p. 602.

^o The effect of this arrangement may be conceived from the Sermon of Cyril (Labbe, p. 584), in which he lavishes all his eloquence in her praise, through whom (*δι' ἧς*) all the wonders and blessings of the Gospel which he recites, descended on man.

by solemnly warning them against their indecent precipitation. This was their object; the reading the Rescript they considered as legalising the Council; it was followed by loud and loyal clamours. The Count fondly supposed that these cries intimated obedience to the Imperial command; instead of this, they instantly commanded Candidianus to withdraw from an assembly in which he had no longer any place; insultingly and ignominiously they cast out the representative of the Emperor. They proceeded summarily to eject the few Bishops attached to Nestorius; and then commenced their proceedings as the legitimate Senate of Christendom.^p

The council consisted of rather more than one hundred and fifty bishops—about forty from Egypt, thirty from Asia Minor, several from Palestine with Juvenalis of Jerusalem, the rest from Thrace, Greece, the islands of Crete, Rhodes, and Cyprus, and from some parts of Asia. Rufus of Thessalonica professed to represent the bishops of Illyricum.^q The proceedings, according to the regular report, now that all opposition was expelled, flowed on in unobstructed haste and unprecedented harmony. Peter, an Alexandrian presbyter, who acted as chief secretary,^r opened the business with a statement of the dispute between Nestorius on the one hand, Cyril and the Bishop of Rome on the other. On the motion of Juvenal of Jerusalem was then read the Imperial convocation of the bishops. It was asked how long a period had elapsed since the day appointed by the Emperor

^p See the statement of Candidianus, pp. 589-592. In another place he says, "A vobis injuriosè et ignominiosè ejectus sum."—In Synodico.

^q According to Nestorius, not only

the Eastern bishops were expected, but those of Italy and Sicily.

^r *πριμικηριος Νοταριων*. *Primi-
cerius Notariorum*.

for the meeting; Memnon of Ephesus replied "sixteen days." Cyril then rose, and asserting that on account of the long delay (of sixteen days!) some bishops had fallen ill, and some had died, declared that it was imperative to proceed at once to determine a question which concerned the whole sublunary world.* The Imperial Rescript itself had commanded the prelates to proceed without delay.

One citation had been already sent by four bishops, Citation of Nestorius. summoning Nestorius to appear before the council. Nestorius had declined, not un courteously, to acknowledge the validity of the assembly before the arrival of all the bishops. A second and a third deputation of the same number of bishops was sent. The first reported that they were not permitted by the guard to approach the presence of Nestorius, but received from his attendants the same answer; the third that they were exposed to the indignity of being kept standing in the heat of the sun, and not allowed to enter the palace.

The proceedings now commenced: the Nicene Creed Proceedings commence. was read, and then Cyril's letter to Nestorius. The bishops in succession declared their full faith in the creed, and the perfect concordance of Cyril's exposition with the doctrines of the Nicene Fathers. Then followed the answer of Nestorius to Cyril. Cyril put the question of its agreement with the creed of Nicæa. One after another the bishops rose, and in language more or less vehement, pronounced the tenets of Nestorius to be blasphemous, and uttered the stern anathema. All then joined in one tumultuous cry, "Anathema to him who does not anathematise Nes-

* εἰς ἀφέλειο· ἀπάσης τῆς ὑπ' οὐρανοῦ. p. 453.

torius." The church rang with the fatal and re-echoed word, "Anathema, anathema! The whole world unites in the excommunication: anathema on him who holds communion with Nestorius!"

The triumph of Cyril ceased not here. The condemnatory letters of Celestine of Rome to Nestorius were read and inserted in the acts of the council. Certain bishops averred that of their personal knowledge Nestorius had not retracted his obnoxious doctrines. Then were read extracts from the works of the great theologians, Athanasius, Gregory, Basil, and others; many of these were of very doubtful bearing on the question raised by Nestorius; they were contrasted with large extracts from his writings. A letter was read from Capreolus, Bishop of Carthage, excusing the absence of the African clergy on account of the miserable desolation and the wars which afflicted the province, asserting in general terms their cordial adherence to the Catholic doctrine, and their abhorrence of heretical innovations.

The Council, it is said, compelled by the sacred canons and amid the tears of many bishops, proceeded to deliver its awful sentence;† Jesus Christ himself, blasphemed by Nestorius (so ran the decree), declares him deposed from his episcopal rank, and from all his ecclesiastical functions. All the bishops subscribed the sentence.‡ The whole of this solemn discussion, with its fearful conclusion, was crowded into one day! The impatient populace had been waiting from morn till evening the issue of the Council. No sooner had they heard the deposition of this new Judas,

† ἀναγκαίως κατεπειχθέντες ὑπὸ τε τῶν κανόνων * * * δακρύσαντες πολλακίς * * * σκυθρωπήν ἀπόφασιν. Labbe, p. 533.

‡ Above two hundred names appear. Some perhaps were added as concurring in the sentence.

than they broke out into joyous clamours; escorted the Prelates with torches to their homes; women went before them burning incense. A general illumination took place. Thus did the Saviour, writes Cyril, proudly recounting these popular suffrages, show his Almighty power against those who blasphemed his name.^x

Five days after arrived John of Antioch, and the Eastern Prelates; they were received with great honour by Count Candidianus, by the other bishops not only with studied discourtesy, but with tumultuous and disorderly insult.^y Nestorius kept aloof in judicious seclusion. These Prelates proceeded to instal themselves as a Council, under the sanction of the Imperial Commissary. Their first inquiry was whether the former Council had been conducted with canonical regularity, and the sentence passed after dispassionate investigation. Candidianus bore testimony to the indecent haste and precipitation of the decree. But instead of calmly protesting against these violent proceedings, and declaring them null and void, as wanting their own concurrent voice, this small synod of between forty and fifty bishops,^z rushed into the error which they had proscribed in others! with no calmer or longer inquiry, before they had shaken the dust off their feet,^a they condemned the doctrines of Cyril, as tainted with Arianism, Eunomianism, and Apollinarianism; pronounced the sentence of deposition against the

^x Cyril's letter to the people of Alexandria.

^y Compare, however, the statement of Memnon, a suspicious witness, p. 763.

^z These bishops did not all come with John; some were of those previously assembled at Ephesus, who

had refused to take part in the council. Their adversaries assert that some of them were deprived bishops, others not bishops at all. According to this statement John's party did not amount to more than thirty.—Epist. Cyril. et Memnon. p. 638.

^a Cyril, Epist. ad Celestin. p. 663.

most religious Cyril (ecclesiastical courtesy held this appellation inseparable from that of bishop) and against Memnon of Ephesus; and recorded their solemn anathema against the Prelates of the adverse Council.^b The sentence condemned not their heresy alone, but likewise their disobedience to the Imperial authority, and their impious violence in excluding the faithful from the holy ceremonies of Pentecost, their closing the churches, and besetting them with gangs of Egyptian sailors and ecclesiastics, and with Asiatic boors. The excommunication was published throughout the city with the solemnity of an Imperial proclamation. Cyril and Memnon launched a counter-anathema; and instead of abstaining, as excommunicated persons, from the sacred offices, celebrated them with greater pomp and publicity.

In the mean time letters arrived from the Bishop of Rome, Celestine. Cyril's council reassembled July 10, Letters of Celestine. to receive them; every sentence was in such full accordance with their views, that the whole assembly rose in acclamation. "The council renders thanks to the second Paul, Celestine; to the second Paul, Cyril; to Celestine, protector of the faith; to Celestine, unanimous with the council. One Celestine, one Cyril, one faith in the whole council, one faith throughout the world."^c The Bishops Arcadius and Projectus, with Philip the Presbyter, the legates of Rome, gave their deliberate sanction to the deposition of Nestorius. At another sitting it was reported that endeavours had been made to bring John of Antioch, now accused as an accomplice in the guilt and heresy of Nestorius, to an amicable conference. Three bishops, deputed to him,

^b Labbe, Concil. 599.

^c Actio Secunda Concilii, p. 618.

had been repelled by the fierce and turbulent soldiery who guarded his residence. A second deputation had been admitted to his presence: he loftily refused to enter into negotiations with excommunicated persons. On this report the council proceeded to annul all the decrees of John and his synod. Having thrice cited him to appear they declared John of Antioch deposed and excommunicated, as well as all the bishops of his party.^d Cyril was not idle in his more public sphere of influence. He thundered from the pulpit against the bold man who had interfered in his triumphant conflict with the dragon of heresy, which vomited out its poison against the Church; he asserted that he was ready to encounter this new Goliath with the arms of faith.^e

Both parties were disposed to employ weapons of a more worldly temper. John of Antioch threatened the election of a new Bishop of Ephesus, in the place of the deprived Memnon.^f A peaceful band of worshippers according to one account, more probably an armed host, determined to force their way into the cathedral of St. John. They found it beset by Memnon with a strong garrison. Content, according to their own partial statement, with worshipping without the doors, they were retreating in peace, when the partisans of Memnon made a desperate sally, took men and horses prisoners, assailed them, and drove them through

Violent
contest.

^d The Bishop of Jerusalem claimed jurisdiction, as of ancient usage, over the see of Antioch.—p. 642.

^e ἐπήρην, ὡς ὄρᾱς, ὁ πολυκέφαλος δράκων τὴν ἀνόσιον καὶ βέβηλον κεφαλὴν, τοῖς τῆς ἐκκλησίας τέκνοις τὸν τῆς ἰδίας ἀνοσιότητος ἰδὺν ἐπιπτύων. "This Goliath from the

East shall fall by stones from the scrip of Christ: and what is the scrip of Christ? the Church, which contains many stones, elect and precious." This is a specimen of the Archbishop's religious rhapsody. Homil. Cyril. p. 667.

^f Labbe, p. 710.

the streets with clubs and stones, not without much bloodshed.^g

The court of Theodosius was perplexed with the contradictory and doubtful reports from Ephesus. Candidianus and the party of Nestorius Constantinople. jealously watched the issues of the city, that no representations from Cyril and his council should reach the imperial ear. Theodosius still maintained his impartiality, or more probably a minister favourable to Nestorius ruled in the court. An imperial letter arrived, written in the interval between the deposition of Nestorius and the arrival of John of Antioch,^h strongly reprobating the proceedings of the council, annulling all its decrees, commanding the reconsideration of the creed by the whole assembly, forbidding any bishop to leave Ephesus till the close of the council, and announcing the appointment of a second commissary to assist the Count Candidianus. But all the watchfulness of the government and of Nestorius could not intercept the secret correspondence of Cyril's party with their faithful allies, the earliest and most inveterate enemies of Nestorius, the monks of Constantinople. A beggar brought a letter announcing to them the glad tidings of the deposition of Nestorius, which the court had not condescended to communicate to the people. The court must be overawed; these spiritual demagogues would not await the tardy and doubtful orthodoxy of the Emperor.

Dalmatius, a monk of high repute for his austere sanctity, who, it is said, had in vain been solicited by the Emperor himself to quit his cell and intercede for

^g Their own despatches urged, and no doubt exaggerated, the contempt of the imperial authority, the lawlessness of the rabble at the command of Cyril

and of Memnon.

^h It was sent in great haste, by the imperial officer. Palladius.

the city during an earthquake, now, compelled by this more weighty call, came forth from his solitude. A vision had confirmed his sense of the imperious necessity. At the head of a procession of archimandrites and monks he passed slowly through the streets and sat down, as it were, to besiege the palace. Wherever he passed, the awed and wondering people burst out into an anathema against Nestorius.

But the court did not as yet stoop from its lofty dictatorship in ecclesiastical affairs. A new Emperor's rescripts. Imperial Commissary, one of the highest officers of state, named John, appeared in Ephesus. His first measure was one of bold and severe impartiality, a vigorous assertion of the civil supremacy, humiliating to the pride of sacerdotal dignity. The Imperial letters sanctioned equally the decrees of each conflicting party, the deposition of Cyril and Memnon, as well as of Nestorius. John summoned all the Prelates to his presence. At the dawn of morning appeared Nestorius with John of Antioch. Somewhat later, Cyril presented himself with the bishops of his party; Memnon alone refused to come. Hereupon arose a clamorous debate. Cyril and his bishops would not endure the presence of the heretical and excommunicated Nestorius. The divine and awful letters could not be read either in the absence of Cyril, or in the presence of Nestorius. The party of Nestorius and John as peremptorily demanded the expulsion of the deposed and excommunicated Cyril. The debate maddened into sedition, sedition into a battle. The Imperial Representative was compelled to use his military force to restrain the refractory churchmen, before he could read the Emperor's letters. At the sentence of deposition against Cyril and Memnon, the clamours broke out with fresh

violence. John, the Prefect, took a commanding tone; he ordered the arrest and committal to safe but honourable custody of all the contending Prelates. Nestorius and John of Antioch submitted without remonstrance. Cyril, after a homily to the people, in which he represented himself as the victim of persecution, incurred by Apostolic innocence and borne with Apostolic resignation, yielded to the inevitable necessity. Memnon at first concealed himself, and attempted to elude apprehension, but at length voluntarily surrendered to the Imperial authority.

The throne was besieged, and confused by strong representations on both sides. At length it was determined that eight deputies for each party should be permitted to approach the court, and stand before the sacred presence of the Emperor. In Constantinople this assembly might cause dangerous tumults: they met therefore in the suburb of Chalcedon. On the side of Cyril appeared Philip the Presbyter Council of Chalcedon. the representative of Pope Celestine, and the Western Bishop Arcadius, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Flavianus of Philippi, Firmus of the Cappadocian Cæsarea, Acacius of Melitene, Theodotus of Ancyra, Euoptius of Ptolemais. On that of the Orientals, the Metropolitans John of Antioch, John of Damascus, Himerius of Nicomedia; the Bishops Paul of Emesa, Macarius of Laodicea, Apringius of Chalcis, Theodoret of Cyrus, and Helladius of Ptolemais. Though the Bishop of Chalcedon endeavoured to close the churches on the Oriental Bishops, and the fanatic Monks from Constantinople threatened to stone them,¹ the people, according to their statement,

¹ "Nam Constantinopoli neque nos, | sumus, propter seditiones bonorum mo-
neque adversarii nostri intrare permissi | nachorum."—Epist. Oriental. p. 732

listened with absorbed interest to the eloquence of Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, and to the mild exhortations of John of Antioch. The youthful Emperor himself, when they taunted the adverse doctrine with degrading the Godhead to a passible being, rent his robes at the blasphemy.^k The Oriental Bishops gradually began to separate the cause of Nestorius from their own. They insisted much more on the heresy of Cyril than on the orthodoxy of Nestorius. They accused Cyril of asserting that the Godhead of the only begotten Son of God suffered, not the Manhood.^m They protested that they would rather die than subscribe the twelve chapters of Cyril, in which the anti-Nestorian doctrine had now taken a determinate form; or communicate with a Prelate deposed by their legitimate authority.

Other influences were now at work at the court of Constantinople. The masculine but ascetic mind of Pulcheria, the sister, the guardian, the Empress, she may be called, of the Emperor, with her rigid devotion to orthodoxy and her monastic character, was not likely to swerve from the dominant feeling of the Church; to comprehend the fine Oriental Spiritualism which would keep the Deity absolutely aloof from all intercourse with matter, as implied in his passibility: least of all, to endure any impeachment on the Mother of God, the tutelar Deity, and the glory of her sex. The power of the Virgin in the Court of Heaven was a precedent for that of holy females in the

^k See the short but curious statement in Latin:—"Passibilem esse deitatem. Quod usque adeo gravatim tulit pius rex noster, ut excuteret pallium, et retrorsum cederet præ blasphemie multitudine."—p. 716.

^m ὡς ἡ θεότης τοῦ μονογενοῦς Θεοῦ υἱοῦ ἔπαθε, καὶ οὐκ ἡ ἀνθρωπότης. This they considered nearly allied to Arianism, as making the Son a created being. See the full view of their tenets in the Epist. Oriental. p. 740.

courts of earth. To the Virgin Empress, in later times, the gratitude of the triumphant party of Cyril and of the West attributed the glory of the degradation and banishment of Nestorius, and the discomfiture and dispersion of his followers. Still later, the Pope Leo addresses her as having expelled the crafty enemy from the Church: and her name was constantly saluted in the streets of Constantinople as the enemy of heretics.ⁿ

Nestorius was quietly abandoned by both parties. The secret of this change lies deeper in the recesses of the Imperial councils. The Eunu- ^{Nestorius} abandoned. nuch minister, who had been his powerful supporter, died; he might, indeed, not long have enjoyed this treacherous favour, for the Eunuch had most impartially condescended to receive bribes from the opposite faction also. When the Emperor ordered his vast treasures to be opened, confiscated no doubt to the Imperial use, a receipt was found for many pounds of gold received from Cyril through Paul, his sister's son.^o

Nestorius was allowed the vain honour of a voluntary abdication. From Ephesus he was permitted to retire to a monastery at Antioch. This monastery, of St. Euprepus, had been the retreat of his early youth; he returned to it, having endured all the vicissitudes of promotion and degradation. There he lived in peace and respect for four years.

Cyril in the mean time had escaped or had been permitted to withdraw from the custody of the Imperial officers at Ephesus. He returned ^{Cyril in} Alexandria. to Alexandria, where he was received in triumph as

ⁿ "Quo dudum subdolum sanctæ religionis hostem, ab ipsis visceribus ecclesiæ depulistis, quum hæresin suam tueri impietas Nestoriana non potuit."

—S. Leon. Epist. 59.

^o Epist. Acacii Beroëns. ad Alexandrum Episc. Hierapol. Acacius heard this from John of Antioch.

the great Champion of the Faith. Thence from the security of his own capital, almost with the pride of an independent potentate, but with the unscrupulous use of all means at his command, he directed the movements of the theological warfare, which was maintained for three weary years with the Oriental Prelates. The wealth of Alexandria was his most powerful ally. While yet at Chalcedon, the desponding Orientals complain that their judges are all bought by Egyptian gold.^p But this fact rests on even more conclusive testimony. Maximian, a Roman, had been raised to the vacant see of Constantinople. His first measure betrayed his bearing. He commanded all the churches of Constantinople to be closed against the Oriental Bishops, who desired to pass over from Chalcedon to visit the capital, as being under the unrepealed ban of the Church. A letter has survived, addressed by Cyril's avowed agents to the Bishop of Constantinople. They urge the willing Prelate to endeavour to rouse the somewhat languid zeal of the Princess Pulcheria in the cause of Cyril, to propitiate all the courtiers, and, if possible, to satisfy their rapacity.^q The females of the court were to be solicited with the utmost importunity; the monks, especially the Abbot Dalmatius, and Eutyches (afterwards himself an heresiarch), were to overawe the feeble Emperor by all the terrors of religion, and by no means neglect to impress the Lords of the Bedchamber with the same sentiments. They were to be lavish of

^p This is asserted in the letter of Theodoret of Cyrus: "Nihil enim hinc boni sperandum, eo quod iudices omnes auro confidunt." . . . "Sic enim poterit Ægyptius omnes excæcare muneribus suis."—Epist. Legat. p. 746.

^q Eunapius, the heathen, gives a frightful picture of the venality of the court of Pulcheria. See the new fragment in Niebuhr's *Byzantine historians*, p. 97.

money; already enormous sums had been sent from Egypt; 1500 pounds of gold had been borrowed of Count Ammonius; and the wealth of the Church of Constantinople was to be as prodigally devoted to the cause. Ministers were to be degraded, more obsequious ones raised to their posts by the influence of Pulcheria, in order to strengthen the pure doctrine, "the pure doctrine of Christ Jesus!"^r

Theodosius, weary of the strife, dissolved the meeting at Chalcedon, and thus the Council of Ephesus, which had assumed the dignity of the third Ecumenical Council, was at an end. All, however, was still unreconciled hatred and confusion. The Oriental Bishops, as they returned home, found the churches at Ancyra and other cities of Asia Minor closed against them, as being under an interdict. They met together, on the other hand, at Tarsus, and afterwards at Antioch, condemned the twelve articles of Cyril, confirmed the deposition of Cyril and Memnon, and included under their ban the seven Bishops, their antagonists at Chalcedon. Maximian ventured on the bold step of deposing four Nestorian Bishops. The strife was hardly allayed by the vast mass of letters^s which distracted and perplexed the world; there was scarcely a distinguished Prelate who did not mingle in the fray. Theodosius himself interfered at length in

Synod of Chalcedon dissolved, A.D. 431.

Synod of Tarsus, A.D. 432.

^r The letter in the Synodicon. The Latin is very bad; in some parts unintelligible. A few sentences must be given:—"Et Dominum meum sanctissimum abbatem roga ut Imperatorem mandet, terribili cum conjuratione constringens, et ut cubicularios omnes ita constringat. . . . Sed de tuâ Ecclesiâ præsta avaritiæ quorum nosti, ne

Alexandrinorum Ecclesiam contristent. . . . Festinet autem Sanctitas tua rogare Dominam Pulcheriam, ut faciat Dominum Lausum intrare et Præpositum fieri, ut Chrysoretis potentia dissolvatur, et sic *dogma nostrum* roboretur. Alioquin semper tribulandi sumus."

^s They occupy page after page of the great Collection of the Councils.

the office of conciliation. Misdoubting, however, the extent of the Imperial authority, which had so manifestly failed in controlling this contest into peace, he cultivated the more potent intercession of the famous Simeon Stylites: the prayers of the holy "Martyr in the air" might effect that which the Emperor had in vain sought by his despotic edicts. John of Antioch and his party deputed Paul, the aged Bishop of Emesa, to Alexandria, to negotiate a reconciliation. Paul bore with him a formulary agreed upon at Antioch, the subscription to which by Cyril was the indispensable preliminary of peace. On the acceptance of this formulary, and the consent of Cyril to anathematise all who should assert that the Godhead had suffered, or that there was one nature of the Godhead and the Manhood, he and the Orientals would revoke the sentence of excommunication against Cyril.^t

But Paul of Emesa, amiably eager for peace, and not
Treaty of
peace. insensible to the dignity of appearing as arbiter
 between these two great factions, was no match
 for the subtlety of Cyril. Cyril was ill at the time of
 Paul's arrival, and some time elapsed in fruitless nego-
 tiation. At length, after an ambiguous assent to the
 formulary of Antioch by Cyril, a treaty was concluded,
 in which Paul unquestionably exceeded his powers.
 But no sooner were the terms agreed upon than the
 doors of the Alexandrian churches flew open, and the
 contending parties vied with each other in flattering
 homilies.^u At first the Orientals were startled at what
 appeared the unwarrantable concessions of Paul: "it
 was a peace," in the language of one, "which filled us

^t Ibas. Epist. ad Maron. in Synodico.

^u See the three homilies of Paul, and one of Cyril.

with confusion of face and apprehension of the just judgment of God." ^x The more violent of Cyril's friends were equally displeased with the event. Isidore of Pelusium openly reproached him with his time-serving concessions and with the recantation of his own doctrines. ^y

After some further contest, the peace negotiated in Alexandria was ratified at Antioch. The Orientals yielded their assent to the deposition of Nestorius, the condemnation of his doctrines, and acknowledged the legitimate nomination of his successor Maximianus in the see of Constantinople. On the other hand Cyril, though spared the public disavowal of his own tenets, had purchased, in the opinion of many, his restoration to communion with the Orientals by a dishonourable compromise of his bolder opinions.

It was a peace between John of Antioch and Cyril of Alexandria, not between the contending Peace hollow and brief factions, which became more and more estranged and separated from each other. But the peace between John and Cyril soon grew into a close alliance, and John began to persecute his old associates. The

^x Epist. Theodoret. Cyren. ad finem.

^y Isidor. Pelus. Epist. ad Cyrill. Facundus de Trib. Capit. xi. 9. Isidore of Pelusium was no friend of Cyril. From the first he saw through his character. During the Council of Ephesus he solemnly admonished his bishop in terms like these: "Strong favour is not keensighted, hate is utterly blind: keep thyself unsullied by both these faults: pass no hasty judgments: try every cause with strict justice. . . . Many of those summoned

to Ephesus mock at thee (σε κωμωδοῦσι) as one who seeks only to glut his private revenge, and has no real zeal for the orthodoxy which is in Christ Jesus. He, they say, is the sister's son of Theophilus, and follows the example of his uncle. As he manifestly gave free scope to his animosity against the God-inspired and God-beloved Chrysostom, so does this man against Nestorius," &c. &c.—Isid. Pelus. Epist. i. 310. See also the Letters to the Emperor Theodosius, 311, and to Cyril, 323, 324, 370.

first victim was Nestorius himself, now sunk to so low a state of insignificance as to expose him to the suspicion and hatred of his enemies, without retaining the attachment of his former friends. His obscure fate contrasts strongly with the vitality of his doctrines. By an Imperial edict, obtained not improbably by John of Antioch, who was weary of a troublesome neighbour, Nestorius in his old age was exiled to the Egyptian Oasis, as the place most completely cut off from mankind, so that the contagion of his heresy might be confined to the narrowest limits. Even there he did not find repose. The Oasis was overrun by a tribe of barbarous Africans, the Blemmyes. These savages, out of respect or compassion, released their aged captive, who found himself in Panopolis: and, having signified his arrival and his adventures to the Prefect of the city, expressed his hope that the Roman Government would not refuse him that compassion which he had found among the savage heathen. The heretic reckoned too much on human sympathies. He was hastily despatched under a guard of soldiers to Elephantine, the very border of the Roman territory, and recalled as hastily. These journeys wore out his old and infirm body: and, after a vain appeal to the court to be spared a fourth exile, which is mocked by the ecclesiastical historian as a new proof of his obstinacy, he sunk into the grave. But there the charity of the historian Evagrius does not leave him in peace: he relates with undisguised satisfaction a report that his tongue was eaten with worms; and from these temporal pains he passed to the eternal and unmitigable pains of hell.²

The three great Sees were now in possession of the

² Evagrius, H. E. i. c.

anti-Nestorians. Cyril ruled in Alexandria; Maximian had been succeeded in Constantinople by Proclus, the ancient and inveterate antagonist of Nestorius; and John in Antioch. But, besides the Nestorians, there was a strong anti-Cyrellian party among the Orientals, the former allies of John of Antioch, who protested against the terms of the peace. They maintained the uncanonical deposition of Nestorius, though they disclaimed his theology; they asserted the unrepealed excommunication of Cyril. Alexander, Bishop of Hierapolis, declared that he would suffer death or exile rather than submit to Church communion with the Egyptians on such terms; and declared that John must be lost to all sense of shame. On this principle the leading Bishops of nine provinces revolted against their Patriarchs,—the two Syrias, the two Cilicias, Bithynia, Mœsia, Thessalia, Isauria, the second Cappadocia. They even ventured to send a protest to Sixtus, who had now succeeded Celestine in the See of Rome, in which they inveighed against the versatility and perfidy of John of Antioch. But an edict, obtained by the two dominant influences in the Byzantine court, that of gold^a and that of the Princess Pulcheria, armed John with powers to expel the refractory Prelates from their sees; and John had no scruples in punishing that mutinous spirit which he had encouraged so long. Nor were these Bishops prepared to suffer the martyrdom of degradation. Andrew of Samosata, Theodoret of Cyrus, Helladius of Tarsus, the leaders of that party, submitted to the hard necessity. It is probable, however, that the

^a “ Audivimus olim quod multum saterit Verius, qui pro Joanne Constantinopoli latitat, et *aurum multum* distribuerit aliquibus ut posse obtinere

sacram, quæ nos cogeret aut communi- care Joanni, aut exire ab ecclesiis: quod etiam veraciter contigit.” — Meletii Epist. ad Maximin. Anagarb.

milder terms enforced upon them only required communion with John; they were not compelled to give their formal assent to the deposition of Nestorius, or to withdraw their protest against the twelve articles of Cyril, or to repeal the anathema against him. Some, however, were more firm; Meletius of Mopsuestia was forcibly expelled from his city by a rude soldiery, and fourteen other Bishops bore degradation rather than submit to these galling concessions.

At the same time that Nestorius was banished from Antioch, an Imperial edict proscribed Nestorianism.^b The followers of Nestorius were to be branded by the odious name of Simonians, as apostates from God; his books were prohibited, and, when found, were to be publicly burned; whoever held a conventicle of the sect was condemned to confiscation of goods. But however oppressed in the Roman Empire, Nestorianism was too deeply rooted in the Syrian mind to be extinguished either by Imperial or by ecclesiastical persecution. It took refuge beyond the frontiers, among the Christians of Persia. It even overleaped the stern boundary of Magianism, and carried the Gospel into parts of the East as yet unpenetrated by Christian missions. The farther it travelled eastwards the more intelligible and more congenial to the general sentiment became its Eastern element, the absolute impassibility of the Godhead. Even in the Roman East it maintained, in many places a secret, in some an open resistance to authority.^c The great Syrian School, that of

^b Codex Theodos. de Hæret. xvi. v. 66.

^c Gibbon, at the close of his 47th chapter, has drawn one of his full,

rapid, and brilliant descriptions of the Oriental conquests of the Nestorians, from Assemanni, Renaudot, La Croze, and all other authorities extant in his

Theodore of Mopsuestia and Diodorus of Tarsus, the most popular of the Syrian theologians, were found to have held opinions nearly the same with those of Nestorius. Cyril and Proclus demanded the proscription of these dangerous writers; but the Eastern Prelates, those of Edessa, and the successors of Theodore, indignantly refused submission. Another controversy arose, which was not laid to rest, but was rather kept alive by the new heresy which, during the next twenty years, confused the Eastern Churches and demanded a fourth General Council—Eutychianism.

Sixtus III., the successor of Celestine, had ruled in Rome during these later transactions in the East; he was to be succeeded by one of greater name.

A.D. 432-440.
July 31;
Aug. 18.

day. Nestorianism and its kindred or rival sects retired far beyond the sphere of Latin Christianity; it was not till the Portuguese conquests in the East that they came into contact and collision. The very recent works

of Layard and the Rev. Mr. Badger reveal to us the present state of the settlements of the Nestorians—the latter, their creed and discipline—in the neighbourhood of the Tigris and Euphrates.

CHAPTER IV.

Leo the Great.

THE Pontificate of Leo the Great is one of the epochs in the history of Latin, or rather of universal Christianity. Christendom, wherever mindful of its divine origin, and of its proper humanising and hallowing influence, might turn away in shame from these melancholy and disgraceful contests in the East. On the throne of Rome alone, of all the greater sees, did religion maintain its majesty, its sanctity, its piety; and, if it demanded undue deference, the world would not be inclined rigidly to question pretensions supported as well by such conscious power as by such singular and unimpeachable virtue; and by such inestimable benefits conferred on Rome, on the Empire, on civilisation. Once Leo was supposed to have saved Rome from the most terrible of barbarian conquerors; a second time he mitigated the horrors of her fall before the king of the Vandals. During his pontificate, Leo is the only great name in the Empire; it might almost seem in the Christian world. The Imperial Sovereignty might be said to have expired with Theodosius the Great. Women ruled in Ravenna and in Constantinople, and their more masculine abilities, even their virtues, reflected a deeper shame on the names of Theodosius II. and Valentinian III., the boy Sovereigns of the East and West. Even after the death of Theodosius, Marcian reigned in the East, as the

Leo the
Great.
A.D. 440.
Aug.

husband of Pulcheria. In the West the suspected fidelity impaired the power, as it lowered the character of Aëtius; his inhuman murder deprived the Empire of its last support; and the Count Boniface, the friend of Augustine, in his fatal revenge, opened Africa to the desolating Vandal. Leo stood equally alone and superior in the Christian world. Two years before the accession of Leo, Augustine had died. He had not lived to witness the capture and ruin of Hippo, his episcopal city. The fifth year after the accession of Leo, died Cyril of Alexandria; Nestorius survived, but in exile, his relentless rival. Cyril was succeeded by Dioscorus, who seemed to have inherited all which was odious in Cyril, with far inferior polemic ability; afterwards an Eutychian heretic, and hardly to be acquitted of the murder of his rival, Flavianus. This future victim of the enmity of Dioscorus, filled the see of Constantinople. Domnus, a name of no great distinction, was Patriarch of Antioch. In the West there are few, either ecclesiastics or others, who even aspire to a doubtful fame, such as Prosper, the poet of the Pelagian controversy, and Cassianus, the legislator of the Western monasteries.

Leo, like most of his great predecessors and successors, was a Roman. He was early devoted to the service of the Church; and so high was the opinion of his abilities, that even as an acolyte he was sent to Africa with letters condemnatory of Pelagianism. By the great African Prelates, Aurelius and St. Augustine, he was confirmed in his strong aversion to those doctrines which might seem irreconcilable with his ardent piety. He urged upon Pope Sixtus the persecution of

the unfortunate Julianus.^a When Leo was yet only a Deacon, Cassianus dedicated to him his work on the Election of Leo. At the decease of Pope Sixtus, Leo was absent on a civil mission, the importance of which shows the lofty estimate of his powers. It was no less than an attempt to reconcile the two rival generals, Aëtius and Albinus, whose fatal quarrel hazarded the dominion of Rome in Gaul. There was no delay; all Rome, clergy, senate, people, by acclamation, raised the absent Leo to the vacant see. Leo disdained the customary hypocrisy of compelling the electors to force the dignity upon him. With the self-confidence of a commanding mind he assumed the office,^b in the pious assurance that God would give him strength to fulfil the arduous duties so imposed. Leo was a Roman in sentiment as in birth. All that survived of Rome, of her unbounded ambition, her inflexible perseverance, her dignity in defeat, her haughtiness of language, her belief in her own eternity, and in her indefeasible title to universal dominion, her respect for traditionary and written law, and of unchangeable custom, might seem concentrated in him alone.^c The union

^a "His insidiis Sixtus Papa, diaconi Leonis hortatu, vigilanter occurrens, nullum aditum pestiferis conatibus patere permisit, et . . . omnes catholicos de rejectione fallacis bestię gaudere fecit."—Prosper. in Chronic.

^b "Etsi necessarium est trepidare de merito, religiosum est gaudere de dono . . . ne sub magnitudine gratię succumbat infirmus, dabit virtutem, qui contulit dignitatem."—Sermo xi.

^c Nothing can be stronger than the declarations of the Popes that even

they are strictly subordinate to the law of the church. "Contra statuta patrum concedere aliquid vel mutare nec hujus quidem sedis potest auctoritas." Zos. Epist. sub ann. 417. "Sumus subjecti canonibus, qui canonum præcepta servamus."—Cœlest. ad Episc. Illyr. "Privilegia sanctorum patrum canonibus instituta et Niceæ synodi fixa decretis nulla possunt improbitate convelli, nulla novitate violari."—S. Leo. Epist. 78: compare Epist. 80. "Quoniam contra statuta paternorum

of the Churchman and the Roman is singularly displayed in his sermon on the day of St. Peter and St. Paul; their conjoint authority was that double title to obedience on which he built his claim to power, but chiefly as successor of St. Peter, for whom and for his ecclesiastical heirs he asserted a proto-Apostolic dignity. From Peter and through Peter all the other Apostles derived their power. No less did he assert the predestined perpetuity of Rome, who had only obtained her temporal autocracy to prepare the way, and as a guarantee, for her greater spiritual supremacy. St. Peter and St. Paul were the Romulus and Remus of Christian Rome. Pagan Rome had been the head of the heathen world; the empire of her divine religion was to transcend that of her worldly dominion. Her victories had subdued the earth and the sea, but she was to rule still more widely than she had by her wars, through the peaceful triumphs of her faith.^d It was because Rome was the capital of the world that the chief of the Apostles was chosen to be her teacher, in order that from the head of the world the light of truth might be revealed over all the earth.

The haughtiness of the Roman might seem to predominate over the meekness of the Christian. Leo is indignant that slaves were promoted to the dignity of the sacerdotal office; not merely did he require the consent of the master, lest the Church should become a refuge for contumacious slaves, and the established

canonum nihil cuiquam audire conceditur, ita si quis diversum aliquid discernere velit, se potius minuet, quam illa corrumpat; quæ si (ut oportet) a sanctis Pontificibus observantur per universas ecclesias, tranquilla erit pax

et firma concordia."—Epist. 79.

^d "Per sacram beati Petri sedem caput orbis effecta, latius præsideres religione divinâ quam dominatione terrenâ."—Serm. lxxxiii.

rights of property be invaded, but the baseness of the slave brought discredit on the majesty of the priestly office.*

Though Leo's magnificent vision of the universal dominion of Rome and of Christianity blended the indomitable ambition of the ancient Roman with the faith of the Christian, the world might seem rather darkening towards the ruin of both. Leo may be imagined as taking a calm and comprehensive survey of the arduous work in which he was engaged, the state of the various provinces over which he actually exercised, or aspired to supremacy. In Rome heathenism appears, as a religion, extinct; but heretics, especially the most odious of all, the Manicheans, were in great numbers. In Rome, Leo ruled not merely with Apostolic authority, but took upon himself the whole Apostolic function. He was the first of the Roman Pontiffs whose popular sermons have come down to posterity. The Bishops of Constantinople seem to have been the great preachers of their city. Pulpit oratory was their recommendation to the see, and the great instrument of their power.†

* "Tanquam servilis vilitas hunc honorem capiat. . . . Duplex itaque in hac parte reatus est, quod et *sacrum ministerium talis consortii vilitate polluitur*, et dominorum . . . jura solvuntur."—Epist. iv.

† Sozomen asserts that it was a peculiar usage of the Church of Rome that neither the bishop nor any one else preached in the church: οὐτε δὲ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος οὐτε ἄλλος τις ἐνθάδε ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας διδάσκει. H. E. vii. 19. This statement, defended by Valesius, is vehemently impugned by many Roman Catholic writers. Quessel confines it to sermons on particular occasions. But the assertion of Sozo-

men is clearly general, and contrasted with the usage of Alexandria, where the bishop was the only preacher. If this be true, the usage must have been subsequent to the beginning of Arianism, perhaps grew out of it. The presumption of ignorance or error in Sozomen arises out of the generality of his statement, that there was in fact no preaching in Rome. The style of Leo's sermons, brief, simple, expository, is almost conclusive against any long cultivation of pulpit-oratory. They are evidently the first efforts of Christian rhetoric—the earliest, if vigorous, sketches of a young art. Compare page 35.

Chrysostom was not the first, though the greatest, who had been summoned to that high dignity, for the fame of his eloquence. From the pulpit Nestorius had waged war against his adversaries. Leo, no doubt, felt his strength; he could cope with the minds of the people, and made the pulpit what the rostrum had been of old. His sermons singularly contrast with the florid, desultory, and often imaginative and impassioned style of the Greek preachers. They are brief, simple, severe; without fancy, without metaphysic subtlety, without passion: it is the Roman Censor animadverting with nervous majesty on the vices of the people; the Roman Prætor dictating the law, and delivering with authority the doctrine of the faith. They are singularly Christian—Christian as dwelling almost exclusively on Christ, his birth, his passion, his resurrection; only polemic so far as called upon by the prevailing controversies to assert with especial emphasis the perfect deity and the perfect manhood of Christ.⁵ Either the practical mind of Leo disdained, or in Rome the age had not yet fully expanded the legendary and poetic religion, the worship

⁵ One class were what may be described as charity-sermons. At a certain period of the year collections were made for the poor throughout all the regions of Rome. This usage had been appointed to supersede some ancient superstition, it is supposed the Ludi Apollinares, held on the 6th of July. The alms of the devout were to surpass in munificence the offerings of the heathen. These collections seem to have replaced in some degree the sportula of the wealthy, and the ostentatious largesses of the Emperors. On almsgiving Leo insists with great energy. It is an atonement for sin.—

Serm. vii. In another place, "elemosynæ peccata delent." Fasting, without alms, is an affliction of the flesh, no sanctification of the soul. There is a beautiful precept urging the people to seek out the more modest of the indigent, who would not beg: "Sunt enim qui palam poscere ea, quibus indigent, erubescunt; et malunt miseriam tacite egestatis affligi, quam publicâ petitione confundi. . . . paupertati eorum consultum fuerit et pudori."—Serm. ix. p. 32-3. Leo denounces usury—"fœnus pecuniæ funus animæ."—Serm. xvii.

of the Virgin and the Saints. St. Peter is not so much a sacred object of worship as the great ancestor from whom the Roman Pontiff has inherited supreme power. One martyr alone is commemorated, and that with nothing mythic or miraculous in the narrative—the Roman Laurentius, by whose death Rome is glorified, as Jerusalem by that of Stephen.^h

Leo condemns the whole race of heretics, from Arius down to Eutyches; but the more immediate, more dangerous, more hateful adversaries of the Roman faith were the Manicheans. That sect, in vain proscribed, persecuted, deprived of the privilege of citizens, placed out of the pale of the law by successive Imperial edicts; under the abhorrence not merely of the orthodox, but of almost all other Christians; were constantly springing up in all quarters of Christendom with a singularly obstinate vitality. At this time they unquestionably formed a considerable sect in Rome and in other cities of Italy. Manicheism, according to Leo, summed up in itself all which was profane in Paganism, blind in carnal Judaism, unlawful in magic, sacrilegious and blasphemous in all other heresies.ⁱ It does not appear how far the Manicheism of the West had retained the wilder and more creative system of its Oriental founder; or, subdued to the more practical spirit of the West, adhered only to the broader anti-Materialistic and Dualistic tenets. But these more general principles were obnoxious in the highest degree to the whole Christianity of the age. Where the great rivalship of the contending parties in Christendom was to assert most peremptorily, and to define most distinctly, the Godhead and the humanity of the Redeemer, nothing

The Manichees.

^h Serm. lxxiv.

ⁱ Serm. xvi.

could be more universally abhorrent than a creed that made the human person of the Redeemer altogether unreal, and was at least vague and obscure as to his divinity; which in that Redeemer was clearly extraneous and subordinate to the great Primal Immaterial Unity. All parties would unite in rejecting these total aliens from the Christian faith.^k But Leo had stronger reasons for his indignation against the Roman Manicheans. Whether the asceticism of the sect in general had recoiled into a kind of orgiastic libertinism, or whether the polluting atmosphere of Rome, in which no doubt much of pagan licentiousness must have remained, and which would shroud itself in Christian, as of old in pagan mysteries, the evidence of revolting immoralities is more strong and conclusive against these Roman Manicheans than against any other branch of this condemned race at other times. The public, it might seem the ceremonial violation of a maiden of tender years, in one of their religious meetings, was witnessed, it was said, by the confession of the perpetrator of the crime; by that of the elect who were present; by the Bishop, who sanctioned the abominable wickedness.^l The investigation took place before a great assembly of the principal of the Roman priesthood, of the great civil officers, of the Senate, and of the people.

Oct. 10, 443.

We cannot wonder that the penalties fell indiscriminately upon the whole sect. Some, indeed, were admitted to penance, on their forswearing Manes and all his impious doctrines, by the lenity of Leo; others were driven into exile; still, however, no capital punishment

^k S. Leo, Serm. xvi. and xlii.

^l Epist. ad Turib. xiv. Epist. viii.
Rescript. Valentin. "Coram Senatu

amplissimo manifestâ ipsorum confessione patefacta sunt."

was inflicted. Leo wrote to the Bishops of Italy, exhorting them to search out these pestilent enemies of Christian faith and virtue, and to secure their own flocks from the secret contamination. Jan. 444. The Emperor Valentinian III., no doubt by the advice of Leo, issued an edict confirmatory of those laws of his predecessors by which the Manicheans were to be banished from the whole world. They were to be liable to all the penalties of sacrilege. It was a public offence. The accusers were not to be liable to the charge of delation. It was a crime to conceal or harbour them. All Manicheans were to be expelled from the army, and not permitted to inhabit cities; they could neither make testaments nor receive bequests. The cause of the severity of the law was their flagrant and disgraceful immorality.

If Italy did not fully acknowledge, it did not contest the assumed supremacy of the Roman See. Leo writes not only to the Bishops of Tuscany and Campania, but to those of Aquileia and of Sicily, as under his immediate jurisdiction.

Africa was among the provinces of the Western Empire. It was a part of the Latin world—an indispensable part—as being now, since the Egyptian supplies were alienated to the East, with Sicily, the sole granary of Rome and of Italy. Africa. If the patriarchate of Rome was co-extensive with the Western Empire, Africa belonged to her jurisdiction, and the closest connexion still subsisted between these parts of Latin Christendom. Latin had from the first been the language of African theology; and of the five or six greatest names among the earlier Western fathers, three, Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine, were of those provinces. In every struggle and in every controversy

Africa had taken a leading part. She had furnished her martyrs in the days of persecution; she had contended against all the heresies of the East, and repudiated the subtle metaphysics of Greek Christendom; orthodoxy had in general triumphed in her deliberations. By the voice of St. Augustine she had discomfited Manicheism; and it was her burning temperament which, in the same great writer, had repelled the colder and more analytic Pelagianism, and made the direct, immediate, irresistible action of divine grace upon the soul an established article of the Western creed. Her councils had been frequent, and commanded general respect; her bishops were incredibly numerous in the inland districts; and, on the whole, Christianity might seem more completely the religion of the people than in any other part of the empire.

But the fatal schism of the Donatists had, for more than a century, been constantly preying upon her strength, and induced her to look for foreign interference. The orthodox church had, in her distress, constantly invoked the civil power. The Emperor naturally looked for advice to the bishops around him, especially to the Bishop of Rome; and from the earliest period, when Constantine had referred this controversy to a council of Italian prelates, they had been thus indirectly the arbiters in the irreconcilable contest. For even down to the days of St. Augustine, and beyond the Vandal conquest of Africa, the Donatists maintained the strife, raised altar against altar, compared the number of their bishops with advantage to those of their adversaries, resisted alike the reasonings of the orthodox, and the more cogent arguments of the imperial soldiery. The more desperate, the more fierce and obstinate the fanaticism. The ravages of the Circumcellions were

perpetually breaking out in some quarter; the civilisation which had covered the land, up to the borders of the desert, with peaceful towns and villages, so much promoted by the increased cultivation of corn, and which at once contributed to extend Christianity and was itself advanced by Christianity, began to suffer that sad reverse which was almost consummated by the Vandal invasion. The wild Moorish tribes seemed training again towards their old unsubdued ferocity, and preparing, as it were, to sink back, after two or three more centuries, into the more congenial state of marauding Mahometan savages.

But Africa, notwithstanding the difficulties which arose out of these sanguinary contentions, and the constant demands of assistance from the civil power in Italy, conscious of her own intellectual strength, and proud of the unimpeached orthodoxy of her ruling churches, by no means surrendered her independence. If Rome at times was courted with promising submissiveness, at others it was opposed with inflexible obduracy. Though Cyprian, by assigning a kind of primacy to St. Peter, and acknowledging the hereditary descent of the Roman Bishop from the great apostle, had tended to elevate the power of the Pontiff, yet his great name sanctioned likewise almost a contemptuous resistance to the Roman ecclesiastical authority. The African Councils had usually communicated their decrees, as of full and unquestioned authority, not submitted them for a higher sanction. The inflexibility of the African Bishops had but recently awed the Pelagianising Zosimus back into orthodoxy. Some events, which had brought the African churches into direct collision with the Roman Pontiff, betrayed in one case an admission of his power, on the other a steadfast determination of resistance,

which would disdain to submit to foreign jurisdiction. In the first, Augustine himself might seem to set the example of homage—opposing only earnest and deprecatory arguments to the authority of the Roman Pontiff.^m It was the African usage to erect small towns, even villages, into separate sees. St. Augustine created a bishopric in the insignificant neighbouring town of Fussola. He appointed a promising disciple, Antonius
Bishop of
Fussola. named Antonius, to the office. But, removed from the grave control of Augustine, the young bishop abandoned himself to youthful indulgences, and even to violence, rapine, and extortion. He was condemned by a local council; but, some of the worst charges being insufficiently proved, he was only sentenced to make restitution, deprived of his episcopal power, but not degraded from the dignity of a bishop. Antonius appealed to Rome; he obtained the support of the aged Primate of Numidia, by the plausible argument that, if he had been guilty of the alleged enormities, he was unworthy of, and ought to have been degraded from, the episcopal rank. Boniface, who was then Pope, commanded the Numidian bishops to restore Antonius to his see, provided the facts, as he stated them, were true. Antonius, as though armed with an absolute decree, demanded instant obedience from the people of Fussola: he threatened them with the Imperial troops, whom, it would seem, he might summon to compel the execution of the Papal decree. The people of Fussola wrote in the most humble language to the new Pope, Celestine, entreating to be relieved from an oppression, as they significantly hinted, more grievous than they had suf-

^m Augustin. Epist. 261.

ferred under the Donatist rule, from which they had but recently passed over into the Catholic Church. They threw the blame on Augustine himself, who had placed over them so unworthy a bishop. Augustine confessed his error, and urged the claims of the people of Fussola for redress in the most earnest terms. He threatened to resign his own see. The dispute ended in the suppression of the see of Fussola, by the decree of a Council of Numidia, and the assent of Celestine. It was reunited to that of Hippo.

But the second dispute was not conducted with the same temper—it terminated in more important consequences. Apiarius. Apiarius, a presbyter of Sicca, was degraded for many heinous offences by his own bishop. On his appeal, he was taken under the protection of Rome without due caution or inquiry by the hasty Zosimus. A.D. 419. Zosimus commanded his restoration to his rank, as well as to the communion of the Church. The African bishops protested against this interference with their episcopal rights. In an assembly of 217 bishops at Carthage, appeared Faustinus, Bishop of Picenum, and two Roman presbyters. They boldly produced two canons of the Council of Nicæa, that first and most sacred legislative assembly, to which Christendom owed the establishment of the sound Trinitarian doctrine, and which was received by all the orthodox world with unbounded reverence. These canons established a general right of appeal from all parts of Christendom to Rome. The Bishop of Rome might not only receive the appeal, but might delegate the judgment on appeal to the neighbouring bishops, or commission one of his own presbyters to demand a second hearing of the cause, or send judges, according to his own discretion, to sit as assessors, representing the

Papal authority with the bishops of the neighbourhood.ⁿ The African bishops protested, with exemplary gravity, their respect for all the decrees of the Nicene Council; but they were perplexed, they said, by one circumstance—that in no copy of those decrees, which they had ever seen, did such Canons appear. They requested that the authentic copies, supposed to be preserved at Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, might be inspected.^o It turned out, that either from ignorance, in himself almost incredible, or from a bold presumption of ignorance in others, not less inconceivable, the Bishop of Rome had adduced Canons of the Synod of Sardica, a council of which the authority was in many respects highly questionable, and which did not aspire to the dignity of a General Council, for the solemn decrees of the great Ecumenic Senate. The close of this affair was as unfavourable as its conduct to the lofty pretensions of the Roman Bishop. While the Africans calmly persisted in asserting the guilt of Apiarius, the Bishop of Rome, through his legate, obstinately pronounced him to be the victim of injustice. Apiarius himself, seized by a paroxysm of remorse, suddenly and publicly made confession of all the crimes imputed to him—crimes so heinous and offensive, that groans of horror broke forth from the shuddering judges. The Bishop of Rome was left in the humiliating position of having rashly embarked in an iniquitous cause, and set up as the judge of the African bishops on partial, unsatisfactory, and, as it appeared, utterly worthless evidence. The African bishops pursued their advantage, adducec

ⁿ "E latere suo Presbyterum" is the expression—probably heard almost for the first time in these canons.

^o "Habentes auctoritatem ejus a quo destinati sunt."—Labbe, Conc. ii. p. 1590.

the genuine Canons of Nicæa, which gave each Provincial Council full authority over its own affairs, and quietly rebuked the Roman prelate for his eagerness in receiving all outcasts from the Churches of Africa, and interfering in their behalf concerning matters of which he must be ignorant. They asserted that God would hardly grant to one that clear and searching judgement which he denied to many.^p Thus, in fact, they proclaimed the entire independence of the African Churches on any foreign dominion: they forbade all appeals to transmarine judgements.^q

But Africa had not to contest that independence with the ambition and ability of Leo. The long age of peace, wealth, fertility, and comparative happiness which had almost secluded Africa, since the battle of Thapsus, from the wars and civil contentions of the Empire, and had permitted Christianity to spread its beneficent influence over the whole province, was drawing to a close. The Vandal conquest began that long succession of calamities—the Arian persecutions under Hunneric and Thrasimund, the successors of Genseric—the re-conquest by the Eastern Empire, and the internal wars, with their train of miseries, famine, pestilence, devastation, which blasted the rich land into a desert; silenced altogether the clamours of Christian strife still maintained by the irreclaimable Donatists, and quenched all the lights of Christian learning and piety; until, at length, the whole realm was wrested by the strong arm

^p “Nisi forte quispiam est qui credat, unicuilibet posse Deum nostrum examinis inspirare justitiam, et innumerabilibus congregatis in unum concilium denegare.”—Labbe, Concil. ii. p. 1675.

^q “Quod si ab eis provocandum putaverunt, non provocent ad transmarina judicia, sed ad Primates suarum Provinciarum (aut ad Universale Concilium) sicut et de Episcopis sæpe constitutum est.”—Ibid.

of Mohammedanism from its connexion with Christendom and the civilisation of Europe.

The Vandal conquest under Genseric alone belongs to this period. The Vandals, until the invasion of the Huns, had been dreaded as the most ferocious of the Northern or Eastern tribes. Their savage love of war had hardly been mitigated by their submission to Arian Christianity. Yet the invasion of Genseric was at first a conquest rather than a persecution. The churches were not sacred against the general pillage, but it was their wealth which inflamed the cupidity, rather than the oppugnancy of the doctrine within their walls which provoked the insults of the invaders. The clergy did not escape the general massacre: many of them suffered cruel tortures, but they fell in the promiscuous run; they were racked, or exposed to other excruciating torments to compel the surrender of their treasures, which they had concealed, or were supposed to have concealed. After the capture of Carthage, bishops and ecclesiastics of rank, as well as nobles, were reduced to servitude. The successor of Cyprian, "Quod vult Deus" ("What God wills,"—the African prelates had anticipated our Puritans in their Scriptural names), and many of his clergy were embarked in crazy vessels, and cast on shore on the coast of Naples. Yet Genseric permitted the elevation of another orthodox bishop, Deo Gratias, at the prayer of Valentinian, to the see of Carthage. Valentinian might seem prophetically to prepare succour and comfort for the Romans who should hereafter be carried captives to Carthage.

During the later years of his reign, Genseric became a more cruel persecutor. He would admit only Arian counsellors about his court. The honours of martyrdom

are claimed for many victims, perhaps rather of his jealousy than of his intolerance; for the Vandal dominion was that of an armed aristocracy, few in numbers when compared with the vast population of Roman Africa. He closed the churches of the orthodox in Carthage after the death of Deo Gratias; they were not opened for some time, but at length, at the intervention of the Emperor of the East, they were permitted a short period of peace, until the reign of Genseric's more fiercely intolerant successors, Hunneric and Thrasimund.^r

Gaul was the province of the Western empire beyond the limits of Italy (perhaps excepting Africa),
 Gaul. which was most closely connected by civil and ecclesiastical relations with the centre of government. But Northern and Western Gaul, as well as the two Germanies, were already occupied by Teutonic conquerors, Goths, Burgundians, and Franks, and were either independent, or rendered but nominal allegiance to the descendants of Theodosius. Britain appeared entirely lost to the Roman empire and to Christianity. Her Christianity had retired to her remote mountain fastnesses in Wales, Cornwall, Cumberland, and to the more distant islands; it was cut off altogether from the Roman world. But in Gaul the clergy, at least the orthodox clergy, were as yet everywhere of pure Roman, or Gallo-Roman race: the Teutonic conquerors, who were Christians, Goths, Burgundians, Vandals, had not shaken off the Arianism into which they had been converted; and the Franks were still fierce and obstinate pagans. The Southern Province alone retained its full subordination to the Court of Ravenna; and the

^r Victor Vitensis, lib. i., with the notes of Ruinart, *Hist. Persecutionis Vandalicæ*

jealousies and contests among the Bishops of Gaul had already driven them to Rome, the aggrieved for redress against the oppression, the turbulent for protection against the legitimate authority of their Bishops or Metropolitans, the Prelates whose power was contested, for confirmation of their dominion. The acknowledged want of such a superior jurisdiction would thus have created, even if there had been no pretensions grounded on the succession to St. Peter, a jurisdiction of appeal. Nowhere indeed can the origin of appeals be traced more clearly, as arising out of the state of the Church. The Metropolitan power over Narbonese Gaul was contested by the Churches of Arles and Vienne. The circumstances of the times, the retirement of the Prefect of Gaul from Treves to Arles, the dignity which that city had assumed as the seat, however of an usurped, empire, had given a supremacy to Arles. But neither would the metropolitan nor the episcopal dignity be administered with such calm justice as to command universal obedience. Severe discipline and strict adherence to the canons by the austere would excite rebellion, laxity and weakness encourage licence. A remote tribunal would be sought by all, by some out of despair of finding justice nearer home, by some in the hope that a bad cause might find favourable hearing where the judges must be comparatively ignorant, and might be propitiated by that welcome deference which submitted to their authority. Yet, though there are several instances of Bishops deposed, not seldom unjustly, by synods of Gallic Bishops, none had carried his complaint before the Bishop of Rome until towards the end of the fourth century,^s Priscillian appealed

^s Quesnel, Dissertat. v. p. 384.

from the Council of **Bordeaux**, not to the Bishop of Rome, but to the Emperor. During the Pontificate of Zosimus, Patroclus, Archbishop of Arles, was involved in an implacable feud with Proculus, Bishop of Marseilles.^t That degradation of Proculus which he could not inflict by his own power, the Metropolitan of Arles endeavoured to obtain by that of Zosimus.^u Zosimus, it appears to be admitted, was deceived by the misrepresentations of Patroclus, and scrupled not to issue the sentence of degradation against the Bishop of Marseilles.^v Proculus defied the sentence, and continued to exercise his episcopal powers. The more prudent Pope, Boniface, in a case of appeal from the clergy of Valence against their Bishop, referred the affair back to the Bishops of the province.^w

Under Leo, the supremacy of the Roman See over Gaul was brought to the issue of direct assertion on his part, of inflexible resistance on that of his opponent. Hilarius, a devout and austere prelate, invested by his admiring biographer in every virtue, in the holiness and charity of a saint, a perfect monk and a consummate prelate—(as a preacher, it was said that Augustine, if he had lived after Hilarius, would have been esteemed his inferior)—was Archbishop of Arles.^y His zeal or his

^t Every point in this controversy has been discussed with the most unwearied pertinacity by the advocates, —on one side of the high Papal supremacy; on the other, by the defenders of the Gallican liberties. I have endeavoured to hold an equal hand, and to dwell only on the facts which rest on evidence. There is an implacable war between the successive editors of

the works of Leo the Great,—the Frenchman Quesnel, and the Italians, the Ballerinis.

^u Sulpic. Sever. 11.

^v Zosim. Epist. 12 ad Patrocl.

^x Bonifac. Epist. ad Episcop. Galliæ.

^y The account of his election, by his biographer, is curious. He was designated as bishop by his predecessor Hoaratus. He was then a monk of

ambition aspired to raise that metropolitan seat into a kind of Pontificate of Gaul. He was accustomed to make visitations, accompanied by the holy Germanus of Auxerre, not improbably beyond the doubtful or undefined limits of his metropolitan power.² During one of these visitations, charges of disqualification for the episcopal office were exhibited against Celidonius, Bishop, according to some accounts, of Besancon. He was accused of having been the husband of a widow, and in his civil state of having pronounced as magistrate sentences of capital punishment. Hilarius hastily summoned a council of Bishops, and pronounced sentence of deposition against Celidonius. On the intelligence that Celidonius had gone to Rome to appeal against this decree, Hilarius set forth, it is said, on foot, crossed the Alps, and travelled without horse or sumpter-mule to the Great City. He presented himself before Leo, and with respectful earnestness entreated him not to infringe the ancient usages of the Gallic Churches, significantly declaring that he came not to plead before Leo, or as an accuser in a case of appeal, but to protest against the usurpation of

A.D. 445.

Lerins. A large band of the citizens of Arles, with a troop of soldiers, set out to take him by force. They did not know him: "spiritalis præda adstat ante oculos inquirentium, et nihilominus ignoratur." He is discovered, but requires a sign from heaven. A dove settles on his head.—S. Hilar. Vit. apud Leon. Oper. p. 323.

▪ "Ordinationes sibi omnium per Gallias ecclesiarum vindicans, et debitam metropolitanis sacerdotibus in suam transferens dignitatem; ipsius

quoque beatissimi Petri reverentiam verbis arrogantibus minuendo . . . ita suæ vos cupiens subdere potestati, ut se Beato apostolo Petro non patiatnr esse subjectum."—Leo. Epist. This may have been stated by Leo under indignation at the resistance of Hilarius to his authority, and on the testimony of the enemies of Hilarius; but his biographer admits that the very humility of Hilarius had generated a kind of supercilious haughtiness; he was rigid, but to the proud; terrible, but to the worldly.—p. 326.

his rights.^a Leo proceeded to annul the sentence of Hilarius and to restore Celidonius to his bishopric. He summoned Hilarius to rebut the evidence adduced by Celidonius, to disprove the justice of his condemnation. So haughty was the language of Hilarius, that no layman would dare to utter, no ecclesiastic would endure to hear such words.^b He inflexibly resisted all the authority of the Pope and of St. Peter; and confronted the Pope with the bold assertion of his own unbounded metropolitan power. Hilarius thought his life in danger; or he feared lest he should be seized and compelled to communicate with the deposed Celidonius. He stole out of Rome, and though it was the depth of winter, found his way back to Arles.^c The accounts of St. Hilarius, hitherto reconcilable, now diverge into strange contradiction. The author of his Life represents him as having made some weak overtures of reconciliation to Leo, as wasting himself out with toils, austerities, and devotions, and dying before he had completed his forty-first year. He died, visited by visions of glory, in ecstatic peace; his splendid funeral was honoured by the tears of the whole city; the very Jews were clamorous in their sorrow for the beneficent Prelate. The people were hardly prevented from tearing his body to pieces, in order to possess such inestimable reliques.^d

^a "Se ad officia non ad causam venisse; protestandi ordine non accusandi quæ sunt acta suggerere."—Vit. Hil.

^b "Quæ nullus laicorum dicere, nullus sacerdotum posset audire."—Ibid.

^c The accounts of this transaction in the Life and in the Letters of Pope

Leo appear to me, considered from the point of view of each writer, strictly coincident, instead of obstinately irreconcilable.

^d The writer describes himself as a witness of this remarkable fact: "Etiam Judæorum concurrunt agmina copiosa. . . . Hebræam concinentium linguam in exequiis honorandis audisse

The counter-statement fills up the interval before the death of Hilarius with other important events. Leo addresses a letter to the Bishops of the province of Vienne, denouncing the impious resistance of Hilarius to the authority of St. Peter, and releasing them from all allegiance to the See of Arles. For hardly had the affair of Celidonius been decided by the See of Rome than a new charge of ecclesiastical tyranny had been alleged against Hilarius. The Bishop Projectus complained, that while he was afflicted with illness, Hilarius, to whose province he did not belong, had consecrated another Bishop in his place, and this in such haste, that he had respected none of the canonical forms of election; he had awaited neither the suffrage of the citizens, the testimonials of the more distinguished, nor the election of the Clergy. In this, and in other instances of irregular ordinations, Hilarius had called in the military power, and tumultuously interfered in the affairs of many churches. It is significantly suggested, that on every occasion Hilarius had been prodigal of the last and most awful power possessed by the Church, that of excommunication.^e Hilarius was commanded to confine himself to his own diocese, deprived of the authority which he had usurped over the province of Vienne, and forbidden to be present at any future ordinations. But a sentence, in those days more awful than that of the Bishop of Rome, was pronounced against Hilarius. At the avowed instance of Leo, Valentinian promulgated an Imperial Edict, denounced the contumacy of Hilarius against the primacy of the

Hilarius
died,
A.D. 449.

me recole. Nam nostros ita mœror
obsederat, ut ab officio solito impatiens
doloris inhibuerit magnitudo."—p.
339.

* "Sed quod mirum eum in laicos
talem existere, qui soleat in sacerdotum
damnatione gaudere?"—S. Leon. Epist.
ad Vienn.

Apostolic throne, confirmed alike by the merits of St. Peter, the chief of the episcopal order, by the majesty of the Roman city, and by the decree of a holy Council. Peace can alone rule in the Church, if the universal Church acknowledge its Lord. Hilarius is accused of various acts of ecclesiastical tyranny and violence, irregular ordinations, depositions of Bishops without authority: of entering cities at the head of an armed force, of waging war instead of establishing peace. The sentence of so great a Pontiff as the Bishop of Rome did not need Imperial confirmation; but as Hilarius had offended against the Majesty of the Empire, as well as against the Apostolic See, he was reminded that it was only through the mildness of Leo that he retained his see. He and all the Bishops were warned to observe this perpetual Edict, which solemnly enacted that nothing should be done in Gaul, contrary to ancient usage, without the authority of the Bishop of the Eternal City; that the decree of the Apostolic See should henceforth be law; and whoever refused to obey the citation of the Roman Pontiff should be compelled to do so by the Moderator of the Province.^f

Spain. Spain was already nearly dissevered from the empire of Rome. It had been overrun, it was in great part occupied, by Teutonic conquerors, Suevians, Goths, and Vandals, all of whom, as far as they were Christians, adhered to the Arianism to which they had been converted by their first Apostles. The land groaned under the oppression of foreign rulers, the orthodox Church under the superiority of Arian sovereigns. If the provinces looked back, at least with the

^f Constitutio Valentiniani, iii. Augusti, apud S. Leonis Opera, Epist. xi p. 642.

regret of interrupted habit, to the Imperial government, and in vain hoped for deliverance from the sinking house of Theodosius, the orthodox Church uttered its cry of distress to the Bishop of Rome. It was not, however, against Arianism, but a more formidable and dangerous antagonist; one kindred to that which Leo had suppressed with such difficulty in his own immediate territory.

The blood of the Spanish Bishop Priscillian, the first martyr of heresy, as usual had flowed in vain.^g He had been put to death by the usurper Maximus, at the instigation of two other Spanish prelates, Ithacius and Valens; but to the undisguised horror of such Churchmen as Ambrose and Martin of Tours. Leo more sternly approved this sanguinary intervention of the civil power. But, in justice to Leo, it was the moral and social, rather than civil offence of which he supposed the Priscillians guilty, which justly called forth the vengeance of the temporal Sovereign. In such case alone the spiritual power, which abhorred legal acts of bloodshed, would recur to the civil authority.^h But the opinions of Priscillian still prevailed, and even seemed to have taken deeper root in Spain. Prelates were infected with the indelible contagion. Turibius, the

^g See on Priscillian the remarkable tract of Brandis on Sulpicius Severus. Brandis thinks that Priscillian was condemned for magic, not strictly speaking for heresy, under the law of Valentinian and Valens.

^h "Videbant enim omnem curam honestatis auferri, omnem conjugiorum copulam solvi, simulque divinum jus humanumque subverti, si hujusmodi hominibus usquam vivere cum tali

professione licuisset. Profuit diu ista districtio ecclesiasticæ lenitatis, quæ etsi sacerdotali contenta iudicio, cruentas refugit ultiones, severis tamen Christianorum principum constitutionibus adjuvatur, dum ad spiritalem nonnunquam recurrunt remedium, qui timent corporale supplicium."—S. Leon. Epist. See Hist. of Christianity, iii. 168.

Bishop of Astorga, laid the burthen of his sorrows before Leo: he asked his advice in what manner to cope with these dangerous adversaries. The doctrines of the Priscillians are summed up in sixteen articles. In these appear the great universal principles of Gnosticism or Manicheism, or rather of Orientalism: the sole existence of the primal Godhead, which preceded the emanation of his virtues. In this primal Godhead, if they recognised a Trinity, it was but a trinity of names. In these articles their enemies detected Arianism and Sabellianism. To the Godhead was opposed the uncreated Power of darkness, equally eternal, sprung from chaos and gloom. The *Christ* existed not till he was born of the Virgin; it was his office to deliver the souls of men, those souls being of the divine Essence, from the bondage of the body, that body created by the spirit of darkness. The Priscillianites fasted rigidly on the day of the Nativity, and on every Sunday, as the day of the Resurrection, no doubt not on account of the unreality of the Saviour's body, but for an opposite reason, because at his birth he was degraded to an union with a material body, and at his resurrection reassumed that infected condition. It was this that set them in perpetual, implacable antagonism, not merely in their secret opinions, but in their public and outward usages, with the rest of the Christian world. Their austere proscription of marriage, and aversion to the procreation of beings with material bodies, led to the accustomed charge, perhaps in many cases, among the rude and ignorant, to the natural consequence, gross licentiousness. The peculiarity of the Priscillian system was an astrological Fatalism. The superstition which prevailed for so long a period in Europe, of assigning certain parts of the human body

A.D. 447.

to the influences of the signs of the Zœciac, assumes its first distinct form in their tenets.^l It was the earthly part which was subject to these powers, who in some mysterious way were concerned in its creation. Leo proceeded not, by a summary edict, to evoke this question from the Churches of Spain; he recommended the convocation of a general Council of Bishops from the four Provinces of Tarragona, Carthage, Lusitania, and Gallicia. If the times prevented this general assembly, the Bishop of Astorga might appeal to a Provincial Council from Gallicia alone. Two Councils were held, one at Toledo, the other at Braga in Gallicia, in which Priscillianism was condemned in the usual terms of anathema.^k

Illyricum, in the primary division of the Empire, had been assigned to the West; it would be com-
 prehended under the patriarchal jurisdiction Illyricum.
 of the Bishop of Rome. As early as the pontificate of Siricius, the metropolitan of Thessalonica was appointed as delegate of the Bishop of Rome to rule the province. To this precedent Leo appeals, when he invests Anastasius, Metropolitan of the same city, with equal powers.^l But he does not rest his title to supremacy on his Patriarchal power, or on the claim of the Western Empire to the allegiance of Illyricum; he grounds it on the

^l Cap. xiv. apud Leon. Oper. p. 705. "Ad hanc insaniam pertinet prodigiosa illa totius humani corporis per duodecim cœli signa distinctio, ut diversis partibus diversæ præsideant potestates; et creatura, quam Deus ad imaginem suam fecit, in tantâ sit obligatione siderum, in quantâ est connexione membrorum."—S. Leon. Epist. xv.

^k It is declared in this decree, that

all who had been twice married, who had married widows, or divorced women, were canonically unfit for the priesthood. Nor was it any excuse that the first wife had been married before baptism. "Cum in baptisate peccata deleantur, non uxorum numerus abrogetur."

^l Epist. v. ad Episcop. Metropol. per Illyricum constitutos (Jan. 12, 414).

universal dominion which belongs to the successors of St. Peter. The province appears to have acquiesced in his authority, and received with due submission his ordinances concerning the election of Bishops and Metropolitans. But all graver causes were to be referred to Rome for judgement.

The East, again plunged into a new controversy, might look with envy on the passive peace of the West. Supremacy, held by so firm and vigorous a hand as that of Leo, might seem almost necessary to Christendom. The Bishop of Rome, standing aloof, and only mingling in the contests by legates, whom he might disclaim at any time as exceeding their powers, could not but be heard with anxious submission by both parties, and by the Christian world at large. He would be contemplated with awful reverence, as attempting to command troubled Christendom into repose. Nestorianism had been, if not suppressed within the empire, reduced to the utmost weakness; it had been cast forth beyond the limits of the Roman world into distant and miserable exile. Nestorius himself had been the victim of the remorseless persecution.

But the theological balance was too nicely poised on this question, not speedily to descend on the opposite side. Cyril himself, by some of his strong expressions, had given manifest advantage to the Oriental Bishops.^m Many who condemned the heresy of Nestorius, loudly impeached the orthodoxy of the Alexandrian Prelate. Almost throughout the East the monks, mindful perhaps of their Egyptian origin, had been strenuous in the cause of Cyril. In Constantinople they had overawed the government, and powerfully

^m See p. 142.

contributed to the discomfiture of Nestorius. But from character, education, and habits the Eastern monks were least qualified to be the arbiters in a controversy which depended on fine shades and differences of expression. Their dreamy and recluse life, their rigid ritual observances, even their austerities, instead of sharpening their intellects, led to vague conceptions; and the want of commerce with mankind disabled them from wielding the keen weapons of dialectics, or of comprehending the subtle distinctions taught in the schools of philosophy. From the temperament which drove them to the cell or cloister, and which was not corrected by enlightened education, their opinions quickly became passions; those passions were inflamed by mutual encouragement, emulation, and the corporate spirit of small communities, actuated by a dominant feeling. Nor with them were these, points of abstract and speculative theology; the honour of the Redeemer, the dignity of the Virgin Mother now so rapidly rising into an object of adoration, were deeply committed in the strife. Such men were to speak with precise and guarded language on the unity of the divine and human nature in the person of Christ; on the unity which combined the two in perfect harmony, yet allowed not either to encroach on the separate distinctness, the unalterable and uninterchangeable attributes of the other.

The foremost adherent of Cyril in Constantinople had been Eutyches, a Presbyter, the Archimandrite or Superior of a convent of monks Eutyches without the walls of the city.ⁿ At his bidding the

ⁿ Eutyches is three times mentioned as a powerful ally of Cyril in the memorable letter to Maximianus, cited above. Flavian. Epist. ad Leon. Brev. Hist. Eutych. p. 759. Liberatus in Breviar.

swarms of monks had thronged into the streets, defied the civil power, terrified the Emperor, and contributed, more than any other cause, to the final overthrow of Nestorius. He had grown old in the war against heresy; he had lived in continence for seventy years;° nor was it till after his departure from strict orthodoxy that men began to discover his total deficiency in learning.

A new race of Metropolitans had arisen in the more important sees of the East. That of Antioch was filled by Domnus, that of Alexandria by Dioscorus; Flavianus ruled the Church of Constantinople. All these prelates inherited the orthodox aversion to Nestorianism. Dioscorus though he persecuted the relatives of Cyril, despoiled them of their property, and degraded them from their offices, with the violence, the turbulence, and the intolerance of his predecessor, adhered to his anti-Nestorian opinions. A great effort had been made to crush the lingering influence of those Prelates who had resisted Cyril. The aged Theodoret of Cyrus, who had accepted the peace of Antioch, but had not consented either to the condemnation or to the complete absolution of Cyril; Ibas of Edessa, who had defended the suspected writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia; Irenæus of Tyre, who, as a civilian, when Count of the Empire, had been held a partisan of the Nestorian party, and though he had been twice married, had been promoted to that see: these, with some others, were degraded from their rank, and sent into exile.

In all these movements, Eutyches and his monks had joined—always their clamours; where tumults in the

° Ad Leon. Epist. sub fin. He complains in another place that Flavianus had not respected his grey hairs.

streets of Constantinople or elsewhere were necessary to advance their cause, succours less becoming their secluded, peaceful, and unworldly character. On a sudden, Eutyches, from the all-honoured and boastful champion of orthodoxy, to his own surprise (for in justice to him he seems to have had no very distinct notions of his own heterodoxy),^p is arraigned, condemned, and finally branded to posterity as the head of a new and odious heresy.

In a Synod held at Constantinople, under the Bishop Flavianus, Eusebius, Bishop of Doryleum, solemnly charged Eutyches with denying the Eutyches accused. two natures in Christ. Thrice was Eutyches summoned before this tribunal, thrice he resisted or eluded the formal citation. He declared himself bound by a vow not to quit his monastery; a vow which, as his adversaries reminded him, he had not very religiously respected during the tumults against Nestorius; he pleaded bad health; he promised to come forward on a future day. At length he condescended to appear, but environed by a rout of turbulent monks, and with an Imperial officer, Florianus, who demanded to take his place in the Synod. The affair now proceeded with more decent gravity. The charge was made by Eusebius, who had practised in the schools as a Master of Rhetoric.^q Eutyches in vain struggled to extricate himself from the grasp of the rigid logician. He took refuge in vague and ambiguous expressions, he equivocated, he contradicted himself; his merciless antagonist pressed him in his dialectic toils, and at length extorted

^p Leo writes of him with sovereign contempt: "Qui ne ipsius quidem symboli initia comprehendit." This old man has not learned what are the first lessons of the Christians. A Flavian. ^q Evagrius.

the heretical confession: the two natures which were distinct before the Incarnation, in the Christ were blended and confounded in one. The Synod heard the confession with horror, amazement, and regret; the awful sentence of excommunication was passed; the implacable assertor of orthodoxy against Nestorius found himself cast forth as a convicted and proscribed author of heresy.

Excommu-
nicated.

But this grave ecclesiastical proceeding has another side. The secret history of the times, preserved by a later but trustworthy authority, if it does not resolve the whole into a wretched court intrigue, connects it too closely with the rise and fall of conflicting female influence, and the power of an Eunuch minister.^r The sage and virtuous Pulcheria had long ruled with undisputed sway the feeble mind of her Imperial brother, Theodosius II. Chrysaphius the Eunuch had risen to the chief administration of public affairs. He was scheming to balance or entirely to overthrow the authority of Pulcheria by the influence of the Empress, the beautiful Eudocia. Chrysaphius was the godson of Eutyches. He had hoped to raise the monk to the see of Constantinople. The elevation of Flavianus crossed these designs. But Chrysaphius did not despair of his end; he still hoped to expel Flavianus from the throne, and replace him by his own spiritual father. Either to estrange the mind of the Emperor from Flavianus, or to gratify his own rapacity, he demanded the customary present to the Emperor on the Prelate's inauguration. Flavianus tendered three loaves of white bread. The minister indignantly rejected this poor offering, and demanded a considerable

A.D. 441.

^r Theophanes, Chronog. p. 153. Edit. Bonn.

weight of gold. Such offering Flavianus could only furnish by a sacrilegious invasion of the treasures, or profanation of the sacred vessels of the Church. This quarrel was hardly appeased when Chrysaphius endeavoured, with more dangerous friendship, to implicate Flavianus in his own intrigues against Pulcheria. Flavianus not merely eluded the snare, but the Eunuch suspected the Bishop of betraying his secret designs. Eusebius, the antagonist of Eutyches, was of the party of Pulcheria before his advancement to the see of Doryleum; he had held a civil office, probably in the household of the Emperor's sister. He had been an early and an ardent adversary of Nestorius; he now stood forward as the accuser of the no less heretical Eutyches.

But Eutyches was too powerful in the support of his faithful monks, and in the favour of the minister, to submit either to the Bishop of ^{Eutyches} ^{appeals.} Constantinople, or to a local Synod. He appealed to Christendom—from the Metropolitan of Constantinople to the Metropolitans of Jerusalem, Thessalonica, Alexandria, and Rome. He accused the Bishops at Constantinople of forging or of altering the Acts of their Synod. He demanded a General Council to examine his opinions. The Emperor, under the influence of Chrysaphius, acceded to the request; the Council was summoned to meet at Ephesus, under the presidency of Dioscorus of Alexandria. Letters were despatched to the West by both parties, by Eutyches not only to the Bishop of Rome, but to the Bishop of Ravenna,^s and no

^s The answer of the Bishop of Ravenna is extant in the works of S. Leo, Epist. xxv. The close, in which Chrysologus defers most humbly to Rome, seems to me suspicious.

doubt to others. The support of Leo was too important not to be sought with earnest solicitude. But Eutyches addressed him as a suppliant, imploring his protection against injustice and persecution; Flavianus as an equal, who condescended to inform his brother Bishop of the measures which he had taken against an heretical subject of his diocese, and requested him to communicate the decree of the Constantinopolitan Synod to his brethren in the West. The consentient voice of Leo might restore peace to Christendom. But Leo was too wise to be deluded by the servility of Eutyches, or offended by the stately courtesy of Flavianus.^c He waited to form his decision with cautious dignity.

At Ephesus met that assembly which has been branded by the odious name of the "Robber Council" called "Robber Synod" of Ephesus, Aug. 8, A.D. 449. But it is difficult to discover in what respect, either in the legality of its convocation, or the number and dignity of the assembled prelates, consists its inferiority to more received and honoured Councils. Two Imperial Commissioners, Elpidius and Eulogius, attended to maintain order in the Council, and peace in the city. Dioscorus, the Patriarch of Alexandria, by the Imperial command assumed the presidency.^d The bishops who formed the

^c Quesnel and Pagi on one side, Baronius and the Ballerinis on the other, contest the relative priority of two letters addressed by Flavianus to Leo. The question in debate is whether Flavianus initiated an appeal to Rome. But neither of them contains any recognition of Leo's authority. In the first, according to Ballerini, he sends the account of the proceedings. *ὥστε καὶ τὴν σὴν δόξιοτητα γνοῦσαν τὰ*

κατ' αὐτὸν, πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν θεοσέβειαν τελοῦσι θεοφιλεστάτοις ἐπισκόποις δὴλην ποιῆσαι τὴν αὐτοῦ δυσσέβειαν. — p. 757. The second letter, as printed by the Ballerinis, is in the same tone: *δίκαιον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὡς ἡγοῦμαι, διδαχθῆναι ὑμᾶς, ὡς ἔτι κ.τ.λ.*

^d Dioscorus wanted the severe and unimpeached austerity of Cyril. He was said to have had a mistress named

Synod of Constantinople were excluded as parties in the transaction, but Flavianus took his place, with the Metropolitans of Antioch and Jerusalem, and no less than three hundred and sixty bishops and ecclesiastics. Three ecclesiastics, Julian, a Bishop, Renatus, a Presbyter, and Hilarius, a Deacon, were to represent the Bishop of Rome.^x The Abbot Barsumas (this was an innovation) took his seat in the Council, as a kind of representative of the monks.

Though commenced with seeming regularity, the proceedings of the assembly soon degenerated into disgraceful turbulence, violence and personal conflict. But it is impossible to deny that in this respect the Robber Synod only too faithfully followed, if it exceeded, the legitimate and Œcumenic Council of Ephesus. Its acts were marked with the same indecent precipitation; questions were carried by factious acclamations within, and the Council was overawed by riotous mobs without. But that which was pardonable and even righteous zeal in the cause of Cyril, was sacrilegious tumult in that of Eutyches: the monks who had been welcomed and encouraged as holy champions of the faith when they issued from their cells to affright the Emperor into the condemnation of Nestorius, when they thronged around Eutyches became a mutinous and ignorant rabble.^y

The Egyptian faction (for Dioscorus, though tyrannical to the kindred and adherents of Cyril, embraced his opinions with the utmost ardour) looked to this

Irene. He is the subject of the well-known epigram which illustrates Alexandrian wit and boldness—

"Ειρήνη πάντεσσιν," Ἐπίσκοπος εἶπεν
ἐπελθών,
Πῶς δύναται πάντεσσ', ἦν μόνος ἔνδον
ἔχει;

^x They were attended by Dulcitus, a notary. S. Leo. and Synod. Ephes. One, Renatus, had died on the road. Hilarius seems to have taken the lead among Leo's legates.

^y Compare Walch, p. 215.

Council, not so much for the vindication of Eutyches, as for the total suppression of Nestorianism, and, no doubt, the abasement of Flavianus, and in the person of Flavianus, of the aspiring see of Constantinople. But in their blind heat they involved themselves with the creed of Eutyches. The Council commenced with the usual formalities. The proposition to read the letters of Leo to Flavianus, which condemned the doctrine of Eutyches, was refused with the utmost contempt.* Then were rehearsed the acts of the Synod of Constantinople. On the first mention of the two natures in Christ an angry dispute arose. But when the question put to Eutyches by Eusebius of Doryleum was read, whether he acknowledged the two natures after the incarnation, the assembly broke out with one voice, "Away with Eusebius! banish Eusebius! let him be burned alive! As he cuts asunder the two natures in Christ, so be he cut asunder!" The President put the question, "Is the doctrine that there are two natures after the incarnation to be tolerated?" The sacred Council replied, "Anathema on him who so says!" "I have your voices," said Dioscorus, "I must have your hands! He that cannot cry, let him lift up his hands!" With an unanimous suffrage the whole assembly proclaimed, "Accursed be he who says there are two!" The Council proceeded to absolve Eutyches from all suspicion of heterodoxy, and to reinstate him in all his ecclesiastical honours; to depose Flavianus and Eusebius, and to deprive them of all their dignities. Flavianus alone

Decree of the
Council,
A.D. 449.

* "Quem Alexandrinus antistes, qui totum solus ibi potentia suae vindicavit, audire contempsit." ἀκούσας κατέπτυσεν in the Greek.—S. Leon.

Epist. 1. ad Constantinop. Leo's letter exists in indifferent Greek, and worse Latin, dated 449, Jan. 13.

pronounced his appeal; Hilarius, the Roman deacon, alone refused his assent.^a The unanimity of the assembly is unquestionable, but it is asserted, and on strong grounds, that it was an unanimity enforced by the dread of the imperial soldiery and the savage monks, who environed and even broke in, and violated the sanctity of the Council.^b Dioscorus pursued his triumph. The deposition of Ibas of Edessa, Theodoret of Cyrus, Irenæus of Tyre, and of others who were suspected of Nestorianism, or at least refused to subscribe the anathemas of Cyril, was confirmed. Domnus of Antioch was involved in their fate. Hilarius the deacon fled to Rome; but not so fortunate was Flavianus. After suffering personal insults, it is said even blows, from the furious Dioscorus himself,^c instigated by the monk Barsumas, who shouted aloud, "Strike him, strike him dead!" he expired after a few days, either of his wounds, of exhaustion, or mental suffering. Thus was this the first, but not the last, Christian Council which was defiled with blood.

Death of
Flavianus.

Alexandria had succeeded in dictating its doctrine to the whole of Christendom; the Patriarch of Alexandria had triumphed over both his rivals, had deposed the Metropolitan of Antioch, and the more dreaded Bishop of Eastern Rome. Nor was this all. An Imperial edict avouched the orthodoxy and confirmed the acts of the second Council of Ephesus. It involved Flavianus and Eusebius in the charge of Nestorianism; it proscribed Nestorianism in all its forms, branding it by the ill-

^a We hear nothing of the other legate of Leo, the Bishop Julian; the Presbyter Renatus was dead.

^b See the evidence of Basil, Bishop of Cæsarea.

^c Leo, writing from the report of Hilarius, the Deacon, "Magnum facinus Alexandrino Episcopo *auctore* vel *executore* commissum est."—Epist. ad Anat.

omened name of Simonianism: it forbade the consecration of any bishop favourable to Nestorius or Flavianus, and deposed them, if unwarily consecrated: it condemned all worship or religious meetings of the Nestorians (and all who were not Eutychians were in danger of being declared Nestorians), under the penalty of confiscation and exile; and interdicted the reading of all Nestorian books, which are ranked with the anti-Christian writings of Porphyry; that is, the works of Nestorius and of Theodoret, and according to one copy of the law, those of Diodorus and Theodore of Mop-suestia also, under the same penalties.

But the law might command, it could not enforce peace. Eastern Christendom was severed into two conflicting parties. Egypt, Palestine, and Thrace, adhered to Dioscorus, while the rest of Asiatic Christendom, Pontus and Asia Minor, still clung to the cause of Flavianus.^d Strengthened by the unanimous consent of the West, which entered so reluctantly into these fine metaphysical subtleties, Leo, the Bishop of Rome, refused all recognition of the Ephesian Council. Dioscorus, in the heat of his passion and the pride of success, broke off (an unheard of and unprecedented boldness) all communion with Rome.

A sudden and total revolution at once took place. The change was wrought,—not by the commanding voice of ecclesiastical authority,—not by the argumentative eloquence of any great writer, who by his surpassing abilities awed the world into peace,—not by the reaction of pure Christian charity, drawing together the conflicting parties by evangelic love. It was a new dynasty on the throne of Constantinople.

^d Liberat. Brev. c. xii.

The feeble Theodosius dies ; the masculine Pulcheria—the champion and the pride of orthodoxy—the friend of Flavianus and of Leo, ascends the throne, and gives her hand, with a share in the empire, to a brave soldier named Marcianus.

The hopes of one party, and the apprehensions of the other, were realised with the utmost rapidity. The first act of the Government, which Anatolius, the new bishop, who, though nominated by the Egyptian party, was a moderate prudent man, either acquiesced in or promoted, was the quiet removal of Eutyches from the city. This measure was confirmed by a synod at Constantinople.

A more full and authoritative Council could alone repeal the acts of the “Robber Synod” of Ephesus. The only opposition to the summons of such Council at Chalcedon arose from Leo. The Roman Pontiff had urged on the Western Emperor (it is said, on his knees) the necessity for a general Council ; but Leo desired a Council in Italy, where no one could dispute the presidency of the Roman prelate. Prescient, it might seem, of the decree at Chalcedon, which raised the Patriarch of Constantinople to an equality with the Bishop of Rome, he dreaded the convocation of a Council in the precincts and under the immediate influence of the Byzantine court.

At Chalcedon, the Asiatic suburb of Constantinople, met that assembly, which has been admitted to rank as the fourth, by some as the last, of the great Œcumenic Councils. Anatolius, Bishop of Constantinople, was present, with Maximus of Antioch, and Juvenalis of Jerusalem. Leo appointed as his representatives two bishops and a

Council of
Chalcedon.
Oct. 8,
A.D. 451.

presbyter.^e Above five hundred bishops^f made their appearance. Dioscorus of Alexandria was there, but sat not in the order of his rank, and was not allowed the right of suffrage. Theodoret of Cyrus claimed his seat, but did not obtain it without violent resistance from the Egyptian faction, who denounced him as a Nestorian: his own party retorted charges against the Egyptians, as persecutors of Flavianus, and as Manicheans. The Imperial Commissioners reprov'd with firmness, and repress'd with dignity, but with much difficulty, these rabble-like proceedings.^g

The first act of the Council, after the decrees of the Synod at Ephesus had been read, was to annul the articles of deposition against Flavianus and Eusebius. Many of the bishops expressed their penitence at their concurrence in these acts: some saying that they were compelled by force to subscribe—others to subscribe a blank paper. The Council proceeded to frame a resolution, deposing Dioscorus and five other bishops, as having iniquitously exercised undue influence in the

Oct. 16. Council of Ephesus; but the right of approbation of this decree was reserved to the Emperor. During the whole of this first session, Dioscorus had confronted his adversaries with the utmost intrepidity, readiness, and self-command. He cried aloud, "They are condemning not me alone, but Athanasius and Cyril. They forbid us to assert the two natures

^e Paschasinus, Bishop of Lilybæum, Lucentius, Bishop of Esculanum (Ascoli), Boniface, Presbyter of the Church of Rome.

^f This is the number in the Breviarium: Marcellinus raises the number to six hundred and thirty. Between

four and five hundred signatures are appended to the acts.

^g It is said in the Breviar. Hist. Eutyck. that the Emperor and Senate were present. The Senate appears in the acts.

after the Incarnation." The night drew on; Dioscorus demanded an adjournment; the Senate refused; the acts were read over by torchlight. The bishops of Illyria proclaimed their abandonment of the cause of Dioscorus. The night was disturbed by wild cries of acclamation to the Emperor and the Senate, appeals to God, anathema to Dioscorus—"Christ has deposed Dioscorus—Christ has deposed the murderer—God has avenged his martyrs!" The Council at the next session proceeded to the definition of the true faith. The Creeds of Nicæa and of Constantinople, the two Epistles of Cyril, and above all the Epistle of Leo to Flavianus, were recognised as containing the orthodox Christian doctrine. The letter of Leo excited acclamations of unbounded joy. "This is the belief of the Fathers,—of the Apostles!" "So believe we all!" "Accursed be he that admits not that Peter has spoken by the mouth of Leo!" "Leo has taught what is righteous and true; and so taught Cyril!" "Eternal be the memory of Cyril!" "Why was not this read at Ephesus? It was suppressed by Dioscorus!" With this there was again a strange mingled outcry of the Bishops, confessing their sin and imploring forgiveness, and of the adversaries of Dioscorus, chiefly the clergy of Constantinople, clamouring, "Away with the Egyptian, the Egyptian into exile!"

The Imperial Commissioners, who, with some few of the Bishops, were anxious that affairs should proceed with more dignified calmness, hardly restrained the impulse of the Council, who were eager to proceed by acclamation, and at once, to the condemnation of Dioscorus; they accused him of being a Jew. It would, perhaps, have been better for that prelate, if they had been permitted to follow their impulse; for charges now

began to multiply and to darken against the falling Patriarch—charges of disloyalty, of tyranny, of rapacity, of incontinence. Thrice was he summoned to appear (he had not been permitted to resume his seat, or had withdrawn during the stormy course of the proceedings), thrice he disobeyed, or attempted to elude the summons. The solemn sentence was then pronounced by one of the Western Bishops, the representatives of Leo. It stated that Dioscorus, some time Bishop of Alexandria, had been found guilty of divers ecclesiastical offences. To pass over many, he had admitted Eutyches, a man under excommunication by lawful authority, into communion; he had haughtily repelled all remonstrances; he had refused to read the Epistle of Leo at the Council of Ephesus; he had even aggravated his guilt, by daring to place the Bishop of Rome himself under interdict.^h Leo, therefore, by their voice, and with the authority of the Council, in the name of the Apostle Peter, the Rock and Foundation of the Church, deposes Dioscorus from his episcopal dignity, and excludes him from all Christian rights and privileges. The unanimous Council subscribes the judgement.¹

The decree was temperate and dignified; it contained no unfair or exaggerated accusations; though it might dwell with undue weight on the insulting conduct towards Leo, it condescended to no fierce and abusive

^h Page 424.

¹ It is remarkable that the decree took no notice of the various imputations of heresy against Dioscorus, none of the accusations of murder said to have been perpetrated by him in Alexandria. Compare especially the libel

of Ischyrius the Deacon, who offers to substantiate his charges by witnesses. Either Dioscorus was one of the most wicked of men, or Ischyrius the most audacious of calumniators.—Labbe, p. 398-400.

appellations. Nor was the grave majesty of the assembly disturbed by a desperate rally of the monks, headed by Barsumas. This man, as not unjustly suspected of being implicated in the death of ^{Barsumas} ~~the monk.~~ Flavianus, the assembly refused to admit to the honours of a seat. Repelled on all sides, and awed by the Imperial power, the monks appealed to Christ from Cæsar, shook their garments in contempt of the Council, and as a protest against the injustice done to Dioscorus; and then sullenly retired to their solitudes to brood over and propagate in secret their Monophysite doctrines. Some of their traditions assert, in characteristic language, that Barsumas, thus ignominiously expelled by the Council and by the Emperor, pronounced his curse against Pulcheria. She died a few days afterwards, and Barsumas, while he took rank among his followers as a prophet and man of God, became from that time an object of cruel and unrelenting persecution by his enemies.

It is remarkable that the formulary of faith adopted finally by the Council of Chalcedon was brought forward by the Imperial Commissioners. After much altercation and delay, it received at length the sanction of the Council. After this the Civil Government (the Emperor Marcian) issued two laws, addressed to all orders, to the clergy, to the military, and to the commonalty; one prohibited the future agitation of these questions, as tending to tumult: it denounced as the penalty for offences against the statute, degradation to the ecclesiastic, to the soldier ignominious expulsion from the army, to the common man exile from the Imperial city.^k

^k A strong canon of the Council of Chalcedon against simony implies that the benefices in the East, as in the West, were highly lucrative.

The second decree confirmed all the proceedings at Chalcedon, enforced on the public mind the deferential conclusion, that no private man could hope to arrive at a sounder understanding of these mysteries than had been painfully attained by so many holy bishops, and only after much prayer and profound investigation. The punishment of dissent was left indefinite and at the will of the civil rulers.

But before the final dissolution of the Council at Chalcedon, among thirty canons on ecclesiastical subjects, appeared one of singular importance to Christendom. It asserted the supremacy of the Roman see, not in right of its descent from St. Peter, but solely as the Bishopric of the Imperial City. It assigned, therefore, to the Bishop of the New Rome, as equal in civil dignity, a co-equal and co-ordinate ecclesiastical authority.^m This canon, it is averred, was passed by a few bishops, who lingered behind the rest of the Council; it claims only the subscription of one hundred and fifty prelates, and those chiefly of the diocese of Constantinople. It is not indeed likely that the Alexandrian Church, though depressed by the ignominious degradation of its head, still less that the more ancient Churches of Antioch and Jerusalem should thus tamely acquiesce in the assumption of superiority (unless it were a measure enforced by the Imperial power) by the modern and un-Apostolic Church of Byzantium.ⁿ Leo from this period denounces

^m Καὶ γὰρ τῷ θρονῷ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης, διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην, οἱ πατέρες εἰκότως ἀποδεδώκασι τὰ πρεσβεῖα. — Can. xxviii. p. 769.

ⁿ Leo, in his three epistles on the subject, seems to espouse the cause of

Antioch and Alexandria, as insulted by their degradation from the second and third rank; rivalry with Rome on their part is a pretension of which he will not condescend to entertain a suspicion. “Tanquam opportune se tempus hoc tibi obtulerit; quo

the arrogance and presumption of Anatolius, the Bishop of Constantinople; and this canon of the Œcumenic Council has been refused all validity in the West.

Throughout this long and melancholy ecclesiastical civil war, the Bishop of Rome could not but continue to rise in estimation and reverence, and in their inseparable result, authority. While the East had thus been distracted in every province, the West had enjoyed almost profound religious peace. The circumstances of the time contributed to this state of things; the pre-occupation of the whole Western empire by the terrors of the most formidable invasion which had ever menaced society; the general disinclination to those fine theologic distinctions, which rose out of the Grecian schools of philosophy; and, perhaps, the desolation by the savage Vandals of the African Churches, which were most likely to plunge hotly into such disputes, and to drag with them the rest of Latin Christendom. During the whole feud the predecessors of Leo, and Leo himself, had calmly and firmly adhered to those doctrines which were finally received as orthodox. They had acted by common consent as heads and representatives of Western Christendom, and had fully justified the unquestioning confidence of the West by their congeniality with the universal sentiment. Nor had their dignity suffered in the eyes of men by the humiliating scenes to which the great prelates of the East, the Metropolitans of Antioch, of Constantinople, and Alexandria, had been continually exposed; arraignment as

secundi honoris privilegium sedes Alexandrina perdidit, et Antiochena Ecclesia proprietatem tertiæ dignitatis amiserit, ut his locis juri tuo subditis, Metropolitani Episcopi proprio honore

priventur.—Epist. liii. : ad Anatol. Const. Episc. The Bishop of Rome rebukes the ambition of his brother prelate in the words of St. Paul, “Be not high-minded, but fear!”

heretics, as criminals, before successive Councils, deposition, expulsion from their sees, excommunication, exile, even death. The feeble interdict issued by Dioscorus against Leo might have been shaken off with silent contempt, if it had not rather suited him to treat it with indignation. Still more the Bishop of Rome had stood uncontaminated, in dignified seclusion from the wretched intrigues and bribery, the venal favour of unpopular ministers, and the trembling dependence on Imperial caprice. Every year became more and more manifest the advantage derived by the Bishop of Rome from the abandonment of Rome as the Imperial residence. The Metropolitan of Constantinople might claim by an ecclesiastical canon, equality with the Roman Pontiff; but the one was growing up into an Independent Potentate, while the other, living under the darkening shadow of Imperial pomp and power, could not but shrink into a helpless instrument of the Imperial will. The fate of the Bishop of Constantinople, his rank and his authority in the Church, even his orthodoxy, depended virtually on the decree of the Emperor. Appearing in all the controversies of the East only in the persons of his delegates, the Bishop of Rome had preserved his majesty uninsulted and unhumbled by the degrading invectives, altercations, even personal contumelies, which had violated the sanctity of the great Eastern prelates. Even if they had not provoked; if they had borne with the most saintly patience the outrages of the popular or monkish rabble at Ephesus or Constantinople, in the general mind the holy character could not but be lowered by these debasing scenes.

Leo seemed fully to comprehend the importance and the dignity of his position. He took the most zealous

interest in the whole controversy, but his activity was grave, earnest, and serious. His language to the Eastern Emperors, and especially to the Princess Pulcheria, may sound too adulatory to modern ears. The divinity of the earthly sovereign was acknowledged in terms too nearly approaching that reserved for the great divine Sovereign. This, however, must be judged with some regard to the sentiments and expressions of the age; and his deference was in language rather than in thought. Leo addresses these earthly masters with an independence of opinion, more as their equal, almost more as their master, than would have been ventured by any other subject at that time in either empire.

In the West, meantime, Leo might seem, under the sole impulse of generous self-devotion and reliance on the majesty of religion, to assume the noblest function of the civil power, the preservation of the Empire, of Italy, of Rome itself, of Christianity, from the most tremendous enemy which had ever threatened their freedom and peace. While the Emperor Valentinian III. took refuge in Rome, and rumours spread abroad of his meditated flight, abdication, abandonment of his throne, Leo almost alone stood fearless. An embassy, of which the Bishop of Rome was no doubt considered by the general reverence of his own age, as well as by posterity, as the head and chief, arrested the terrible Attila on the frontiers of Italy, and dispersed the host of savage and but half-human Huns. Leo, to grateful Rome, might appear as the peaceful Camillus, as the unarmed Marius, repelling invaders far more fearful than the Gauls or the Cimbrians.

The terror of Europe at the invasion of the Huns naturally and justifiably surpassed that of all former barbaric invasions. The Goths and other German tribes

were familiar to the sight of the Romans; some of them had long been settled within the frontier of the empire; they were already for the most part Christian, and, to a certain extent, Romanised in their manners and habits. The Mongol race, with their hideous, misshapen, and, as they are described, scarcely human figures, their wild habits, their strange language, their unknown origin, their numbers, exaggerated no doubt by fear, and swollen by the aggregation of all the savage tribes who were compelled or eagerly crowded to join the predatory warfare, but which seemed absolutely inexhaustible; their almost unresisted career of victory, devastation, and carnage, from the remotest East till they were met by Aëtius on the field of Châlons: at the present time the vast monarchy founded by Attila, which overshadowed the whole Northern frontier of the Empire, and to which the Gothic and other Teutonic kings rendered a compulsory allegiance; their successful inroads on the Eastern Empire, even to the gates of Constantinople; the haughty and contemptuous tone in which they conducted their negotiations, had almost appalled the Roman mind into the apathy of despair. Religion, instead of rousing to a noble resistance against this heathen race, which threatened to overrun the whole of Christendom, by acquiescing in Attila's proud appellation, the Scourge of God, seemed to justify a dastardly prostration before the acknowledged emissary of the divine wrath. The spell, it is true, of Attila's irresistible power had been broken; he had suffered a great defeat, and Gaul was, for a time at least, wrested from his dominion by the valour and generalship of Aëtius. But when, infuriated, as it might seem, more than discouraged by his discomfiture, the yet formidable Hun suddenly descended upon Italy,

the whole peninsula lay defenceless before him. Aëtius, as is most probable, was unable, as his enemies afterwards declared, was traitorously unwilling, to throw himself between the barbarians and Rome. The last struggles of Roman pride, which had rejected the demand of Attila for the hand of the Princess Honoria^o (his self-offered bride, whose strange adventures illustrate the degradation of the Imperial family), and which had been delayed by the obstinate resistance of Aquileia to the whole army of Attila, were crushed by the fall and utter extermination of that city, and the total subjugation of Italy as far as the banks of the Po. Valentinian, the Emperor, fled from Ravenna to Rome. To some no doubt he might appear to seek succour at the feet of the Roman Pontiff; but the abandonment of Italy was rumoured to be his last desperate determination.

At this fearful crisis, the insatiable and victorious Hun seemed suddenly and unaccountably to pause in his career of triumph. He stood rebuked and subdued before a peaceful embassy, of which, with the greater part of the world, the Bishop of Rome, as he held the most conspicuous station, so he received almost all the honour. The names of the rich Consular Avienus, of the Prefect of Italy, Trigetius, who ventured with Leo to confront the barbarian conqueror, were speedily forgotten; and Leo stands forth the sole preserver of Italy. On the shores of the Benacus the ambassadors encountered the fearful Attila. Overawed (as the belief was eagerly propagated, and as eagerly accepted) by the personal dignity, the venerable

^o Compare Gibbon, c. xxxv. Ob- | nandes: "Dum ad aulæ decus virgini
serve the characteristic words of Jor- | tatem suam cogeretur custodiare."

character, and by the religious majesty of Leo, Attila consented to receive the large dowry of the Princess Honoria, and to retire from Italy. The death of Attila in the following year, by the bursting of a blood-vessel, on the night during which he had wedded a new wife, may have been brooding, as it were, in his constitution, and somewhat subdued his fiercer energy of ambition. His army, in all probability, was weakened by its conquests, and by the uncongenial climate and unaccustomed luxuries of Italy. But religious awe may still have been the dominant feeling which enthralled the mind of Attila. The Hun, with the usual superstitiousness of the polytheist, may have trembled before the god of the stranger, whom nevertheless he did not worship. The best historian of the period relates that the fate of Alaric, who had survived so short a time the conquest of Rome, was known to Attila, and seemed to have

A.D. 452. made a profound impression upon him.^p The dauntless confidence and the venerable aspect of Leo would confirm this apprehension of encountering, as it were, in his sanctuary, the God now adored by the Romans. Legend, indeed, has attributed the submission of Attila to a visible apparition of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, who menaced the trembling heathen with a speedy divine judgement if he repelled the proposals of their successor. But this materialising view, though it may have heightened the beauty of Raffaelle's painting of Leo's meeting with Attila, by the introduction of præter-human forms, lowers the moral grandeur of the whole transaction. The simple faith in his God, which gave the Roman Pontiff courage to confront Attila, and threw that commanding majesty

^p Priscus, quoted by Jornandes, c. 42.

over his words and actions which wrought upon the mind of the barbarian, is far more Christianly sublime than this unnecessarily imagined miracle.

The incorrigible Romans alone, in their inextinguishable pagan superstition, or their ineradicable pagan passion for the amphitheatre, attributed the deliverance of the city not to the intercession of Leo (like the rest of the world), or to the mercy of God, but to the influence of the stars. They crowded (to his indignation) to the Circensian games, rather than to the tombs of the martyrs.⁹ Leo might save Rome from the sword of the heathen barbarian, he could not save it from the vices of the Christian sovereign, which were precipitating the Western Empire to its fall, and brought down on Rome a second capture, more destructive than that of the Goth, by the Vandal Genseric. Valentinian III. had taken refuge at Rome; but he found Rome not only more secure, but in its society, its luxury, and its dissoluteness, a more congenial scene for his licence than the confined and secluded Ravenna. He returned to it to indulge more freely in his promiscuous amours. At length the

⁹ "Pudet dicere, sed oportet non tacere: plus impenditur dæmonii quam apostolis, et majorem obtinent insana spectacula frequentiam, quam beata martyria."—S. Leon. Serm. lxxxiv. I am inclined to concur with Baronius (Annal. sub ann.) rather than with the later editors of S. Leo's works, Quesnel and the Ballerini, in assigning the short sermon on the Octave of St. Peter to the deliverance from Attila, not to the evacuation of the city by Genseric. Ballerini's view seems impossible. The death of the Emperor Maximus (see below) took place on the 12th of June, three days

after Genseric entered the city; the sack of the city lasted fourteen days, till St. Peter's Day, the 29th; yet Ballerini would suppose that on the octave of that day the Romans were so far recovered from their consternation, danger, and ruin, as to celebrate the Circensian games at great expense, and to attend them in multitudes, which provoked the holy indignation of the bishop. The deliverance, which they ascribed to the stars, rather than to the mercy of God, can hardly have been the abandonment of the plundered and desolate city, with hundreds of the inhabitants carried away into captivity.

violation of the wife of a Senator, Petronius Maximus, of the highest rank and great wealth, caused his assassination. In Valentinian closed the Western line of descendants from the great Theodosius. The vengeance of Maximus was not content with the sceptre of the murdered Valentinian; he compelled Eudoxia, the Empress, during the first months of her widowhood, to receive him as her husband; and in the carelessness or the insolence of his triumph, betrayed his own complicity, which was before doubtful, in the assassination of Valentinian. Eudoxia determined on revenge; from her Imperial kindred in the East she could expect no succour; the Vandal fleets covered the Mediterranean; Genseric, not satiated with the conquest of Africa, had already subdued Sicily. At the secret summons of the Empress he landed with a powerful force, at the mouth of the Tiber. The defenceless Romans hastened to sacrifice the cause of their calamities; they joined the followers of Eudoxia in a general insurrection, in which the miserable Maximus perished; his body was hewn in pieces, and then cast into the Tiber.*

But the ambition and the rapacity of Genseric were not appeased by this victim; he advanced towards Rome, where no measures of defence had been taken: none perhaps could have been organised in a city without a ruler, and without a standing force. Leo was again the only safeguard of the city; but the Bishop of Rome was still a man of Christian peace. Unarmed, at the head of his clergy, he issued forth to meet the invader; and though the Arian Vandal, within sight of his prey, and actually master of Rome, still the centre

* Procop. Hist. Vandal. On the character and history of Maximus, read Letter of Sidon. Apollinar. 11, 13.

of riches and luxury—Rome open to his own rapacity and that of his soldiers—was less submissive than the heathen Hun; yet even he consented to some restraint on the cruelty and licence which attend the sack of a captured city. The lives of those who offered no resistance were to be spared; the buildings to be guarded against conflagration, the captives protected from torture. But that was all (and it was much at such a crisis) which the authority of the Pontiff could obtain. The Roman Leo with the rest of his countrymen must witness, what may seem to have aggravated the calamity in the estimation of the world, the late revenge of Carthage, the plunder of Rome by the conquering Africans.^s In the pillage, which lasted for fourteen days, if the edifices were spared, the treasures of the churches were forced to surrender all which they had accumulated from the pious munificence of the public during the forty-five years which had elapsed since the sack by Alaric.^t It has been observed as a singular event that Genseric, a barbarian from the shores of the Baltic, compelled Rome to surrender, and transported to the shores of Africa the spoils of two religions. From the Temple of Peace in Rome he carried off the plunder of the Jewish Holy of Holies, the gold table, and the seven-branched candlestick, which had been deposited as trophies by the Emperor Titus.

A.D. 455.

* See the spirited lines of Sidonius,—
*Hæu facinus! in bella iterum quartasque
 labores
 Perfida Elisææ crudescunt classica Byrsæ.
 Nutritis quod fata malum! Conscenderat
 arces
 Evandri Massyla phalanx, montesque
 Quirini
 Marmarici pressere pedes, rursusque re-
 vexit
 Quæ captiva dedit quondam stipendia
 Barche.* *Sid. Apoll. Panegyric.*—444.

^t Leo from the wreck saved three large silver vessels, of 100 pounds each, which he caused to be cast into communion plate for the other destitute churches. Baronius, from this, and other equally insufficient reasons, infers that the three great churches of St. Peter, St. Paul, and the Lateran (?) escaped.

Roman paganism suffered loss no less insulting than that she had inflicted on Jerusalem. The statues of the gods and heroes of ancient Rome had been still permitted to adorn the Capitoline Temple. These, with the roof of gilt bronze, became the prey of the African Vandals, and were consigned as trophies to Carthage. Rome thus ceased altogether to be a pagan city; and Genseric accomplished what, by the dispersion of the old pagan families, had been more than begun by Alaric. The last bond was broken between Christian Rome and the religion of ancient Rome. The ship which bore the gods of Rome to Carthage foundered at sea. The amount of plunder from the Imperial palace and those of the still wealthy nobility, from the temples and the churches, is vaguely stated at many thousand talents. The Vandal avarice stooped to the meaner metals; the copper and the brass were swept away with remorseless rapacity. The Roman aristocracy, which had been scattered to so great an extent by the conquest of Alaric, were now in numbers carried away into captivity: families were broken up, wives separated from husbands, children from parents. Even the Empress Eudoxia and her daughters, the sole survivors of the Western line of Theodósius, were transported as honourable bond-slaves to Carthage; one of the daughters, Eudocia, Genseric married to his son; the mother and the other daughter, who was already married, he released at the request of the Byzantine Emperor Leo, and sent them to Constantinople. But with every successive decimation which thus fell on the Roman nobility, the relative importance of the clergy must have increased, as did that of the Pontiff from the absence of the Emperor from the capital. Rome, after the departure of Genseric's fleet, laden with the spoils and crowded

with captives, selected for their rank, their accomplishments, the females no doubt for their beauty or for their easy submission to the will of the conqueror, was left without government, almost without social organization, except that of the Church. The first Emperor who aspired to the succession of Maximus was Avitus in Gaul.

The calamity which could not be averted by the commanding authority of the Bishop of Rome, was mitigated by the active and judicious charity of the Bishop of Carthage. Deo Gratias, by the manner in which he devoted himself to the service of the wretched captives dragged away from Rome, has extorted the sincere admiration of a historian in general too blind to the true beauty of the Christian religion.^u The Bishop of Carthage had no scruple in sacrificing that which had been offered to give splendour to the worship of God, to the more holy object of alleviating human misery. In order to re-unite those who had been severed by the cruelty or the covetousness of the conquerors—the husbands from the wives, the parents from their children—he sold all the gold and silver vessels belonging to the churches of his diocese. Diseases and sicknesses followed this sudden and violent change of life. To mitigate these sufferings he converted two large churches into hospitals, furnished them with beds and mattresses, and with a daily allowance of food and medicine. The good bishop himself by night and day accompanied the physicians, visiting every bed, and adding the comforts of tender and affectionate sympathy and of gentle Christian advice, to the substantial gifts of food and the proper remedies.^x The aged man

^u Gibbon.

^x Gibbon well describes this.

wore himself out in these cares. He may have been obnoxious on other accounts to the Arian rulers, and may have escaped the persecutions, with which Genseric and the Vandals afterwards afflicted the African Churches, by his timely death;^y but the judgement must be strangely infected with theological hatred which would suppose that his life was endangered by the jealousy of the Arians at these acts of true Christian mercy.^z

The sudden but brief and transitory effort of the Roman Empire, under Majorian, to arrest its hastening extinction, to resume something of its ancient energy, to mitigate the calamities, and avert the impending disorganization by wise legislation,^a by the remission of burthensome taxation, by the restoration of the municipal government in the cities—this last and exhausting paroxysm of strength continued till the close of the Pontificate of Leo. But it was too late; wisdom and virtue, at certain periods, are as fatal to those at the head of affairs, as improvidence and vice. He that would stem a torrent at its fall is swept away. Majorian perished through a lawless conspiracy, as though he had been the worst of tyrants. The last of the Roman Emperors who showed anything of the Roman in his character, and the Pontiff who, in a truly Roman spirit, chiefly founded her spiritual empire, were coincident in the period of their death.^b Majorian died in the year

^y Victor. Vit. de Persecut. Vandal.

^z This is the charitable conclusion of Baronius: "Quo livore Ariani succensi, dolis eum quam plurimis voluerunt sæpitis enecare. Quod, credo, prævidens Dominus passerem suum de manibus accipitium voluit liberare."—Annal. sub ann. 453.

^a Compare the laws of Majorian at the end of the Codex Theodosianus.

^b Leo was still occupied by the disputes in the East, which followed the condemnation of Eutychianism by the Council of Chalcedon, but this subject will be continuously treated in the following Book.

461, leaving the affairs of Rome and the still subject provinces in irrecoverable anarchy. One or two obscure names fill up the barren annals, till the Western Empire expired in the person of Augustulus. Leo died in the same year, leaving a regular succession of Pontiffs, who gradually rose to increasing temporal influence, which, nevertheless, was entirely subordinate to the barbarian kings of Italy, the Herulian and the Ostro-Gothic line, till, after the re-conquest of Italy by the Eastern Emperor, and the gradual abandonment of Justinian's conquests by his feebler successors, the Popes became great temporal potentates.

Latin Christianity, at the close of the fourth, and during the first decennial period of the fifth century, had produced three of her great fathers—the founders of her doctrinal and disciplinarian system—Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine; Jerome, if not the father, the faithful and zealous guardian of her young monasticism, Ambrose of her sacerdotal authority, Augustine of her theology.

Before the middle of the fifth century, the two great founders of the Popedom, Innocent I. and Leo I. (singularly enough, each contemporary with one of the sieges and sacks of Imperial Rome by Teutonic barbarians), had laid deep the groundwork for the Western spiritual monarchy of Rome. That monarchy must await the close of the sixth century to behold her fourth Father, the author, if we may so speak, of her popular religion, and the third great founder of the Papal authority, not only over the minds, but over the hearts of men—Gregory the Great.

BOOK III.

CONTEMPORARY CHRONOLOGY.

EMPERORS OF THE EAST.		WESTERN EMPERORS.		KINGS OF FRANKS.		VISIGOTHIC KINGS IN SPAIN.		VANDAL KINGS IN AFRICA.	
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
437. Leo I.	474	461. Severus.	464			466. Euric.	484	486. Genseric.	476
		464. Vacant.	466						
		467. Anthemius.	471						
474. Leo II.	491	472. Olybrius.						476. Hunneric.	484
Zeno.		Glycerius.							
Basiliscus.		Nepos.		481. Clovis.	510				
		Augustulus.	476	Kingdom di-					
		—		vided					
		<i>Kings of Italy.</i>				484. Alaric II.	507	484. Gondobald.	486
		476. Odoacer the		510. Descendants					
		Herulian.	493	of Clovis.					
		—		—				495. Thrasmond.	522
491. Anastasius I.	518	493. Theodoric the	526	KINGS					
		Ostrogoth.		OF BURGUNDY.					
				451. Gunderic.	472	507. Gesaric.	511		
				472. Gundeald and	509	511. Amalaric.	531		
				his brothers.				522. Hilderic.	530
				509. Sigismund.	524				
				524. Gondemar.	532			530. Gilimer.	584
				Conquered by				534. Conquered by	
				Western Franks.				Justinian.	
		526. Athalaric.	584			531. Theudes.	548		
		534. Theodatus.	536			548. Theodegesild	549		
						549. Agila.	558		
		536. Vitiges.	540						
		540. Theodebald.				558. Athanagild.	567		
		541. Araric.				567. Liuba.	572		
		Totila.	553			572. Leovigild.	586		
		553. Teia.				586. Recared.	600		
565. Justin II.	578								
578. Tiberius.	582								
582. Maurice.	602								
602. Phocas.	610								

EASTERN EMPIRE.

554. Narses, Governor. 566.

Emarchs of Ravenna.

569. Longinus. 584
584. Smaragdus. 587
587. Romanus. 598
596. Callinicus. 603

Kings of Lombards.

568. Alboin. 572
572. Cleophis. 574
574. Duke's rule to 584
584. Autharis,
king. 590
590. Agilulf. 616

BOOK III.



CHAPTER I.

Monophysitism.

LEO THE GREAT had not lived to witness the last feeble agonies of the Western Empire; he escaped the ignominious feeling which must have depressed the spirit of a Roman at the assumption of the strange title, the King of Italy, by a Barbarian: he was not called upon to render his allegiance, or to acknowledge the title of Odoacer.

The immediate successor of Leo was Hilarius, by birth a Sardinian. As deacon, Hilarius had been Nov. 19, 461. Hilarius. the representative of Leo at the Council of Ephesus. His firmness during those stormy debates displays a character unlikely to depart from the lofty pretensions of his predecessor. He reasserted in the East the unbending orthodoxy of Leo; in the West, he maintained, to the utmost extent, the authority which had been claimed over the churches of Gaul and Spain. Rusticus, Bishop of Narbonne, on his death-bed, nominated Hermes as successor to his see. This precedent of a bishop making his see, as it were, a subject of testamentary bequest, seemed dangerous, though in this case Nov. 3, 462. the lawful assent had been obtained from the clergy and the people. Hilarius, at the head of a synod in Rome, condemned the practice, but for the

sentence of degradation substituted the lesser punishment, the deprivation of the right to confer ordination. In another dispute concerning the jurisdiction of the Metropolitans of Arles and Vienne over the Bishop of Die, the successor of St. Peter at least confirms, if he does not ground his whole ecclesiastical authority on the decrees of Christian Emperors. The Imperial sanction was wanting to ratify the edicts of the Apostolic See.^a The bishops of the province of Tarragona addressed Pope Hilarius in humbler language, and were treated, therefore, in a loftier tone of dictation.

Feb. 24, 464.

The only act of Hilarius which mingles him up with the temporal affairs of the age, is his solemn rebuke of the Emperor Anthemius, the sovereign who had been sent from Constantinople to rule the West, for presuming to introduce those maxims of toleration, to which his father-in-law, Marcian, had compelled unruly Constantinople; and even to look with favour on the few surviving partisans of the ancient philosophy, if not of the ancient religion. Under the reign of Anthemius, the old heathen festival, the Lupercalia, was still celebrated in Rome. The venerable rite which still commemorated at once the genial influences of the opening year, and the birth of Rome from the she-wolf which nursed her twin founders, was but slightly disguised to the worshipping Christians.^b

Sept. 467.

^a "Fratri enim nostro Leontio nihil constituti a sanctæ memoriæ decessore meo potuit abrogari, nihil voluit, quod honori ejus debetur, auferri; quia *Christianorum quoque principum lege decretum est, ut quidquid ecclesiis earumque rectoribus, pro quiete omnium domini sacerdotum, atque ipsius observantiâ disciplinæ, i* auferendis

confusionibus apostolicæ sedis antistes suo pronunciasset examine, veneranter acceperunt, tenaciterque servari, cum suis plebibus caritas vestra cognosceret: nec unquam possent convelli, quæ et sacerdotali ecclesiasticâ præceptione fulcuntur *et regiâ.*"—Hilarii Papæ Epist. xi. Labbe, p. 1045.

^b Compare Gibbon, ch. xxxvi.

It was Simplicius, the successor of Hilarius, born at Tibur, who beheld the sceptre wrested from the helpless hand of Augustulus, and heard the demand of the allegiance of Italy from Odoacer, a barbarian of uncertain race. The Papal Epistles dwell only on the polemic controversies of the day, on questions of ecclesiastical jurisdiction or ceremonial discipline: they rarely notice, even incidentally, the great changes in the civil society around them. We endeavour in vain to find any expression or intimation of the feelings excited in a Roman of the high station and influence of the Pope, at the total extinction of that sovereignty which had governed the world for centuries, and from which the Bishop of Rome acknowledged himself to hold to some extent his authority; by whose edicts Christianity had become the established religion of the world and to which the orthodox faith looked for its support by the legal proscription of heretics; which had been at least the civil lawgiver of the Church, and by whose grants she held her vast increasing estates. How far was the conscious possession of a power, which might hereafter sway opinions as widely as the Republic or the Empire had enforced outward submission and by force of arms had quelled every thought of resistance, accepted as a consolation for the departed name of sovereignty? How far did Roman pride take refuge under the pretensions of her Bishop to be the head of Christendom, from the degradation of a foreign and barbarian yoke? Christendom, from all her monuments and records, might seem to have formed a world of her own. Of the fall of Augustulus, of the rise of Odoacer, we hear not a word. Even in the midst of this extraordinary revolution the active energy of the Popes seems concen-

Feb. 25, 468.
Simplicius.

Close of the
Western
Empire.

tered on the East. The Bishop of Rome is busy in Constantinople, opposing the intrigues of Timotheus Ailurus, the Bishop of Alexandria, and jealously watching the ambition of Acacius, the Bishop of Constantinople, a more formidable enemy than Odoacer, as threatening the religious supremacy of Rome.^c He takes deep interest in the changes on the throne of the East, congratulates the Emperor Zeno on his restoration, but it is because Zeno is an enemy to the Eutychian heretics, because he rises on the ruins of Basiliscus, the patron of the Monophysite faction.

For while the West, partly from her want of interest in these questions, partly from the unsettled state of public affairs, from the breaking up of Attila's kingdom, the Vandal invasion of Italy, the Visigothic conquests in Gaul and Spain, and the final extinction of the empire, reposed, as to its religious belief, under the paternal sway of Pope Leo and his successors, Church in the East. the distracted East, in all its great capitals, was still agitated with strife, that strife perpetually breaking out into violence and bloodshed. The Council of Chalcedon had commanded, had defined the orthodox creed in vain. Everywhere its decrees were received or rejected, according to the dominant party in each city, and the opinions of the reigning Emperor. On all the metropolitan thrones there were rival bishops, anathematizing each other, and each supported, either by the civil power, by a part of the populace, or by the monks, more fierce and unruly than the unruly populace. For everywhere monks were at the head of the religious revolution which threw off the yoke of the Council of Chalcedon.^d In Jerusalem Theodosius, a monk, expelled

^c Simplicii Epist. p. 1078.

^d Leonis Epist. cix. et cxxiv.; Marciani Epist. ad calc. Conc. Chalced.;

Evagrius, 11, 5. The latter writer

the rightful prelate, Juvenalis; was consecrated by his party, and maintained himself by acts of violence, pillage, and murder, more like one of the lawless bandits of the country than a Christian bishop. The very scenes of the Saviour's mercies ran with blood shed in his name by his ferocious self-called disciples. In Alexandria the name of Dioscorus (who remained quiet till his death at Gangra, his place of exile) was still dear to most of the monks, and to many of the people, who asserted the champion of orthodox belief and Alexandrian dignity to have been sacrificed to the *Nestorian* Council of Chalcedon. A prelate named Proterius had been appointed, on the triumph of that Council, to the vacant see. The bold wit of the Alexandrian populace had always delighted in affixing nicknames upon the rulers and kings of Egypt; in their strong religious animosity, they scrupled not to profane their holy bishops with equally irreverent appellations. Timotheus, a monk, called Ailurus, the Weasel, perhaps because he was said to have slunk by night to the secret meetings of the rabble, or because he stole into the bishopric of another, was consecrated by the anti-Chalcedonian faction, as a rival metropolitan. We are impatient of these dreary and intricate feuds. That of Alexandria ended, it must not be said, for it might seem interminable, but came to a crisis, in the horrible assassination of Proterius. So little had centuries of Christianity tamed the savage populace of this great city, that the

says the difference between the two parties was between the two prepositions $\epsilon\nu$ and $\epsilon\xi$. Leo makes a remarkable admission. His words might have been misunderstood by those who

“non valentes in Græcum aptè et propriè Latina transferre, cum in rebus subtilibus et difficilibus explicandis, vix sibi etiam in suâ linguâ disputator quisque sufficiat.”

Bishop was not only murdered in the baptistery, but his body treated with shameless indignity, and other enormities perpetrated which might have appalled a cannibal.^e Timotheus, however, is acquitted as to the guilt of participation in these monstrous crimes. But the Weasel did not assume the throne of Alexandria without a rival. Another Timotheus, called Solofaciolus, was set up (Timotheus the Weasel having been banished on the authority of the Emperor Leo), after no long interval, by the Chalcedonian party.^f

A.D. 460.

At Antioch, some years later, a third monk, Peter, called from his humble birth and occupation the Fuller,^g with the apparent countenance of Zeno, the Emperor Leo's son-in-law, whom he had accompanied during his wars in the East, began to intrigue with the discontented party in that city. He led a procession, chiefly of monastics, through the street, which added to the "Thrice Holy" in the hymn, "who was crucified for us." In a short time Peter succeeded in expelling the Bishop Martyrius, who voluntarily abdicated his see.

Antioch.

Barsumas, the notorious leader of the monks in Constantinople, who had been driven from that city by the Council of Chalcedon, was not inactive during his exile. Throughout Syria he spread the charge of Nestorianism against the Council, and exasperated men's

^e καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν ἐν τῷς ἀπογεύεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς θήρας φειδόμενοι ἐκείνου, ὃν ἔχειν μερίτην θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἔναγχος ἐνομίσθησαν.—Evagrius, 11, 9, quoting the letter of the Bishops and Clergy to the Emperor Leo.

^f Timotheus was allowed to go to Constantinople to plead his cause;

thence he was dismissed into banishment.—S. Leon. Epist. ad Gennadium et ad Leonem Imper.

^g The history of Peter the Fuller is related differently; the time of his invasion of the church of Antioch is not quite certain.

minds against the prelates of that party. On one religious subject alone the conflicting East maintained its perfect unity, in the reverence, it may be said the worship, of the Hermit on the Pillar. Simeon Stylites had been observed by his faithful disciple to have remained motionless for three days in the same attitude of prayer. Not once had he stretched out his arms in the form of the cross; not once had he bowed his forehead till it touched his feet (a holy exploit, which his wondering admirers had seen him perform twelve hundred and forty-four times, and then lost their reckoning). The watchful disciple climbed the pillar; a rich odour saluted his nostrils; the saint was dead. The news reached Antioch. Ardaburius, general of the forces in the East, hastened to send a guard of honour, lest the neighbouring cities should seize—perhaps meet in desperate warfare for—the treasure of his body. Antioch, now one in heart and soul, sent out her Patriarch, with three other bishops, to lead the funeral procession. The body was borne on mules for three hundred stadia; a deaf and dumb man touched the bier, he burst out into a cry of gratulation. The whole city, with torches and hymns, followed the body. The Emperor Leo implored Antioch to yield to him the inestimable deposit. The Emperor implored in vain. Antioch, so long as she possessed the remains of Simeon, might defy all her enemies. In the same year, when Antioch thus honoured the funeral rites of him whom she esteemed the greatest of mankind, Rome was lamenting in deep and manly sorrow her Pontiff Leo. Contrast Simeon Stylites, now with one Emperor crouching at the foot of his pillar, and receiving his dull, incoherent words as an oracle, now with another, a man of higher character, supplicating for the possession of his

remains, and Pope Leo on his throne in Rome, and in the camp of Attila. Such were then Greek and Latin Christianity. Nor was the lineage of the Holy Simeon broken or contested. The sees of Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, the throne of the East, might be the cause of long and bloody conflict. The hermit Daniel mounted his pillar at Anaplus near the mouth of the Euxine: in that cold and stormy climate, his body, instead of being burned up with heat, was rigid with frost. But he became at once the legitimate, acknowledged successor of Simeon, the Prophet, the oracle of Constantinople. Once he condescended to appear in the streets of Constantinople; his presence decided the fate of the Empire.^h

The religious affairs in the East were indissolubly blended with the political revolutions, to which the religious factions added their weight, and unquestionably did not mitigate the animosity. These revolutions were frequent and violent. Leo the Thracian, the successor of Marcian, throughout his long reign, adhered firmly to the Council of Chalcedon. Towards the close of his reign, the treacherous murder of Aspar the Patrician, and his son Ardaburius, to whom Leo had owed his throne; the violation of the Imperial word, solemnly given in order to lure Aspar from the sanctuary to which he had fled (the inviolability of the right of sanctuary Leo had just established by a statute); the same contempt of the

Revolutions
in Constanti-
nople. From
A.D. 457 to
474.

Death of
Marcian.

^h On Simeon, Antonii vit. S. S. Theodoret Lect., Evagr. i. 13; on Daniel, vit. Dan. Theodoret. This kind of asceticism was the admiration of the East to a later period. Eustathius of Thessalonica addressed a Sty-

lites in the xiith century, admonishing the Saint against pride, yet at the same time asserting this to be the utmost height of religion. Eustath. Opuscula, Edit. Tafel, p. 182.

laws of hospitality (the murder took place at a banquet in the Imperial palace, to which he had invited Aspar and his son), all this execrable perfidy was vindicated to a large part of his subjects, because Aspar was an Arian.ⁱ The Eastern world was in danger of falling under the sway of the Cæsar Ardaburius, who was either an open Arian, or but a recent and suspicious convert. This was in itself enough to convict him and his partisans of treasonable designs, and to justify any measures which might avert the danger from the Empire. During the whole reign of Leo, Eutychianism had been repressed by the known orthodoxy of the Emperor.^k Timotheus the Weasel had been permitted, as has been said, through the weak and suspicious favour of Anatolius, the Bishop of Constantinople, to visit the court, but he had been repelled and sent into exile by the severe Emperor. But with the exception of the first disturbances excited at Antioch by Peter the Fuller, the reign of Leo the Thracian was one of comparative religious peace. Eutychianism hid its head in the sullen silence of the monasteries. With the contested empire on the death of Leo, the religious contests broke out in new fury. Zeno, who had married Leo's daughter, Ariadne, was driven from the throne by Basiliscus, the brother of Verina, the widow of Leo. With Basiliscus, the anti-Chalcedonian party rose to power. An Imperial encyclic letter branded with an anathema the whole proceedings at Chalcedon, and the letter of Pope Leo, as tainted with Nestorianism.

Emperor
Leo.

Zeno ex-
pelled by
Basiliscus.
A.D. 476.

ⁱ Niceph. xv. 27.

^k A law of Leo betrays the fears of the government of these monkish factions: "Qui in monasteriis agunt, ne potestatem habeant a monasteriis ex-

eund." The force of law was necessary to compel these disciples of Paul and Antony to be what they had taken vows to be.

Everywhere the Eutychian bishops seized upon the sees, and expelled the rightful prelates. Peter the Fuller, who had for a time been excluded, re-ascended the throne of Antioch. Paul resumed that of Ephesus. Anastasius of Jerusalem rendered his allegiance. Timotheus the Weasel came from his exile to Constantinople, and ruled the Emperor Basiliscus with unrivalled sway.^m Acacius, the Bishop of Constantinople, was a man of great ability. He beheld the unwelcome presence, the increasing influence of the rival Patriarch of Alexandria, with jealous suspicion, and refused to admit him to the communion of the Church. Fierce struggles for power distracted Constantinople.ⁿ On one side were the Eutychian monks; on the other, the Bishop Acacius and a large part of the populace and of the monks of Constantinople, for fierce bands of monks now appeared on either side. But his most powerful supporter was the Hermit Daniel, who descended from the pillar, where he had received the suppliant visits of the former Emperor, to take part in these tumults, that pillar which more sober Christians might almost have mounted in order to rise above the turbid atmosphere of strife. With this potent ally the Bishop of Constantinople (probably indeed supported by the strong faction of the expelled Zeno) waged an equal war against the Emperor. Ere long the strange spectacle was presented of

^m See the triumphant reception of Timotheus in Constantinople, Evagr. iii. 4.

ⁿ The language of the Pope Simplicius shows the manner in which the hostile parties wrote of each other: "Comperi Timotheum parricidam, qui Ægyptiacæ pridem vastator Ecclesiæ, in morem Cain . . . ejectus a facie Dei,

hoc est Ecclesiæ dignitate seclusus." . . . He then describes his resumption of the Alexandrian See: "Quo procul dubio Cain ipso longè detestabilior approbatur; ille siquidem a perpetrato semel facinore damnatus abstinuit, hic profecit ad crimina majora post pœnam." — Simplic. Epist. Labbe, 1070.

a Roman Emperor flying before a naked hermit, who had lost the use of his legs by standing for sixteen years on his column. Basiliscus too late revoked his encyclic letter. He fell, and Zeno resumed the power. The tide turned against the Monophysite or anti-Chalcedonian party. But the rest, though some bishops hastened to make their peace with the Emperor and with Acacius, contended obstinately against the stream. Stephanus, the Bishop of Antioch, was murdered in the church by the partisans of Peter the Fuller. Timotheus the Weasel, spared from all extreme chastisement on account of his age, died; but in his place arose another monk, Peter, called Mongus, or the Stammerer, and laid claim to the see of Alexandria. Timotheus Solofaciolus, however, under the Imperial authority, resumed the Patriarchate, and endeavoured to reconcile the heretics by Christian gentleness.^o The Emperor Zeno beheld with commiseration and dismay his distracted empire; he determined, if possible, to assuage the animosities, and to reconcile the hostile factions. After a vain attempt to obtain the opinions of the chief ecclesiastical dignitaries, without assembling a new Council, a measure which experience had shown to exasperate rather than appease the strife, Zeno issued his famous Henoticon, or Edict of Union. This edict was composed, it was believed, if not by Acacius, Bishop of Constantinople, under his direction and with his sanction. It aimed not at the reconciliation of the conflicting opinions, but hoped, by avoiding all expressions offensive to either party, to allow them

A.D. 482.
Henoticon of
Zeno.

^o Liberatus says that the heretics used to cry out as he passed, "Though we do not communicate with you, yet we love you."—Breviar. Baronius is indignant at this "nimia indulgentia" of the bishop (sub ann. 478).

to meet together in Christian amity : as if such terms had not become to both parties an essential part, perhaps the whole, of their Christianity.

The immediate effects of the Henoticon in the East might seem to encourage the fond hope of success. The feud between the rival Churches of Constantinople and Alexandria was for a time appeased. Acacius and Peter the Stammerer recognised their mutual claims to Christian communion. Calendion, the Chalcedonian Bishop of Antioch, had been banished to the African Oasis. Peter the Fuller had resumed the throne. Peter acceded to the Henoticon ; and these three Patriarchal churches commended the Imperial scheme of union to the Eastern world.^p

It was but a transient lull of peace. The Henoticon, without reconciling the two original conflict-^{Alexandria.}ing parties, only gave rise to a third : in Alexandria the two factions severed into three. One half of the Eutychian or anti-Chalcedonian party ^{Three} adhered to Peter the Stammerer ; the other ^{parties.} indignantly repudiated what they called the base concession of Peter ; they were named the Acephali, without a head, as setting up no third prelate. The strong Chalcedonian party had nominated as successor to the mild Timotheus Solofaciolus, a man of a ^{John Talajas.} different character. John Talajas, while at Constantinople, had been compelled by the provident, but vain precaution, no doubt, of Acacius, to pledge himself not to aspire to the see of Alexandria.^q The object of Acacius was to unite the Alexandrian Church under Peter the Stammerer, beneath the broad comprehension of the Henoticon. No sooner was Timotheus

^p Evagrius, iii. 28

^q Evagrius, on the authority of Zacharias.

dead, and John Talajas safe at Alexandria, than he accepted the succession of Timotheus. On the union between Acacius and Peter the Stammerer, John Talajas fled to Rome; he was welcomed as a second Athanasius.

For now a question had arisen, which involved the Question of Roman supremacy. Bishops of Rome, not merely as dignified arbiters on a high and profound metaphysical question of the faith, but, vital to their power and dignity, plunged them into the strife as ardent and implacable combatants. The Roman Pontiffs had already, at least from the time of Innocent I., asserted their inalienable supremacy on purely religious grounds, as successors of St. Peter. If, as in the recent act of Hilarius, they had appealed to the laws of the empire, as confirmatory of that supremacy, it was to enforce more ready and implicit obedience. But with the world at large the ecclesiastical supremacy of Rome rested solely on her civil supremacy. The Pope was head of Christendom as Bishop of the first city in the world. Already Constantinople had put forth claims to co-equal ecclesiastical, as being now of co-equal temporal dignity. This claim had been ratified by the great Œcumenic Council of Chalcedon,—that Council which had established the inflexible line of orthodoxy between the divergent heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches. This was but the supplementary act, it was asserted, of a small and factious minority, who had lingered behind the rest; but, it appeared upon the records, it boasted the authority of the unanimous Council.* The ambition of Acacius, now, under Zeno, sole and undisputed Bishop of Constantinople, was equal to his ability. He seemed watching the gradual fall of the Western

* Compare Baronius sub ann. 472.

Empire, the degradation of Rome from the capital of the world, which would leave Constantinople no longer the new, the second, but rather the only Rome upon earth. The West, in the person of Anthemius, had received an emperor appointed by Constantinople; the Western Empire at one moment seemed disposed to become a province of the East. Acacius had already obtained from the Emperor (we must reascend in the course of our history to connect the East with the West), Leo the Thracian, who had ruled between Marcian and Zeno, a decree confirming to the utmost all the privileges of a Patriarchate claimed by Constantinople. In that edict Constantinople assumed the significant and threatening title of "Mother of all Christians and of the Orthodox Religion." The Pope Simplicius had protested against this usurpation, but his protest is lost. The aspiring views of Acacius were interrupted for a short time by his fall under the Emperor Basiliscus; but his triumph (an unwonted triumph of a Bishop of Constantinople over an Emperor), his unbounded favour with Zeno, might warrant the loftiest expectations. As the acknowledged and victorious champion of orthodoxy, Acacius could now take the high position of a mediator. In the Henoticon Zeno the Emperor spoke his language, and in that edict appeared a manifest desire to assuage the discords of the East, and to combine the Churches in one harmonious confederacy. On the murder of Stephanus of Antioch, Acacius had consecrated his successor; a step against which the Pope Simplicius, who was watching all his actions, sent a strong remonstrance. Before the publication of the Henoticon, the Western Empire had departed from Rome; but though her political supremacy, even her political independence

A. D. 479. Remonstrance of Simplicius.

was lost, she would not tamely abandon her spiritual dignity. For Rome, in the utmost assertion of her power against the Bishop of Constantinople, might depend on the support of above half the East; of all who were discontented with the Henoticon; and who, in the absorbing ardour of the strife, would not care on what terms they obtained the alliance of the Bishop of Rome, so that alliance enabled them to triumph over their adversaries. The dissatisfaction with the Henoticon comprehended totally opposite factions, Factions in the East. —the followers of Nestorius and of Eutyches, who were impartially condemned on all sides;—and the ecclesiastics, who considered it an act of presumption in the Emperor to assume the right of legislating in spiritual matters, a right complacently admitted when ratifying or compulsorily enforcing ecclesiastical decrees, and usually adopted without scruple on other occasions by the party with which the Court happened to side. But the strength of the malcontents was the high Chalcedonian or orthodox party, who condemned the Henoticon as tainted with Eutychianism, and denounced Acacius as holding communion with Eutychian Prelates, and therefore himself justly suspected of leaning to that heresy. In Constantinople the more formidable of the monks were of this party; the Bishops of Rome addressed more than once the clergy and the archimandrites of that city, as though assured of their sympathy against the Bishop and the Emperor. John Talajas, the exiled Bishop of Alexandria, filled Rome with his clamours. The Pope Simplicius addressed a remonstrance to Acacius, to which Acacius, who to former letters of the Bishop of Rome had condescended no answer, coldly replied that he knew nothing of such a Bishop of Alexandria; that he was in communion

with the rightful bishop, Peter Mongus, who, like a loyal subject, had subscribed the Emperor's Edict of Union.^s

At this juncture died Pope Simplicius. On the vacancy of the see occurred a singular scene. The clergy were assembled in St. Peter's. In the midst of them stood up Basilius, the Patri-
March,
A.D. 483.
Death of
Simplicius.

cian and Prefect of Rome, acting as Vicegerent of Odoacer, the barbarian King. He appeared by the command of his master, and by the admonition of the deceased Simplicius, to take care that the peace of the city was not disturbed by any sedition or tumult during the election. That election could not take place without the sanction of his Sovereign. He proceeded, as the Protector of the Church from loss and injury by Churchmen, to proclaim the following edict: "That no one, under the penalty of anathema, should
Decree of
Odoacer.

alienate any farm, buildings, or ornaments of the Churches; that such alienation by any Bishop present or future was null and void." So important did this precedent appear, so dangerous in the hands of those schismatics who would even in those days limit the sacerdotal power, that nearly twenty years after, a fortunate occasion was seized by the Pope Symmachus to annul this decree. In a synod of Bishops at Rome, the edict was rehearsed, interrupted by protests of the Bishops at this presumptuous interference of the laity with affairs of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.^t The authenticity of the decree was not called in question; it was declared invalid, as being contrary to the usages of the Fathers, enacted on lay authority, and as not ratified by the signature of any Bishop at Rome. The same

^s Liberat. Breviar.

^t Synodus Romana. Labbe, sub ann. 502.

Council, however, acknowledged its wisdom by re-enacting its ordinance against the alienation of Church property.

Felix, by birth a Roman, succeeded to the vacant
Felix III. Pope. A.D. 483. see. He inherited the views and passions, as well as the throne of Simplicius and his strife with the East. His first act was an indignant rejection of the Henoticon, as an insult to the Council of Chalcedon; as an audacious proceeding of the Emperor Zeno, who dared to dictate articles of faith; as a seed-plot of impiety.^u He anathematized all the Bishops who had subscribed this edict. At the head of a Roman synod, Felix addressed a strong admonitory letter to Acacius of Constantinople, and another, in a more persuasive tone, to the Emperor Zeno. These letters were sent into the East by two Bishops, Misenus and Vitalis, as Legates of Pope Felix. To Peter the Fuller was directed another letter, arraigning him as involved in every heresy which had ever afflicted the Church, or with something worse than the worst.^x Whether he

^u Theodorus Lector.

^x The introduction by Peter the Fuller of "who wast crucified for us," after the angelic hymn, the Holy, Holy, Holy, struck the ears of the orthodox with horror. Felix relates with all the earnestness of faith, and with all the authority of his position, the miraculous origin of this hymn in its simple form. During an earthquake at Constantinople, while the whole people were praying in the open air, an infant was visibly rapt to heaven, in the sight of the whole assembly and of the Bishop Proclus; and after staying there an hour, descended back to the earth, and informed the people that he had heard the whole host of

angels singing those words. It was not merely that the words, added at Antioch, left it doubtful which of the Persons of the Trinity was crucified for us; the term was equally impious as regarded any one of those substantial, uncreated, invisible, impassible Beings. καθὸ τοῦτον ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς ἐστὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ὁμοούσιος, καὶ εἰς τῆς ἀδιαίρετου τριάδος, ἐκτιστος καὶ ἀθάνατος, ἐμμενῆκει ἀπαθὴς καὶ ἀθάνατος. Τὸ οὖν ἔκτιστον καὶ ἀθάνατον τῇ κτίσει μὴ σύνταπτε, καὶ τὸν τῆς πολυθείας λόγον μὴ κράτυνε, διὰ τὸ λέγειν τεθνάναι τὸν ἕνα τῆς τριάδος.—Epist. Felic. III. ad Petr. Full., Labbe, 1058.

awaited any reply from the refractory Bishop or not seems doubtful; but he proceeded to fulminate a sentence of deposition and excommunication against Peter in his own name, and to assume that this sentence would be ratified by Acacius of Constantinople.

The Legate Bishops, Misenus and Vitalis, were attacked at Abydus, and their papers seized. At Constantinople they were compelled, bribed, or betrayed into communion with Peter the Stammerer; at least they were present, and without protest, at the divine service when the name of Peter was read in the diptychs as lawful Bishop of Alexandria. On their return they were branded as traitors by Felix at the head of a synod at Rome, and degraded from their episcopal office. Felix proceeded (his tardiness had been sharply rebuked by the monks of Constantinople, especially the Sleepless monks,⁷ whose archimandrite Cyril and his whole brotherhood were the implacable enemies of Acacius) to issue the sentence of

Excommunicates Peter the Fuller.

Excommunicates Acacius of Constantinople.

excommunication against the Bishop of Constantinople. The sentence was pronounced, not on account of heresy, but of obstinate communion with heretics—with Peter of Alexandria, who had been condemned by Pope Simplicius for his violent conduct to the Papal Legates, and his contemptuous refusal to admit the third ambassador, Felix the Defensor, to his presence. Acacius was declared to be deprived, not merely of his episcopal, but of his priestly honours, separated from the communion of the faithful; and this anathema, an unusual form, was declared irrepealable by any power.² But how was this process to be served on the

July 28, 484.

⁷ Ἀκοίμητοι.

² "Nunquamque anathematis vinculis eruehdus."—Epist. Felic. ad

Acacium. Felix, in a subsequent letter to Zeno, maintains this implacable doctrine: "Unde divino iudicio rulla

Bishop of Constantinople? Acacius was strong in the favour of the Emperor Zeno. It is remarkable that, while he thus precipitately proceeds to the last extremity against his rival Bishop, the Emperor is still sacred against the condemnation of the Bishop of Rome. Zeno had issued the Henoticon. Zeno had, by so doing, usurped the power of dictating religious articles to the clergy. Zeno, if he had not ordered, sanctioned all this re-establishment of the Bishops who had not acceded to the Council of Chalcedon; but to Zeno the language of the Pontiff is respectful, and bordering on adulation. The monks, the allies of Felix, were ready to encounter any peril. One of the Sleepless fastened the fatal parchment to the dress of Acacius, as he was about to officiate in the Church. Acacius quietly proceeded in the holy ceremony. Suddenly he paused; with calm, clear voice, he ordered the name of Felix, Bishop of Rome, to be struck out of the roll of bishops in communion with the East. The ban of Rome was encountered by the ban of Constantinople.^a

Aug. 1, A.D.
484.

Acacius ex-
communi-
cates Felix.

The schism divided the Churches of the East and West for nearly forty years, down to the Pontificate of Hormisdas and the empire of Justinian, under whose sway Italy became subject to the Byzantine sovereign. Overtures of reconciliation were made, but Felix at least adhered inflexibly to his demand, that the name of Acacius should be erased from the diptychs. The great Eastern Patriarchs of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, utterly disregard-

tenus potuit, etiam cum id malleumus, absolvi."—Epist. xi. Writing to Fravitta, his successor, he intimates that no doubt Acacius has gone, like Judas,

to hell.

^a Julius, the messenger of Felix, quailed before the danger, or was bribed by Byzantine gold.

ing the anathema of Rome, continued in communion with Acacius and his successors. Acacius, notwithstanding the incitements to spiritual rebellion addressed by the Bishop of Rome to his clergy and to the turbulent monks, maintained his throne till his death.^b

Acacius (I trace rapidly the history of Eastern Christianity until the reunion with the West) was succeeded by Fravitta or Flavitta, who occupied the throne but for four months.^c The election then fell on Euphemius.

A.D. 489.
Fravitta
Bishop of
Constanti-
nople.

Euphemius.

The Bishops of Constantinople might defy the spiritual thunders of Rome, but though Acacius had once triumphed over an usurping Emperor, in daring to conflict with the established Imperial authority they but betrayed their own weakness. During the reign of the Emperor Anastasius, two Bishops of Constantinople, having justly or unjustly incurred the Imperial displeasure, were degraded from their sees. The Emperor Anastasius has been handed down to posterity with the praise of profound piety, and the imputation of Euty-chianism, Arianism, and even Manicheism. Anastasius ascended the throne, though Euphemius had exerted all his authority to prevent his elevation, through his marriage with the Empress Ariadne. It is said that an old quarrel, while Anastasius was yet in a humbler station, rankled in both their hearts. The Bishop had threatened to shave the head of the domestic of the palace, and expose him as a spectacle to the people. The mother of Anastasius and his mother's brother had been Arians, and Euphemius took care that dark sus-

^b Felicis Epist. x. xi.: ad Clerum et Plebem Constantin. et ad Monachos Constantin. et Bithynia.

^c Felix addressed a letter to Fravitta adjuring him to abandon the cause of Acacius and Peter, and unite with Rome

picians of Anastasius on this vital point should be disseminated in the empire. But Anastasius, in the conscientious conviction of his own orthodoxy, and that virtue which had called forth the popular acclamation, "Reign as you have lived," dared to enforce despotic toleration. The East was now divided into four religious parties. 1. Those who, with the Roman Pontiff and the monks of Constantinople, held inflexibly to the Council of Chalcedon, and demanded the distinct recognition of its doctrines. These were not content with the anathema against Nestorius, Eutyches, and Dioscorus: they insisted on including under the malediction Acacius and Peter the Stammerer.^d 2. Those who, holding the tenets of Chalcedon, had yet subscribed the Henoticon, and for the sake of peace would not compel the acceptance of the Chalcedonian decrees. Among these were Euphemius of Constantinople before the accession of Anastasius, and at first his successor Macedonius, and the Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem; all the four great Prelates had subscribed the Henoticon. 3. Those who subscribed the Henoticon, and abhorred the decrees of Chalcedon; these were chiefly the Patriarch of Alexandria, with the Bishops of Egypt and Libya. 4. The Acephali, the Eutychian party, who held the Council of Chalcedon to be a Nestorian conclave, and cherished the memory of Dioscorus and of Eutyches. Anastasius issued his mandate, that no bishop should compel a reluctant people to adhere to the Council of Chalcedon; no bishop should compel a people which adhered to the Council of Chalcedon to abandon its principles. Many who infringed on this law of Imperial charity were

*Four parties
in the East.*

^d Evagrius, iii, 31.

deposed with impartial severity. Euphemius had extorted from the Emperor Anastasius, as a kind of price for his accession, a written asseveration of allegiance to the Council of Chalcedon, and an oath that he would maintain inviolate those articles which he had been with difficulty compelled to surrender. Euphemius, it might seem, as a rebuke against the comprehensive measures of the Emperor, held a synod, in which the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon were confirmed; but though this might be among the secret causes, it was not the crime for which Anastasius demanded the degradation of Euphemius.^e

The Isaurian rebellion disturbed the earlier period of the reign of Anastasius; it lasted for five years. The Bishop Euphemius tampered in treasonable proceedings; he was accused of traitorous correspondence, or at least of betraying the secrets of the state to these formidable rebels. The Emperor summoned a Council; Euphemius was deposed, sent into exile, and died in obscurity: he has left a doubtful fame. The Latin writers hesitate whether he was a martyr or a heretic.^f

Macedonius was promoted to the vacant See.^g Macedonius, a man of gentle but too flexible disposition, began his prelacy by an act of unusual courtesy to his fallen predecessor. He performed the act of degradation with forbearance. Before he *saluted* him in the Baptistery, he took off the episcopal habiliment, and appeared in the dress of a Priest he supplied the exile with money, borrowed money, for his immediate use. Macedonius subscribed the

A.D. 495.

Macedonius
Bishop of
Constanti-
nople.

^e Evagrius, Theophanes, p. 117. Victor, xvi. xvii.

^f Walch, p. 974.

^g Theophanes.

Henoticon, and still the four great Patriarchates were held in Christian fellowship by that bond of union. At the command of the Emperor, Macedonius undertook the hopeless task of reconciling the four great Monasteries, among them that of the Akoimatoi, and the female convent then presided over by Matrona, with the communion of the Church under the Henoticon. The inflexible monks would give up no letter of the Council of Chalcedon—they declared themselves prepared rather to suffer exile.^h Matrona, a woman of the austerest life, endured with patience, which wrought strongly on men's minds, acts of violence used by a Deacon to compel her to submission. The mild Macedonius, instead of converting them, was himself overawed by their rigour into a strong partisan of the Council of Chalcedon; he inclined to make overtures to the Bishop of Rome, Gelasius I.: but Anastasius prohibited such proceedings; he had declared himself resolved against all innovations.

The Eastern wars occupied for some years the mind of Anastasius. In the mean time the compressed fires of religious discord were struggling to burst forth and convulse the realm. Macedonius had hardened into a stern, almost a fanatic partisan of the Council of Chalcedon. John Nicetas had ascended the throne of Alexandria: he subscribed the Henoticon, but declared that it was an insufficient exposition of the true doctrine, as not explicitly condemning the Council of Chalcedon. Flavianus filled the See of Antioch—Elias that of Jerusalem. Elias was disposed to reject the Council of Chalcedon; Flavianus was inclined to rest on the neutral ground of the Henoticon. But the Monophysite party in Syria, which seemed greatly

Confusion at
Antioch.

^h Theophanes, *Chronog.*, ed. Bekker, i. 219.

reduced in numbers, and content to seclude itself within the peaceful monasteries, suddenly having found a bold and reckless leader, burst out in fierce insurrection. Xenaias,ⁱ or Philoxenus, Bishop of Hierapolis, began to agitate the whole region by accusing Flavianus as a Nestorian. Flavianus, to exculpate himself, issued his anathema against Nestorius and his opinions. Xenaias imperiously demanded the anathema, not of Nestorius alone, but of Ibas, Theodoret of Cyrus, and a host of other bishops, who from time to time had been charged with Nestorianism. Flavianus resisted. But the followers of Eutyches and Dioscorus sprung up on all sides. Eleusinius, a bishop of Cappadocia, and Nicias of the Syrian Laodicea, joined their ranks. Flavianus consented to involve all whom they chose thus to denounce in one sweeping malediction. Xenaias, flushed with his victory, still refused to absolve the timid bishop from the hated name of Nestorian. He required his explicit condemnation of the Council of Chalcedon, and of all who asserted the two natures in Christ. Flavianus still struggled in the toils of these inexorable polemics, who were resolved to convict him, subscribe what he might, as a secret Nestorian. Swarms of monks crowded from the district of Cynegica, and filling the streets of Antioch, insisted on the direct condemnation of the Council of Chalcedon and the letter of Pope Leo.^k The people of Antioch rose in defence of their bishop, slew some of the monks, and drove the rest into the Orontes, where many lost their lives. Another party of monks from Coelesyria, where Flavianus himself had dwelt in

ⁱ Xenaias, interpreted by the hostile monks of Jerusalem, "The stranger to Catholic doctrine."

^k Evagrius, iii. 31, 32.

the convent of Talmognon, hastened to form a guard for his person.

The Emperor Anastasius in the mean time on his return from the East found Macedonius, instead of a mild assertor of the Henoticon, at the head of one, and that the most dangerous and violent of the religious factions. Rumours were industriously spread abroad, that the Emperor's secret Manicheism had been confirmed in the East. A Persian painter had been employed in one of the palaces, and had covered the walls, not with the orthodox human forms worshipped by the Church, but with the mysterious and symbolic figures of the Manichean heresy. Anastasius, insulted by the fanatic populace, was escorted to the Council and to the churches by the Prefect at the head of a strong guard. Anastasius was driven by degrees (an Emperor of his commanding character should not have been driven) to favour the opposing party. John, Patriarch of Alexandria, sent to offer, it is said, two hundred pounds of gold, as a tribute, a subsidy, or a bribe, to induce the Emperor to abrogate the Council of Chalcedon. John, however, publicly maintained the neutrality of the Henoticon, neither receiving nor repudiating the Council. His legates were received with honour. Anastasius compelled the Bishop Macedonius to admit them to communion. Xenaias, the persecutor of Flavianus, was likewise received with honour. Worse than all, two hundred Eastern monks, headed by Severus, were permitted to land in Constantinople: they here found an honourable reception. Other monks of the opposite faction swarmed from Palestine. The two black-cowled armies watched each other for some months, working in

A.D. 506-9.

A.D. 510.

secret on their respective partisans.^m At length they came to a rupture; and in their strife, which he either dared not, or did not care to A.D. 511. control the throne, the liberty, the life itself of the Emperor were in peril. The Monophysite monks in the church of the Archangel within the palace broke out after the "Thrice Holy," with the burthen added at Antioch by Peter the Fuller, "who wast crucified for us." The orthodox monks, backed by the rabble of Constantinople, endeavoured to expel them from the church; they were not content with hurling curses against each other, sticks and stones began their work. There was a wild, fierce fray; the divine presence of the Emperor lost its awe; he could not maintain the peace. The Bishop Macedonius either took the lead, or was compelled to lead the tumult. Men, women, Tumults in Constantinople. children, poured out from all quarters; the monks, with their Archimandrites, at the head of the raging multitude, echoed back their religious war-cry: "It is the day of martyrdom. Let us not desert our spiritual Father. Down with the tyrant! the Manichean! he is unworthy of the throne." The gates of the palace were barred against the furious mob; the imperial galleys were manned, ready for flight to the Asiatic shore. The Emperor was reduced to the humiliation of receiving the Bishop Macedonius, whom he had prohibited from approaching his presence, as his equal, almost as his master. As Macedonius passed along, the populace hailed him as their beloved father;

^m Each party of course throws the blame of the insurrection on the other. The later writers, who are all of the orthodox party, ascribe it to the Syrian monks Evagrius (iii. c. 44) quotes a

letter of Severus, written before he was Bishop of Antioch, charging the whole disturbance on Macedonius and the clergy of Constantinople.

even the military applauded. Macedonius rebuked the Emperor for his hostility to the Church. Anastasius condescended to dissemble: peace was restored with difficulty.

Macedonius seems to have been of feeble character, unfit to conduct this internecine strife between the Patriarchate and the Empire for supreme authority. Enemies would not be wanting, even had the strife not been for religion, to the enemy of the Emperor: and all acts of enmity to the Patriarch, whether sanctioned or not by the Emperor, would be laid to his charge. An accusation of loathsome incontinence was brought forward against the Bishop; he calmly refuted it by proving its impossibility. His life was attempted; he pardoned the assassin. But this Christian gentleness softened into infirmity. One day he weakly subscribed a Creed, in which he recognised only the Councils of Nicæa and Constantinople; his silence about those of Ephesus and Chalcedon implied his rejection of their authority. His monkish masters broke out in furious invectives. The Patriarch stooped to appear before them in the monastery of Saint Dalmatius; and not merely expressed his adhesion to the Council of Chalcedon, he uttered his anathema against all recusants of its decrees. The Emperor had been silently watching his opportunity. The Bishop was seized by night; without tumult, without resistance, he was conveyed to the Asiatic shore, thence into banishment at Euchaita, his predecessor's place of exile. A well-chosen synod of bishops declared the deposition of Macedonius;ⁿ Timotheus was elected

A. D. 511.
Deposition
and exile of
Macedonius.

ⁿ Evagrius intimates that Macedonius was persuaded to a voluntary abdication. According to Theophanes (Edd. Bekker, i. 240) Anastasius en-

Bishop of Constantinople. Timotheus signed the Henoticon; he went further, he laid his curse on the Council of Chalcedon. Timotheus was acknowledged by Flavianus of Antioch, by John of Alexandria, and by Elias of Jerusalem. But this concession secured not the throne of Flavianus. The Monophysite monk Severus, who had stirred up the populace of Alexandria and of Constantinople to religious riot, and had won the favour of Anastasius as acquiescing in the Henoticon, now appeared in Antioch as the rival of Flavianus. Flavianus was deposed, Severus was bishop. He would now no longer keep on the mask; he condemned in the strongest terms the Council of Chalcedon. The monkish party, which had been persecuted by, and in turn persecuted Flavianus, and to which he had in vain made such ignoble concessions, was dominant in Antioch: Severus ruled supreme. At Jerusalem the orthodox were the strongest: and Elias, who would not go all lengths with them, was likewise compelled to abdicate his see. Throughout Asiatic Christendom it was the same wild struggle. Bishops deposed quietly; or, where resistance was made, the two factions fighting in the streets, in the churches: cities, even the holiest places, ran with Christian blood.

A.D. 513.

In Constantinople it was not the throne of the Bishop, but that of the Emperor which trembled to its base. Anastasius, who had so nobly and successfully wielded the arms of the Empire against the Persians, found his power in Constantinople, in his Asiatic provinces, in his European dominions, crumbling beneath him. His foes were not on the frontier, they

Constantinople again in insurrection.

deavoured to gain possession of the original registers of the Council of Chalcedon, to destroy or to corrupt them. Macedonius sealed them up and put them in a place of safety.

were at the gates of Constantinople, in Constantinople, in his palace. He was now eighty years old. The martial courage which he had displayed in his Eastern campaigns might seem decayed; his aged hand could no longer hold with the same equable firmness the balance of religious neutrality; it may have trembled towards the Monophysite party; he may have brought something of the irritability and obstinacy of age into the contest. The year after the exile of Mace-

A.D. 512.

donius, Constantinople, at the instigation of the clergy and the monks, broke out again in religious insurrection. The blue and green factions of the Circus—such is the language of the times—gave place to these more maddening conflicts. The hymn of the Angels in Heaven was the battle-cry on earth; the signal for human bloodshed. Many palaces of the nobles were set on fire; the officers of the crown insulted; pillage, conflagration, violence, raged through the city. A peasant who had turned monk was torn from the palace of the favourite Syrian minister of Anastasius, Marinus (he was accused of having introduced the profane burthen to the angelic hymn); his head was struck off, carried about on a pole, with shouts, “Behold the enemy of the Trinity.”^o The hoary Emperor appeared in the Circus, and commanded the heralds to announce to the people that he was prepared to abdicate the Empire, if they could agree in the choice of his successor. The piteous spectacle soothed the fury of the people; they entreated Anastasius to resume the diadem. But the blood of two of his ministers was demanded as a sacrifice to appease their vengeance.^p

^o Evagrius, iii. 44.

^p The Pope Gelasius writes to the Emperor, “You fear the people of Con-

stantinople, who are attached to the name of Acacius; the people of Constantinople have preferred Catholic

But it is not insurrection in Constantinople alone, the empire is in revolt on the question of the two natures in Christ. The first great religious war, alas for many centuries not the last! imperils the tottering throne of Anastasius. The Thracian Vitalianus is in open rebellion; obtains a great victory over the Imperial general Hypatius; wastes Thrace, depopulates the whole country—the whole realm—up to the gates of Constantinople. He is before the city at the head of 60,000 men. His banner, his war-cry, is that of religious orthodoxy; he proclaims himself the champion, not of an oppressed people, of a nobility indignant at the tyranny of their sovereign, but of the Council of Chalcedon. Cries are heard within the city (not obscurely traced to the clergy and the monks) proclaiming Vitalianus Emperor; and the army of this first religious war in Christendom is composed chiefly of Huns and Barbarians, a great part of them still heathens. But Vitalianus had allies in the West: from some obscure quarrel, or from jealousy of the Emperor of the East, he boasts the alliance of Theodoric, the Arian Ostrogoth; as the champion of orthodoxy he boasts too the countenance of Hormisdas, Bishop of Rome.^a

truth to the cause of their bishops Macedonius (then supposed to be unsound) and Nestorius. You have suppressed their tumults in the games, you will control them if they break out in religious insurrection." A singular testimony to the two great rival causes which roused the mob of Constantinople to mutiny.

^a The accounts of these transactions, and their dates, are confused, almost irreconcilable. According to Evagrius

(iii. 43), Vitalianus was defeated in a naval battle, and fled in a single ship: according to Theophanes and others, he dictated terms of peace, the restoration of the bishops, and the Council of Heraclea. These terms Anastasius perfidiously violated, declaring that an emperor was justified, more than justified, in swearing to treaties, and breaking his oath to preserve his power,—*ὁ δὲ παράνομος ἀναιδῶς ἔλεγεν νόμον εἶναι κελεύοντα βασιλέα κατ' ἀνδρ*

The grey hairs of Anastasius were again brought down to shame and sorrow; he must stoop to an ignominious peace. If we are to credit the monastic historians, the end aimed at and attained by this insurrection, which had desolated provinces and caused the death of thousands of human beings, was a treaty which promised the re-establishment of Macedonius and Flavianus on the archiepiscopal thrones of Constantinople and Antioch; and the summoning a Council at Heraclea, in which Hormisdas, Bishop of Rome, was to appear by his legates, and no doubt hoped to dictate the decrees of the assembly.

The few last inglorious years of the reign of Anastasius, its dark close, his miserable death, his damnation, according to his relentless foes, must be reserved for the period when the Bishop of Rome (Hormisdas) appears in a commanding character in the arena of Constantinople: and if he does not terminate, prepares the termination of the schism of above forty years between Eastern and Western Christianity.

We turn away with willingness from the dismal and wearisome period, in which, in the East, all that is noble and generous in religious conviction disappears and gives place to dark intrigues and ignorant fury. Men suffer all the degradation and misery, incur all the sin of persecution almost without the lofty motive of honest zeal. It is a time of fierce and busy polemics, without a great writer. The Henoticon is a work of some skill, of some adroitness, in attempting to reconcile, in eluding, evading, theological

κη ἐπιορκεῖν καὶ ψεύδεσθαι. ταῦτα ὁ παρανομώτατος μανιχαῖοφρων.—p. 248. I think, with Gibbon, following

Tillemont and older authorities, that there is no doubt of the two insurrections in Constantinople.

difficulties; it is subtle to escape subtleties. But there was no vigorous and manly, even if intolerant writer, like Cyril of Alexandria, whom we contemplate with far different estimation in his acts and in his writings.

But that which is the characteristic sign of the times, as a social and political, as well as a religious phenomenon, is the complete dominion assumed The influence of the monks. by the monks in the East over the public mind, and the depravation of monasticism from its primal principles. Those who had forsaken the world aspire to rule the world. The minds which are to be absolutely estranged from earth mingle in its most furious tumults. Instead of total seclusion from the habits and pursuits of men, the Cœnobites sweep the streets of the great cities in armed bodies, displaying an irregular valour which sometimes puts to shame the languid patriotism of the Imperial soldiery. Even the Eremites, instead of shrouding themselves in the remotest wilderness, and burying themselves in the darkest and most inaccessible caverns, mount their pillars in some conspicuous place, even in some place of public resort. While they seem to despise the earth below, and to enjoy the undisturbed serenity of heaven, they are not unconscious that they are the oracles as well as the objects of amazement to the admiring multitudes around; that Emperors come to consult them as seers and prophets, as well as infallible interpreters of divine truth. They even descend into the cities to become spiritual demagogues. The monks, in fact, exercise the most complete tyranny, not merely over the laity, but over bishops and patriarchs, whose rule, though nominally subject to it, they throw off whenever it suits their purposes. Those who might seem the least qualified, from their vague and abstract devotion, to decide questions which depended on niceties

of language, on the finest rhetorical distinctions, are the dictators of the world. Monks in Alexandria, monks in Antioch, monks in Jerusalem, monks in Constantinople, decide peremptorily on orthodoxy and heterodoxy. The bishops themselves cower before them. Macedonius in Constantinople, Flavianus in Antioch, Elias in Jerusalem, condemn themselves, and abdicate or are driven from their sees. Persecution is universal; persecution by every means of violence and cruelty; the only question is in whose hands is the power to persecute. In Antioch, Xenaias (Philoxenus, a famous name) justifies his insurrection by the persecutions which he has endured; Flavianus bitterly and justly complains of the persecutions of Xenaias. Bloodshed, murder, treachery, assassination, even during the public worship of God,—these are the frightful means by which each party strives to maintain its opinions, and to defeat its adversary. Ecclesiastical and civil authority are alike paralysed by combinations of fanatics ready to suffer or to inflict death, utterly unapproachable by reason. If they had not mingled in the fray, peace might perhaps have been restored with no serious detriment to orthodox doctrine. If in the time of Zeno there had been no monks, no Akoimetoï, in Constantinople; if these fanatics had not been in treasonable correspondence with strangers, and supported by the Bishop of Rome—temperate and orthodox bishops like Macedonius and Flavianus might have allayed the storm. The evil lay partly in the mode of life; the seclusion, which fostered both ignorance and presumption, and magnified insignificant matters to questions of spiritual life and death; and the strong corporate spirit, which gave a consciousness of strength which bound them together as one man in whatever cause they might espouse. The

Emperor might depose a busy and refractory bishop, what could be done with a fraternity of a thousand men? They had already the principle of organization, union, and mutual confidence, and arms in their hands. They became legions. It is at the head of such an army that Severus, a stranger, makes himself formidable in Constantinople. A more powerful adverse army heads the mob of Constantinople and reduces the Emperor Anastasius to beg his crown, if not his life. Relying on these internal allies in the heart of his enemy's camp, Vitalianus besieges Constantinople, and dictates a capitulation, embodying their demands and those of their acknowledged head, the Bishop of Rome. Alexandria is at the mercy of such hosts, who pour in from the surrounding monasteries on all sides. Even during the last years of Anastasius, at the election of the bishop, another Dioscorus, the chief Imperial officer, is slain in the streets. Hosts of monks encounter in Syria, meet in the field of battle, consider that zeal divine with which they strive, not to instruct and enlighten, but to compel each other to subscribe the same confession, each slaying and dying in unshaken assurance that eternal salvation depended on the proper sense of the words "in" and "out of;" the acceptance or rejection of the Council of Chalcedon, including its dire anathemas.[†] To monasticism may unquestionably be attributed the obstinate continuance, perhaps the fury, of the Monophysite war. We shall hereafter

[†] I have incorporated with my own observations many sentences from a passage in a writer of the old German school, Walch, who, having investigated the whole of these transactions with unrivalled industry and candour,

and with the almost apathetic impartiality of his school, seems suddenly to break out into something approaching to eloquence. Walch, *Ketzer-Geschichte*, vol. vii.

encounter monasticism in the West in another character, as compensating, at least in a great degree, for its usurpation of the dignity of a higher and holier Christianity, by becoming the guardian of what was valuable, the books and arts of the old world; as the missionary of what was holy and Christian in the new civilisation; as the chief maintainer, if not the restorer of agriculture in Italy; as the cultivator of the forests and morasses of the north; as the apostle of the heathens which dwelt beyond the pale of the Roman empire.

We are again in the West, reascending and passing in review Latin Christianity and its primates during the same, by no means a brilliant period: their sometimes enforced or uncongenial, but still ever ready intervention in the affairs of the East, from the time when Pope Felix and Acacius issue their hostile interdicts, and Constantinople and Rome are at open war, more or less violent, during five and thirty years.

Between the pontificate of Felix III. and the rupture with Constantinople (it might seem the implacable estrangement of the East and West) to the accession of Hormisdas, intervened three Popes, Gelasius I., Anastasius II., Symmachus.

Gelasius, a Roman, seemed, as a Roman, to assume the plenitude of Roman dignity. From the first, he adhered to all the lofty pretensions of his predecessor, and in his frequent and elaborate writings vindicated all the acts of Felix. He inexorably demanded, as the preliminary to any peaceful treaty, that the name of Acacius should be expunged from the diptychs. No power could now retrieve or rescue Acacius from his inevitable doom—Acacius, who had not only disregarded the excommunication of the Bishop of Rome, but pre-

Return to the West.

A.D. 484-519.

Gelasius I.
March 1, 492.

sumed to emulate his power of pronouncing damnation. Constantinople must absolutely abandon the champion of her co-equality, if not her superiority. Acacius, all his followers, all who respect his memory, must share his irrevocable proscription.⁵ The Roman Gelasius endeavours to awaken a kindred pride in the Emperor Anastasius, now the sole representative of Roman sovereignty;[†] for Italy is under the dominion of the Goth. Gelasius might even seem to cherish some secret hope of the deliverance of Rome from its barbaric lord, by the intervention of the yet Roman East. But at the same time Gelasius asserts boldly, for the first time, in these strong and discriminating terms, the supremacy of the clergy in all religious matters. "There are two powers which rule the world, the Imperial and the Pontifical. You are the sovereign of the human race, but you bow your neck to those who preside over things divine." The priesthood is the greater of the two

* The letter of Gelasius to Euphemius of Constantinople is a model of that haughty humility which became the ordinary language of the Roman bishops. Euphemius had written, that by condescension and the best disposition Gelasius could restore concord ("annectis condescendibilem me et optimâ dispositione revocare posse concordiam").—"Do you call it condescension to admit among true bishops the names of heretics and excommunicated persons, and of those who communicate with them and their successors? Is not this, instead of descending like our Lord from heaven to redeem, to plunge ourselves into hell?" "Hoc non est condescendere ad subveniendum, sed evidentem in infernum demergi." He summons Eu-

phemius to meet him before the tribunal of Christ, in the presence of the apostles, and decide whether his austerity and asperity is not truly apostolic.—Epist. 1.

† "Te sicut Romæ natus, Romanum principem, amo, colo, suscipio."—Ad Anastas., A.D. 493.

‡ Gelasius refers to the authoritative example of Melchisedek, a type interpreted with curious variation during the Papal history. "In the oldest times Melchisedek was priest and king. The devil, in imitation of this holy example, induced the emperor to assume the supreme pontificate. But after Christianity had revealed the truth to the world, the union of the two powers ceased to be lawful. Neither did the emperor usurp the

powers; it has to render an account in the last day for the acts of kings." x

Pope Anastasius II., the successor of Gelasius, spoke a milder, more conciliatory, even more suppliant language. He dared to doubt the damnation of a bishop excommunicated by the see of Rome:—"Felix and Acacius are now both before a higher tribunal; leave them to that unerring judgment." y He would have the name of Acacius passed over in silence, quietly dropped, rather than publicly expunged from the diptychs. This degenerate successor of St. Peter is not admitted to the rank of a saint. The Pontifical book (its authority on this point is indignantly repudiated) accuses Anastasius of having communicated

with a deacon of Thessalonica, who had kept up communion with Acacius; and of having entertained secret designs of restoring the name of

pontifical, nor the pontiff the imperial power. Christ, mindful of human frailty, has separated for ever the two offices, leaving the emperors dependent on the pontiffs for their everlasting salvation, the pontiffs dependent on the emperors for the administration of all temporal affairs. So the ministers of God do not entangle themselves in secular business; secular men do not intrude into things divine." Pass over eight or nine centuries, and hear Innocent IV.; we give the pregnant Latin: "Dominus enim Jehsus Christus . . . secundum ordinem Melchisedek, verus rex et verus sacerdos existens, quemadmodum patenter ostendit nunc utendo pro hominibus honorificentia regie majestatis, nunc exequendo pro illis dignitatem pontificii apud Patrem, in apostolica sede non solum pontifi-

calem, sed et regalem constituit monarchatum, beato Petro ejusque successoribus terreni simul et celestis imperii commissis habenis."—Apud Hoefler. Albert von Beham, p. 88. Stuttgart, 1847.

x "Quando etiam pro ipsis regibus domino in divino reddituri sunt examine rationem."—Ad Anastas., Mansi, vii.

y "Namque et predecessor noster Papa Felix, et etiam Acacius illic proculdubio sunt: ubi unusquisque sub tanto judice non potest perdere sui meriti qualitatem."—Anastas. Epist. A.D. 496. This letter was sent to Constantinople by two bishops, Cresconius of Todi and Germanus of Capua, with private instructions, not recorded in history.

Acacius in the services of the Church.^a His death, according to Baronius, his sudden death by the manifest hand of God, destroyed altogether these hopes of peace. But how deep and lasting was the tradition of detestation against this meek renegade to papal authority may be supposed by its survival for at least nine centuries. Dante beholds in hell the unhappy Anastasius, condemned for ever for his leniency to the heresy of Constantinople.^a

On the death of Pope Anastasius, the contested election for the pontificate between Symmachus, a convert from paganism,^b and Laurentius, was exasperated by these divergences of opinion on the schism with the East. Festus, the legate of Anastasius, the deceased Pope, at Constantinople, the bearer, as it was supposed, of conciliatory terms obtained by the concessions of the Pope, on his return to Rome, threw himself as a violent partisan into the cause of Laurentius. The Emperor Anastasius himself, either in private letters to his adherents in Rome or in some public document, accused the successful Symmachus, who, by the decision of King Theodoric, had obtained the throne,^c as a Manichean; and as having audaciously conspired with the Senate of Rome (a singular Council for the Pope) to excommunicate the Emperor. The

^a "Revocare Acacium"—so I translate the words—as Acacius had long been dead.—Lib. Pontif., Vit. Anastas.

^a "E quivi per l' orribile soperchio
Del puzzo, che 'l profondo abisso gitta
Ci raccostammo dietro ad un coperchio
D' un grand' avello, ov' io vidi una scritta,
Che diceva: Anastagio Papa guardo,
Lo qual trasse Fotino della via dritta."
Inf. xi. 4.

Fotinus is said to have been the Deacon of Thessalonica.

^b "Catholica fides, quam in sede beati Petri, veniens ex paganitate, suscepit."—Epist. ad Anastas. The date of this is uncertain. Was he a son or descendant of the famous Symmachus? The latter is more probable.

^c See on, under the reign of Theodoric, the elevation, struggle, and final establishment of Symmachus.

sovereign of the East inflexibly withheld the customary letters of gratulation on the accession of Symmachus. The apologetic invective of Symmachus to the Emperor is in the tone of fearless hostility. He retorts against the Eutychian the odious charge of Manicheism. He denies the excommunication of the Emperor Anastasius; Acacius only was excommunicated. Yet he leaves him to the inevitable conclusion that all who were in communion with the excommunicate must share their doom.^d Anastasius is arraigned as departing from his boasted neutrality only against the Catholics. The unyielding, almost turbulent resistance of the Roman party in Constantinople is justified by the aggressions assumed to be entirely on the part of the tyrannical Emperor. Peace between two such opponents was not likely to make much progress. Throughout the pontificate of Symmachus the Roman faction in the East kept up that fierce and tumultuous, or more secret and brooding opposition, which lasted till the death of Anastasius. Symmachus may have heard the first tidings of the orthodox revolt of Vitalianus; his successor Hormisdas reaped the fruits of the humiliation of Anastasius, followed in due time by the reconciliation of the Greek and Latin Churches.^e

A.D. 498-514.

^d Between 499-512. Baronius places it 503.

^e See on, under the reign of Theodorice,

CHAPTER II.

Conversion of the Teutonic Races.

CHRISTIANITY within the Roman Empire might seem endangered in its vital existence by these ungenial inward dissensions. Its lofty assertions that it came down from heaven as a religion of peace—of peace to the individual heart of man, as reconciling it with God, and instilling the serene hope of another life—of peace which should incorporate mankind in one harmonious brotherhood, the type and pre-establishment of the sorrowless and strifeless state of beatitude—might appear utterly belied by the claims of conflicting doctrines on the belief, all declared to be essential to salvation, and the animosities and bloody quarrels which desolated Christian cities. Anathema instead of benediction had almost become the general language of the Church. Religious wars, at least rare in the pagan state of society, seemed now a new and perpetual source of human misery—a cause and a sign of the weakness and decay, and so of the inevitable dissolution, of the Roman Empire.

But Christianity had sunk into depths of the human heart, unmoved by these tumults, which so fiercely agitated the surface of the Christian world. Far below, less observed, less visible in its mode of operation, though manifest in its effects, was that profound conviction of the truth of the Gospel, that infelt sense of its blessings, which enabled it to pursue its course of

conversion throughout the world, to bring the Roman mind more completely under subjection, and one by one to subdue the barbarian tribes which began to overspread and mingle with the Greek and Latin population of the Empire. For Christianity had that within it, which overawed, captivated, enthralled the innate or at least universal religiousness of mankind; that which was sufficiently simple to arrest by its grandeur the ruder barbarian, while, by its deeper mysteries, it led on the philosophic and reflective mind through unending regions of contemplation. It had its one Creator and Ruler of the universe, one God, one Redeemer, one Spirit, under which the ancient polytheism subsided into a subordinate hierarchy of intermediate beings, which kept the imagination in play, and left undisturbed almost all the hereditary superstitions of each race. It satisfied that yearning after the invisible, which seems inseparable from our nature; it nourished the fears and hopes which more or less vaguely have shadowed out some future being, the fears of retribution appeased by the promises of pardon, the hope of beatitude by its presentiments of peace. It had its exquisite goodness, which appealed to the indelible moral sense of mankind, to the best affections of his being; it had that equality as to religious privileges, duties, and advantages, to which it drew up all ranks and classes, and both sexes (slaves and females being alike with others under the divine care), and the abolition, so far, of the ordinary castes and divisions of men; with the substitution of the one distinction, the clergy and the laity, and perhaps also that of the ordinary Christian and the monk, who aspired to what was asserted and believed to be a higher Christianity. All this was, in various degrees, at once the manifest sign of its divinity, and the secret of its

gradual subjugation of nations at such different stages of civilisation. It prepared or found ready the belief in those miraculous powers, which it still constantly declared itself to possess; and made belief not merely prompt to accept, but creative of, wonder, and of perpetual preterhuman interference. Some special causes will appear, which seemed peculiarly to propitiate certain races towards Christianity, while their distinctive character reacted on their own Christianity, and through them perhaps on that of the world.

We are not at present advanced beyond the period when Christianity was in general content (this indeed gave it full occupation) to await the settlement of the Northern tribes, if not within the pale, at least upon the frontiers of the Empire: it had not yet been emboldened to seek them out in their own native forests or morasses. But it was a surprising spectacle to behold the Teutonic nations melting gradually into the general mass of Christian worshippers. In every other respect they are still distinct races. The conquering Ostrogoth or Visigoth, the Vandal, the Burgundian, the Frank, stand, apart from the subjugated Roman population, as an armed or territorial aristocracy. They maintain, in great part at least, their laws, their language, their habits, their character; in religion alone they are blended into one society, constitute one church, worship at the same altar, and render allegiance to the same hierarchy. This is the single bond of their common humanity; and so long as the superior Roman civilisation enabled the Latins to retain exclusively the ecclesiastical functions, they might appear to have retreated from the civil power, which required more strenuous and robust hands to wield it, to this no less extensive

Conversion
of Germans
within the
Empire.

and important influence of opinion ; and thus held in suspense the trembling balance of authority. They were no longer the sovereigns and patricians, but they were still the pontiffs and priests in the new order of society.

There might appear in the Teutonic religious character a depth, seriousness, and tendency to the mysterious, congenial to Christianity, which would prepare them to receive the Gospel. The Grecian polytheist was often driven into Christianity by the utter void in his religion, and by the incongruity of its poetic anthropomorphism with the progress of his discursive reason, as well as by his weariness with his unsatisfactory and exhausted philosophy ; the Roman was commanded by its high moral tone and vigour of character. But each had to abandon temples, rites, diversions, literature, which had the strongest hold on his habits and character, and were so utterly incongruous with the primitive Gospel, that until Christianity made some steps towards the old religion by the splendour of its ceremonial, and the incipient paganising, not of its creed, but of its popular belief, there were powerful countervailing tendencies to keep him back from the new faith. And when the Greek entered into the Church, he was not content without exercising the quickness of his intelligence, and the versatilities of his language on his creed, without analysing, discussing, defining everything. Or by intruding that higher part of his philosophy, which best assimilated with Christianity, he either philosophised Christianity, or for a time, as under the Neo-Platonists and Julian, set up a partially Christianised philosophy as a new and rival religion. The inveterate corruption of Roman manners confined that vigorous Christian morality, its strongest commen-

Teutonic
character.

dation to the Roman mind, at first within the chosen few who were not utterly abased by licentiousness or by servility: and even with them in large part it was obedience to civil authority, respect for established law, perhaps in many a kind of sympathy with the lofty and independent sacerdotal dignity, the sole representative of old Roman freedom, which contributed to Christianise the Latin world.

How much more suited were some parts of the Teutonic character to harmonise at first with Christianity, and to keep the proselytes in submission to the authority of its instructors in these sublime truths; at the same time to invigorate the Church by the infusion of its own strength and independence of thought and action, as well as to barbarise it with that ferocity which causes, is increased by, and maintains, the foreign conquests of ruder over more polished races!

Already the German had the conception of an ^{Teutonic religion.} illimitable Deity, towards whom he looked with solemn and reverential awe. Tacitus might seem to speak the language of a Christian Father, almost of a Jewish prophet. Their gods could not be confined within walls, and it was degradation to these vast unseen powers to represent them under the human form. Reverential awe alone could contemplate that mysterious being which they called divinity.^a These deities, or this one Supreme, were shrouded in the untrodden, impenetrable forest. Such seems to have been the sublime conception above, if not anterior to, what may be called the mythology of Teutonic religion. This mythology was

^a "Cæterum non cohibere parietibus Deos, neque in ullam humani oris speciem adsimilare ex magnitudine cælestium arbitrantur, Deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud quod solâ reverentiâ vident."—Tac. German. ix.

the same, only in its elemental form, throughout the German tribes, with that which, having passed through more than one race of poets, grew into the Eddas of Scandinavia. Vestiges of this close relationship are traced in the language, in the mythic conceptions, and in the superstitions of all the Teutonic tribes. Certain religious forms and words are common to all the races of Teutonic descent.^b In every dialect appear kindred or derivative terms for the deity, for sacrifice, for temples, and for the priesthood. This mythic religion was in some points a nature-worship, though there might have existed, as has been said, something more ancient, and superior to the worship of the visible and impersonated powers or energies of the material world. The Romans discovered, not without wonder, that the supreme deity of the actual German worship was not invested in the attributes of their Jove, but rather of Mercury.^c

Woden.

There is no doubt that Woden was the divinity to whom they assigned this name, a name which, in its various forms (it became at length Odin), is common to the Goths, Lombards, Saxons, Frisians, and other tribes. In its primitive conception, if any of these conceptions were clear and distinct, Woden appears to have been the all-mighty, all-permeating Spirit—the Mind, the primal mover of things, the all-Wise, the God of speech and of knowledge.^d But with a warlike people, the

^b Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, Einleitung, pp. 9-11 (2nd edit.). The whole large volume is a minute and laborious commentary on this axiom.

^c "Deum maximè Mercurium colunt."—Tac. *Germ.* ix.

^d "Wodan sanè quem adjectâ literâ Gwodan dixerunt, ipse est qui apud Romanos Mercurius dicitur, et ab

universis Germaniæ gentibus ut Deus adoratur."—Paul. Diacon. *i.* 9. See also Jonas Bobbiens. *Vit. Bonifac.* (Dies Mercurii became Wodan's day, —Wednesday.) Compare Grimm, p. 116, Grimm, pp. 108, &c., and the whole article Wuotan, which he closes with the following observation:—"Aber noch zu einen andern Betrachtung."

supreme deity could not but be a god of battle, the giver of victory. He possessed therefore the attributes of Mars blended with those of Mercury.^e The conduct or the reception of departed spirits, which belonged to the pagan Mercury, may have been one function which led to his identification with the Teutonic Woden. Already, no doubt, their world of the dead was a rude Valhalla.

In the earlier belief, the Thunderer, with the sun, the heavenly bodies, and the earth, the great objects of nature-worship, held only the second place. The Herthus of Tacitus was doubtless Hertha, the mother earth, or impersonated nature, of which he describes the worship in language singularly coincident with that of the Berecynthian goddess of Phrygia.^f

tung darf die hohe stelle führen, welche die Germanen ihrem Wuotan anweisen. Der Monotheismus ist etwas so nothwendiges und wesentliches, das fast alle Heiden in ihrer Götter bunten Gewimmel, bewusset oder unbewusset, darauf ausgehn, einen obersten Gott anzuerkennen, der schon die Eigenschaften aller übrigen in sich trägt, so dass diese nur als seine Einflüsse, verjüngenden und erfrischungen, zu betrachten sind. Daraus erklärt sich wie einzelne Eigenheiten bald einem bald diesem einzelnen Gott dargelegt werden, und warum die höchste Macht, nach Verschiedenheit der Völker auf den einen oder den andern derselben fällt."

* Paulus Diacon., loc. cit. He is called Sigvödr (Siegfather) in the Edda. —Grimm, p. 122.

^f After recounting the tribes who worship this goddess, he proceeds:

"In commune Herthum, id est, Terram matrem colunt, eamque intervenire rebus hominum, inveni populis arbitrantur. Est in insulâ Oceani castum nemus, dicatum in eo vehiculum, veste connectum, attingere uni sacerdoti concessum. Is adesse penetrati Deam intelligit, vectamque bobus feminis multa cum veneratione prosequitur. Lati tunc dies, festa loca, quæcunque adventu hospitioque dignatur. Non bella ineunt, non arma sumunt, clausum omne ferrum; pax et quies tunc tantum nota, tunc tantum amata, donec idem sacerdos satiatam conversatione mortalium Deam templo reddit; mox vehiculum et vestes, et, si credere velis, numen ipsum secreto lacu abluitur. Servi ministrant, quos statim idem lacus haurit. Arcanus hinc terror, sanctaque ignorantia, quid sit illud quod tantum perituri vident." —Tacit. Germ. xl. Contrast and compare these secret and awful rites

There were other religious usages—most absolutely repugnant to Christianity, and demanding, as it were, her mild intervention,—so universal as to imply a closer relationship than that of unconnected races, which resemble each other from being in the same state of civilisation. From the borders of the Roman Empire to the shores of the Baltic, from the age of Tacitus to that of the Northern Chroniclers, human sacrifices appeased the gods, or rewarded them for the victories which they had bestowed upon their worshippers. The supreme god, Woden, the Mercury of Tacitus, was propitiated by human victims. The tribunes and principal centurions in the army of Varus were slain on these horrid altars.^g The Goths sacrificed their captives to the god of war.^h The Greek historian of the age of Justinian imputes the same ferocious usage to the Thuletes (the Scandinavians), and to the Heruli;ⁱ Sidonius Apollinarius to the Saxons.^k The Frisian law denounces not merely the penalty of death, but describes as an immolation to the gods the punishment of one who violates a temple. At a later period St. Boniface charges some of his Christian converts with the

(and their "truce of God") with Lucretius,—

Quo nunc insigni per magnas prædita terras
Horrificè fertur divina Matris imago . . .

Ergo cum primum magnas invecta per
urbes

Magnificat tacita mortales muta salute:
Ære atque argento sternunt iter omne viarum,

Largificâ stipe donantes, ninguntque rosarum

Floribus, umbrantes Matrem comitumque
catervas.—il. 597 *et seq.*

(Also Ovid. *Fasti*, iv. 337.) Grimm, in another part of his book, illustrates all this by a circumstance related during the persecution of the Christian

Goths by Athanarie (Sozom. H. E. vi. 37). An image on a waggon was led in procession round the tents of the people; all who refused to worship and make their offerings to this Gothic deity were burned alive in their tents.

^g Tac. *Germ.* ix. and xxxix. Ann. i. 61. The Hermanduri and Catti are particularly mentioned as slaying human victims.

^h Jornandes, 86.

ⁱ Procop. de Bell. Gothic. ii. 14, ii. 15.

^k Epist. viii. 5.

sale of captives to the pagans for the purpose of sacrifice.^m At the great temple at Upsala every kind of animal was suspended in sacrifice: seventy-two dogs and men, mingled together, were counted on one occasion.ⁿ The northern poetry contains many vestiges of these human immolations. The Northmen are said by Dithmar of Merseburg to have sacrificed every year, about Christmas, ninety-nine men in a sacred place in Sea-land. This execrable custom was suppressed by the Emperor Henry I. the Fowler. °

A.D. 926.

Among animals the horse was the chosen victim of all the Teutonic tribes. It was offered in the age of Tacitus in the German forests, which had been just penetrated by the Roman arms, and, according to the Sagas, by the yet unconverted Danes and Swedes.

Animal sacrifices.

Throughout the wide regions occupied by the Teutons the sacred grove was the sanctuary of the deity. The Romans could not tread without awe these dark dwelling places of the gods of their enemies; they were astonished at the absence of all images, and perhaps did not clearly distinguish the shapeless symbols which were set up in some places, from the aged trunks, which were also the objects of worship. The reverence for these hallowed places, the adoration of certain trees, survived the introduction of Christianity. The early missionaries and the local councils are full of denunciations against this inveterate heathen practice.

Holy groves.

^m "Quod quidem ex fidelibus ad immolandum paganis sua venundent mancipia."—Epist. xxv.

ⁿ "Ita etiam canes, qui pendent cum hominibus, quorum corpora mixta suspensa, narravit mihi quidam Christianorum se septuaginta duo vidisse."

° Müller, *Saga Bibliothek*. ii. 560, v. 93. See also, in Mr. Thorpe's *Mythology of Scandinavia*, a copious list of references on the sanctity of groves, vol. i. p. 255 (note); on temples, p. 259; on human sacrifices, p. 264.

We shall behold St. Boniface and others, as their crowning triumph, daring to hew down stately trees, the objects of the veneration of ages, and the barbarians standing around, awaiting the event in sullen suspense, and leaving their gods, as it were, on this last trial. If they were gods, would they endure this contumelious sacrilege?

The belief in the immortality of the soul, and in another life, though not perhaps so distinct, or connected with the transmigration of the soul, as in Gaul, yet seems to have been universal, dominant; as far as warlike contempt of death, an active and influential faith. But it was to most men vague, dreary, dismal,—the Niffeheim, the home of clouds and darkness, was the common lot; the Valhalla that alone of the noble, and of select and distinguished warriors.

The priesthood were held in the same reverence throughout Germany. It was not an organ-
 Priesthood. nised and powerful hierarchy, or a separate caste, like that of the Druids in Gaul and Britain;^p but the priests officiated in and presided over the sacred ceremonials of sacrifice and worship, and administered justice. In the early German wars, when Rome was, as it were, invading the sanctuaries of the Teutonic deities, the priesthood appear as a kind of officers of the god of war, enforcing discipline, branding cowardice, and inflicting punishment, which the free German spirit would endure only from those who bore a divine commission.^q

^p Cæsar says of the Germans, "Neque Druides habent qui rebus divinis præsent, neque sacrificiis student."—B. G. vi. 21. This, though not strictly true, is true in the sense in which Cæsar wrote, as contrasted

with the hierarchy of Gaul.—"Un gleich beträchtlicher war in Zahl und ausbildung das celtische Priesterthum."—Grimm.

^q "Cæterum neque animadvertere, neque vincere, nec verberare quidem,

In all affairs of public concern—the priest; in private affairs—the head of the family, interpreted the lots by which the gods rendered their oracles.^r The priest or the king might alone harness the sacred horses; the allusions to the priesthood in the late writers on the various conquering tribes, are not very frequent, but sufficient to show that they had that veneration inseparable from the character of persons who performed sacrifices, consulted the gods, and by auspices, or other modes of divination, predicted victory or disaster.^s Prophetic women characterise the Teutonic faith in all its numerous branches. The Velleda of Tacitus, who ruled like a queen, and was worshipped almost as a goddess, is the ancestress of the Nornas of the poetic Sagas.^t In the East the gift of prophecy is sometimes, but rarely, vouchsafed to females; in Greece it was equally shared by both sexes; the seer or prophet is the exception in the Northern mythology. This reverence for women, especially for sacred virgins, no doubt prepared them to receive one article of the new religious faith, which had already begun to grow towards its later all-absorbing importance; while it harmonised with the

nisi sacerdotibus permissum; non quasi in pœnam, nec ducis jussu, sed velut Deo imperante, quem adesse bellantibus credunt.”—Tacit. Germ. vii.

^r Tac. Germ. x. and xi. A priest of the Catti was led in the triumph of Germanicus.—Strabo.

^s Even Grimm’s industry is baffled by the question of the power of the priesthood in Germany: “Aus der folgenden zeit und bis zur einföhrung des Christenthums, haben wir fast gar keine kunde weiter wie es sich in

innern Deutschland mit den priestern verhielt: ihr dasein folgt aus dem der tempel und offer.”—p. 61. Among the Anglo-Saxons the priests might not bear arms, or ride, except on a mare.—Bede, Hist. Ecc. ii. 13.

^t Tac. Germ. viii. Hist. iv. 61. “Ea virgo, nationis Bructeræ, latè imperitabat. Vetere apud Germanos more, quo plerasque fœminarum fatidicas, et augescente superstitione, arbitrantur Deas.” Compare iv. 65, v. 24, Grimm, Art. Weise Frauen.

general tendency of Christian doctrine to elevate the female sex.

Such was the general character of the Teutonic religion, disposed to the dark, the awful, the mysterious, with a profound belief in prophetic revelations, and a priesthood accustomed to act in a judicial, as well as in a religious capacity. And with such religious conceptions, and habits of thought and feeling, the Northern tribes, first on the frontiers, afterwards within the frontiers, and gradually in the heart of the Roman Empire, came into the presence of Christianity—of Christianity now organised under a powerful priesthood, a hierarchy of bishops, priests, and inferior clergy: laying claim to divine inspiration; and though that divine inspiration was gathered and centered, as it were, into a sacred book—in a wider and more vague and indistinct sense, it remained with the rulers of the Church. The Teutonic conqueror, already expatriated by the thirst for conquest or the aggression of more martial tribes, by his migration had broken off all local associations of sanctity; he had left far behind him his hallowed grove,^u and his reeking altar;^x even the awe of his primeval forests must have gradually worn away as he advanced into the southern sunshine and took possession of the regular towns or the cultivated farms of his Roman subjects.

The human sacrifices not merely belonged of ancient usage to these gloomy sanctuaries; but even before they had learned the Christian tenet, that all sacrifice had

^u The Lombards even in Italy found stately trees to worship. See Muratori, Dissert. 59, especially a curious quotation about a holy tree in the dukedom of Benevento. The Gallic Councils

(Arles, 452; Tours, 597; Nantes, 658) prohibit the worship of trees, the latter of certain stones.

^x Luitprand. Leg. l. vi. 30.

ceased with the one great sacrifice on the cross, the milder manners, which they could not but insensibly, if slowly, acquire by intercourse with more polished nations, would render such dire offerings more and more un-frequent: they would be reserved for signal occasions till at length they would fall into total desuetude.

In one respect, in which the genius of Christianity might have been expected to clash with his own religious notions, Christianity had already advanced many steps to meet the Teuton. The Christian God, and even the gentle Saviour of mankind, had become a God of battle. The cross, the symbol of Christian redemption, glittered on the standards of the legions; and every victory, and every new conquest, might encourage the hope that this God, the God of the southern people, did not behold them with disfavour, was deserting his own votaries, and would gladly receive and reward the allegiance of more manly and valiant worshippers. Notwithstanding the proud consciousness of their own superior prowess as warriors, the Teutonic conquerors could not enter into the dominions of Rome, cross the Roman bridges, march along the Roman roads, encamp before the walled cities, with their towers, temples, basilicas, forums, aqueducts, baths, and churches now aspiring to grandeur if not magnificence, without awe at the superior intellectual power of those whom they had subdued. It was natural to connect this intellectual superiority with the religion; and while everything else, the civil power, the ordinary administration of affairs, as well as the army, bowed before them, the religion alone stood up, resolute, unyielding, almost undisturbed. The Christian bishops and clergy (like the aged senators of old, as they are described in the noble passage of Livy, awaiting their

Christ a God
of battle.

Respect for
the clergy.

doom in the Capitol, and appalling for a time the ruthless Gaul by the venerable majesty of their dress and demeanour) might seem to awe their conquerors into respect; and though at times, when the paroxysm of wonder was broken, as in the former instance, the conquerors might insult or even massacre the objects of their adoration, still in general the sacred character would work on the superstitious mind of the barbarian. The Teuton had already the habit of contemplating the priest as the representative of divinity. According to the general feeling of polytheism, acknowledging the gods of other tribes or nations, as well as his own, to possess divine power, he arrayed the priesthood of the stranger in the same fearfulness; the mysterious sanctity which dwelt with the Christian's God hallowed the Christian bishop.

Nor, though individual priests might and did accom-
 pany the migratory tribes, does there appear
 any of that strong sacerdotal spirit which
 belongs to an organised hierarchy, by which its influence
 is chiefly maintained and established; which is pledged
 to and supported by mutual emulation, and by fear of
 the reproach of treason to the common cause, or of base
 abandonment of the wealth, the power, and the credit
 of the fraternity. With these elements then of faith
 within his heart, the German was migrating into the
 territory as it were of a new God, and was encountered
 everywhere by the priest of that God. That priest was
 usually full of zeal, and, with all to whom his language
 was intelligible, of eloquence; confessedly in all intel-
 lectual qualities a superior being, and asserting himself
 to be divinely commissioned to impart the truth; seizing
 every opportunity of vicissitude, of distress, of sickness,
 of affliction, to enforce the power and goodness of his

No Teutonic
 priesthood.

God ; himself perhaps in perfect faith turning every one of those countless incidents, which to a barbarian mind was capable of a supernatural tinge, into a manifest miracle ; opening a new and more distinct and terrible hell and a heaven of light and gladness, and declaring himself to possess the keys of both.

At no time, under no circumstances, would Christianity appear more sincere, more devout, more commanding, or more amiable. As has ^{Effect on} _{Christians.} always been observed during a plague, an earthquake, or any other great public calamity, men become either more recklessly godless, or more profoundly religious ; so during the centuries of danger, disaster and degradation, which were those of barbarian invasion and conquest, the fire must, as it were, have been trying the spirits of men. Those who had no vital or rooted religion would fall off, as some of them would assert, from a God who showed them no protection. These while free would waste away the few remaining years or days of their wealth, or at all events of their freedom, in licentiousness and luxury ; if slaves they would sink to all the vices, as well as the degradation of slavery. The truly religious, on the other hand, would clasp more nearly to their heart the one remaining principle of consolation and of dignity. They would fly from a world which only offered shame and misery, to the hope of a better and more happy state of being. Death was their only release, but beyond death, they were secure, they were at peace ; they would take refuge, at least in faith, from the face of a tyrannical master, or what to a free-born Roman was as galling and humiliating, a lord and proprietor, in the presence of the Redeemer. They would flee from down-trodden servitude on earth to glory and beatitude in heaven. The darker the

calamity, the more entire the resignation: as wretchedness would be more rampant, so devotion would be more devout. The Provincial with his home desolated, his estate seized, his family outraged or massacred or carried away into bondage, would, if really Christian, consider himself as taking up his cross; he would be a more fervent, as it were, a desperate believer. In the letters of Sidonius Apollinaris, we find the Bishop of Clermont writing to Maternus, the Bishop of Vienne, for the form of certain litanies or rogations, which were used in that city during an earthquake and conflagration: he proposes to institute the same solemn ceremonies in apprehension of the invasion of the Goths into Auvergne. Salvian bitterly reproaches the Roman Gauls with their passion for theatric games, which they indulged during such days of peril and disaster only with more desperate intensity. But, even if the true Christians in those hours of trial were fewer in number, it cannot be doubted that their piety took a more vehement and impassioned character. It was the time for great Christian virtues, as well as for more profound Christian consolations, virtues which in some points would be strikingly congenial to barbaric minds, as giving a sublime patience and serenity in suffering, a calm contempt of death. The Germans would admire the martyr whom in their wantonness they slew, if that martyr showed true Christian tranquillity in his agony. There was no danger which the better bishops and clergy would not encounter for their flocks; they would venture to confront unarmed the fierce warrior; all the treasures of the unplundered churches were willingly surrendered for the redemption of captives. The austerities practised by some of the clergy, and by those who had commenced the monastic life, would arrest

the attention and enthral the admiration of barbarians, to whom self-command, endurance, strength of will, would appear kindred and noble qualities. In the early period, when the Germans still dwelt separate in their camps, or in the ceded settlements within the frontier, the captives would be, and as history shows, were the chief missionaries. The barbarians on the one hand would more and more feel the intellectual superiority of their bond-slaves, which would induce them to look favourably on their religion. The captives, some of them bishops, some females of high rank and influential beauty, where they were truly Christians, would be urged by many of the purest, and many less holy motives, to convert their masters. The sacred duty of disseminating the Gospel, the principle of love which would impart its blessings to all mankind; the strong conviction that they were rescuing the barbarians from eternal damnation, the doom of all but the believers in Christ; and so in the noblest form the returning good for evil, would conspire with the pride and consolation of ruling their rulers; of maintaining in one sense the Roman supremacy over the minds of men. The end would sanctify all arts, dignify all humiliations; Christian zeal and worldly ambition would act together in perfect harmony.

Where the Teutonic nations had penetrated more into the midst of the Roman empire; where they had settled down, as they did successively, in all the provinces, as lords of the soil, they would be more fully in the presence and centered influence of Christianity. Themselves without temples, without shrines, without altars, perhaps without a priesthood, they would be daily spectators of the lofty and spacious edifices, perhaps the imposing processions, the ceremonial, which had already begun to assume some

Teutons in
the midst of
the Empire.

grandeur, of the Christian churches. If admitted, or forcing their way within, or hearing from without the hymns and the music, the ordinary ceremonial which they would witness, and still more perhaps the more solemn mysteries which were jealously shrouded from their sight would lay hold upon their unpreoccupied religiousness, and offer them as almost ready captives to the persuasive teacher of these new and majestic truths. Their conversion therefore was more speedy, and comparatively more complete. They too contributed much to establish that imposing, but certainly degenerate form of warlike and sacerdotal Christianity, which had been growing up for two or three centuries. No doubt they retained and infused into the Christianity of the conquered provinces many of their old native superstitions and modes of religious thought and feeling, but far less than survived in Germany itself. There the nature-worship lingered behind in the bosom of Christianity; and under the sublime Monotheism of Christianity, the old beneficent or malignant deities of paganism, became angels or spirits of evil. Everywhere among the converted tribes, the groves, the fountains, the holy animals, preserved their sanctity. As we accompany the missionaries in their spiritual campaigns we shall encounter many curious circumstances, which will appear more striking when in their proper position, than brought together and crowded in one general view. The character of the Christianity which grew up out of these discordant elements will be best discerned in the progress of its growth.⁷

⁷ The description of the Holstenians by Helmold (i. 47) will apply more or less to most of the early German converts: "Nihil de religione nisi nomen tantum Christianitatis habetis . . . nam lucorum et fontium cæterarumque superstitionum multiolex error apud vos habetur."

About the year 300 Christianity had found its way among the Goths and some of the German tribes on the Rhine. The Visigoths first embraced the Gospel, as a nation; they were followed by the Ostrogoths; with these the Vandals and the Gepidæ were converted during the fourth century. At the close of the fifth century the Franks were converted, and at the beginning of the sixth, first the Alemanni, then the Lombards; the Bavarians in the seventh and eighth, the Frisians, Hessians, and Thuringians in the eighth; the Saxons by the sword of Charlemagne in the ninth. Our present inquiry limits itself to the conversions within the pale of the Roman Empire, and closes with that of the Franks. With the exception of the latter, the whole of these nations were the conquests of Arian Christianity, or embraced it during the early period of their belief. That diversity of religious creed which perplexed the more mature Christian, especially the disputatious Greek and imaginative Asiatic, touched not these simple believers. The Arian Goth had submissively received the lessons of his first teacher, and with some tribes the difference was so little felt, that he did not persecute on account of it. Nations changed their belief with but slight reluctance. The Burgundians in Gaul were first Catholic, then Arian under the Visigothic rule, Catholic again with the Franks. The Suevians in Spain were first Catholic, then fell off into Arianism: it was not till the sixth century that Spain was Catholic. For soon, indeed, religious difference became a pretext for cruelty and ambition, made the Vandal in Africa a persecutor as well as a tyrant, and became the battle word of the Frank when he would invade the dominions of the Burgundian or the Visigoth, or when he de-

Successive
conversion of
Teutonic
tribes.

Arianism of
first converts.

scended into Italy to protect the orthodox Bishop of Rome against the heterodox Lombard.

But of these early Arian missionaries, the Arian records, if they ever existed, have almost entirely perished. The Church was either ignorant of or disdained to preserve their memory. ^{Ulphilas.} Ulphilas alone, the apostle of the Goths, has, as it were, forced his way into the Catholic records, in which, as in the fragments of his great work, his translation of the Scriptures into the Mæso-Gothic language, this admirable man has descended to posterity.² Ulphilas was a Goth by birth, not by descent. His ancestors, during a predatory expedition of the Goths into Asia, under the reign of Gallienus, had been swept away with many other captives, some belonging to the clergy, from a village in Cappadocia, to the Gothic settlements north of the Danube.^a These captives, faithful to their creed, perpetuated and propagated among their masters the doctrines of Christianity. Ulphilas first appears as the Bishop of the Goths, and as their ambassador at the Court of Valens.^b His religion, and his descent from a Roman provincial family, as well as high influence, might designate him for this mission to the Roman Emperor of the East.^c The Goths beyond the Danube,

* The orthodox abbreviator of Philostorgius acknowledges, but carefully suppresses, the praises which Philostorgius had lavished on Ulphilas. We would almost have forgiven him the suppression of the praise, if he had imparted the more extensive information which Philostorgius seems to have preserved of this great event.

^a The name of Eutyches, called by S. Basil, the Blessed, has survived, as having from the same region, Cap-

padocia, established a church among the Scythians (the Sarmatians), who had been subdued, and were mingled with the Goths. S. Cyril asserts that the Scythians had no cause to envy the Empire; they had their bishops, priests, deacons, sacred virgins.—Cyril Hierosolym. Catech. xvi.

^b Basil, Epist. 16, tome iii.

^c It is said that the Gothic bishop, like his predecessor Theophilus, reported to have been present at the

pressed by the more powerful and ferocious Huns, requested permission to cross the Danube, and settle in Mœsia, within the Roman frontier. Among the motives which induced the Emperor to consent, and to accept this nation of hardy but dangerous subjects, was their, at least partial, conversion to Christianity. Ulphilas was called by the grateful Christian Goths, who might now pasture their herds in the rich plains of Thrace, the Moses, who had led them into the land of promise.^d But the disciples of Ulphilas formed but a small part of the vast migration, which, partly under permission, partly by bribery of the Imperial officers, partly by stealth, and partly by force, came swarming over the river, and took possession of the unprotected Roman province. The heathen part of the population brought over their own priests and priestesses, with their altars and rites; but on those mysterious rites they maintained an impenetrable silence; they disguised their priests in the garb and manners of Christian bishops. They had even fictitious monks clothed in black, and demeaning themselves as

Migration of
Goths across
the Danube.

Council of Nicæa (Socrates, ii. 41), had professed that creed; that he was threatened, bribed, persuaded by Valens to accede to his Arianism, and acquiesced in it as a mere verbal dispute. οὐκ εἶναι δογματῶν ἔφη διαφοράν, ἀλλὰ ματαίαν ἔριον ἐργάσασθαι τὴν διδασκασιν.—Theodoret, iv. 37. But see the very curious character and creed of Ulphilas, in the speech of his disciple Bishop Auxentius at the Council of Aquileia (A.D. 381), reported by Bishop Maximinus. This remarkable fragment was edited by Dr. Waitz from a MS. in Paris. Über das Leben

und die Lehre des Ulfila. von George Waitz. Hannover, 1840. Also the Preface to the new and excellent Edition of the Bible of Ulfilas, by the very learned H. F. Massmann. Stuttgart, 1856. Compare Hist. of Christianity, book iii., close of chap. vii.

^d Philostorg, ii. 5. Auxentius (apud Waitz, p. 20) uses the same comparison to Moses and the Red Sea (the Danube), and adds, “eo populo in solo Romanizæ ubi sine illis septem annis triginta et tribus annis veritatem prædicavit, &c.”—and so makes up the forty years of Moses.

Christian ascetics.^e Thus, relates the heathen historian, who makes this curious statement, while they faithfully but secretly adhered to their own religion, the Romans were weak enough to suppose them perfect Christians. But once on the Roman side of the Danube, the more martial Goths spurned the religion which they had condescended to feign with barbarian cunning.^f Ulphilas, as a true missionary of the Prince of Peace, aspired not merely to convert his disciples to Christianity, but to peaceful habits. In his translation of the Scriptures he left out the Books of Kings, as too congenial and too stimulative to their warlike propensities.^g The Goths divided into two factions, each with its great hereditary chieftain: of the one, the valiant Athanaric; of the other Fritigern, the friend of Ulphilas. The warlike and anti-Christian party appealed to their native Gods, and raised a violent persecution.^h The God of their fathers was placed on a lofty waggon, and drawn through the whole camp; all who refused their adoration were burned, with their whole families, in

Strife among
the Goths.

^e This remarkable passage of Eunapius is one of the most important historical fragments discovered in the Palimpsest MSS. by Monsignor Mai. It was of course unknown to the older historians, including Gibbon.—Mai, p. 277. In the reprint of the Byzantines (Bonn, 1829, edit. Niebuhr), p. 82, Eunapius speaks of the false bishops having much of the fox. The hatred of Eunapius to the monks breaks out in his description of these impostors. “The mimicry of the monks was not difficult; it was enough to sweep the ground with black robes and tunics, to be good for nothing and believed in.” οὐδὲν ἐχούσης τῆς

μιμήσεως πραγματώδες καὶ δύσκολον, ἀλλὰ ἐξήρκει φαῖα ἱμάτια σύρουσι καὶ χιτῶνια, πονηροῖς τε εἶναι καὶ πιστεύεσθαι.

^f Are we to attribute Jerome's triumphant exclamations to these events? Probably not altogether. “Getarum rutilus et flavus exercitus, Ecclesiarum circumfert tentoria.”—Ad Læt. “Stridorem suum in dulce crucis fregerunt melos.”—Ad Heliod. “Hunni discunt Psalterium.”—Ad Læt.

^g Philostorgius, loc. cit.

^h These persecutions are by some placed before the migration over the Danube. I think the balance of probability favours the view in the text.

their tents. A multitude, especially of helpless women and children, who took refuge in their rude church, were likewise mercilessly burned with their sacred edifice.ⁱ But while in their two great divisions, the Ostrogoths and Visigoths, the nation, gathering its descendants from all quarters, spread their more or less rapid conquests over Gaul, Italy, and Spain, Ulphilas formed a peaceful and populous colony of shepherds and herdsmen on the pastures below Mount Hæmus.^k He became the Primate of a simple Christian nation. For them he formed an alphabet of twenty-four letters, and completed (all but the fierce Books of Kings) his translation of the Scriptures. Thus the first Teutonic Christians received the gift of the Bible, in their own language, from the Apostle of their race.^m

No record whatever, not even a legend remains, of the manner in which the two great branches of the Gothic race, the Visigoths in France History of conversion unknown, and the Ostrogoths in Pannonia, the Suevians in Spain, the Gepidæ, the Vandals, the mingled hosts which formed the army of Odoacer, the first king of Italy, and at length the fierce Lombards, were converted to Christianity.ⁿ They no doubt yielded—but secretly

ⁱ Sozomen, iv. 37. Compare the legend of S. Saba. apud Bolland, April 12—remembering that it is a legend.

^k "Gothi minores, populus immeusus cum suo Pontifice ipsoque Primate Wulfila . . . ad pedes montis. Gens multa sedit, pauper et imbellis, nisi armento diversi generis pecorum et pascuis, silvâque lignorum, parùm nabens tritici."—Jornandes, c. lii.

^m It is difficult to discriminate between the rhetoric and the facts recorded by Jerome. If we are to

take his words in their plain sense, theologic studies were far advanced among the Goths: "Quis hoc crederet ut barbara Getarum lingua Hebraicam quæreret veritatem? et dormitantibus imo contententibus Græcis, ipsa Germania Spiritus Sancti eloquia scrutaretur."—Epist. ad Juniam et Fretulam, tom. ii. p. 626.

ⁿ Idacius (Chron. 448) says the Suevians were first Catholic; if so, they were converted to Arianism by the Goths.

and imperceptibly—to those influences described above; the faith appears to steal from nation to nation, and wins king after king; and it is only when they become sovereigns of great independent kingdoms, conquerors like Alaric, founders of dynasties like Theodoric in Italy, and the Visigothic and Suevian monarchs in France and Spain, or raise fierce persecutions, like the Vandals in Africa against the Catholics, that we recognise them as professed Christians, and Christians holding a peculiar form of faith.^o

Of the Burgundians alone, and the motives of their conversion, remains a curious detail in one of except of Burgundians. the Byzantine ecclesiastical historians. The Burgundians occupied at that time the left bank of the Rhone, had acquired peaceful habits, and employed themselves in some kind of manufacture.^p The terrible invasion of the Huns broke in upon their quiet industry. Despairing of the aid of man, they looked round for some protecting Deity; the God of the Romans appeared the mightiest, as worshipped by the most powerful people. They set off to a neighbouring city of Gaul, requested, and after some previous fasting, received baptism from the bishop. Their confidence in their new tutelar Deity gave them courage, they discomfited with a small body of troops, about 3000, a vast body of the Huns, who lost 10,000 men. From that time the Burgundians embraced Christianity, in the words of the historian, with fiery zeal.^q

^o Compare a modern book of research and judgement, and on the whole, of candour, *L'Arianisme des Peuples Germaniques*, par Ch. J. Reveillot. Paris: Besançon, 1850.

^p Socrates, *Ecc. Hist.* vii. 30. *οδοι βιον ἀπόγμονα ζῶσιν ἀεὶ, τέκτονες*

γὰρ σχεδὸν πάντες εἰσὶν. Of what were they artisans? This was during the reign of Theodosius II., A.D. 408-449.

^q τὸ ἔθνος διαπύρως ἐχριστιάνισεν, loc. cit.

But all these nations were converts to the Arian form of Christianity, except perhaps the Burgundians,^r who under the Visigoths fell off to All Arians. Arianism. Ulphilas himself was a semi-Arian, and acceded to the creed of Rimini. Hence the total silence of the Catholic historians, who perhaps destroyed, or disdained to preserve the fame of Arian conquests to the common Christianity.^s The first conversion of a Teutonic nation to the faith, of which any long and particular account survives, was that of the Franks, and that by Catholic prelates into stern proselytes to the Catholic faith.^t

This conversion of the Franks was the most important event in its remote as well as its im- Conversion of Franks. mediate consequences in European history.

It had great influence on the formation of the Frankish monarchy. The adoption of the Catholic form of faith, by arraying on the side of the Franks all the Catholic prelates and their followers, led to their preponderance over the Visigothic and Burgundian kings, to their descent into Italy under Pepin and his son, and to their intimate connexion with the Papal see; and thus paved the way for the Western Empire of Charlemagne. They were the chosen champions of Catholicism, and Catholicism amply repaid them by vindicating all their aggressions upon the neighbouring kingdoms, and aiding in every way the consolidation of their formidable power. The Franks, the most barbarous of the Teu-

^r Orosius, vii. 22.

^s Salvian is absolutely charitable to the errors of the German Arians: "Hæretici ergo sunt, sed non scientes. Errant ergo, sed bono animo errant, non odio sed affectu Dei." But this is to contrast them with the vices of the

orthodox.—De Gubern. Dei.

^t Gregory of Tours is the great authority for this period: he wrote for those "qui appropinquante mundi fine desperant."—In Prolog. See Loebel, Gregor von Tours; Ampère, Hist. Lit. de la France.

tonic tribes (though in cruelty they seem to have been surpassed by the Vandals), had settled in a Christian country, already illustrious in legendary annals for the wonders of Saints, as of Martin of Tours, the foundation of monasteries, and the virtues of Bishops like Remigius, who ruled over the great cathedral city of Rheims. The south of France was ruled by Arian sovereigns. Clovis was a pagan, then only the chief of about 4000 Frankish warriors, but full of adventurous daring and unmeasured ambition. His conversion, if it had not issued in events of such profound importance to mankind, might have seemed but a trivial and fortuitous occurrence. The influence of a female conspires with the conviction that the Christians' God is the stronger God of battle; such are the impulses which seem to bring this bold yet crafty barbarian, who no doubt saw his advantage in his change of belief, to the foot of the Cross, and made him a strenuous assertor of orthodox faith. Clovis had obtained in marriage the niece of Gundebald, king of the Burgundians. The early life of this Princess was passed amid the massacre of her parents and kindred; it shows how little Christianity had allayed the ferocity of these barbarians.

Gundicar, king of the Burgundians, left four sons.

Gundicar the Burgundian. The fate of the family was more like that of a polygamous Eastern prince, where the sons of different mothers, bred up without brotherly intercourse in the seraglio, own no proximity of blood. Gundebald, the elder son, first slew his brother Chilperic, tied a stone round the neck of Chilperic's wife, and cast her into the Rhone, beheaded his two sons, and threw their bodies into a well. The daughters, of whom Clotilda was one, he preserved alive. Godemar, his next brother, he besieged in his castle, set it on fire, and burned him

alive. Godesil, the third brother, as will be related at a subsequent period, shared the same fate. Gundebald as yet only a double fratricide, either felt, or thought it right to appear to feel, deep remorse for his crimes. Avitus, Bishop of Vienne, saw or imagined some inclination in the repentant king to embrace Catholicism. In far different language from that spoken by Ambrose to the Emperor Theodosius, the Bishop addressed the bloody monarch,—“You weep with inexpressible grief at the death of your brothers, your sympathising people are afflicted by your sadness. But by the secret counsels of God, this sorrow shall turn to joy; no doubt this diminution in the number of its princes was intended for the welfare of the kingdom, those alone were allowed to survive who are needed for the administration of the kingdom.”^a

Gundebald, however, resisted these flattering arguments, and remained obstinately Arian; but Clotilda, his niece, it is unknown through what influence, was educated in orthodoxy. Clotilda took the opportunity, when the heart of her husband Clovis might be softened by the birth of her first-born son, to endeavour to wean him from his idolatry. Clovis listened with careless indifference; yet with the same indifference common in the Teutonic tribes, permitted the baptism of the infant. But the child died, and Clovis saw in his death the resentment of his offended Gods; he took but little comfort from the assurance of the submissive mother, that her son, having been baptized, was in the presence of God. Yet with the same strange versatility of feeling, he allowed his second son also to be baptized. This child too declined, and Clovis began to renew his re-

^a *Aviti Epist. apud Sirmond. oper. vol. ii.*

proaches; but the prayer of the mother was heard, and the child restored to health.^x

It was not, however, in this gentler character that the Frank would own the power of the Christian's God. The Franks and the Alemanni met in battle at Tolbiac, not far from Cologne. The Franks were worsted, when Clovis bethought him of Clotilda's God. He cast off his own inefficient divinities; he prayed to Christ, and made a solemn vow, that if he were succoured, he would be baptized as a Christian.^y The tide of battle turned; the king of the Alemanni was slain; and the Alemanni, in danger of total destruction, hailed Clovis as their sovereign.

Clotilda, without loss of time, sent the glad tidings to Remigius, Bishop of the city of Rheims. Clovis still hesitated, till he could consult his people. The obsequious warriors declared their readiness to be of the same religion as their king. To impress the minds of the barbarians the baptismal ceremony was performed with the utmost pomp; the church was hung with embroidered tapestry and white curtains; odours of incense like airs of Paradise were diffused around; the building blazed with countless lights. When the new Constantine knelt in the font to be cleansed from the leprosy of his heathenism, "Fierce Sicambrian," said the Bishop, "bow thy neck: burn what thou hast adored, adore what thou hast burned!"

^x According to Gregory of Tours, she argued with her husband against the worship of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, and Mercury. Was it ignorance, or did Gregory suppose that he was writing like a Roman? — Gregor. Turon. ii.

^y "Invocavi enim Deos meos, sed, ut experior, elongati sunt ab auxilio meo, unde credo eos nullius esse potestatis præditos, qui sibi obedientibus non succurrunt. Te nunc invoco, et tibi credens desidero, tantum ut eruar ab adversariis meis." — Greg. Turon. ii. 30.

Three thousand Franks followed the example of Clovis. During one of their subsequent religious conferences, the Bishop dwelt on the barbarity of the Jews in the death of the Lord. Clovis was moved, but not to tenderness,—“Had I and my faithful Franks been there, they had not dared to do it.”

A.D. 496.

At that time Clovis the Frank was the only orthodox sovereign in Christendom. The Emperor Anastasius lay at least under the suspicion of favouring the Eutychian heresy. The Ostrogoth Theodoric in Italy, the Visigothic² and Burgundian kings in France, the Suevian in Spain, the Vandal in Africa were Arians. If unscrupulous ambition, undaunted valour and enterprise, and desolating warfare, had been legitimate means for the propagation of pure Christianity, it could not have found a better champion than Clovis. For the first time the diffusion of belief in the nature of the Godhead became the avowed pretext for the invasion of a neighbouring territory.^a Already the famous Avitus, Bishop of Vienne, has addressed a letter to Clovis, in which he augurs from the faith of Clovis the victory of the Catholic faith; even the heterodox Byzantine emperor is to tremble on his throne; Catholic Greece to exult at the dawning of this new light in the West. The wars of Clovis with Burgundy were all but

² Euric, the greatest of the Visigothic kings, was now dead; he had left but feeble successors. Euric laboured under the evil fame of a persecutor; he had attempted what Theodoric aspired to effect in Italy, but with far less success, the fusion of the two races—the Roman and Teutonic; but that of which Sidonius so bitterly complains, of so many sees

vacant by the intolerance of Euric, the want of bishops and clergy to perpetuate the Catholic succession, ruined churches, and grass-grown altars, reads as too eloquent. Reveillot admits that the views of Euric were political rather than religious (p. 141).

^a The rebellion of Vitalianus in the East was a few years later.

openly-declared wars of religion; the orthodox clergy hardly condescended to disguise their inclination to the Franks, whom they supported with their prayers, if not with more substantial assistance.^b Before the war broke out, a synod of the orthodox Bishops met, it is said, under the advice of Remigius, at Lyons. With Avitus at their head, they visited King Gundebald, and proposed a conference with the Arian bishops, whom they were prepared to prove from the Scripture to be in error.^c The king shrewdly replied,—“If yours be the true doctrine, why do you not prevent the King of the Franks from waging an unjust war, and from caballing with my enemies against me?”^d There is no true Christian faith where there is rapacious covetousness for the possessions of others, and thirst for blood. Let him show forth his faith by his good works.” Avitus skilfully eluded this question, and significantly replied, that he was ignorant of the motives of Clovis, “but this I know, that God overthrows the thrones of those who are disobedient to

^b The barbarous Clovis must have heard, it must not be said, read, still less, considering the obscure style of the prelate, understood, the somewhat gross and lavish flattery of his faith, his humility, even his *mercy*, to which the saintly Bishop scrupled not to condescend: “*Vestra fides nostra victoria est. . . . Gaudeat ergo quidem Græcia se habere principem legis nostræ. Numquid fidem perfecto prædicabimus quam ante perfectionem sine prædicatore vidistis? an forte humilitatem . . . an misericordiam quam solutus a vobis adhuc nuper populus captivus gaudiis mundo insinuat lacrymis Deo?*” The mercy of Clovis!—Avitus, Epist. xli.

^c It is remarkable that all the dis-

tinguished and influential of the clergy appear on the Catholic side. The Arians are unknown even by name. It is true that we have only Catholic annalists. But I have little doubt that the Arian prelates were for the most part barbarians, inferior in education and in that authority which still, in peaceful functions, attached to the Roman name. It was Rome now enlisting a new clan of barbarians in her own cause, and under her own guidance, against her foreign oppressors.

^d The Bishop Avitus of Vienne was in correspondence with the insurgent Vitalianus in the court of the Emperor Anastasius. So completely were now all wars and rebellions religious wars.

his law." ^o When after the submission of the Burgundian kingdom to the payment of tribute to the Franks, Gundebald resumed the sway, his first act was to besiege his brother Godesil, the ally of Clovis, in Vienne. Godesil fled to the Arian church, and was slain there with the Arian Bishop.^f On this occasion Avitus tried again to work on the obstinate mind of Gundebald; his arguments confounded, but did not persuade the king, who retained his errors to the end of his life.

When, however, Clovis determined to attack the kingdom of the Visigoths, the monkish historian ascribes to him this language:—"I am ^{Religious wars.} sore troubled that these Arians still possess so large a part of Gaul."^g Before he set out on his campaign, the King of the Franks went to perform his devotions before the shrine of St. Martin at Tours. As he entered the church he heard the words of the Psalm which they were chaunting,—“Thou hast girded me, O Lord, with strength unto the battle; thou hast subdued unto me those which rose up against me. Thou hast given me the necks of mine enemies, that I might destroy them

* Collatio Episcop. apud D'Achery, Spicileg. iii. p. 304.

^f M. Reveillot has very ingeniously, perhaps too ingeniously, worked out the religious history of the reign of King Gundebald (p. 189 et seq.). But he is somewhat tender to the Bishop, who “almost praises Gundebald for the murder of his brothers.” The passage is too characteristic to be omitted: “Flebatis quondam pietate ineffabili funera germanorum (he had murdered them), sequebatur fletum publicum universitatis afflictio, et occulto divinitatis intuitu, instrumenta

mœstitiæ parabantur ad gaudium . . . Minuebat regni felicitas numerum regalium personarum et hoc solum servabatur mundo, quod sufficeret imperio (the good Turkish maxim). Illuc repositum est quicquid prosperum fuit catholicæ veritati.” This is said of an Arian, but the father of an orthodox son, Sigismund, converted by Avitus.—Epist. v. p. 95.

^g “Valde molestè fero, quod hi Ariani partem Galliarum tenent. Eamus cum Dei adjutorio, et superatis eis terram redigamus in ditionem nostram.”—Greg. Tur. ii. 37.

that hate me.”^b The oracular words were piously fulfilled by Clovis. The Visigothic kingdom was wasted and subdued by the remorseless sword of the Frank. These are not the only illustrations of the Christianity practised by Clovis, and related in perfect simplicity by his monkish historian.¹ Gregory of Tours describes without emotion one of the worst acts which darken the reign of Clovis. He suggested to the son of Sigebert, King of the Ripuarian Franks, the assassination of his father, with the promise that the murderer should be peaceably established on the throne. The murder was committed in the neighbouring forest. The parricide was then slain by the command of Clovis, who in a full parliament of the nation solemnly protested that he had no share in the murder of either; and was raised by general acclamation on a shield, as King of the Ripuarian Franks. Gregory concludes with this pious observation:—“For God thus daily prostrated his enemies under his hands, and enlarged his kingdom, because he walked before him with an upright heart, and did that which was pleasing in his sight.”^k Yet

^b Psalm xviii. 39. Did Clovis understand Latin? or did the orthodox clergy of Tours interpret the flattering prophecy?

ⁱ Miracles accompany his bloody arms; a hind shows a ford; a light from the church of St. Hilary in Poitiers summons him to hasten his attack before the arrival of the Italian troops of Theodoric in the camp of the Visigoth. The walls of Angoulême fall of their own accord. Gregory Tur. ii. 37. According to the life of S. Remi, Clovis massacred all the Arian Goths in the city.—Ap. Bouquet, iii. p. 379. S. Cesarius, the Bishop of

Arles, when that city was besieged by Clovis and the Burgundians, was suspected of assisting the invader by more than his prayers. He was imprisoned, his biographers assert, his innocence proved.—Vit. S. Cesar. in Mabill. Ann. Benedic. sæc. i.

^k Greg. Turon. ii. 42. “Prosternebat enim quotidie Deus hostes ejus sub manu ipsius et augebat regnum ejus, eò quod ambulavit rectè corde omnino, et fecerit quæ placita erant in oculis ejus.” There follows a long list of assassinations and acts of the darkest treachery. “Clovis fit périr tous les petits rois des Francs

Gregory of Tours was a prelate, himself of gentle and blameless manners, and of profound piety.

Born A.D.
539-594.

Throughout, indeed, this dark period of the contest between the Franks, the Visigoths, and the Burgundians for the dominion of France, as well as through the long dreary annals of the Merovingian kings, it will be necessary, as well as just, to estimate the character, influence, and beneficent workings of the clergy on the whole society. But the more suitable place for this inquiry will be when the two races, the Roman provincial and the Teutonic, are more completely mingled, though not fused together, for it was but gradually that the clergy, who never ceased to be Roman in the language of their services and of letters, ceased to be so in sentiment, and throughout northern France especially, in blood and descent. There is more even at this time of the first conversion of the Franks to Christianity, in the close alliance between the Roman clergy of Gaul with the Franks, than the contest of Catholicism with heterodoxy. The Arian clergy of the Visigoths were probably, to a considerable extent, of Teutonic race, some of them, like Ulphilas, though provincials of the Empire by descent, of Gothic birth. Their names have utterly perished; this may partly (as has been said) be ascribed to the jealousy of the Catholic writers, the only annalists of the time. But the conversion of the Franks was wrought

Influence of
clergy.

Clergy Latin.

par une suite de perfidies."—Michelet, H. de France, i. 209. The note recounts the assassinations. Throughout, the triumph of Clovis is the triumph of the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity over Arianism. "Dominus enim se verè credentibus, etsi insi-

diante inimico aliqua perdat, his centuplicata restituit; hæretici vero nec acquirunt, sed quod videntur habere, aufertur. Probabat hoc Godigeseli, Gundobaldi, atque Godomari interitus, qui et patriam simul et animas perdidit."—Prolog. ad lib. iii.

by the Latin clergy. The Franks were more a federation of armed adventurers than a nation migrating with their families into new lands; they were at once more barbarous and more exclusively warlike. It would probably be long before they would be tempted to lay aside their arms and aspire to the peaceful ecclesiastical functions. The Roman Gauls might even imagine that they beheld in the Franks deliverers from the tyranny of their actual masters,^m the Burgundians or Visigoths. Men impatient of a galling yoke pause not to consider whether they are not forging for themselves another more heavy and oppressive. They panted after release from their present masters, perhaps after revenge for the loss of their freedom and their lands, for their degradation, their servitude; and cared not to consider whether it would not be a change from bad masters to worse. Clovis, it is true, had commenced his career by the defeat of Syagrius, the last Roman who pretended to authority in Gaul, and had thus annihilated the lingering remains of the Empire; but that would be either pardoned by the clergy or forgotten in the fond hope of some improvement in their condition under the barbarian sway. It was, of course, a deep aggravation of their degraded state that their masters were not only foreigners, barbarians, conquerors—they were Arians. The Franks, as even more barbarous, were more likely to submit in obedience to ecclesiastical dominion: and so it appears that almost throughout the reign of the Merovingian dynasty the two races held their separate functions—the Franks as kings, the Latins as churchmen. The weak prince who was deposed from his

^m Gregory of Tours ingenuously admits "quod omnes (the Catholic clergy) desiderabili amore cupiverunt eos regnare."—l. ii. 23.

throne, or the timid one who felt himself unequal to its weight, was degraded, according to the Frankish notion, into a clerk;ⁿ he lost his national eminence and distinction, but disqualified by the tonsure from resuming his civil office, according to the sacerdotal notion, he was admitted to the blessed privilege of the priesthood; while at the same time his feeble and contemptible character was a guarantee against his becoming a dangerous rival for the higher honours of the Church. Hence, on the one hand, the unchecked growth of the sacerdotal authority, and the strong Catholicity of the clergy among the Franks, the retention of all the higher offices, at least in the Church, by the Roman Provincials, till they had become of such power, wealth, and dignity, as to rouse the ambition of the noble and even of the royal families.^o Until that time the two races remained distinct, each in possession of his separate, uncontested function; and each might be actuated by high and noble, as well as selfish and ambitious motives. The honest and simple German submitted himself to the comparatively civilised priest of that God whom he now worshipped—the expounder of that mysterious creed before which he had bowed down in awe

ⁿ Queen Clotilda, when her two sons seized their nephews, her favourite grandsons (the children of Chlodomir), and gave her the choice of their death or tonsure, answered like a Frankish queen, "Satius mihi est, si ad regnum non veniant, mortuos eos videre quam tonsos."—iii. 18.

^o In the year 566 a certain Meroveus, from whose name he may be concluded to have been a Frank, appears as Bishop of Poitiers.—Greg. Turon. ix. 40. Compare Planck,

Christliche Kirchliche Verfassung, ii. p. 96. It is a century later that, at the trial of Prætextatus, Archbishop of Rouen, are twelve prelates, six Teutons—Ragheremod, of Paris; Landowald, Bayeux; Remahaire, Coutances; Merowig, Poitiers; Melulf, Senlis; Berthran, Bourdeaux. Compare Thierry, *Récits des Temps Mérovingiens*, the one writer who, by his happy selection and artistic skill, has made the Merovingian history readable (tome ii. p. 135).

—the administrator in those imposing rites to which he was slowly, and, as it were, jealously admitted,—the awarder of his eternal doom. On the other hand the clergy, fully possessed with the majesty of their divine mission, would hold it as profanation to impart its sanctity to a rude barbarian. Not merely would Roman pride find its consolation in what thus maintained its influence and superiority, and look down in compassion on the ignorance of the Teuton—his ignorance even of the language of their sacred records, and of the services of their religion; the Romans would hold themselves the heaven-commissioned teachers of a race long destined to be their humble and obedient scholars.

We return to the general view of the conversion of the German races. The effect of this infusion of Teutonic blood into the whole Roman system, and this establishment of a foreign dominant people (of kindred manners, habits, and religion, though of various descent) in the separate provinces of the Empire which now were rising into independent kingdoms, upon the general Christian society, and on the Christianity of the age, demands attentive consideration. Though in each ancient province, and in each recent kingdom, according to the genius of the conquering tribe, the circumstances of the conquest and settlement, and the state of the Roman population, many strong differences might exist, there were some general results which seem to belong to the whole social revolution. In one important respect the Teutonic temperament coincided with Christianity in raising the moral tone. In all that relates to sexual intercourse, the Roman society was corrupt to its core, and the contagion had spread throughout the provinces. Christianity had probably wrought its change rather on the few higher and

more distinguished individuals than on the whole mass of worshippers. Most of these few, no doubt, had broken the bonds of habits and manners by a strong and convulsive effort, not to cultivate the purer charities of life, but in the aspiration after virtue unattainable by the many. Celibacy had many lofty minds and devoted hearts at its service, but it may be doubted whether conjugal fidelity had made equal progress. Christianity had secluded a certain number from the world and its vices; but on the world itself, now outwardly Christian, it had made in this respect far less impression. Not that it was without power. The courts of the Christian Emperors, notwithstanding their crimes, weaknesses, and intrigues, had been awed, even on the throne, to greater decency of manners. Neither Rome, nor Ravenna, nor Byzantium, had witnessed, they would not have endured, a Nero or an Elagabalus. The females (believing the worst of the early life of the Empress Theodora) were more disposed on the whole to the crimes of ambition, and political or religious intrigue, than to that flagrant licentiousness of the wives and mothers of the older Cæsars. But the evil was too profoundly seated in the habits of the Roman world to submit to the control of religion—of religion embraced at first by so large a portion, from the example of others, from indifference, from force, from anything rather than strong personal conviction, and which had now been long received merely as an hereditary and traditional faith. The clergy themselves, as far as may be judged, did not stand altogether much above the general level. They had their heroes of continence, their spotless examples of personal purity; but though in general they might outwardly submit to the hard law of celibacy, by many it was openly violated, by many more secretly eluded;

On moral
purity.

and, as ever has been, the denial of a legitimate union led to connexions more unrestricted and injurious to public morality. Scarcely a Provincial Council but finds itself called upon to enact more stringent, and, it should seem, still ineffective prohibitions.

Whether as a reminiscence of some older civilisation, or as a peculiarity in their national character, the Teutons had always paid the highest respect to their females, a feeling which cannot exist without high notions of personal purity, by which it is generated, and in its turn tends to generate. The colder northern climate may have contributed to this result. This masculine modesty of the German character had already excited the admiration, perhaps had been highly coloured by the language, of Tacitus, as a contrast to the effeminate voluptuousness of the Romans—marriages were held absolutely sacred, and producing the most perfect unity; adulteries rare, and visited with public and ignominious punishment.^p The Christian teachers, in words not less energetic, though wanting the inimitable conciseness of the Roman annalist, endeavour to shame their Latin brethren by the severity of Teutonic morals, and to rouse them from their dissolute excesses by taunting them with their degrading inferiority to barbarians, heathens, and heretics. Salvian must be heard with some reserve in his vehement denunciation against the licentiousness of the

^p "Inesse quietiam sanctum aliquid et providum putant."—Germ. viii. "Quamquam severa illic matrimonia, nec ullam morum partem magis laudaveris. . . . Ergo septâ pudicitia agunt, nullis spectaculorum illecebris, nullis conviviorum irritationibus corruptæ . . . Nemo illic vitia ridet,

nec corrumpere et corrumpi sæculum videtur. . . . Sic unum accipiunt maritum, quomodo unum corpus unamque vitam, ne ulla cogitatio ultra, ne longior cupiditas, ne tanquam maritum, sed tanquam matrimonium ament."—xviii. xix.

fifth century. He is seeking to vindicate God's providential government of the world in abandoning the Roman and the Christian to the sway of the pagan and the barbarian. "Among the chaste barbarians, we alone are unchaste: the very barbarians are shocked at our impurities. Among themselves they will not tolerate whoredom, but allow this shameful licence to the Romans as an inveterate usage. We cherish, they execrate, incontinence; we shrink from, they are enamoured of purity; fornication, which with them is a crime and a disgrace, with us is a glory."^q Salvian describes the different races, who, though in other respects varying in their character, and some more conspicuous than others for these virtues, were all nevertheless far superior to the Romans. The Goths are treacherous, but continent; the Alemanni less treacherous, and also less continent; the Franks false, but hospitable; the Saxons savagely cruel, but remarkable for chastity.^r The Vandals, if Salvian is to be credited, maintained their severe virtue, not only in Spain, but under the burning sun and amidst the utter depravity of African morals, and in that state of felicity, luxury, and wealth which usually unmans the mind. They not only held in abomination the more odious and unnatural vices which had so deeply infected the habits of Greece and Rome, but all unlawful connexions with the female sex.^s According to the same authority, they enforced

^q De Gubernat. Dei, l. vii. p. 66. He draws the same contrast between the Roman inhabitants of Spain and their Vandal conquerors.

^r "Gothorum gens perfida sed pudica est, Alemanni impudica sed minus perfida, Franci mendaces sed hospitales,

Saxones crudelitate efferi, sed castitate venerandi."—Ibid.

^s "Et certè ob eâ tantum continentissimi ac modestissimi judicandi erant quos non fecisset corruptiores ipsa felicitas . . . igitur in tantâ affluentia rerum atque luxuriâ, nullus eorum

the marriage of the public prostitutes, and enacted severe laws against unchastity, thus compelling the Romans to be virtuous against their will. Under the Ostrogothic kingdom, the manners in Italy might seem to revert to the dignified austerity of the old Roman republic. Theodoric indignantly reproveth a certain Bardilas, who had married the wife of an officer (from his name also of Gothic blood) while the husband was absent with the army. He speaks of it as bringing disgrace on the age and on the Gothic character.* The Ostrogothic law is silent as to incest and the crime against nature, as if, in its lofty purity, it did not imagine the existence of such offences. This code was for the Goths alone; the Romans were still amenable to their own law." In the laws of Theodoric the German abhorrence of adultery continued to make it a capital crime; the edict was inexorably severe against all crimes of this class: the seducer or ravisher of a free virgin was forced to marry her, and endow her with a

mollis effectus est abominati enim sunt virorum improbitates; plus adhuc addo, abominati etiam fœminarum; horruerunt lustra ac lupanaria, horruerunt contactus concubitusque metricum."—De Gub. Dei, l. vii. p. 66.

* "In injuriam nostrorum temporum, adulterium simulatur, matrimonii lege commissum." The husband's name was Patzenes. It is amusing to hear the King of the Goths reminding unchaste women of the fidelity of turtle doves, who pine away in each other's absence, and remain in strictly continent widowhood: "Respicite impudicæ gementium turturum castissimum genus, quod si a copulâ fuerit casu intercedente divisum, per-

petuâ se abstinentiæ lege constringit;" and this is a royal or imperial edict.—Cassiodor. Var. i. 33.

† Sartorius, *Essai sur l'Etat des Peuples d'Italie sous le Gouvernement des Goths* (p. 95). "Odious as homicide is, it would be more odious to punish than to commit that crime in certain cases, as in that of open adultery. See we not that rams, bulls, and goats avenge themselves against their rivals? Shall man alone be unable to preserve the honour of his bed? Examine the cause of Candax; if he only killed the adulterers who dishonoured him, remit all his penalties; if he has slain innocent men, let him be punished."—*Ibid.* i. 37.

fifth of his estate; if married, he forfeited a third of his property to his victim; if he had no property, he atoned for his crime by death; if the virgin was a slave, the criminal, being a free man, was degraded into a slave of the wife of the maiden's master, if he could not redeem his guilt by supplying two slaves; the rape of a free widow was subject to the capital punishment of adultery. The parents or guardians of a female who had suffered rape were bound to prosecute on pain of exile.

In some provinces, it must be acknowledged, that the vices as well as the religion of Rome assert their unshaken dominion; or rather there is a terrible interchange of the worst parts of each character. It is difficult to conceive a more dark and odious state of society than that of France under her Merovingian kings, the descendants of Clovis, as described by Gregory of Tours. In the conflict or coalition of barbarism with Roman Christianity, barbarism has introduced into Christianity all its ferocity with none of its generosity or magnanimity; its energy shows itself in atrocity of cruelty and even of sensuality. Christianity has given to barbarism hardly more than its superstition and its hatred of heretics and unbelievers. Throughout, assassinations, parricides, and fratricides intermingle with adulteries and rapes.* The cruelty might seem the mere inevitable result of this violent and unnatural fusion; but the extent to which this cruelty spreads throughout the whole society almost surpasses belief. That King Chlo-taire should burn alive his rebellious son with his wife and daughter is fearful enough; but we are astounded even in these times with a Bishop of Tours burning a man alive to obtain the deeds of an estate which he

* See a fearful summary in Loebel, *Gregor von Tours*, pp. 60-74

coveted.^y Fredegonde sends two murderers to assassinate Childebert, and these assassins are clerks. She causes the Archbishop of Rouen to be murdered while he is chanting the service in the church; and in this crime a Bishop and an Archdeacon are her accomplices. She is not content with open violence, she administers poison with the subtlety of a Locusta or a modern Italian, apparently with no sensual design, but from sheer barbarity.

As to the intercourse of the sexes, wars of conquest, where the females are at the mercy of the victors, especially if female virtue is not in much respect, Merovingian times. would severely try the more rigid morals of the conqueror. The strength of the Teutonic character, when it had once burst the bonds of habitual or traditional restraint, might seem to disdain easy and effeminate vice, and to seek a kind of wild zest in the indulgence of lust, by mingling it up with all other violent passions, rapacity and inhumanity. Marriage was a bond contracted and broken on the lightest occasion. Some of the Merovingian kings took as many wives, either together or in succession, as suited either their passions or their politics. Christianity hardly interferes even to interdict incest. King Chlotaire demanded for the fisc the third part of the revenue of the churches; some bishops yielded; one, Injuriosus, disdainfully refused, and Chlotaire withdrew his demands. Yet Chlotaire, seemingly unrebuked, married two sisters at once. Charibert likewise married two sisters: he, however, found a Churchman, but that was Saint Germanus, bold enough to rebuke him. This rebuke the King (the historian quietly writes), as he

had already many wives, bore with patience. Dagobert, son of Chlotaire, King of Austrasia, repudiated his wife Gomatrude for barrenness, married a Saxon slave Mathildis, then another, Regnatrude; so that he had three wives at once, besides so many concubines that the chronicler is ashamed to recount them.* Brunehaut and Fredegonde are not less famous for their licentiousness than for their cruelty. Fredegonde is either compelled or scruples not of her own accord to take a public oath, with three bishops and four hundred nobles as her vouchers, that her son was the son of her husband Chilperic. The Eastern right of having a concubine seems to have been inveterate among the later Frankish kings: that which was permitted for the sake of perpetuating the race was continued and carried to excess by the more dissolute sovereigns for their own pleasure. Even as late as Charlemagne, the polygamy of that great monarch, more like an Oriental Sultan (except that his wives were not secluded in a harem), as well as the notorious licentiousness of the females of his court, was unchecked, and indeed unproved, by the religion of which he was at least the temporal head, of which the Spiritual Sovereign placed on his brow the crown of the Western Empire. These, however, seem to have been the royal vices of men gradually intoxicated by uncontrolled and irresponsible power, plunging fiercely into the indulgences before they had acquired any of the humanising virtues of advanced civilisation.

In such times the celibacy or even the continence of the clergy was not likely to be very severely observed. The marriage of bishops, if not general, was common.

* "Nomina concubinarum eo quod plures erant, increvit huic chronica inseri."—Fredegar. c. 60.

Francilio had a wife named Clara.^a There is an account of some strange cruelties practised by a bishop's wife.^b

Yet clerical incontinence was not without rebuke from above. Gregory tells a strange story of the pyx with the consecrated host leaping out of a deacon's hands, and flying through the air to the altar. All agreed that the clerk must be polluted. He confessed, it was said, to several acts of adultery.^c

If, however, with some exceptions, more especially this great exception of the Frankish monarchs, Christianity found an unexpected ally in the higher moral tone of the Teutonic races, the religion in other respects and throughout its whole sphere of conquest suffered a serious, perhaps inevitable deterioration. With the world Christianity began rapidly to barbarise. War was the sole ennobling occupation. Even the clergy, after striving for some time to be the pacific mediators between the conquerors and the conquered; to allay here and there the horrors of war, at times by the awe of their own holiness and that of their religion; to keep the churches during the capture of a city as a safe sanctuary for the unarmed, the helpless, the women, and the children; to redeem captives from slavery; to mitigate the tyranny of the liege lord, who as a Christian, perhaps in the ardour of a new convert, was

^a G. T. x. 30. The son of a bishop of Verdun, xii. 35; also iv. 36, ii. 17. Daughter of a bishop, viii. 32. Compare Loebel, Gregor von Tours. Specially, p. 313 and note.

^b viii. 39. In another place of two hermits; one was drunken, one had a wife!

^c One priest only, three women, one of whom was Gregory's mother, wit-

nessed this miracle. Gregory was present, but the privilege was not vouchsafed to him. "Uni tantum presbytero, et tribus mulieribus, ex quibus una mater mea erat, hæc videre licitum fuit; cæteri non viderunt. Aderam fateor et ego huic festivitati, sed hæc videre non merui."—De Glor. Martyr. vol. ii. p. 361.

humbly submissive to their dictates; even the clergy were at length swept away by the torrent. In the fifth century we find bishops in arms, and at the head of fighting men; and though at first the common feeling protested against this desecration, though bearing arms was prohibited by the decrees of councils: yet where, as in some cases, the wars in which they might engage were defensive, and for the preservation of the most sacred rights of man; the step once taken, the sight once familiarised to this incongruous confusion of the armed warrior and the peaceful ecclesiastic, the evil would grow up with fatal rapidity. When the ecclesiastical dignities and honours, from their wealth and authority, began to tempt the barbarians, who would no longer leave them to the exclusive possession of the Romans, those barbarians would be the more disposed to assume them, if they no longer absolutely imposed inglorious inactivity or humiliating patience. On the other hand, the barbarian invested in the priesthood would more jealously justify himself for thus, in one sense, descending from his high place as a warrior, by retaining some of the habits and character of the free German conqueror. At length, though at a much later period, the tenure of land implying military service, as the land came more and more into the hands of the clergy, the ecclesiastic would be embarrassed more and more by his double function; till at length we arrive at the Prince Bishop, or the feudal Abbot, alternately with the helmet and the mitre on his head, the crozier and the lance in his hand; now in the field in the front of his armed vassals, now on his throne in the church in the midst of his chanting choir.^d

^d The first bishops who appeared in arms, and actually slew their enemies, shocked Gregory of Tours. "Salarius et Sagittarius fratres atque

All things throughout this great social revolution tended to advance and consolidate the sacerdotal power. The clergy, whether as among the Goths and other Arian nations, who had their own bishops, or among the Franks, where they were revered for their intellectual as well as their spiritual superiority, became more completely a separate and distinct corporate body, filling up their own ranks by their own election, with less and less regard even to the assent of the laity; for the barbarous laity, of another race, ceased to pretend to any share of the election of the clergy. They possessed more completely the power of ecclesiastical legislation. In the confusion and breaking up of all ancient titles to property, more would be constantly falling into their hands. The barbarians for the good of their souls would abandon more readily lands which they had just acquired by the sword, and of which they had hardly learned the value; while the Romans, in perpetual danger of being forcibly despoiled, would more easily make over to the safer custody of Churchmen, lands which under such protection they might more securely cultivate. Already in France the kings are jealous of their vast acquisitions; King Chilperic hated the clergy for this reason, and was hated by them with emulous intensity. He complained that all the wealth of the crown was swal-

episcopi qui non cruce cœlesti muniti, sed galeâ aut lanceâ sæculari armati, multos manibus propriis quod pejus est, interfecisse referuntur."—iv. 41. Compare v. 17.—Merovingian France still offers the most startling anomalies. While thus advancing in power, their persons are not sacred in these wild times. The Bishop of Marseilles is exposed to cruel usage. Even the strong feeling of caste has lost its

influence. They are murdered and burned with as little remorse as the profane. Gregory, who stands up on some occasions for their inviolability, on others despondingly acquiesces in their fate; if not in its justice, in its being too much in the common order of things to shock public feeling. Some of them, by his own account, richly deserved their doom.

lowed up by the Church.^e The Church revenged itself by consoling visions of Chilperic's damnation. The jurisdiction of the bishops, at first confined to strictly religious concerns, would gradually extend itself, perhaps from confidence in their superior justice, their intellectual superiority, the absence or the deficiency of the administrators of the Roman law, under which everywhere the Romans still lived. Where other magistrates were suppressed, or had forfeited or abandoned their functions, they would become the sole magistrates. Causes regarding property, bequests, and others of a more intricate kind, which might perplex the greater simplicity of the barbaric codes, or embarrass the straightforward justice of barbaric tribunals, would be referred to their superior wisdom. The bishops thus gradually became more independent of their college of presbyters; they grew into a separate order in the State as well as in the Church.

Nor can it be wondered that partly in self defence, partly for his own relative aggrandisement, the weaker and conquered Roman, conscious of his intellectual superiority—especially the Roman ecclesiastic—should abuse his power, and make, as it were, reprisals on the rude and ignorant barbarian conqueror.^f His own religion would become more and more superstitious, for the more superstitious the more awful. Art and cunning are the natural and constant weapons of enfeebled civilisation against strong invading barbarism. Through-

^e "Aiebat enim plerumque, ecce pauper remanet fiscus noster, ecce divitiæ nostræ ad ecclesias translatae: nulli penitus nisi soli episcopi regnant; perit honos noster, et translatus est ad episcopos civitatum."—vi. 46.

^f The Jews were their rivals in wealth. Cantinus, the cruel Bishop of Tours, has large money dealings with the Jews. Eufrañius borrows large sums of the Jews to buy the same bishopric.—iv. 35.

out the period the strongest superstitious terrors cross the most lawless and most cruel acts.^g There are several curious instances in the Frankish annals in which the ecclesiastical kindred speaks more strongly to the alarmed conscience than that of blood to the heart. Those who without compunction, murder their nearest relatives, their children or their husband, have some reluctance to shed the blood of those whom they have held over the baptismal font. Brunehaut spares Borthefrid because she has been godmother to his daughter.

The ecclesiastics must have been almost more than men, certainly far beyond their time, to have resisted the temptation of what would seem innocent or beneficent fraud, to overawe or to control the ignorant barbarian.

The good Bishop Gregory of Tours is himself concerned in an affair in which the violence and religious fears of King Chilperic singularly contrast with the subtlety of the ecclesiastics. Chilperic sends a letter to St. Martin of Tours requesting the Saint to inform him whether he might force Meroveus out of the sanctuary. It will hardly be doubted that he received an answer; and that the majesty of the sanctuary suffered no loss. St. Martin of Tours was the great oracle of the Franco-Latin kingdoms:^h kings flock to his shrine to make their offerings, to hear his judgements. No two cities in the north of France, not even the royal residences, approached the two great ecclesiastical capitals, Rheims and Tours. Lands and wealth were poured at the feet of the Church. Dagobert bestowed twenty-seven ham-

^g A bishop of Rheims gives a safe conduct under oath on a chest of relics; but having first stolen away the relics, holds the oath not binding.—Fredegar. c. 97. Eichhorn quotes a similar

fraud of Hatto, Archbishop of Mainz. —i. p. 514.

^h Michelet writes in his flashing way, "Ce que Delphes était pour la Grèce."

lets or towns on the monastery of St. Denys.ⁱ His son bestowed on St. Remaclus of Tongres twelve square leagues in the forest of Ardennes.^k The Church of Rheims possessed vast territories, some of which it may have received from the careless and lavish bounty of Clovis himself; much more, by a pious anachronism, was made to rest on that ancient and venerable tenure.^m

ⁱ Gesta Dagobert. c. 35.

^k This subject is resumed when the clergy are considered as co-legislators with the Teutonic kings and people.

^m Vit. S. Sigebert. Austras., c. 4. Script. Franc. See the curious passage in Frodoard, quoted by **Michelct.**

CHAPTER III.

Theodoric the Ostrogoth.

THE Ostrogothic kingdom of Italy shows the earliest, and not the least noble form of this new society, which grew out of the yet unfused elements of the Latin and Teutonic races. To the strong opposition between the barbarian and Roman parts of the community was added the almost stronger contrast of religious difference. The Sovereign of Italy, the civil monarch of the Papal diocese, was an Arian.

Theodoric's invasion of Italy was the migration of a people, not the inroad of an army.^a His Goths were accompanied by their wives and children, with all the moveable property which they had possessed in their settlements in Pannonia. Theodoric had extorted from the gratitude and the fears of the Eastern Emperor, if not a formal grant of the kingdom of Italy, a permission to rescue the Roman West from the dominion of Odoacer. The Herulian king, after two great battles, and a siege of three years in Ravenna, wrested from Theodoric a peace, by the terms of which the Herulian and the Gothic monarchs were to reign over Italy in joint sovereignty. Such treaty could not be lasting. Odoacer, either the victim of treachery, or his own treacherous designs but anticipated by the

^a Compare, on the number of the Gothic invaders, Sartorius, *Essai sur l'État Civil et Physique des Peuples* d'Italie sous le Gouvernement des Goths, note, page 242.

superior craft and more subtle intelligence of Theodoric, was assassinated at a banquet.^b The Herulians were dispossessed of the third portion of the lands which they had extorted from the Roman proprietors, and dispersed, some into Gaul, some into other parts of the Empire. The Gothic followers of Theodoric took their place, and Theodoric, the Ostrogoth, commenced a reign of thirty-three years, in which Italy reposed in peace under his just and vigorous and parental administration. A.D. 493-526.

Throughout the conquest, and the establishment of the Gothic kingdom, the increasing power and importance of the Christian ecclesiastics forces itself upon the attention. They are ambassadors, mediators in treaties, decide the wavering loyalty or instigate the revolt of cities. Even before the expiration of the Empire, Glycerius abdicates the throne, and retires to the bishopric of Salona, not, it should seem, from any strong religious vocation, or weariness of political intrigue. He is afterwards concerned in the murder of another of his short-lived successors, the Emperor Nepos, and is promoted, as the reward of his services, to the Archbishopric of Milan. Epiphanius, the Bishop of Pavia, bears to Theodoric at Milan the surrender and offer of allegiance from that great city. John, the Bishop, was employed by Odoacer to negotiate the treaty of Ravenna.^c Before this time, whenever a difficult negotiation occurred, Epiphanius was persuaded to

^b The most probable view of this transaction is, that the Herulian chieftains, impatient of the equal dominion of the Goths, had organised a formidable insurrection, of which Odoacer, possibly not an accomplice, was never-

theless the victim. The Byzantine writers, Procopius, Marcellinus, betray their hatred. Eunodius and Cassiodorus of course favour Theodoric. Gibbon declares against him.

^c Procop. l. i. c. i. p. 9, Edit. Bonn.

undertake it. He had been ambassador from Ricimer to Anthemius, from Nepos to Euric the Visigoth. Theodoric admired the dignified beauty and esteemed the saintliness of character in the Catholic Epiphanius, and perhaps intended that his praises of the bishop should be heard in Pavia, where from his virtues and charities, he enjoyed unbounded popularity: "Behold the man whose peer cannot be found throughout the West: he is the great bulwark of Pavia;—to his care I may entrust my wife and children, and devote myself entirely to war."^d Epiphanius was permitted to plead the cause of the Herulians who had risen in arms in the north of Italy after the death of Odoacer. The eloquence of the bishop arrested the inexorable vengeance or justice of Theodoric. He was employed even on a more apostolic mission—to rescue from slavery those who had been sold or had fled into slavery beyond the Alps. Gundobald the Burgundian and his chieftains melted at the persuasive words of Epiphanius, who entered Pavia at the head of 6000 bond-slaves, rescued by his influence from slavery. Epiphanius made a third journey to Ravenna, to obtain a remission of taxes in favour of his distressed people.^e

The Ostrogothic kingdom was an intermediate state between the Roman Empire and the barbarian monarchies. It was the avowed object of Theodoric to fuse together the Teutonic vigour with the Roman civilization, to alloy the fierceness of the Gothic temperament with the social culture of Italy.^f

^d Ennodii Vita Epiphan.

^e Ennodius says of Epiphanius,—
"Inter dissidentes principes solus esset,
qui pace frueretur amborum."—p.
1011. He even overawed the fierce

Rugians, at one time masters of Pavia.

^f "Ii semper fuerint (Gothi, sc.) in laudis medio constituti, ut et Romanorum prudentiam caperent, et virtutem gentium possiderent. . . . Consuetudine

The Romans still held many of the chief civil offices. Liberius, Symmachus, Boethius, Cassiodorus, were the ministers of the Gothic king. Yet the two elements of the society had no tendency to assimilation or union; the justice and wisdom of the king might mitigate, he could not reconcile this discord, which could only be finally extinguished by years of mutual ^{very imper-}fect intercourse, by intermarriages, and above all by perfect community of religious faith. The Gothic and the Roman races stood apart in laws, in usages, in civil position, as well as in character. Possessors, by the right of conquest, of the one-third of the lands in Italy, of which they exacted the surrender, and for which they tacitly engaged to protect the whole from foreign invasion,⁸ the Goths settled as an armed aristocracy among a people who seemed content to purchase their security at the price of one-third of their possessions. This transfer was carried on with nothing of the violence and irregularity of plunder or confiscation, but with the utmost order and equity. It was, in truth, but a new form of the law of conquest, which Rome had enforced,

nostra feris mentibus inseratur donec truculentus animus vivere velle consuescat."—Cassiod. Var. Epist. iii. 23. In another passage he exhorts the Goths to put on the manners of the toga, and to cast off those of barbarism. "Intelligite homines non tam corporeâ vi quam ratione præferri."—Lib. iii. Epist. 17. When he invaded Gaul, Theodoric declared himself the protector of the Romans: "Delectamur jure Romano vivere quos armis vindicamus. . . . Nobis propositum est, Deo juvante, sic vivere, ut subjecti se doleant nostrum dominium tardius

acquisisse."—iii. 43. But the most clear and distinct indication of his views is in the formula for the appointment of the Count of the Goths: "Unum vos amplectatur vivendi votum, quibus unum esse constat imperium." The anonym. Vales. says that the poor Roman (miser) affected to be a Goth, the rich (utilis) Goth to be a Roman.

⁸ "Vos autem Romani magno studio Gothos diligere debetis, qui in pace numerosos vobis populos faciunt, et universam rempublicam per bella defendunt."—Cassiod. vii. 3.

first upon Italy, afterwards on the world. Nor was it an obsolete and forgotten hardship, the expulsion of a free, and flourishing, and happy peasantry from their paternal homesteads, and hereditary fields; they were only like those more partial no doubt, but more cruel ejections, when the conquering Triumvir, during the later republic, confiscated whole provinces, and apportioned them among his own soldiery.^h The followers of Odoacer had already, if not to so great an extent, enforced the same surrender, and the Goth only expelled the Herulian from his newly acquired estate. Large tracts in Italy were utterly desolate and uncultivated—almost the whole under imperfect culture.ⁱ This, in the best times of the Roman aristocracy, had been the natural and recorded consequence of the vast estates accumulated by one proprietor, and cultivated by slaves or at best by poor métayers, and was now aggravated by the general ruin of that aristocracy, the difficulty of maintaining slaves, and the effects of long warfare. This revolution at least assisted in breaking up these overgrown properties, combining as it did with constant alienations to the Church, and afterwards to monasteries. Agriculture in Italy received a new impulse,^k the more necessary, as it ceased to

Division of
lands.

^h Theodoric considered that he had succeeded to the right of the Roman people in apportioning land: he prohibited the forcible entrance upon farms without authority.

ⁱ "Vides universa Italiae loca originariis viduata cultoribus." Read the whole speech of Theodoric to Epiphanius of Pavia on the desolation especially of Liguria.—Ennod. Vit. p. 1014. "Latifundia perdidere Italiam,"

the axiom of all the Roman economists.

^k It is curious that most of these edicts prohibit *exportation*. See Cassiodorus, Var. Lib. i. 31, 34, 35 (a strange document in point of style). Lib. ii. 12, is a prohibition of the export of bacon, an important article of food; 20 gives orders to send corn from Ravenna to Liguria, which was suffering famine. The Gothic army is

command foreign resources. The harvests of the East, and of Egypt and Libya, had long been assigned to the maintenance of the new capital; and Western Africa, desolated by the Vandals, no longer poured in her supplies. Theodoric watched with parental solicitude the progress of agriculture, and the irregular and uncertain supplies of corn to his Italian subjects, who were now thrown on their own resources. His correspondence is full of orders on this important subject. Italy began to export corn. The price, both of corn and wine, fell to a very moderate amount.¹

The Gothic king claimed all the imposts formerly paid to the imperial treasury; the Curiaë were still responsible for the collection, but Theodoric inculcated moderation in the exaction of the Imperial claims.^m The Goths appear to have been liable to the same taxes with the Romans.ⁿ The clergy had as yet no immunities. Theodoric himself aspired to be the impartial sovereign of both races. In him met and blended the Roman and the Goth: in peace he exchanged the Gothic military dress for the purple of the Roman Emperor.^o He preserved the ancient titles both of the Republic and of the Empire. He appointed Consuls, Patricians, Quæstors, as well as Counts of largesses, of provinces, and some of the more servile titles of the East.^p The conqueror was earnestly desirous

Theodoric.

Gaul was supported by the province, not from Italy (iii. 41, 2), and during a famine Southern Italy and Sicily relieved Gaul (iv. 5, 7). On the other hand, Theodoric endeavoured to obtain corn from Spain for the supply of Rome; but it seems the dealers had found a better market in Africa (v. 35).

¹ "Sexaginta modios tritico um in

solidum ipsius tempore fuerunt, et vinum triginta amphoræ in solidum."

—Anon. Vales. Without ascertaining the exact relative value, we may infer that these were unusually low prices.

^m Var. i. 19, iv. 19.

ⁿ iv. 14.

^o Muratori *Annal. d'Italia*, iv. 380.

^p See the sixth book of the *Epistles*.

to secure for his Italian subjects the blessings of peace: though his arms were employed in Gaul for thirty out of thirty-three years of his reign, Italy, under his dominion, escaped the ravages of war.^q The police was so strict throughout Italy, that merchants thronged from all parts. A man might leave his silver or gold as safely on his farm as in a walled city.^r He bequeathed peace to his successors; he encouraged all the arts of peace. The posts were arranged on a new and effective footing.^s The great roads, the bridges, the ruined walls, and falling buildings were restored to their ancient strength and splendour. Verona, Pavia,^t above all Ravenna, were adorned with new palaces, porticos, baths, amphitheatres, basilicas, and, doubtless, churches. In the latter city Theodoric avowedly aimed at rivalling the magnificence of Rome; but Rome was not plundered or sacrificed to the new capital. The care of Theodoric was extended to the restoration of her stately but injured edifices.^u The Cloacæ, which excited the wonder of the barbarians, and distinguished Rome from all other cities, were to be repaired entirely at the public cost.^x The water from the aqueducts was no longer to be directed to private use, for the turning of mills, or irrigation of gardens, but devoted to the general

^q Ennodius says, in Vit. Epiphan.—“Cujus post triumphum spoliatum vagina gladium nullus aspexit.”—p. 1012. “Ergo præclarus et bonæ voluntatis in omnibus, qui regnavit annos xxxiii. cujus temporibus felicitas est sequuta Italiam per annos xxx. ita ut etiam pax pergentibus esset (*Pergentibus* successoribus ejus).”—Wagner's note, Anonym. Vales.

^r Anonym. Vales.

^s Epist. i. 29, iv. 47, v. 5.

^t Anonym. Vales. This writer, in his admiration of the golden age of Theodoric, declares that he did not repair the gates of the cities, as, being now never closed, the inhabitants entering and going out by night as well as by day, they had become of no use. “Hoc per totam Italiam augurium habebat, ut nulli civitatis portas faceret.”

^u Var. i. 21. Compare ii. 34.

^x Var. iii. 30.

benefit of the citizens.^y The prefect of the city and his lieutenant, the Count of Rome, and the public architect^z were especially charged to keep up the forests of stately buildings, the statues which peopled the city, the herds of equestrian images.^a In these terms the barbarians expressed their astonishment at the yet inexhausted treasures of art in the imperial city. The florid panegyric of Theodoric describes the aged city as renewing her youth; noble edifices were completed nearly as soon as planned. Theodoric is almost a second Romulus—as it is greater to ward off the fall, than to have commenced the foundations of a city.^b

When Theodoric appeared in Rome, the Emperor might seem to revive in greater power and majesty than he had displayed since the days of Theodosius the Great. The largesses of corn were distributed, though to a smaller population, with a liberality which rivalled the earlier days of the Empire.^c

Though himself taking no pleasure in savage or idle amusements, the barbaric king, considering such sub-

^y Var. iii. 31.

^a On the general policy of Theodoric in this respect, “Decet principem cura, quæ ad rem publicam præstat augendam, et verè dignum est regem ædificiis palatia decorare. Absit enim ut ornatum cedamus veterum, qui impares non sumus beatitudini sæculorum.”—Var. i. 6. “Decora facies imperii, testimonium præconiale regnorum.”—Var. vii. 5.

^a “Mirabilis sylva manium, populus statuarum, greges equorum.”—Var. vii. 5: compare vii. 13, 16. These latter are the formularies for the appointment of the Comes Romanus, and the architect of the public works.—

Ennod. apud Sirmond. p. 967.

^b Theodoric commands *marmorarii* to be sent from Ravenna to Rome: these were workers in mosaic (we hear nothing of painters or sculptors), which art the barbarians seem to have especially admired. “Qui eximie divisa conjungunt et venis colludentibus illigata naturalem faciem laudabiliter mentiuntur. . . . De arte veniat, quod vincat naturam, discoloria crusta marmorum gratissimâ picturarum varietate texantur.”—Var. i. 6.

^c Anonym. Vales. Compare the formulary for the appointment of the *Præfectus annonæ*.

jects not quite beneath the care of the sovereign, perhaps not without some politic design to occupy the proud and turbulent metropolis, indulged his subjects with their ancient spectacles, in such pomp as to recall the famous names of Trajan and Valentinian.^d The gladiators alone had been suppressed by the influence of Christian opinion; and even if humanity had not won this triumph, Rome had no longer barbarian captives whom she could devote to the carnage of these mimic wars. But the arena was still open to the combats of wild beasts.^e The pantomimes, of which alone Theodoric speaks with interest, were frequent and splendid.^f The chariot races were attended with all the old passionate ardour, and the contending colours were espoused with fanatic zeal by the opposite factions, on which the Sovereign, though he did not condescend to take a part, looked with indulgence. He allowed the utmost licence to the expression of public feeling, and strongly reprobated the officious or haughty interference of the Senate for attempting to repress this legitimate freedom.^g

But Theodoric, in his religious character, is the chief object of our study. The Christian sovereign must find

^d Anonym. Vales. The edicts are prefaced with a kind of apology. "Licet inter gloriosas reipublicæ curas . . . pars *minima* videatur, principem de spectaculis loqui, tamen pro amore reipublicæ Romanæ non pigebit has cogitationes intrare."—Var. i. 20.

^e Var. v. 42, where the feritas spectaculi is reprobated. Among Theodoric's buildings is mentioned an amphitheatre at Pavia.

^f He calls it a wonderful art, which is often more expressive than language.—Var. i. 20.

^g "Mores autem graves in spectaculo quis requirit? Ad Circum nesciunt convenire Catones."—i. 27. It is evident that the senate and the people had taken different sides. The senators are reprobated for introducing their armed slaves among the audience. On the other hand, the complaint of a senator of personal insult was to be carried before the prætorian præfect. There is a remarkable tone of good-humoured moderation in all the edicts; compare Var. i. 27, 30 to 33.

his proper place in the history of Christianity. The King of the Ostrogoths not merely held together in peace and amity the two races, the Roman and the barbarian, but even the Orthodox and the Arian reposed throughout his reign, if not in friendly quiet, at least without any violation of the public peace.

It was fortunate, perhaps, that in a state so divided, the Sovereign was of the religion of the few. He escaped the temptation to persecute, since it would have been idle to suppose that he could persuade or compel so strong a majority to embrace his detested opinions. If the wise spirit of toleration had not led him to moderate measures, the good sense of the Sovereign would have compelled him to respect the inveterate tenets of the larger, the more intellectually powerful part of his subjects. Still, though his Byzantine education might have warned Theodoric against the danger, if the Sovereign should plunge too deeply into ecclesiastical affairs, his forbearance was nevertheless extraordinary, considering the all-searching, all-pervading activity of his administration; and that the religious supremacy had been so long a declared prerogative of that Imperial power, which had now passed into his hands. Imperial edicts since the days of Constantine had been solicited, respected, enforced by the hierarchs so long as they spoke the dominant doctrine; they had become part of the code of the Empire; even when adverse to the prevailing opinion, they had been always supported by one faction at least, and received with awe by the more indifferent multitudes. The doctrine that the clergy, the bishops, or the Roman Pontiff, were the sole legislators of Christianity, was so precarious and undefined, that we still cannot altogether withhold our admiration

from the wisdom of Theodoric. The Arianism, indeed, of the Goths had not the fresh ardour or burning zeal of recent proselytism. It was a kind of religious accident, arising out of their first conversion, which happened to take place during the reign of an Arian Emperor, and through Arian missionaries. It had settled into a quiet hereditary faith. There was no peculiar congeniality in its tenets with the Teutonic mind, which was rather disposed to receive what it was taught with implicit faith; and, though no doubt averse to the subtleties of the Greek theology, neither comprehended, nor cared to comprehend, these controversies. It was content to adhere to the original creed,^h or, possibly, might feel some pride in differing from the abject race, over which it asserted its civil and military superiority.

The serene impartiality of Theodoric's government in religious affairs extorts the praise of the most zealous Catholic.ⁱ He attempted nothing against the Catholic faith. Towards the close of the Gothic monarchy, the royal ambassadors to Belisarius defied their enemies to prove a case in which the Goths had persecuted the Catholics.^k Theodoric treated the Pope, the Bishops, and Clergy, with grave respect: in the more distinguished, such as Epiphanius, he ever placed the highest esteem and confidence. We shall

^h Salvian is inclined to judge the heresy of the barbarians with charity; perhaps that he might inveigh more fiercely against the vices of the Catholic Romans. "Barbari quippe homines, immo potius humanæ eruditionis expertes, qui nihil omnino sciunt, nisi quod a doctoribus suis audiunt, quod audiunt, sic sequuntur . . . hæretici ergo sunt, sed non scientes."—De

Gubernat. Dei, lib. v.

ⁱ "Nihil contra religionem catholicam tentans," thus writes the anonymous historian, himself a devout Catholic. Ennodius, in praising the religion, forgets the Arianism of Theodoric.—Paneg. p. 971. Anonym. Vales.

^k Procop. de bell. Gothic. li. c. 6.

behold him showing as much reverence, and even bounty, to the Church of St. Peter, as though he had been a Catholic. The poor who were dependent on that Church were maintained by his liberality.^m The Arian clergy also shared in the tolerant sentiments of their King. Of their position, character, influence; of the churches they built or occupied; of their services, of their processions, of their ceremonies; of any aggression or intrigue on their part; of any collision, which we might have supposed inevitable with the Latin clergy, history, and history entirely written by the Catholics, is totally silent; and that silence is the best testimony, either to their unexampled moderation, as the religious teachers of the few indeed, but those few the conquerors and rulers, or to the wiser policy of the King, which could constrain even honest religious zeal. Theodoric himself adhered firmly but calmly to his native Arianism; but, all the conversions seem to have been from the religion of the King; even his mother became a Catholic,ⁿ and some other distinguished persons of the court embraced a different creed without forfeiting the royal favour.^o Theodoric was the protector of Church property,^p which he himself increased

^m Procop. Hist. Arcan., p. 145, edit. Bonn.

ⁿ "Mater Theodorici, Erivileva dicta, catholica quidem erat quæ in baptismo Eusebia dicta."—Anonym. Vales.

^o Note of Valesius to Anonym. at the end of Wagner's Ammianus Marcellinus, page 399.—Var. x. 34 a. 26. These cases belong to the successors of Theodoric. With Gibbon, I reject the story of his beheading a Catholic priest for turning Arian in order to

gain his favour! It is most probable that the man had been guilty of some capital crime, and sought to save his life by apostacy. It was not improbable either Theodorus or Count Odoin, who had formed a conspiracy against him in Rome, and was beheaded for his treason: compare Hist. Miscel. p. 612.

^p Var. iv. 17, orders to his general Ibas in Gaul to restore certain lands to the Church of Narbonne.

by large grants.^a This property, with some exceptions, was still liable to the common imposts. His wise finance would admit no exemptions, but in gifts he was prodigal to magnificence. The clergy were amenable to the common law of the Empire, and were summoned before the royal courts (the stern law would not be eluded) for all ordinary crimes;^r but all ecclesiastical offences were left to the ecclesiastical authorities.^s Nor, although the Herulian Odoacer had claimed and exercised the right of confirming the Papal election, did Theodoric interfere in those elections until compelled by the sanguinary tumults which distracted the city. Even then he interfered only as the anxious guardian of the public peace, and declined the arbitration between the conflicting claims, which both parties, hoping for his support, endeavoured to force on the reluctant monarch.

The feuds of the Roman clergy, which broke out on the customary occasion of the election of a new Pope, and brought them to the foot of their Arian sovereign, may be traced back to a more remote source. Anastasius II., as has been seen, during his short pontificate, had deviated into the paths of peace and conciliation. He had endeavoured by

A.D. 498.
Contested
election for
the Popedom.

^a "If," he writes to Count Geberic, "in our piety, we bestow lands on the church, we ought to maintain rigidly what she possesses already."—Var. iv. 20.

^r Januarius, Bishop of Salona, is sued for a debt, though for lights for the church; a Bishop Peter for the restitution of an inheritance; the Priest Laurence for sacrilegious violation of a tomb in search of treasure; Artony, Bishop of Pola, for the restitution of a

house: compare Du Roure, *Hist. de Théodoric*, i. p. 358.

^s See the celebrated privilege accorded to the clergy of Rome by Athalaric.—Var. viii. 24. This, however, was no more than arbitration. "Exceptos a tramite justitiæ non patimur inveniri."—Cassiod. ii. 29. Yet Theodoric, from respect, was unwilling to punish a priest. "Scelus quod nos pro sacerdotali honore relinquitur impunitum."—iv. 18.

mildness and by no important concession (he insisted not on the condemnation of Acacius), to reunite the Churches of Rome and Constantinople. This unwonted policy had apparently formed two parties in the Roman clergy, one inclined to the gentler measures of Anastasius, the other to the sterner and more inexorable tone of his predecessors. Each party elected their Pope, the latter the Deacon Symmachus, the former the Archpresbyter Laurentius.^t The rival Pontiffs were consecrated on the same day, one in the Lateran Church, the other in that of St. Mary. At the head of the party of Laurentius, stood Festus or Faustus Niger, the chief of the Senatorial order. He had been the ambassador of Theodoric at Constantinople, to demand the acknowledgment of the Goth as King of Italy. He had succeeded in his mission; perhaps had been prevailed upon to attempt the reconciliation of the two Churches, either by persuading the acceptance of the Henoticon by the Roman clergy, or more probably on the terms of compromise approved by Pope Anastasius. The two factions encountered with the fiercest hostility; the clergy, the senate, and the populace were divided; the streets of the Christian city ran with blood, as in the days of republican strife.^u The conflicting claims of the prelates were brought before the throne of Theodoric. The simple justice of the Goth decided that the bishop who had the greater number of suffrages, and had been first consecrated,

Dec. 22,
A.D. 499.

^t Anastasius died Nov. 17.—Muratori, sub ann.

^u Each party charged the other with these cruelties. The author of the Hist. Miscell. asserts that Festus and Probinus, of the party of Laurentius, slew in the midst of Rome the

greater part of the clergy and a great number of citizens: a fragment of a writer on the other side (published by the impartial Muratori) ascribes these acts of violence, slaughter, and pillage, with many other vices, to Symmachus. Compare Annal. d'Ital. sub ann. 498.

had the best right to the throne. Symmachus was acknowledged as Pope: he held a synod at Rome which passed two memorable decrees, one almost in the terms of the old Roman law, severely condemning all ecclesiastical ambition, all canvassing, either for obtaining subscriptions, or administration of oaths, or promises for the papacy during the lifetime of the Pope; ^v the other declared the election to be in the majority of the clergy, thus virtually abrogating the law of Odoacer. Laurentius (the rival Pope was present at this synod) subscribed its decrees, ^w and returned to the more peaceful, perhaps to a wise man, the more enviable bishopric of Nocera.

During this interval of peace, Theodoric for the first time visited the imperial city. He was met Theodoric in Rome. March A.D. 499. by Pope Symmachus at the head of his clergy, by the Senate, which still numbered some few old and famous names, Anicii, Albini, Marcelli, and by the whole people, who crowded with demonstrations of the utmost joy around their barbarian sovereign. Catholic and Arian, Goth and Roman, mingled their acclamations. Theodoric performed his devotions in St. Peter's with the fervour of a Catholic. In the Senate he swore to maintain all the imperial laws, the rights and privileges of the Roman people. He celebrated the Circensian games, in commemoration of all his triumphs, with the utmost magnificence; ordered a distribution of one hundred and twenty bushels of corn

^v It was the language of the law de Ambitu, applied to ecclesiastical distinctions. It is enacted "propter frequentes ambitus quorundam, et ecclesiæ puritatem, vel populi collisionem, quæ molesta et iniqua in-

competenter episcopatum desiderantium generavit aviditas." Labbe, Concil., p. 1313.

^w Baronius sub ann. Muratori has some doubts.

annually to the poor, and set apart two hundred pounds of gold for the restoration of the imperial palace. The Bishop Fulgentius, witness of the splendour of Theodoric's reception, breaks out into these rapturous words: "If such be the magnificence of earth, what must be that of the heavenly Jerusalem!"* Theodoric remained in Rome six months, and then returned to Ravenna.

During all this period, and the three or four following years, the faction of Laurentius were watching their opportunity to renew the strife.[†] Fearful charges began to be rumoured against Symmachus, no less than adultery,[‡] and the alienation of the property of the see. Faustus, his implacable adversary, with the Consul Probinus and great part of the Senate, supported these criminations. The accusation was brought before the judgement seat of Theodoric, supported by certain Roman females of rank, who had been suborned, it was said, by the enemies of Symmachus. Symmachus was summoned to Ravenna, and confined in Rimini. But finding the prejudices in Ravenna darkening against him, he escaped and returned to Rome. Laurentius had also secretly entered the capital. The sanguinary tumults between the two factions broke out with greater fury; priests were sacrilegiously slain, monasteries fired, and even sacred virgins treated with the utmost indignity. The Senate petitioned the King to send a visitor to judge the cause of the Pontiff. A royal commission was issued to Peter,

Charges
against Sym-
machus.

Tumults in
Rome.

A.D. 503.

* Anonym. Vales. Vita B. Fulgentii.

† There are two accounts of these transactions,—one that of Anastasius Bibliothecarius, or the anonymous papal biographer, favourable to Symmachus; the other the anonymous

Veronensis, published by Muratori. I have endeavoured to harmonize them. Both agree that some years elapsed between the accession of Symmachus and this new contest.

‡ Anonym. Veron.—confirmed by Ennodius, p 1366.

Bishop of Altino. But instead of a calm mediator between the conflicting parties, or an equitable judge, the visitor threw himself into the party of Laurentius.^a The possessions of the Church were, in part at least, seized and withholden from Symmachus; he was commanded to give up the slaves of his household that they might be examined,^b it should seem, by torture according to the ancient usage.^c

Theodoric, still declining the jurisdiction over these ecclesiastical offences, summoned a synod of Italian prelates to meet at Rome. The synod held two successive sessions, and throughout their proceedings may be traced their consciousness of their embarrassing position, which is increased as the reports of these proceedings have passed through later writers.^d They were assembled under the authority of a layman, an heretical sovereign, too powerful to be disobeyed, and acting with such cautious dignity, justice, and impar-

Synods of Rome.

^a Ennod. Apologet. pro Synod., p. 987.

^b This corresponded with the two heads of accusation. The former provided against the alleged alienation of the church property, the latter referred to that of adultery.

^c This is a remarkable fact, in the first place, showing that slaves formed the household of the Pope, and that, by law, they were yet liable to torture. This seems clear from the words of Ennodius, "Sed, credo, replicabitur: veritatem quam sponte prolata in illis vox habere non poterat, hanc diversis cruciatibus e latebris suis religiosus tortor exegerat, ut dum pœnis corpora solverentur, quæ gesta fuisse noverat anima non celaret." Ennodius is so

obscure and figurative that he may seem to say, in the next sentence, that this proceeding was illegal, perhaps contrary to the canons. He appears to consider it most contumelious that ecclesiastics should be judged on servile evidence.

^d The whole question of the number and dates of the synods held at this time is inextricably obscure. I chiefly follow Muratori. The synodus palmaris is usually considered the fourth. One, in all probability two, were held by Symmachus before this new strife. The fourth was apparently a continuation of the third, but held in a different place—unless the third was one held by Peter of Altino.

tiality as to command respect. They were assembled to judge the supreme Pontiff, the Metropolitan of the west, the asserted, and by most acknowledged, head of Christendom. Symmachus himself had the prudence to express his concurrence in the convocation of this synod. At the first session he set forth to attend the Council. He was attacked by the adverse party, showers of stones fell around him; many presbyters and others of his followers were severely wounded; the Pontiff himself only escaped under the protection of the Gothic guard. The final, named the Palmary, synod was held in some edifice or hall in the palace called by that name; of this assembly the accounts are somewhat more full and distinct. Throughout appears the manifest struggle in the ecclesiastical senate between the duty of submitting to the King, who earnestly urges them to restore peace to Rome and to Italy, and the reluctance to assume jurisdiction over the Bishop of Rome. Some expressions intimate that already the Bishop of Rome was held to be exempt from all human authority, and could be judged by God alone. If the Pope is called in question, the whole episcopacy of the Church is shaken to its foundation.^e

Symmachus, however, had the wisdom to suppress all jealousy of a Council ^f whose authority alone could com-

^e "In sacerdotibus cæteris potest, si quid forte nutaverit, reformari: at si papa urbis vocatur in dubium, episcopatus videbitur, non jam episcopus, vacillare." — Avit. ad Senat. apud Labbe, p. 1365. Avitus uses this argument to the senators of Rome. "Nec minus diligatis in ecclesiâ nostrâ ædem Petri, quam in civitate apicem mundi;" but Avitus acknowledges all priests, even the Pope, to be amenable

to secular tribunals, of course for secular offences, "quia sicut subditos nos esse terrenis potestatibus jubet arbiter cœli; staturos nos ante reges et principes in *quacunque accusatione* prædicens; ita non facile datur intelligi, qua vel ratione, vel lege ab inferioribus (inferior in ecclesiastical order) eminentior judicetur."

^f "Judicia et iste voluit, amavit, attraxit, ingressus est; et quod posset

pletely clear him of these formidable accusations, and which he probably knew to be favourably impressed with his innocence. With the full authority of a synod of one hundred and twenty bishops he resumed the pontifical throne, without having compromised his dignity by thus condescending to their jurisdiction. In the wording of the sentence the Council claims at once the authority of the Holy Ghost, yet confines the justification of Pope Symmachus to immunity and freedom from censure before men; ^g it leaves to the secret counsel of God the ultimate decision which they might not presume to pronounce; ^h nevertheless, with inconsistency, which it is difficult to understand, they seem to grant permission to the Pope to offer the divine mysteries to the Christian people in all the churches of his jurisdiction.ⁱ

fideli corda doloris justi aculeis excitare, venerando concilio etiam contra se si mereretur, indulsit.—Ennod., p. 981.

^g “Quantum ad homines respicit (quia totum causis obsidentibus superius designatis, constat arbitrio divino fuisse dimissum) sit immunis et liber, et Christianæ plebi sine aliquâ de objectis oblatione, in omnibus ecclesiis suis, ad jus sedis suæ pertinentibus, tradat divina mysteria.”—Labbe, p. 1325.

^h Considering the horror in which the crime of adultery was held in an ecclesiastic, we can scarcely suppose, either that the severe Theodoric would not have driven him from his presence, or that an assemblage of prelates would have attempted to shield a pontiff, of precarious and disputed title, without full and conclusive evidence of his guiltlessness.

ⁱ The decisions of this synod were indeed impeached by the enemies of

Symmachus, and Ennodius found it necessary to vindicate them in an apology, as he thought, eloquent, and therefore in parts altogether unintelligible, at least so as to give but obscure glimpses of the facts. He would seem, perhaps only figuratively, to retort the charge of adultery against the partisans of Laurentius.—p. 992. At the close, Ennodius personifies Rome, who has still some compunctious feelings for the inevitable damnation of all her older heroes. “Quæ Curios, Torquatos, Camillos, quos Ecclesia non regeneravit, et reliquos misi, plurimæ prolis infœcunda mater, ad Tartarum, dum exhaustis emarcui male fœta visceribus; quia Fabios servata patria non redemit, Decius multo sudore gloria parta nil præstitit: profligata est operum sine fide innocentia: criminosis junctus est, æquæ observantissimus Scipio.”—p. 993 apud Sirmond.

Content with having restored peace to the Roman see, Theodoric kept aloof from the religious ^{Affairs of the East.} dissensions which brooded in deepening darkness over the East. The Gothic king was devoting himself, dare we not say, to the more Christian office of maintaining the peace, securing the welfare, promoting the civilisation, lightening the financial burthens of his people; * he was exercising for the benefit of Italy, the virtues of wisdom, justice, and humanity. His foreign wars in Pannonia, with a horde of the Bulgarian race, in Gaul, in defence of his kindred the Visigoths against the ambitious Franks, brought fame to the king, without disturbing the repose, or interrupting the progress of improvement in Italy. Far different was the state of the East; the long religious quarrel in which the Emperor Anastasius had been engaged, had shaken its throne to the base, it needed only a successful insurrection to degrade it to still lower humiliation.

The Pope Symmachus watched no doubt with profound interest the holy war which had now broken out in the East. The polemic controversies had become the causes or pretext of revolt and battles. The formidable Scythian Vitalianus (with whom Theodoric had some political connexion on account of the hostilities in which he had been involved on the Dacian frontier with the Eastern empire) had raised the standard of rebellion and of orthodoxy against the aged Anastasius. Symmachus did not live to witness the sad latter years of the Em-

* "Sensimus auctas illationes, vos addita tributa nescitis. Ita utcumque sub admiratione perfectum est, ut et fiscus crescebat, et privata utilitas nulla damna perferret."—Var. ii. 16.
The panegyric of Ennodius must be

read with that reserve which these eloquent adulations suggest; but, on the other hand, it must be remembered that Ennodius was a Catholic and a bishop.

peror Anastasius; the revolt of Vitalianus; the hollow peace on the hard conditions of religious submission; the full acceptance of the Council of Chalcedon, the restoration of the exiled Catholic Bishops, and the summoning an Œcumenic Council at Heraclea.

His successor Hormisdas^m reaped the fruits of the humiliation of the Eastern Emperor, and became, though at first the vassal, at least the humble subject of the Arian Theodoric, the dictator of the religion of the world. Anastasius in his helpless state sought the mediation not of the civil but of the religious sovereign of Italy. He might justly fear

Theodoric; himself had once some years before entered into suspicious alliance with Clovis the Frank; he had meditated or threatened a descent on the coast of Italy. The Emperor addressed a letter to Hormisdas, the fame of whose mild disposition tempted him to renew a correspondence broken off by the harshness of former Popes. But Hormisdas, while he warmly approved the Emperor's disposition to peace and unity, declined this flattery at the expense of his predecessors. Yet, on the whole, the language of the Pope's reply was moderate, neither dissembling nor asserting in too haughty terms the pretensions of his See. The proposed Council of Heraclea came to nothing; a Council in the East, under present circumstances, suited the

policy neither of the Pope, nor of the Emperor.ⁿ Four ambassadors, the Bishops Ennodius and Fortunatus, the Presbyter Venantius, with Vitalis, a deacon, set forth in the name of Pope

^m Hormisdas, Pope from July, 514, | ceedings, is altogether inconsistent with
to Aug. 6, 523. | the whole course of events, as appears
from existing documents.

ⁿ The story in Theophanes as to the
perfidy of Anastasius in these pro-

Hormisdas to Constantinople. Their instructions are extant, a remarkable manual of ecclesiastical diplomacy in a nice and difficult affair. In the <sup>Papal Em-
bassy to Con-
stantinople.</sup> questionable and divided state of the Eastern clergy, especially of Constantinople, as to orthodoxy, the ambassadors were to receive their personal advances with decent courtesy, lest the episcopal character should be lowered in the estimation of the laity; but to avoid all intercourse with men, who might at least be heretics; to receive no presents, not even provisions, only means of conveyance; to incur no obligations, and to decline all invitations to feasts, until they could all meet together at the great feast of the Holy Eucharist. In Constantinople they were to go at once to the lodgings provided by the Emperor, but to avoid all intercourse with their own partisans, till they had presented their credentials to the Emperor.^o Besides these credentials they were armed with letters to Vitalianus, letters however so cautiously worded, that they might acknowledge the possession of them, and though steadily declining to surrender them to the Emperor, might permit them to be read to Vitalianus in the presence of an imperial commissioner. Their instructions, how they were to fix the wavering Emperor, and extort concession after concession, are marked with the same subtle and dexterous policy. They were to demand, I., his unequivocal assent to the Council of Chalcedon, and to the letters of Pope Leo. If he yielded this point, they were to express their

^o There was a preliminary caution that, as it was customary in Constantinople for all persons admitted to the emperor on ecclesiastical business to be presented by the bishop, they were to omit, if possible, receiving this courtesy from Timotheus, and if he should officiously thrust himself in the way, and enforce the right of presentation, to declare that they were directly accredited to the emperor alone.

gratitude and kiss his breast, and then, II., to require him to demand the same assent from all the clergy of the East. If he should assert the general orthodoxy of the clergy, and their disposition to quiet submission, had not affairs been thrown into confusion by certain unadvised letters of Pope Symmachus, they were to declare that those letters, now in their hands, contained only general exhortations to accept the Council of Chalcedon. They were to press this point with prayers and tears, to remind the Emperor of God, and of the day of judgement. Should the Emperor reply, "What would you have? I receive the Council of Chalcedon, and the letters of Leo:" they were to elude any assent to this protest, unless he would issue his imperial letters *compelling* a general union with the Church of Rome. Should the Emperor say, "Will you then receive the Bishop of Constantinople into communion?" Here was the nicest point of all, to avoid the recognition of either of the contending prelates, and so to bring the absolute nomination of the Bishop of Constantinople under the cognisance of the proposed Council, over which Council was to preside the representative of Rome. The instructions even anticipate a dangerous objection, which might occur to Anastasius, that the rival prelate, Macedonius, was a notorious heretic. This, they were to rejoin, is a question to be calmly considered when the Church is restored to unity. "What, should the Emperor say, is my city to be without a bishop?" "The canons," they are to answer, "provide remedies for such a difficulty." But these inexorable terms were not all. Anastasius was not only to be compelled to be a persecutor. Besides the acceptance of the Council of Chalcedon, and the Leonine letters by the Emperor, and the compulsory enforcement of obedience from the clergy, were

demanded from the Emperor, as to be ratified by the Council, III. The public anathema of Nestorius, Eutyches, Dioscorus, and also of their followers, (the maintainers of the Henoticon,) Timotheus Ailurus, Peter of Alexandria, Acacius, formerly Bishop of Constantinople, and Peter of Antioch. IV. The immediate recall from exile of all ecclesiastics in communion with Rome, the causes of their respective banishments to be examined by the Apostolic See. V. The judgement of those accused of persecuting the Catholics to be in like manner submitted to the court of Rome. On the full acceptance of these terms, Hormisdas consented to honour the future Council with his personal presence, not to deliberate but to ratify his own solemn determinations.

But Anastasius was not reduced so low as to submit to these debasing conditions. The condemnation of Acacius was unpopular at Constantinople, the memory of the Bishop dear and sacred to a large party. Anastasius chose this point of resistance. He accepted on his own part the Council of Chalcedon, but why should the living be kept excommunicated from the Church on account of the dead? The terms of Hormisdas could not be enforced without much bloodshed.^p

A.D. 507.

The embassy returned to Rome. Anastasius continued to temporise. An imperial embassy appeared in Rome, accredited to the Senate as well as to the Pope. It entreated the intervention of that venerable body with the glorious Theodoric to unite the afflicted Christian Church and Empire. Hormisdas treated these lay ambassadors, who presumed to interfere in ecclesias-

^p "Grave esse clementia nostra iudicat de ecclesiâ venerabili propter mortuos vivos expelli, nec sine multâ effusione sanguinis scimus posse ea, quæ super hoc scribitis, ordinari."—Epist. Anastas. Labbe, p. 1432.

tical affairs, with supercilious contempt. The churches of Illyria, of which the opinions had as yet hung in doubt, had now given their unqualified adhesion to Hormisdas and the Council of Chalcedon. Far from retracting, he rose in his demands; he condescended indeed to send a second legation, Ennodius, Bishop of Pavia, and Peregrinus, Bishop of Misenum, to Constantinople. His answer by them was a vehement and implacable invective against the memory of Acacius.^q That bishop's communion with the followers of Dioscorus and of Eutyches infected him with their most heinous guilt. All who hated those heretics, must hate Acacius. The crime of Acacius was darker than that of the original authors of the heresy. The condemnation of Acacius, the unpardonable Acacius—Acacius who had claimed equality with the Pope—was now the only obstacle to the peace between Eastern and Western Christendom, a consummation to which the West, even the remotest Gaul (so wrote Hormisdas, alluding to the Catholic Franks) looked forward with eager interest. Anastasius was now more secure upon his throne, his formidable subject, Vitalianus, had lost his power. To his honour, he would not abandon even the memory of Acacius, who had been guilty only of firmly carrying out the Emperor's scheme of toleration; he broke off all further communication with the merciless Prelate. "We may submit to insult, we may endure that our decrees be annulled, but we will not be commanded.^r Hormisdas must await the accession of a new Emperor, Justin, before the Churches of Rome and Byzantium are reunited by the sacrifice of him, who besides his communion with Eutychians, had dared to equal himself with the successor of St. Peter."

^q *Epistola Hormisdæ apud Labbe.*

^r *Epist. Anastas. Labbe p. 1460.*

But with the age and decay of Anastasius the strength of the Chalcedonian party increased rapidly. Timotheus, the Bishop of Constantinople, gave hopes at least, that he would secure himself by timely concession. Hormisdas addressed encouraging letters to the Catholic bishops, and though Anastasius ventured to punish with severity certain monks who strove to stir up rebellion, he dared not to resent this treasonable correspondence with his subjects. The monks in Syria, of that party, appealed from the Emperor, whom they accused of contemptuously rejecting their humble supplications for protection and redress against their rivals, charged with the massacre of their brethren in the church, to the representative of St. Peter and St. Paul.^s

The strife ended with the death, if we are to believe Baronius, the damnation of Anastasius. The death of an old man, at least eighty-one, more likely eighty-eight years of age, was ascribed to the visible vengeance of God. There was a terrible tempest, and that tempest transported away the affrighted soul of the Emperor, or struck him dead by its lightning. His death was revealed to a saint at a great distance, who communicated the awful fact to three of his brethren, intimating at the same time that he himself was summoned to appear before the tribunal of God within ten days, to bear witness against the Emperor.^t This Elias departed before the end of ten days on his charitable errand, so necessary to enlighten Omniscience as to the deeds of a mortal man. So deeply had the passion of hatred, offering itself to the heart in the garb of religious zeal, infected the Christian mind, that Cardinal Baronius, reviving the inexorable

^s Relatio Archimandrit. et Monach. Syriæ apud Labbe, 1461.

^t Baronius, sub ann. 518, with his authorities.

resentment which had slept for centuries, calls upon the Church to sing a hymn of rejoicing over this new Pharaoh, this Emperor, thus, for his resistance to the Pope, judged, damned, and thrust down into hell.

Justin, a rude unlettered Dacian peasant, seized the throne of Constantinople; and there was an instantaneous religious revolution in the Byzantine court and city, and throughout the East. Justin, though ignorant, was known to be of unbending ortho-

doxy. Only six days after his proclamation, the Emperor, with his wife Lupicina, who had been his slave and concubine, and who took the more decorous name of Euphemia, entered the great church.

The populace broke out in acclamations, "Long life to the new Constantine and the new Helena." Their clamours ceased not with these loyal expressions: "Away with the Manicheans, proclaim the Council of Chalcedon." They demanded the degradation of Severus of Antioch, immediate reconciliation with Rome, and even that the bones of the Manicheans (the Emperor Anastasius and his party) should be torn up from their sepulchres. John of Cappadocia, the patriarch of Constantinople, a man of servile mind, though unmeasured ambition, had acquiesced without remonstrance in all the measures of Anastasius. He now ascended the pulpit, declared his adhesion to the four great Councils, especially that of Chalcedon. The populace summoned him to utter his anathema against Severus; the Prelate obeyed. The next day was celebrated a festival in honour of the Council of Chalcedon. John of Cappadocia hastily assembled a Council of forty bishops, which confirmed all the demands of the rabble; Justin ratified their decrees by an imperial edict, commanding the recall of all the exiled bishops, and the expulsion of those who

Accession of
Justin.
July 9, 518.

July 15.

had usurped their sees. A second edict disqualified all heretics from holding civil or military office. The whole East followed the example of the capital, and became orthodox with the orthodox Emperor. Heraclea, Nicæa, Nicomedia, Gangra, Jerusalem, Ptolemais, Tyre, restored the Chalcedonian bishops. Antioch shook off the yoke of Severus. Thessalonica and Alexandria alone made resistance, but were awed into submission. The death of the Eunuch Amantius, who had aspired to dispose of the empire, which he could not usurp himself; by whose gold, entrusted to him for other purposes, Justin had bought the crown; had been demanded as a sacrifice by the populace, and was readily conceded by Justin, his treason being aggravated by his notorious Manicheism. Theocritus, whom he had intended to raise to the empire, shared his unpopularity and his doom. But Vitalianus, the pillar of orthodoxy, met no better fate; he was treacherously invited to Constantinople, promoted to the highest dignity, and in the seventh month of his consulate assassinated by the agents of Justinian, the Emperor's nephew, now clearing the way for his own accession to the throne. Even before these necessary precautions for the security of his reign, the zealous Emperor had opened negotiations with Rome.^a All opposition shrunk away. Hormisdas had the satisfaction not merely of compelling, by the aid of the Emperor, the whole East to accept his theologic doctrines, but his anathemas also of the living and of the dead. At the demand of his legates, the names of Acacius, and all who communicated with him, those of the Emperors Zeno and Anastasius, were erased from the diptychs. John the Patriarch vainly struggled to

^a The first letter of Justin was dated August 1; the second, September 7.

save the blameless names of Euphemius and Macedonius from the same ignominy: they were included with the rest (they were severely orthodox, but they had been guilty of acknowledging Acacius and his successor as legitimate patriarchs);^v yet, nevertheless, the East has continued to reverence them as of undoubted orthodoxy. John however contrived a happy expedient to elude the direct recognition of the supremacy of Rome, by declaring that the Churches of old and new Rome were one.

He assumed, by the permission of Justin, the yet pregnant title of œcumenic Patriarch. So closed the schism which had lasted for thirty-five years. Latin and Greek Christianity held again one creed. East and West were at peace.

Theodoric had stood aloof, whether in contemptuous indifference, or, as he might suppose, intent on nobler objects, from all these intrigues, embassies and negotiations. He left his subject, the Bishop of Rome, to assert, as he might, his ecclesiastical superiority over Constantinople; to league with the rebellious subjects of Byzantium against the eastern Emperor; to treat with Justin almost as an independent sovereign. Theodoric was now at the height of his fame and power, his kingdom of its peace and felicity. His dominion extended without rival, without opposition, from the Alps to Calabria. His sovereignty extended over the ancient provinces of Noricum and Pannonia, and some large adjacent, if not distinctly bounded territories; over the whole south of France, and even parts of Spain. But not all the victories, not all the virtues, not the wisdom, justice, and moderation of Theodoric, nor the prosperity of Italy under his rule, could secure his repose,

March 28,
A.D. 519.

Theodoric at
the height of
prosperity.

^v Compare Walch, vii. p. 109.

or enable him to close his reign without strife, injustice, persecution, and bloodshed. His firm character might overawe the elements of civil dissension, the jealousy of the two races which formed his subjects, and the feeble impatience of Rome under the barbarian sway. It was religious strife which broke up the quiet of his life and reign, and perhaps, by embittering his temper in the decline of his days, by awakening suspicions not altogether groundless, and fears not without warrant, led to the crimes which have so deeply sullied his memory, the death of Boethius and of Symmachus. Notwithstanding the natural repugnance of the Romans to a foreign sway, and the secret dissatisfaction with which the Emperor of the East must have beheld the ^{Catholicism.} West altogether severed from the Roman Empire, yet Theodoric the Goth might have lived and ruled, and transmitted his sceptre in peace to his posterity; but an orthodox empire would not repose in unreluctant submission under an Arian. It was the unity of the Church, upon the accession of Justin, which endangered his government. Heresy, at the head of a prosperous kingdom, and a powerful fleet and army in the West, had commanded respect, so long as Eutychianism, or the no less odious compulsory toleration of the Henoticon, sat on the throne of Constantinople. Catholicism had concentrated all its hatred on the Manicheans, as they were called, who refused the Council of Chalcedon; but no sooner were those dissensions healed, than it began to resent, to look with holy jealousy upon, and to burn with fiery zeal against the older heterodoxy; it would no longer brook the equality of the detested Arians.

The first aggression was confined to the East. Justin in a terrible edict commanded all Manicheans ^{A.D. 523.} to leave the empire on pain of death; all other

heretics, who were ranked with pagans and Jews were incapacitated for all civil and military offices, excepting the Goths, and other foreign soldiers in the service of the empire.* The exception might seem intended to lull the jealousy of Theodoric; yet the Arians of the East could not but see that this, hard measure as it was, was only the beginning of the persecution; they looked to the Sovereign of Italy for protection, for the continued possession of that tacit exemption which they had long enjoyed from the intolerant rigour in force against other heretics. It was precisely at this juncture that rumours were spread abroad of dangerous speeches—at least concerning their independence of the Gothic yoke, the assertion of the liberties of Rome—having been ventured in the capital. Vague intelligence reached Ravenna, of an actual and wide-spread conspiracy which involved the whole Senate; but of which Albinus, the most distinguished Rumours of of the Roman patricians, was the head. Indignation, not without apprehension, at this sudden, conspiracies. and, as it appeared, simultaneous movement of hostility, seized the soul of Theodoric. The whole circumstances of his position demand careful consideration. Nothing could be more unprovoked than the religious measures of Constantinople, as far as they menaced the West, or assailed the kindred of Theodoric in the East or even those who held the same faith. His equity to his Catholic and Arian subjects was unimpeachable; to the Pope he had always shown respectful deference; he had taken no advantage of the contention for the Pontificate to promote his own tenets. Even as late as this very year, he had bestowed on the Church

A.D. 523. Of
Theodoric's
reign 31.

* Theophanes. Cedrenus in loc.

of St. Peter two magnificent chandeliers of solid silver. But the Catholics resented, no doubt, the unshaken justice with which Theodoric had protected the Jews.⁷ At Rome, at Milan, and at Genoa the Jews had been attacked by the irrepressible hostility ^{The Jews.} of the Catholics: their synagogues had been burned or destroyed, or their property unjustly seized. Theodoric compelled the restoration of the synagogues at the public expense. The Catholics had taken the pretext of the demolition of a small chapel dedicated to St. Stephen at Verona, probably for the fortification or embellishment of the city, as another indication of aggression on the part of Theodoric.⁸ These were slight but significant signs of the growing hostility. Nor was it in the East alone that Catholicism menaced the life of Arianism. The Council of Epaona, in Burgundian Gaul, at which bishops from the territories of Theodoric had met, had passed severe canons closing the churches of the Arians.

Though Clovis was now dead, orthodoxy was still the battle-cry of the Franks; in all the Gothic kingdoms the government might dread the prayers, if not the more active interference of the Catholic clergy on the side of their enemies.

It was in connexion with the bad feeling, which caused and was no doubt aggravated by the demolition of the chapel in Verona, that Theodoric took the strong measure of totally disarming the Roman population. He prohibited them from bearing any offensive weapons; the only instrument permitted was a small knife for the common purposes of life.

⁷ Hist. of the Jews, v. iii. p. 56. | may have been anathematised from
⁸ Gibbon supposes that Theodoric | the pulpit of that chapel.

No less doubtful and menacing was the aspect of civil affairs. The heir of Theodoric was a child. State of Theodoric's family. His gallant son-in-law Eutharis, the hopeful successor to his valour, his wisdom, as well as his religious opinions, was now dead. Notwithstanding all her virtues and her accomplishments, Amalasantha, his only daughter, as a female could hardly cope with the difficulties of the times, sole guardian of a boy-king. Theodoric knew that the Emperor of the East in his pride still considered the barbarian king as his vassal, as originally holding Italy by his grant, and so, no doubt, claimed the power of revoking that grant. The Goths might be safe from hostile aggression, so long as the aged Justin, who was sixty-eight years old at his accession, occupied the throne: but he could not be ignorant of the character, the unmeasured and unscrupulous ambition, the unbending orthodoxy of Justinian. Theodoric's prophetic sagacity might well anticipate the events which in a few years would not merely endanger, but extinguish the Italian kingdom of the Goths.

It was at this juncture, when the Emperor of the East might be at least suspected of designs, if he had not committed overt acts, in order to recover and reunite the severed empire; when he might seem to be enlisting all the religious and all the Roman sympathies of Theodoric's subjects in a kind of initiatory treason, in a deep, if yet silent and inactive dissatisfaction, that these dark rumours began to spread of secret intelligence between the Senate of Rome and the East. Men, it is asserted by Boethius himself, of infamous character, yet who had held, and who afterwards held high offices of trust and honour, accused Albinus, the chief of the Senate, of disloyal correspondence with Constantinople.

Albinus was the friend of Boethius. Boethius the

senator the patrician, the descendant and head of the noble Anician family, who connected himself with the old republic by the name of Boethius. Manlius; the philosopher, the theologian, the consummate master of all the arts and sciences known at that period—had been raised to the highest civil honours; not only had he himself received the ensigns of the Consulate, but the father had seen his two sons in the same year raised to that honour, which still maintained its traditionary grandeur in the Roman mind. On the day of their inauguration, Boethius, too, pronounced a panegyric on his munificent Gothic sovereign, and displayed his own magnificence by distributing a noble largess to the people at the games. In his public capacity Boethius had declared himself the protector of the Romans against the oppressions of Theodoric's ministers. He had repressed the extortions of Cunegast, the more violent tyranny of Treguella, the chamberlain of Theodoric's household—(these names betray their Gothic origin). By a dangerous exercise of his authority he had rescued many unfortunate persons from the rapacity of the barbarians; he had saved the fortunes of many other provincials from private exaction, and from unjust and inordinate taxation. He had opposed the Prætorian Prefect in certain measures, by which a famine in Campania would have been greatly aggravated; on this act he had received the public approbation of the King. He had plucked Paullinus, a man of senatorial rank, from the very jaws of those hounds of the palace, who had already in hope devoured his confiscated estate. Such, according to Boethius himself, were his merits towards his own countrymen, the causes of the hostility towards him among the Gothic courtiers of Theodoric. And even under the rigid equity of Theodoric, such

abuses might be almost inevitable in that form of society. Boethius hastened to Verona to confront the accuser Cyprianus, the great referendary, when he heard the accusation of treason against Albinus,^a and in the face of the Emperor declared, "If Albinus is criminal, I and the whole Senate are equally guilty." The generous boldness of Boethius awoke no admiration or sympathy in the heart of Theodoric. Instead of saving his friend, Boethius was involved in his ruin. Three persons, one of whom, Basilus (according to Boethius) had been dismissed ignominiously from the royal service, and whom poverty drove to any crime; two others, Opilio and Gaudentius, who had been exiled, had taken refuge in the sanctuary of a church, and had been threatened, if they should not leave Ravenna in a certain number of days, with branding in the forehead, were admitted as witnesses against Boethius. He was accused of more than hoping for the freedom of Rome. His signature, forged as he declared, was shown at the foot of an address, inviting the Emperor of the East to reconquer Italy.^b Boethius was refused permission to examine the informers. He admits the latent, but glorious treason of his heart. "Had there been any hopes of liberty, I should have freely indulged them. Had I known of a conspiracy against the King, I should have answered in the words of a noble Roman to the frantic Caligula, you would not

^a Gibbon says that Albinus was only accused of *hoping* the liberty of Rome. The Anonym. Vales. declares the charge to have been of treasonable correspondence with the East.

^b The specific charges against Boethius were that he had endeavoured to maintain inviolate the authority of the senate; that he had prevented an informer from forwarding certain documents inculcating the senate to the king; that he had been privy and assenting to an address from the senate to the Emperor of the East.

have known it from me." The King, now, in the words of Boethius, eager to involve the whole Senate in one common ruin,^c condemned Boethius to imprisonment. He was incarcerated in Calvenzano, a castle between Milan and Pavia.^d

In the mean time the religious affairs of the East became more threatening to the kinsmen, and to those who held the same religious creed with Theodoric. The correspondence between the monarchs had produced no effect. Theodoric had written in these words to Justin:—"To pretend to a dominion over the conscience, is to usurp the prerogative of God; by the nature of things the power of sovereigns is confined to political government; they have no right of punishment but over those who disturb the public peace; ^e the most dangerous heresy is that of a sovereign who separates himself from part of his subjects, because they believe not according to his belief." Golden words! but mistimed above twelve hundred years.

Justin coolly answered, that he pretended to no authority over men's consciences, but it was his prerogative to entrust the public offices to those in whom he had confidence; and public order demanding uniformity of worship, he had full right to command the

Correspondence between East and West.

^c Avidus communis exitii.

^d The narrative of these events is perplexed by making, as many writers (following the Anonym. Vales.) have done, the death of Boethius immediately consequent upon his imprisonment. But he had time during that imprisonment to write the *De Consolat. Philosophiæ*.

^e Cassiod. ii. 6, iii. 28. Le Beau (*Hist. du Bas Empire*, T. viii. p. 68)

cites this correspondence between Theodoric and Justin. I have a strong impression that at the time (my invariable practice) I verified the quotation. But I cannot now find it, nor do the references of Le Beau, in general a dry, accurate, uninventive writer, lead to it. That these were the sentiments of Theodoric and Justin might be made out, but I cannot now aver the strict accuracy of the words.

churches to be open to those alone who should conform to the religion of the state. The Arians of the East were thus stripped of all offices of honour or emolument, were not only expelled from the Catholic churches, but their own were closed against them, and they were exposed to all the insults, vexations, and persecutions of their adversaries, who were not likely to enjoy their triumph with moderation, or to repress their conscientiously intolerant zeal. Great numbers who held but loosely to their faith, conformed to the state religion; the more sincere appealed in the strongest terms to the protection of Theodoric. The King of Italy at first maintained something of his usual calm moderation; he declined all retaliation, to which he had been incessantly urged, on the orthodox of the West. He determined on an embassy to Constantinople to enforce upon the Eastern Emperor the wisdom of mutual toleration; the ambassador whom he selected for this mission of peace was the Pope himself, not the vigorous Hormisdas, but John I. who had quietly succeeded to the See of Rome on the death of that Prelate.[†] This extraordinary measure shows either an overweening reliance in Theodoric on his own power, or a confidence magnanimous, but equally unaccountable, a confidence bordering on simplicity, that for his own uninterrupted exercise of justice, humanity, and moderation he had a right to expect the return of fidelity and gratitude. Could he fondly suppose that the loyalty of the Pope would be proof against the blandishments of the Eastern court, that the Bishop of Rome would be zealous in a cause so directly at issue with his own principles? The Pope, summoned to

Theodoric
sends Pope
John to Con-
stantinople.

[†] John, Pope, August 13, A.D. 523.

Ravenna, was instructed to demand of Justin the re-opening of their churches to the Arians, perfect toleration, and the restoration to their former faith of those who on compulsion had conformed to the Catholic religion.^g To the Pope's remonstrances and attempts to limit his mediatorial office, to points less unsuited to his character, Theodoric angrily replied, by commanding the envoys instantly to embark on the vessels which were ready for the voyage.^h The Pope, attended by five other bishops and four senators, set forth on a mission of which it was the ostensible object to obtain indulgence for heretics, heretics under the ban of his Church, heretics looked upon with the most profound detestation.

Hitherto the Pope had remained in his unmoved and stately dignity within his own city. Excepting in the case of the exiled Liberius, he had hardly ventured further than the court of Ravenna, or on such a service as that of Leo to the camp of Attila. The Pope had not even attended any of the great Councils. Aware, as it might almost seem, that much of the awe which attached to his office, arose from the seat of his authority, he had but rarely departed from the chair of St. Peter; and but recently Hormisdas had demanded the unconditional submission of the Emperor of Constantinople to his decrees, as the price of his promised condescension to appear at a Council in that city.

The Pope was received in Constantinople with the most flattering honours, as though he had been St. Peter himself. The whole city, with the Emperor at its head, came forth to meet him with tapers

Pope John
in Constantinople.

^g This seems the meaning of the sentence in the Anonym. Vales. "ut reconciliatos hæreticorum in catholicam restituat religione."—p. 626.

^h Their names in the Anonym. Vales.

and torches, as far as ten miles beyond the gates. The Emperor knelt at his feet and implored his benediction. On Easter day he performed the service in the great Church, Epiphanius the Bishop ceding the first place to the more holy stranger. It was hinted in the West that the Pope had placed the crown on the head of Justin. But of the course and the success of his negotiations all is utterly confused and contradictory. By one account, now abandoned as a later forgery, he boldly confirmed the Emperor in the rejection of all concessions, and himself consecrated all the Arian Churches for Catholic worship.ⁱ By another, he was so far faithful to his mission, as to obtain liberty of worship, and the restitution of their Churches to the Arians. The Emperor refused only the restoration of those Arians who had embraced the Catholic faith.^k

March 30, 525. All that is certainly known is, that John the Pope on his return was received as a traitor by Theodoric, thrown into prison, and there the highest ecclesiastic of the West languished for nearly a year, and died.

But before his return, the deep and wide-spread conspiracy, which Theodoric had discovered, or supposed that he had discovered, led to the death of a far greater man, Boethius, and subsequently to that of the virtuous father-in-law of Boethius, the Senator Symmachus.

Boethius's Consolation of Philosophy. Boethius had lightened the hours in his dreary confinement by the composition of his famous book, the Consolation of Philosophy, the closing work of Roman literature. Intellectually, Boethius was the last of the Romans, and Roman letters may be said to

ⁱ Baronius rested this on a supposititious letter of Isidorus Mercator; ann. 526.

this letter is expcled by Pagi, sub ^k Anonym. Vales. p. 627. Histor Miscell. apud Muratori

have expired with greater dignity in his person, than the Empire in that of Augustulus. His own age might justly wonder at the universal accomplishments of Boethius. Theodoric himself, writing by the hand, and no doubt in the pedantic language of his minister Cassiodorus, had paid homage to his knowledge. "Through him Pythagoras the musician, Ptolemy the astronomer, Nicomachus the arithmetician, Euclid the geometer, Plato the theologian, Aristotle the logician, Archimedes the mechanician, had learned to speak the Roman language." Boethius had mingled in theologic controversy, had discussed the mysterious question of the Trinity without any suspicion of heresy, and steered safely along the narrow strait between Nestorianism and Eutychianism. He is even said, for a time, to have withdrawn to the monastic solitudes, and to have held religious intercourse with Benedict of Nursia, and his followers. All this constitutes the extraordinary, the peculiar character of the Consolation of Philosophy, which appears as the last work of Roman letters, rather than as eminent among Christian writings. It is equally surprising that in such an age and by such a man, in his imprisonment and under the terrors of approaching death, Consolation should be found in Philosophy rather than in Religion; that he should have sought his examples of patience in Socrates with his hemlock cup, or among the arguments of the Garden or the Porch, rather than in the Gospel or the Legends of Christian martyrdom. From the beginning of the book to the end, there is nothing distinctly Christian; its religion is no higher than Theism; almost the whole might have been written by Cicero in exile, or by Marcus Antoninus under some reverse of fortune. The long and enduring popularity of the Consolation of Philosophy during the

dark ages completes the singular and anomalous character of the work itself.

This all-accomplished, all-honoured man was not only torn away from his library, inlaid with ivory and glass, from the enjoyment of ample wealth and as ample honour, from the esteem of his friends and the love of his family, left to pine in a remote and lonely prison, and then released by the public executioner—the manner of his death, if we are to trust our authorities, was peculiarly inhuman. He was first tortured, a cord was tightly twisted round his forehead, whether or not to extort confession of his suspected treason; and he was then beaten to death with a club.^m

Nor was the vengeance of Theodoric satiated with the blood of Boethius. Theodoric, dreading the influence of Symmachus, the head of the Senate, a man of the highest virtues; and suspecting, lest, in his indignation at the death of his son-in-law, he should engage or had engaged in some desperate plot against the Gothic kingdom, summoned him to Ravenna, where his head was struck off by the executioner.ⁿ This was followed by the imprisonment of Pope John, and his death.

Throughout these melancholy scenes, the historian is reduced to a sad alternative. He must either suppose that the clear intellect and generous character of Theodoric had become enfeebled by age; his temper soured by the sudden and harassing anxieties, which seemed to break so unseasonably on the peace of his declining years, and the ingratitude of his Roman subjects for above thirty years of mild and equitable rule; those subjects now would scarcely await his death

^m Anonym. Vales. p. 622

ⁿ Anonym. Vales. p. 627.

to attempt to throw off the yoke, and would inevitably league with the East against his infant heir. Theodoric, therefore, blinded by unworthy suspicions, yielded himself up to the basest informers, and closed a reign of justice and humanity, with a succession of acts, cruel, sanguinary, and wantonly revengeful. Or, on the other hand, he must conclude, that notwithstanding his protestations of innocence, Boethius and his friends, dazzled by patriotic visions of the restoration of the Roman power, or, what is less likely, considering the philosophic tone of his religion, by orthodox zeal, had tampered at least with the enemies of the existing government; and that the Roman Senate looked forward in more than quiet prophetic hope, in actual traitorous correspondence, to that invasion from the East, which took place not many years after the death of Theodoric. Both views are perhaps true. Theodoric was a father, a Goth. Kings discriminate not between the aspirations of their subjects for revolt, and actual plans for revolt; they are bound to be far-sighted; their vision becomes more jealously acute, the more remote and indistinct the objects; treason in men's hearts becomes treason in act. On the other hand, insolent Roman vanity, stern religious zeal, were not likely to be coldly, timorously prudent; desires, hopes would find words; words eager hearers, hearers become informers; and informers are not too faithful reporters. Goths, Arians, courtiers, might, even with no dishonest or sinister intent, hear conspiracy in every boast of Roman freedom, in every reminiscence of Roman pride.

Theodoric was now in his 74th year; almost the last act of his reign was the nomination of the successor of John. His interposition was enforced by the fierce contentions which followed the death of that prelate.

His choice fell on Felix, a Samnite, a learned and a blameless man. But the clergy and the people, who were agitated with strife, threatening the peace of the city and a renewal of the bloody scenes at the election of Laurentius and Symmachus, united in stern resistance to the nomination, in which they had been allowed no voice.^o Theodoric in his calm wisdom came to an agreement to regulate future elections—an agreement, which in theory subsisted, till the election of the Pope was transferred to the College of Cardinals. The Pope was to be chosen by the free suffrages of the clergy and people, but might not assume his office till confirmed by the sovereign. For his confirmation the Pope made a certain payment to be distributed among the poor. On this understanding the clergy and the city acquiesced in the nomination of Pope Felix.^p

Theodoric died in the month following the peaceful accession of Felix to the Pontifical throne. The glory of his reign passed from the memory of man with the peace and prosperity of Italy. But the hatred of his heretical opinions survived the remembrance of his virtues. He is said to have committed to a Jew, named Symmachus Scolasticus, the framing of an edict, for the expulsion of the Catholics from all their churches;^q a statement utterly irreconcilable with his judicious and conciliatory conduct on

Death of
Theodoric.
Aug. 526.

^o Cassiod. Var. viii. 15. This nomination was absolute. Athalaric writes thus: "Oportebat enim arbitrio boni principis (Theodorici) obediri, qui sapienti deliberatione pertractans, quamvis *in alienâ religione*, talem visus est pontificem delegisse, ut nulli merito debeat displicere. . . . Rece-

pistis itaque virum, et divinâ gratiâ probabiliter institutum, et regali examinatione laudatum."

^p He took quiet possession of the throne July 12, 526.

^q Anonym. Vales.; Agnell. in Vit. Pontific. Ravennat.

the election of the Pope. Theodoric, it was observed, died by the same disease which smote the heresiarch Arius in the hour of his triumph. The Greek historian of the Gothic war, who may be taken as representing the Byzantine aversion to the memory of Theodoric, has described him as dying in a terrific agony of remorse at his own crimes. A large fish was placed before Theodoric at his supper. The King beheld in it the gory head of Symmachus, with the teeth set and gnawing the lower lip, and the eyes rolling in a fierce frenzy, and sternly menacing his murderer. Theodoric, shivering with cold, rushed to his chamber; he called for more clothes to be heaped upon his bed, but nothing could restore the warmth of life; he sent for his physician, and bitterly, and in an agony of tears, reproached himself with the death of Symmachus and of Boethius.^f He died a few days after; and even Procopius adds, that these were the first and the last acts of injustice committed by Theodoric against his subjects. But later visionaries did not the less pursue his soul to its eternal condemnation; he was seen by a hermit hurled by the ministers of the divine retribution into the volcano of Lipari: volcanoes in those days were believed to be the openings to hell.^g

Ravenna still, among the later works of Justinian and the Byzantine Exarchs, preserves some memorials of the magnificence of Theodoric. Of his stately palace remain but some crumbling and disfigured walls. Byzantine art has taken possession of his churches; Justinian and Theodora still dimly blaze in the gold and purple of the mosaics.^t The monument of Theodoric,

^f Procop. de bello Gothico, i. pp. 11, 12.

^g Gregor. i. Dialog. iv. 36. On

this work, see hereafter.

^t If we may trust a passage in Agnelli (Vit. Pontific. Ravenn. apud

perhaps the oldest work of Christian art, is still entire, marking some tendency to that transition from the Roman grandeur of bold and massy arches to the multiplicity of mediæval details. Yet in these remains nothing can be traced which realises those singular expressions of Cassiodorus, so prophetic it might seem of what was afterwards characteristic of the so-called Gothic architecture—the tall, slender, reed-like pillars, the lofty roof supported, as it were, by clustered lances.”

Muratori, iii. p. 95), the church of San Vitale, erected in a city the capital of an Arian sovereign, was unequalled in its splendour, we presume in the West. It cost 26,000 golden solidi. Taking the golden solidus (according to Dureau de la Malie, Eco-

nomie Polit. des Romains, i. p. 46) at 15 francs 10 c., about 12s. 6d., between 15,000*l.* and 16,000*l.*

* “Quid dicimus columnarum junctam proceritatem. . . Erectis hastilibus contineri moles illas sublimissimas fabricarum.”—Cassiod. viii. 15

CHAPTER IV.

Justinian.

HISTORY scarcely offers a more extraordinary contrast than that between the reign and the character of the Emperor Justinian. Under the nephew, colleague, and heir of Justin, the Roman Empire appears suddenly to resume her ancient majesty and power. The signs of a just, able, and vigorous administration, internal peace, prosperity, conquest, and splendour surround the master of the Roman world. The greatest generals, since the days perhaps of Trajan, Belisarius and Narses appear at the head of the Roman armies. Persia is kept at bay, during several campaigns if not continuously successful, yet honourable to the arms of Rome. The tide of barbarian conquest is rolled back. Africa, the Illyrian and Dalmatian provinces, Sicily, Italy, with the ancient Capital, are again under the empire of Rome; the Vandal kingdom, the Gothic kingdom fall before the irresistible generals of the East. The frontiers of the empire are defended with fortifications, constructed at enormous cost; ^a but become necessary now that Roman valour had lost its spell of awe over the human mind; and that the perpetual migrations and movements from the North and the East were continually propelling new and formidable nations

^a Procopius de *Ædificiis*, passim. The first book describes the ecclesiastical buildings of Constantinople; the rest the fortifications and defensive buildings throughout the empire.

against the boundaries of the Roman world. Justinian aspires to be the legislator of mankind; a vast system of jurisprudence embodies the wisdom of ancient and of imperial statutes, mingled with some of the benign influences of Christianity, of which the author might almost have been warranted in the presumptuous vaticination, that it would exercise an unrepealed authority to the latest ages. The cities of the empire are adorned with buildings, civil as well as religious, of great magnificence and apparent durability, which, with the comprehensive legislation, might recall the peaceful days of the Antonines. The empire, at least at first, is restored to religious unity: Catholicism resumes its sway, and Arianism, so long its rival, dies out in remote and neglected congregations. In Spain alone it is the religion of the sovereign.

The creator of this new epoch in Roman greatness, at least he who filled the throne during its creation, the Emperor Justinian, unites in himself the most opposite vices,—insatiable rapacity and lavish prodigality, intense pride and contemptible weakness, unmeasured ambition and dastardly cowardice. He is the uxorious slave of his empress, whom, after she had ministered to the licentious pleasures of the populace as a courtesan, and as an actress, in the most immodest exhibitions (we make due allowance for the malicious exaggerations in the secret history of Procopius), in defiance of decency, of honour, of the remonstrances of his friends, and of religion, he had made the partner of his throne. In the Christian Emperor seem to meet the crimes of those, who won or secured their empire by the assassination of all whom they feared, the passion for public diversions without the accomplishments of Nero or the brute strength of Commodus, the dotage of Claudius.

Constantinople might appear to retrograde to paganism. The peace of the city and even the stability of the empire are endangered not by foreign invasion, not at first by a dangerous rival for the throne, nor even by religious dissensions, but by the factions of the Circus, the partisans of the Blue and of the Green, and the colours worn in the games by the contending charioteers. Justinian himself, during the memorable sedition, the Nike, had nearly abandoned the throne, and fled before a despicable antagonist. "The throne is a glorious sepulchre," exclaimed the prostitute whom he had raised to that throne, and Justinian and the empire are saved by her courage. This imperious woman, even if from exhaustion or lassitude she discontinued, or at least condescended to disguise, those vices which dishonoured her husband, in her cruelties knew no restraint. And these cruelties, exercised in order to gratify her rapacity, if not in sheer caprice, as a substitute for that excitement which had lost its keenness and its zest, are almost more culpable indications of the Emperor's weakness. This meanness of subservience to female influence becomes the habit of the court, and the great Belisarius, like his master, is ruled and disgraced by an insolent and profligate wife. Nor do either of them, in shame, or in conscious want of Christian holiness, stand aloof from the affairs of that religion, whose precepts and whose spirit they thus trample under foot. Theodora, a bigot without faith, a heretic, it might almost be presumed, without religious convictions, by the superior strength of her character, dominates in this as in other respects over the whole court, mingles in all religious intrigues, appoints to the highest ecclesiastical dignities, sells the Papacy itself. Her charities alone (if we except her masculine courage, and

no doubt that great ability which mastered the inferior mind of her husband), if they sprung from lingering womanly tenderness, or that inextinguishable kindness which Christianity sometimes infuses into the hardest hearts, if they were not designed as a deliberate compromise with heaven for her vices and cruelties, may demand our admiration. The feeling which induced the degraded and miserable victim of the lusts and contempt of men to found, perhaps, the first penitentiaries for her sisters in that wretched class, as it shows her superior to the base fear of awakening remembrances of her own former shame, may likewise be considered as an enforced homage to female virtue. Even in Theodora we would discover the very feeblest emotions of Christianity. Justinian aspires too to be the legislator not of the empire alone,^b but of Christendom, enacts ordinances for the whole Church; and unhappily, not content with establishing the doctrines of Nicæa and Chalcedon as the religion of the Empire, by his three Chapters replunges Christendom into religious strife.

The reign of Justinian, during the period between the death of Theodoric and the conquest of Italy, was occupied by the Persian and African wars, and the commotions arising out of the public games in Constantinople. The only event which commands religious interest is the suppression of the schools in Athens. That last vain struggle of Grecian philosophy against Christianity, which had so signally failed even with an Emperor Julian at its head; that Platonic theism which had endeavoured to

Persian and African wars. A.D. 526-533.

^b I have studied, besides the ordinary authorities, a life of Justinian by Ludewig.—Hal. Salic. 1731. To the great lawyer the vices and weaknesses of Justinian are lost in admiration of his jurisprudence.

give new life to paganism, by enlisting the imagination in its service, and establishing a sensible communication with the unseen world; which, in order to command the innate superstition of mankind, had allied itself with magic; and which still (its better function) promulgated noble precepts of somewhat dreamy morality; was not allowed to expire like a Suppression of Schools at Athens. worn-out veteran in peaceful dignity. It was forcibly expelled from the ancient groves and porches of Athens, where recently, under Proclus, it had rallied, as it were, for a last gleam of lustre; it was driven out by the impatient zeal of Justinian. Seven followers of Proclus, it is well known, sought a more hospitable retreat in Persia; but the Magianism of that kingdom was not much more tolerant than the Christianity of the East. Philosophy found no resting-place; and probably few of her disciples could enjoy the malicious consolation which might have been drawn from the manner in which she had long been revenging herself on Christianity by suggesting, quickening with her contentious spirit, and aiding with all her subtleties of language those disputes which had degraded the faith of Jesus from its sublime moral and religious dictatorship over the human mind.

Justinian, when he determined to attempt the reconquest of Africa, might take the high position of the vindicator of the Catholics from long, cruel, and almost unrelenting persecution. The African Catholics had enjoyed a short gleam of peace during the reign of Hilderic, who had deviated into toleration, unknown to the Arianism of the Vandals alone; he had restored about two hundred bishops to their churches. The Catholics might behold with terror the overthrow of the just Hilderic by the stern Gilimer, and might reasonably dread a renewal of the dark days of the great perse-

cutors, of Thrasimund and of Hunneric. The voices of those confessors, who are said to have spoken clearly and distinctly after their tongues had been cut out down to the root; who might be heard to speak publicly (for one of them was a deacon) by the curious or the devout in Constantinople itself, might excite the compassion and animate the zeal of Justinian.^c The frugal John

^c This is the one post-apostolic miracle which appears to rest on the strongest evidence. If we are to trust Victor Vitensis, we cannot take refuge in the notion that their speech was imperfect. Of one at least, the Deacon Reparatus, he asserts that he spoke both clearly and distinctly. The words of Procopius are ἀκραιφνεί τῆ φωνῆ. If we listen to Æneas of Gaza, it is equally impossible to recur to the haste, or slovenly execution of the punishment by the barbarian executioner: he states, from his own ocular inspection, that the tongue had been torn away by the roots.—Victor Vitens. v. 6; Ruinart, p. 483, 487; Æneas Gazensis in Theophrasto in Biblioth. Patr. viii. p. 364, 665; Justinian, codex i. tit. xxvii.; Marcelli in Chronic. Procop. de Bell. Vandal. i. 7, p. 385; Gregor. Magn. Dialog. iii. 32. The question is, the credibility of such witnesses in such an age. A recent traveller has furnished a curious illustration of this one post-apostolic miracle which puzzled Gibbon. The writer is describing Djezzar Pasha's cruelties:—"Each Emir was held down in a squatting position, with his hands tied behind him, and his face turned upwards. The officiating tefeketchy now approached his victim; and standing over him, as if

about to extract a tooth, forced open his mouth, and, darting a hook through the top of the tongue, pulled it out until the root was exposed: one or two passes of a razor sufficed to cut it out. It is a curious fact, however, that the tongues grew again sufficient for the purposes of speech."—Colonel Churchill's Lebanon, vol. iii. p. 384. A friend has suggested this more extraordinary passage:—"Zal Khan (condemned by Aga Mohammed Khan to lose his eyes) loaded the tyrant with curses. 'Cut out his tongue' was the second order. This mandate was imperfectly executed; and the loss of half this member deprived him of speech. Being afterwards persuaded that its being cut close to the root would enable him to speak so as to be understood, he submitted to the operation, and the effect has been, that his voice, though indistinct and thick, is yet intelligible to persons accustomed to converse with him. *This I experienced from daily intercourse.* He often spoke to me of his sufferings. . . ." Sir John Malcolm adds, that he is "ignorant of anatomy, . . . but the facts are as stated, and I had them from the very best authority, old Zal Khan himself."—Sketches of Persia, ii. p. 116. This mutilation, in fact, is common in the East. I have

of Cappadocia, the minister of Justinian, remonstrated against an expedition so costly and so uncertain in its event as the invasion of Africa. His apprehensions seem justified by the disastrous and ignominious failure of that under Basiliscus. But John was silenced by a devout bishop. The holy man had seen a vision, which commanded the Catholic Emperor to proceed without fear to the rescue of his Catholic brethren. Africa, subdued by the arms of Belisarius, returned at once under the dominion of the empire and of Catholicism. The Vandal Arianism had made no proselytes among the hereditary disciples of Cyprian and Augustine, the hearers of Fulgentius and of Augustine's scholars. Persecution had its usual effect when it stops short of extermination; it had only strengthened the inflexible orthodoxy of the province. One imperial edict was sufficient to restore all the churches to the Catholic worship. Donatism, which still survived, though included under the same condemnation, was endowed with more obstinate vitality, and was hardly extinguished before the final disruption

Conquest of
Africa.

A.D. 533.

the authority of Sir John Macneill "that he knew several persons who had been subjected to that punishment, who spoke so intelligibly as to be able to transact business. More than one of them, finding that my curiosity and interest was excited, showed me the stump." Sir John Macneill's description of the mode of operation fully coincides with the following opinion of the most distinguished surgical authority in England:—"There seems to me nothing mysterious in the histories of the excision of the tongue. The modification of the voice forming articulate speech is effected especially by the motions of the soft palate, the tongue, and the lips, and partly by means of the teeth and cheeks. The mutilation of any one of these organs will affect the speech as far as that organ is concerned and no farther, the effect being to render the speech more or less imperfect, but not to destroy it altogether. The excision of the whole tongue is an impossible operation." What Colonel Churchill attributed to the growth of the tongue is explained in another manner.—See 'Notes and Queries,' March, 1858.

of Africa from the great Christian system by Moham-
medanism.

The Ostrogothic kingdom of Theodoric, in the mean
time, was declining through internal dissension; the
inevitable consequence of female sway, and that of a
king too early raised to the throne, too soon emancipated
from his mother's control by the mistaken fondness of
the Goths, who, while they desired to educate him as a
warlike Amala among his noble peers, aban-
doned him to the unchecked corruption of
Roman manners. Rome conquered Athalaric by her
vices. Premature debauchery wasted the bodily
frame, and paralysed the intellect of the young
Gothic king. Even the all-accomplished Amalasintha,
who spoke the languages of all her subjects with the
most exquisite perfection, and, in some degree, blended
the virtues of both races, yet wanted somewhat of the
commanding strength of character which hallowed the
noble Teutonic female. In an evil hour, while her son
was sinking towards the grave, she bestowed
her hand and the kingdom on her cousin, the
unworthy Theodotus. Theodotus, master of the crown,
imprisoned Amalasintha, and soon put her to death.
He then dragged out a few years of inglorious
sovereignty, till the indignant Goths wrested
away the sceptre to place it in the hands of the valiant
Witiges.

Justinian watched the affairs of Italy without be-
traying his ambitious designs; but all who were dis-
satisfied with the state of affairs, turned their eyes to
the East. Amalasintha at one time had determined to
abandon the kingdom, to place herself under the pro-
tection of Justinian: the fleet was ready to sail to
Dyrrachium. Constant amicable intercourse was still

taking place between the Catholic clergy of the East and West, between Constantinople and Rome, between Justinian and the rapid succession of Pontiffs, who occupied the throne during the ten years between the death of Theodoric and the invasion of Italy.

Felix IV. had just been acknowledged as Pope when Theodoric died; his peaceful pontificate lasted Pope Felix IV. A.D. 526-530. four years. The contests for the Papacy were not prevented by the agreement under Theodoric. A double election took place on the death of Felix. The partisans of either faction were prepared for a fierce struggle, when the timely death of his rival Dioscorus left Boniface II. in undisputed possession of October 14, Boniface II. A.D. 530. the throne. Yet so exasperated were the parties, that Boniface would not allow his competitor to sleep in his grave; he fulminated an anathema against him as an anti-Pope, and compelled the clergy to sign the decree. It was revoked during the next pontificate. Boniface was of Gothic blood,^a perhaps promoted by the Gothic party. He attempted a bold measure in order to get rid of the disgraceful and disastrous scenes of violence and bribery, which A.D. 531. now seemed inveterate in the Papal elections. He proposed that during his lifetime the Pope should nominate his successor: he proceeded to designate Vigilus, a deacon, who afterwards ascended the Papal throne. An obsequious Council ratified this extraordinary proceeding. Both parties, however, A.D. 532. equally resented this attempt to wrest from them their undoubted privilege, and thus to reduce the Papacy to an ordinary inheritance at the disposition of

^a He was the son of Count Sigisbult or Sigisvult, though called a Roman by Anastasius.—Anastas. in Vit.

its possessor. In a second Council they showed their repugnance and astonishment at the daring innovation. The Pope acknowledged his own decree to be an act of treason against ecclesiastical and even civil law, burned it in public, and left the election of his successor to proceed in the old course.^e There were again at the death of Boniface fierce strife, undisguised bribery, and shame and horror after all was over. Remedies were

sought for this ineradicable disease. On the death of Boniface, the Roman Senate resumed some of its ancient authority, and issued an edict prohibiting these base and venal proceedings, during which the funds designed for the poor were loaded with debts, even the sacred vessels sold for these simoniacal uses. Athalaric confirmed this edict.^f John II., whose former name was Mercurius, ruled for three years. During his papacy arrived a splendid embassy from the East, with magnificent offerings, golden vessels, chalices of silver, jewels, and curtains of cloth of gold for the Church of St. Peter. The pretext was a deferential consultation

with the Pope, concerning the *Sleepless* monks, who were still not without some Nestorian tendencies. At the same time came an ambassador to Theodotus, now Ostrogothic King, with expostulations, or rather imperious menaces, on alleged violations of the treaties between the Gothic kingdom and the Empire. During the short and troubled reign of Theodotus,

^e Anastas. in Vit., and Labbe, p. 1690.

^f "Ita facultates pauperum extortis promissionibus ingravasse, ut (quod dictu nefas est) etiam sacra vasa emptioni publicæ viderentur exposita." —Athalar. Reg. Epist. apud Labbe, v. 1748. This law annulled all bar-

gains made for the appointment to bishoprics. It declared the offence to be sacrilege; and limited the payments to the chancery on contested elections, —for the papacy to 3000 golden solidi, for archbishoprics or bishoprics to 2000. The largess to the poor was restricted to 500.

Justinian received petitions from all parts of Italy, and from all persons, lay as well as clerical, with the air and tone of its Sovereign.

The aged Agapetus had succeeded to the Roman See before Justinian prepared for the actual invasion of Italy. In the agony of his fear ^{Agapetus. June 3, 535.} Theodotus the Goth had recourse to the same measure which Theodoric had adopted in his pride. He persuaded or compelled the Pope to proceed on an embassy to Constantinople, to ward off the impending danger, to use his influence and authority lest a Roman and orthodox Emperor should persist in his attempt to wrest Italy and Rome from a barbarous Arian; and Theodotus commanded the Prelate to be the bearer of menaces more befitting the herald of war. He was to declare the determination of the Goth, if Justinian should fulfil his hostile designs, to put the Senate to the sword, and raze the city of the Cæsars to the ground.[§] Like his predecessor, Agapetus was received with the highest honours. Justinian had already suspended, for a short time, his warlike preparations; but Agapetus found affairs more within his province, which ^{Agapetus in Constantinople.} enabled him to display to the despot of the East the bold and independent tone assumed even against the throne by the ecclesiastics of the West. The See of Constantinople was vacant. The all-powerful Theodora summoned Anthimus, bishop of Trebisonde, to the Metropolitan diocese. Anthimus was suspected as tainted with Eutychian opinions. Agapetus resolutely declined to communicate with a Prelate, whose appointment not merely violated the Canon against translation from one see to another, but one likewise of doubtful

§ The embassy was in Constantinople, Feb. 2, 536.

orthodoxy. The venal partisans of Anthimus and of Theodora insinuated counter-charges of Nestorian inclinations against the Bishop of Rome.^b Agapetus, in a conference, condescended to satisfy the Emperor as to his own unimpeachable orthodoxy. Justinian sternly commanded him to communicate with Anthimus. "With the Bishop of Trebisond," replied the unawed ecclesiastic, "when he has returned to his diocese, and accepted the Council of Chalcedon and the letters of Leo." The Emperor in a louder voice commanded him to acknowledge the Bishop of Constantinople on pain of immediate exile. "I came hither in my old age to see, as I supposed, a religious and a Christian Emperor, I find a new Diocletian. But I fear not Kings' menaces, I am ready to lay down my life for the truth." The feeble mind of Justinian passed at once from the height of arrogance to admiration and respect; he listened to the charges advanced by Agapetus against the orthodoxy of Anthimus. In his turn the Bishop of Constantinople was summoned to render an account of his theology before the Emperor, convicted of Eutychianism, and degraded from the see. Mennas, nominated in his room, was consecrated by the Pope. Thus one Patriarch of Constantinople was degraded, another promoted by the influence, if not by the authority (the distinction was not marked, as in later theologic disputes) of the Bishop of Rome. Agapetus did not live long to enjoy his triumph; he died at Constantinople; his funeral rites were celebrated with great magnificence; his body sent to Rome. His memory was venerated alike in the East and in the West.

But the next few years beheld the Papacy degraded

^b Libellus de Reb. Gestis ab Agap. ad Constant. apud Baronium, 536.

from its lofty and independent dignity. Rome was now within the dominions of the sole Emperor of the world. Belisarius, in his unchecked career of conquest, had subdued Africa, Sicily, Naples; he entered undefended Rome as its master.ⁱ The Pope became first the victim, then the base instrument of the temporal power. Rome, now a city of the Eastern Empire, was brought at once within the sphere of the female intrigues of Constantinople; one Pope, Silverius, suffered degradation; another, the most doubtful character who had yet sat on the throne of St. Peter, received his appointment through the arts of the infamous Theodora, and suffered the judicial punishment of his weaknesses and crimes, — persecution, shame, remorse. Silverius, the new Pope, was the son of the former Pontiff Hormisdas, the legitimate son, born before the father had taken holy orders. Silverius was Bishop of Rome by command of Theodotus, yet undegraded from the Ostrogothic throne.^k But the Romans saw with undisguised but miscalculating pride, the Roman banners, floating over the army of Belisarius, approach their walls. The Pope dared (the Goths were in confusion at the degradation of Theodotus, and the elevation of Witiges) to urge the Romans to send an ambassador to hail the deliverer of the city from the barbaric Goth.^l The Bishop of Rome received the General of the East, and, as it were, restored Rome to the Roman empire. Belisarius was lord of the Capitol, and at once the consequence of Rome's subjugation to the East broke upon the Pope and upon Rome. Theo-

Justinian
conquers
Italy and
Rome.

Rome sur-
rendered to
Belisarius.

ⁱ See the war in Gibbon, ch. xli.

^k *Sine deliberatione decreti.* Vit. Svlv. Confer. Marcell. Chron. Jaffe. *Regesta* sub ann. 536. He was con-

secrated June 8.

^l *μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοῦς Σιλβέριος εἰς τοῦτο ἐνήγεν, ὁ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερεὺς.* Procop. de B. G. i. c. 14.

dora had never abandoned her hopes of promoting her favourite, Anthimus, to the See of Constantinople; she entered into a league with the Deacon Vigilius, who had accompanied the Pope Agapetus into the East.

Vigilius was a man of unmeasured ambition, and great ability; he had been designated as his successor by Pope Boniface; and when the unanimous voice of the clergy and the people wrested from Boniface the usurped right of nominating his successor, Vigilius was left to brood over other means of attaining the pontificate. The compact proposed by the Empress, and accepted by the unscrupulous Vigilius, stipulated on her part the degradation of Silverius, and a large sum of money,^m no doubt, to secure his election, and to consolidate his interest in Rome; on that of the ecclesiastic, no less than the condemnation of the Council of Chalcedon, and the acknowledgment of Anthimus as Bishop of Constantinople. The degradation of Silverius was intrusted not to the all powerful Belisarius alone, but to the surer hands of his wife Antonina, the accomplice of the Empress in all her intrigues of every kind, and her counterpart in the arbitrary power with which she ruled her glorious but easy husband. The Pope Silverius was accused of treasonable correspondence with the Goths, witnesses were suborned to support this improbable charge against him who had yielded up the city to the conqueror. Belisarius, it is said, endeavoured to save the Pope from degradation, by inducing him to accede to the wishes of Theodora, to condemn the Council of Chalcedon, and to communicate with Anthimus. The resolution of Silverius, who firmly

February,
March, 537.

^m "Lubenter ergo suscepit Vigilius permissum ejus, amore episcopatus et auri."—Liberat. Breviar. c. xxii.

rejected these propositions, left him the defenceless victim of Vigilius and of Antonina. The successor of St. Peter was rudely summoned to the Pincian Palace, the military quarters of Belisarius. In the chamber of the General sat Antonina on the bed, with her husband at her feet. "What have we done," exclaimed the imperious woman, "to you, Pope Silverius, and to the Romans, that you should betray us to the Goths?" In an instant the pall was rent from his shoulders by a sub-deacon, he was hurried into another room, stripped of the rest of his dress, and clad in that of a monk. The clergy who accompanied him were informed of his degradation in a few careless words, "The Pope Silverius is deposed, and is now a monk." The most extraordinary part of this strange transaction is the utter ignorance of Justinian of the whole intrigue. From Patara, the place of his banishment, Silverius made his way to Constantinople, and to the amazement of the Emperor preferred his complaint of the unjust violence with which he had been expelled from his See. Justinian commanded his instant return to Rome. If, on further investigation, it should appear that he had been unjustly accused of treason, he was to be reinstated in his dignity. The sudden reappearance of Silverius in Rome (he had outsailed the messengers of Theodora) embarrassed for a time, only for a short time, the unscrupulous Vigilius, and his more than imperial patrons. By the influence of Antonina, Silverius was delivered up to his rival, and banished by him who aspired to be the head of Christendom, to the island of Pandataria, infamous as the place of exile to which the worst heathen emperors had consigned the victims of their tyranny. On this wretched rock Silverius soon closed his life, whether in the course of nature or by violent means, seems to

have been known with no more certainty in his own days than in ours.ⁿ

Vigilius was now, by command of Belisarius,^o the undisputed Pontiff of Rome.^p He had paid already a fearful price for his advancement,—false accusation, cruel oppression, perhaps murder. At Rome he declares his adhesion to the four councils and to the letter of Leo; he approves the anathema of Mennas of Constantinople against the Monophysites.^q But four years after, Theodora demanded, and Vigilius dared not refuse, the rest of his unholy covenant, at least the base and secret adoption of all her heretical opinions. In a letter still extant,^r but contested on account of its damning effect on one who was, or who afterwards became Pope, rather than from any mark, either external or internal, of spuriousness, Vigilius gave his deliberate adhesion to Eutychianism. The busy and

ⁿ Anastasii vita. Liberatus writes briefly and significantly, “Solus ingressus a suis ulterius non est visus.”—Breviar. c. xxiii.

^o ἔτερον δὲ ἀρχιερέα, ὀλίγη ὕστερον Βιγίλιον ὄνομα κατεστήσατο. So writes the Greek Procopius of Belisarius.

^p The date of his accession is a point of grave dispute. If it is reckoned from his first nomination to the see, he can only be held an uncanonical usurper of an unvacated see, and that nomination must have been null and void. A second election therefore has been supposed; but of this event there is no accredited record. It is impossible so to connect the broken links of the spiritual genealogy.

^q A.D. 540, September 17.—Mansi. ix. 35, 38.

^r The letter is given by Liberatus. One main argument against its authenticity is, that he was never charged with it by his enemies or by Justinian. But it was a private letter to Theodora, and contains this sentence: “Oportet ergo, ut hæc quæ vobis scribo, nullus agnoscat.” The letter may not have come to light till after the death of Theodora. But, with some mistrust of their own feeble critical arguments, the high papal writers assert that Vigilius, when he wrote this letter, was only an antipope and a schismatic. His subsequent legitimate election arrayed him in perfect Christian faith and virtue. He became officially orthodox. Binius not. in Liberatum. Dupin ventures to say that Liberatus is better authority than either Baronius or Binius.

restless theology of the East had now raised a new question, and Justinian aspired to the dignity of a profound divine, and a legislator of Christian doctrine as well as of Christian civil affairs. He plunged with headstrong zeal into the controversy.^s The Church was not now disturbed by the sublime, if inexplicable, dogmas concerning the nature of God, the Persons of the Trinity, or the union of the divine and human nature of Christ; concerning the revelations of Scripture, or even the opinions of the ancient fathers. The orthodoxy or heterodoxy of certain writings by bishops, but recently dead, became the subject of Imperial edicts, of a fifth so called Œcumenic Council, held at Constantinople, and a religious war between the East and the West. Under the name of the three Chapters, the Emperor and the obsequious Council condemned certain works of Theodorus of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrus, and Ibas of Edessa.^t These writings, though questionable as the source of, or as infected with Nestorianism, had passed uncondemned by the Council of Chalcedon. The Imperial edict usurped the form of a

* Justinian had already made an essay of his theological powers. In Palestine the controversy concerning the opinions of Origen had broken out again, and caused violent popular tumults. Pelagius, the legate of the Pope, and the Patriarch of Constantinople Mennas, urged the interference of Justinian. The emperor threw himself headlong into the dispute, and issued an encyclic letter, condemning the Origenists: the imperial anathema was subscribed by Mennas and many other bishops at Constantinople.

^t The condemnation of the three chapters implied at least a covert cen-

sure of the Council of Chalcedon.

I. The fathers of that council had received Theodoret into communion, and, content with his condemnation of Nestorius, had not demanded his retraction of his writings against Cyril of Alexandria. II. They had inserted in their proceedings a letter from Ibas of Edessa to the Persian Maris, in which he highly praised Theodorus of Mopsuestia, the master of Nestorius, blamed Cyril, and accused the Council of Ephesus as having too hastily condemned Nestorius.—Anastas. in Vita.

confession of faith, and trespassed on the exclusive right of the clergy to anathematise the holders of erroneous doctrines. Great part of the submissive or consentient East received the dictates of the Imperial theologian; the West as generally and resolutely refused compliance. Vigilius was peremptorily summoned to Constantinople.

A. D. 544. He set forth, loaded with the imprecations of the Roman people, and assailed with volleys of stones, as the murderer of Silverius, and a man of notorious cruelty. It was said that he had killed one of his own secretaries in a fit of passion, and caused his nephew, the son of his sister, to be scourged to death. "May famine and pestilence pursue thee; evil hast thou done to us, may evil overtake thee wherever thou art." A strong guard protected his person first to Sicily, and thence after nearly two years' delay to Constantinople.

His departure from Rome was fortunate for himself, fortunate perhaps for the dignity of the Papacy. During his absence, Rome was besieged by the Goths. A supply of corn sent by Vigilius from Sicily was intercepted on the Tiber by the barbarians; the Bishop Valentinus, who accompanied it, was summoned before the savage conqueror, and appearing to prevaricate, was mutilated by cutting off both his hands. It was fortunate on another account: Constantinople alone witnessed the weakness and tergiversations of Vigilius, who at least three times pliantly yielded to, and then desperately resisted the theologic dictatorship of Justinian; three times condemned the three Chapters, three times recanted his condemnation. Constantinople alone witnessed the personal indignities, the persecutions of which reports, perhaps exaggerated, reached the West, but which were neither rendered glorious to a servant of Christ by Christian blamelessness (the sense of which

might have allayed their bitterness) or by Christian meekness and resolution, which might have turned them to his honour and to his peace. Vigilus had the sufferings, but neither the outward dignity nor the inward consolation of martyrdom.

It was a perilous crisis for a Prelate so ambitious, yet so double-minded, so trammelled by former obligations, and so bound by common guilt to one of the contending parties. For there was division in the court; Justinian and Theodora, as throughout in religious interests, were on opposite sides; the East and the West were irreconcilably adverse. Vigilus was emboldened by his honourable reception in Constantinople; the Emperor and the Pope are said to have wept, when they first met.^a The death of Theodora soon relieved Vigilus from some part of his embarrassment. Yet he miscalculated his power, and dared to resist the Imperial will; he refused to condemn the three Chapters. He even ventured to address the Emperor under the favourite appellation, bestowed on all imperial opponents of ecclesiastical authority, as a new Diocletian. He excluded from his communion Mennas, the Patriarch of Constantinople; he excommunicated Theodorus of Cesarea, and even the departed Empress herself. Mennas threw back the anathema, and on his side excommunicated the Pope. Vigilus was ere long obliged to withdraw his censures, and to reconcile himself with the rival Prelate. Scarcely, indeed, had many months passed before the Pope at the head of a Council of seventy bishops, issued his infallible anathema *against* the three Chapters. The West at once threw off its allegiance,

A.D. 548.

June 11, 548.

A.D. 548.

^a Anastas, in Vit.

and refused to listen to the ingenious sophistry with which Vigilius attempted to reconcile his solemn judgement with his former opinions. Illyricum, Africa with all her old dauntless pertinacity, even his own clergy revolted against the renegade Pope. He revoked his imprudent concessions, recanted his recantation, and prevailed on the Emperor to summon a Council, in order, it should seem, either to obtain the support of the Council against the Emperor, or to compel the Western bishops to give up their resistance. The Eastern prelates assembled in great numbers at the Council, the Western stood aloof. Vigilius refused to sanction or recognise the Council in the absence of the Western bishops. Justinian, indignant at the delay, promulgated a new edict, condemning the three Chapters in still stronger terms on his own plenary authority. Vigilius assembled as many bishops as he could collect, solemnly protested against the usurpation of ecclesiastical authority, and cut off from his communion all who received the edict. But a Byzantine despot was not to be thus trifled with or boldly bearded in his own capital, and the Eastern bishops refused to hold communion with the successor of St. Peter. Apprehensive of violence, the Pope took refuge in a sanctuary; but neither the Emperor nor his troops were disposed to reverence the sacred right of asylum. They attempted to drag him forth by the feet, he clung to the altar, and being a large and powerful man, the pillars of the baldachin gave way, and the whole fell crumbling upon him.* The populace could not behold

* Vigilius himself relates the former outrage, but does not mention particularly the other indignities; but he says, "Dum multa mala intolerabilia sæpius pateremur quæ jam omnibus nota esse confidimus."—*Epist. Encycl. apud Labbe, p. 330.*

without compassion these personal outrages, heaped on a venerable ecclesiastic; the imperial officers were obliged to retire and leave Vigilus within the church. He was persuaded, however, on certain terms to leave his sanctuary. Again he suffered, according to rumours propagated in the West, still more barbarous usage; he was said to have been dragged through the city with a rope round his neck, and reproached with his crimes and cruelties, then committed to a common dungeon, and kept on the hardest prison diet, bread and water. A second time he escaped to his sanctuary, and from thence by night fled over the sea to Chalcedon. There he took refuge in the more awful and inviolable sanctuary of Saint Euphemia. The Emperor condescended to capitulate on honourable terms with the Prelate. He revoked his edict, and left the three Chapters to the decrees of the Council. Vigilus had promised to be present at the Council; but dared not confront alone the host of Eastern bishops who composed it. The Council, according to the dominant sentiment of the East, renewed the condemnation of the three Chapters. Vigilus with difficulty collected sixteen Western bishops, issued a protest against the decree, and a Constitution, solemnly acquitting the three Chapters of heresy. The wrath of the Emperor was again kindled;^y Vigilus was once more seized and sent in exile to the dreary and solitary rock of Proconnesus. There his courage or his patience failed. Alarming reports reached him, that his name was to be struck out of the diptychs; that

A.D. 552.

A.D. 553.

^y Theodorus of Cæsarea was the ecclesiastic who ruled the mind of Justinian. See the imperfect anathema and sentence of deposition against him —Labbe.

orders were preparing for Rome to elect a new bishop. He intimated that now, at length, on more studious examination, he had detected the subtle and latent errors which had so long escaped his impeccable judgement, and was prepared with a Constitution, condemnatory of those baneful writings. He was recalled to Constantinople, obtained leave, after his full submission, to return to Rome, but died in Sicily of the stone, before he could reach his see.

A.D. 554.

June 7, 554.

Such was the miserable fate of a Pope who came into direct collision with the Imperial despotism of Constantinople. A Prelate of unimpeachable character, uncommitted by base subserviency to the court, and who had not owed his elevation to unworthy means, or one of more firm religious courage, might have escaped some portion of the degradation and contempt endured by Vigilius; but it is impossible not to observe again how much the Papal power owed to the position of Rome. Even its freedom, far more its authority, arose out of its having ceased to be the seat of Imperial government, and the residence of the Emperor. During the conquest of Italy by the Eastern Emperors, and for some time after, the Pope was not confronted indeed in Rome by a resident Emperor, but summoned at the will of the Emperor to Constantinople, or in Rome rebuked before a victorious general, or an Exarch, who, though he held his court at Ravenna, executed the commands of a sovereign accustomed to dictate, rather than submit to ecclesiastical power. At scarcely any period did the papal authority suffer greater degradation, or were the persons of the Popes reduced to more humiliating subserviency. Nor is this passive humiliation, which by the patient dignity with which it is endured,

may elevate the character of the sufferer ; he is mingled up in the intrigues of the court, and contaminated with its base venality. He is hardly more independent or authoritative than the Patriarch of Constantinople.

The successor of Vigilius was Pelagius I. Pelagius had been the legate or ambassador of Vigilius at the court of Constantinople. He had won A.D. 556. the favour of Justinian, and accumulated considerable wealth. He returned to Rome, a short time before it was besieged by Totila ; and the wealth, obtained it might seem by doubtful means in the East, was nobly dispensed among the poor and famishing inhabitants of the beleaguered city. Pelagius during the Popedom of Vigilius had been employed on the most important services. When the Goths again contested the dominion of Italy, he had undertaken an embassy in the name of the Romans to avert the wrath of Totila ; he had been received with stately courtesy, but dismissed with no concession on the part of the Goth.* After the capture of the city, when the victorious Totila entered the church of St. Peter to perform his devotions, he was met again by Pelagius, with the Gospel in his hands. "Have mercy on thy subjects," implored the earnest priest. "Now," tauntingly replied Totila, "you condescend to appear as a suppliant." "God," answered Pelagius, "has made us your subjects, be merciful to us on that account." His calm and submissive demeanour arrested the wrath of the conqueror. Rome owed to his intercession the lives of her citizens, and the chastity of her females. Massacre and violation were arrested ; the discipline of the Goths respected the command of their king. Pelagius was sent by Totila as

* Procop. de Bell. Gothic., iii. 16.

his ambassador to Constantinople to demand peace, under the menace, that the Goth, if Justinian persisted in his hostility, would destroy Rome, and put the Senate to the sword.^a Pelagius again in Constantinople, adhered as a faithful partisan to Vigilius, with him he resisted the theologic tyranny of Justinian; and, if he did not share his hard usage and exile, was left to neglect and misery. With Vigilius, having shown himself too pliant to the imperial doctrines, he returned to Rome, and on the death of Vigilius, by the command of Justinian, was elevated to the See.^b But now in Rome, all his former benefactions to the city were forgotten in his treacherous abandonment of the orthodoxy of the West, and his servile compliance with the will of the Emperor; he could not assemble from all the reluctant order three bishops for the ceremonial of his consecration; it was performed by two bishops and a presbyter.^c His favour with Justinian exposed him to worse, doubtless to unjust suspicions. He was accused of having been the instigator in Constantinople of all the cruelties suffered by Vigilius. The monks, many of the clergy, and of the nobility of Rome, withdrew from his communion. Even when Narses reconquered Rome, the avowed protection of the Emperor's victorious representative could not restore the public confidence to Pelagius. The Pope, with the general by his side, went in solemn procession, chanting a Litany, to the church of St. Peter; and there Pelagius ascended the chancel, and holding above his head the Book of the Gospels, and the Cross, solemnly declared that he had never wrought or sug-

^a Procop. de Bell. Gothic., iii. 20.

^b According to Victor Turon, he at first defended, then, recalled from exile,

condemned the three Chapters (apud Roncagl. ii. 377).

^c Victor Turon., apud Roncagl

gested any evil against Vigilius. Pelagius added, and to this he demanded the assent of the people, a strong denunciation of all, who, from the doorkeeper up to the bishop, should attempt to obtain any ecclesiastical office by simony.^d

Rome, after this expurgation, acquiesced in the rule of her Pontiff. But the Western bishops could not forgive his adhesion to the fifth Council of Constantinople, whose decrees had in some degree impeached those of the great Council of Chalcedon. Even in Italy the bishops of Tuscany would not admit his name into their sacramental liturgy. Pelagius bitterly reproached them with thus yielding to vulgar clamour; by separating themselves from the communion of the Apostolic See they had separated themselves from the communion of all Christendom. But he thought it necessary to declare his unreserved acceptance of all the four great Councils (maintaining a prudent silence as to the fifth), and the Letter of his predecessor Leo. Whoever should not be content with this declaration, might demand further explanation from the Pope himself. Yet he condemned all that his predecessors had condemned, venerated as orthodox all that they received, especially the saintly prelates, Theodoret and Ibas.^e The Pope addressed a letter to the whole Christian world, in which, after re-asserting his allegiance to the four Councils, he attempted to justify the fifth as in no way impeaching the authority of Chalcedon. A new royal theologian, Childebert, king of the Franks, entered the field, and required a more explicit statement. With this the Pope condescended to comply; he sent his confession of faith to the King, with an admonition to

^d Marcell. Chronic. apud Roncagli.

^e Mansi. ix. 17.

the orthodox sovereign to exercise vigilance over all heretics within his dominions. Still some obstinate dioceses, chiefly of Venetia and Istria, refused communion with all who adhered to the Synod of Constantinople. Pelagius had recourse to the all-powerful Narses to enforce submission; the most refractory, the Bishop of Aquileia and the Bishop of Milan, who had uncanonically consecrated that prelate, were sent prisoners to Constantinople.

On the death of Pelagius,^f Rome waited in obsequious submission the permission of the Emperor to inaugurate her new Pope, John III. The period between the accession of John III. and that of Gregory the Great is among the most barren and obscure in the annals of the papacy. One act of misjudging authority, and one of intercession, are recorded during the pontificate of John. He received, according to the permission of the Frankish King, Gunthram, the appeal of two bishops, Salonius of Embrun and Sagittarius of Gap,^g who had been deposed for crimes most unbefitting their order by a synod at Lyons. These were the first Christian bishops who had appeared in arms the prototypes of the warlike and robber-prelates of later times. The Pope urged their restoration, the King assented: but the reinstated prelates returned to their lawless and unepiscopal courses, and were again degraded by the common indignation.

The act of intercession was more worthy of the head of Western Christendom. The Eunuch Narses had ruled Italy and Rome as Exarch for fifteen years since the conquest, with vigour and justice. Justinian and Theodora had gone to their account; the

^f Pelagius died 560.

^g Æbrodunum. Vapincum.

throne of the East was occupied by Justin the younger. But the province groaned under the rapacity of Narses. Petitions were sent to Constantinople with the significant words, that the yoke of the barbarian Gauls was lighter than this Roman tyranny. Narses was superseded by the Exarch Longinus, insult was added to his degradation. "Let him to his distaff," is the speech ascribed to the imperious wife of the Emperor Justin the younger. "I will weave her such a web as she will find it hard to unravel," rejoined the indignant Eunuch. He returned to Naples, from whence he entered into negotiations with the terrible Lombards, who had once already invaded Italy. Revolt, with Narses at its head, threatened the peace of Italy. The Pope undertook an embassy to Naples, appeased the wrathful Eunuch, who returned to Rome, and closed his days as a peaceful subject of the empire.

The few years of the pontificate of Benedict I. were occupied with the miseries of the Lombard invasion. His successor Pelagius II. in those disastrous times was consecrated without awaiting the sanction of the Emperor.^h Pelagius in vain endeavoured to induce the bishops of the north of Italy to accept the fifth Council of Constantinople. Some who were now under the Lombard dominion paid no regard to his expostulations; a synod at Grado rejected his mandates, and the bishops defied the power of the Exarch through whom Pelagius sought to awe them to submission. Yet Pelagius, in one respect, maintained all the haughtiness of his See. The Bishop of Constantinople had again assumed the title of Œcumenic Patriarch, the assumption was

Benedict I.
June 3, 574.
Pelagius. 578.

Nov. 27, 588.

A.D. 588.

^h Sine jussione Principis, Vit. Pelag. II.

confirmed by a Council at Constantinople. Pelagius
A.D. 590. protested against this execrable, sacrilegious,
diabolic usurpation : but in Constantinople his
invectives made no impression. Pelagius was succeeded
by Gregory the Great.

Since the conquest of Italy the Popes had been the humble subjects of the Eastern Emperor. They were appointed, if not directly by his mandate, under his influence. They dared not assume their throne without his permission. The Roman Ordinal of that time declares the election incomplete and invalid till it had received the imperial sanction.¹ Months elapsed, in the case of Benedict ten months, before the clergy ventured to proceed to the consecration.

Pelagius II. was chosen when Rome was invested by the Lombards ; for this ignominious reason he had been consecrated without the consent of the Emperor.

The conquest of Italy by the Greeks was, to a great extent at least, the work of the Catholic clergy. Their impatience under a foreign and an Arian yoke is by no means surprising ; nor could they anticipate that the return to Roman dominion would be the worst evil yet endured by Italy. Rome suffered more under the alternate sieges and alternate capture by the Byzantines and the Goths than it had from Alaric or even Genseric, as much perhaps as in its later sieges by Robert Guiscard, and by the Constable Bourbon. The feeble but tyrannical Exarchs soon made Italy regret the just, if oppressive and ungenial rule of the Goths. The overthrow of the Gothic kingdom was to Italy an unmitigated evil. A monarch like Witiges or Totila would soon have repaired the mischiefs caused by the

¹ Compare Schroeck, xvii. p. 236.

degenerate successors of Theodoric, Athalaric and Theodotus. In their overthrow began the fatal policy of the Roman See, fatal at least to Italy (however, by the aggrandisement of the Roman See, it may have been, up to a certain time, beneficial to northern Christendom), which never would permit a powerful native kingdom to unite Italy, or a very large part of it, under one dominion. Whatever it may have been to Christendom, the Papacy has been the eternal, implacable foe of Italian independence and Italian unity; and so (as far as independence and unity might have given dignity, political weight, and prosperity) to the welfare of Italy. On every occasion the Goths, the Lombards, as later the Normans and the House of Arragon, found their deadliest enemies in the Popes. As now from the East, so then from beyond the Alps, they summoned some more remote potentate, Charlemagne, the Othos, Charles VIII., Charles of Anjou, almost always worse tyrants than those whom they overthrew. From that time servitude, servitude to the stranger, was the doom of Italy. To Rome herself, the foreign sovereign (the tyranny of the Eastern Emperor and his Exarchs was an admonition of what the transalpine emperors might hereafter prove) was hardly less dangerous than a native and indigenious sovereign would have been. And if the papacy had been more confined to its religious power, less tempted or less compelled to assume temporal as well as ecclesiastical supremacy, that power had been immeasurably greater, as less involved in political strife, less exposed to that kind of personal collision with the temporal monarchy, in which a sovereignty which rests on the awe and reverence of men must suffer; it might have maintained its ecclesiastical supremacy over obedient and tributary Christendom, even held as vast

possessions on the tenure not of a temporal principedom, but of an ecclesiastical endowment; and thus more entirely ruled the minds of men by confining its authority to that nobler and, for a time at least, more unassailable province.

Rome, jealous of all temporal sovereignty but her own, for centuries yielded up, or rather made Italy a battle-field to the Transalpine and the stranger; and at the same time so secularised her own spiritual supremacy as to confound altogether the priest and the politician, to degrade absolutely and almost irrevocably the kingdom of Christ into a kingdom of this world.

END OF VOL. I.

HISTORY
OF
LATIN CHRISTIANITY;

INCLUDING THAT OF
THE POPES TO THE PONTIFICATE OF NICOLAS V.

By HENRY HART MILMAN, D.D.,
DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S.

IN NINE VOLUMES.—VOL. II.

FOURTH EDITION,

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HISTORY

OF

LATIN CHRISTIANITY.

BOOK III.—*continued.*

CHAPTER V.

Christian Jurisprudence.*

CHRISTIANITY had been now for more than two centuries the established religion of the Roman Empire; it was the religion of all those independent kingdoms which were forming themselves within the dissevered provinces of Rome. Between the religion and the laws of all nations must subsist an intimate and indissoluble connexion. During all that period the vast and august jurisprudence of Rome had been constantly enlarged by new imperial edicts or authoritative decrees, supplementary to, or corrective and interpretative of, the ancient statutes.

I. The jurisprudence of the old Roman Empire at first admitted, but only in a limited degree, this modifying power of Christianity. The laws which were purely Christian were hardly more than accessory and supplementary to the vast code which had accumulated from

* Let me not be suspected of the vain ambition of emulating Gibbon's splendid chapter on Roman Law, which has become the text-book in universities (see my edition of Gibbon). My object is more narrow and limited; and appeared necessary to the history even of Latin Christianity; to show the interworking of Christianity into the Roman jurisprudence.

the days of the republic, through the great lawyers of the empire, down to Theodosius and Justinian. But the complete moral, social, and in some sense political revolution, through Christianity, could not be without influence, both as creating a necessity for new laws adapted to the present order of things, or as controlling, through the mind of the legislator, the general temper and spirit of the legislation. A Christian Emperor could not exclude this influence from his mind, either as affecting his moral appreciation of certain obligations and transgressions, or as ascertaining and defining the social position, the rights and duties, of new classes and divisions of his subjects. Under Christianity a new order of men of a peculiar character, with special privileges, immunities, and functions, had grown up throughout the whole society; new corporate bodies, the churches and the monasteries, had been formed, holding property of every kind by a new tenure; certain offences in the penal code were now looked on with a milder or more severe aspect; a more strict morality had attempted to knit more closely some of the relations of life; vices which had been tolerated became crimes against social order; and an offence, absolutely new in the extent of odiousness in which it was held, and the rigour with which it was punished, Heresy, or dissent from the dominant religion, in all its various forms, had been introduced into the criminal jurisdiction, not of the Church only, but of the Empire. The imperial legislation could not refuse, it was not inclined to refuse, to take cognizance of this novel order of things, and to adapt itself to the necessities of the age.

II. The Barbaric Codes, which embodied in written statutes the unwritten, immemorial, and traditionary

laws and usages of the Teutonic tribes (the common law of the German forests), assuming their positive form after the different races had submitted to Christianity, were more completely interpenetrated, as it were, with Christian influences. The unlettered barbarians willingly accepted the aid of the lettered clergy, still chiefly of Roman birth, to reduce to writing the institutes of their forefathers. Though these codes therefore, in their general character and main principles, are essentially Teutonic—in their broad principles are deduced from the free usages of the old German tribes—yet throughout they are modified by Christian notions, and admit a singular infusion, not merely of the precepts of the New Testament, but of the positive laws of the Old.

Barbaric codes.

But III. Christianity had its own peculiar and special jurisprudence. The Christian community, or rather the separate communities, had originally exercised this power of internal legislation. They held each its separate tribunal, which adjudicated not only on religious matters, but, as an acknowledged wise and venerated arbitrator, in civil litigation. This legislation and administration of law had gradually become vested in the clergy alone; and, instead of each community ruling its own internal concerns, and presiding over its own separate members, the Church, as chiefly represented by the bishops either in local or national synods, or in general councils, enacted statutes or canons, considered binding on the whole Christian world. The sanctions of this Christian jurisprudence were properly altogether religious: they rested on opinion, on the voluntary submission of each individual mind to spiritual authority. Their punishments and rewards were properly those of the life to come. The only punishments in this world were those of the penitential discipline, or

Christian jurisprudence.

excommunication from the Christian society, which was tantamount, with all who believed salvation to be the exclusive privilege of the Church, to a sentence of eternal damnation. Those who braved that disfranchisement—who either, as the Jews, never had entered within the community, or as holding heretical opinions had renounced it—were rightfully beyond its jurisdiction. The legislators and administrators of the laws had lost all cognizance over those upon whose faith or whose fears they had no hold. These were outlaws, who, as they blindly or obstinately disclaimed the inestimable privileges of the Church, could not be amenable at least to its temporal penalties. Unhappily the civil and canon, the Imperial and Christian, legislation would not maintain their respective boundaries. This arose partly from the established constitutional doctrine of Rome, that the Republic (now the Emperor) was the religious as well as the civil head of the Empire; partly from the blindness of Christian zeal, which thought all means lawful to advance the true, or to suppress erroneous, belief; and therefore fell into the irreconcilable contradiction of inflicting temporal penalties by temporal hands for spiritual offences. Athanasius hailed and applauded the full civil supremacy of the state when it commanded the exile of Arius; contested, resisted, branded it as usurping tyranny, when it would exact obedience from himself. Thus, though the Councils were the proper legislative senates of Christianity, so long as the Empire lasted in the West, even later; and in the East down to the latest times; the Emperors enacted and enforced the observation of the ecclesiastical as well as of the civil law. Theodosius and Gratian define or ratify the definition of doctrines, declare and condemn heretics. Justinian is a kind of Caliph of Christianity, at once in

Supremacy
of the Em-
peror.

the authoritative tone and in the subjects which he comprehends under his decrees he is a Pope and an Emperor. In the barbaric codes there is the same absolute supremacy of the sovereign law—in theory the same, but restricted by the more limited royal power, and the peculiar relation of the clergy to tribes newly converted to Christianity. Where there is a strong monarchy, it assumes a dominion scarcely less full and complete than under the Christian Emperors. Charlemagne, in his imperial edicts, is at once the legislator of the Church and of the State.

Thus then in Christendom there are three systems of jurisprudence, the Roman Law, the Barbaric or Teutonic Law, the Law of the Church—Three systems of law. this last, as yet but young, humble and limited in its pretensions, a discipline rather than a law, or confined, in a great degree, to the special observance of the clergy.

I. The Emperor Justinian, having now reunited the Eastern and Western Empires, aspired to be the legislator of the world; on Christendom Justinian code. and on the Roman Empire, according to his notions commensurate, he would bestow a full, complete, indefeasible Code of Law. Of the barbaric codes, if even in their initiatory growth or existence, the Roman law, which still held the whole Roman world to be its proper dominion, would be as disdainfully ignorant, as if they were yet the usages of wild tribes beyond the Rhine or the Danube. Even over the Church or Canonical Jurisprudence it would assert, as will immediately appear, majestic superiority; it would admit, confirm, sanction such parts as might demand the supreme imperial intervention, or require imperial authority.

Justinian aspired to consolidate in his eternal legis-

lation all the ancient and modern statutes of the realm. Necessity for consolidation of laws. The necessity for a complete and final revisal —an authoritative reconstruction and harmony of the vast mass of republican, senatorial, imperial decrees, or those accredited interpretations of the law which had become law, and were admitted in the courts of justice—had long been acknowledged. The Roman jurisprudence must become a Code; the decisions of the great lawyers must be selected, distributed under proper heads, and rules be laid down for the superiority of some over others. This jurisprudence comprehended unwritten as well as written law. The unwritten were the ancient Roman traditions, and the principles of eternal justice. The sources of the written law were the XII Tables, the Laws of the Republic, whether *Senatus-Consults* or *Plebiscites*, the decrees of the Emperors, the edicts of the *Prætors*, and the answers of the learned in the law.^b Already attempts had been made to systematise this vast, multifarious, and comprehensive jurisprudence in the *Gregorian*, *Hermogenian*, and finally the *Theodosian codes*. But the enormous mass of laws which had still accumulated, the conflicting decisions of the lawyers, the oppugnance of the laws themselves, seemed to demand this ultimate organisation of the whole; and in *Tribonian* and his *Byzantine lawyers*, *Justinian* supposed that he possessed the wisdom, in himself the power and authority, to establish for ever the jurisprudence of Rome.

But the change which has come over the Roman Justinian a Christian emperor. Empire is manifest at once. That *Justinian* is a *Christian Emperor* appears in the front of his jurisprudence. Before the august temple of the Roman law, there is, as it were, a vestibule, in which

^b *Responsa prudentum.*

the Emperor seats himself as the religious legislator of the world in its new relation towards God. The Christian Emperor treats all mankind as his subjects, in their religious as well as in their civil capacity. The Emperor's creed, as well as his edicts, is the universal law of the Empire. That which was accessory in the code of the former Christian Emperors, and in the Theodosian code fills two supplementary books, stands in the front, and forms the Preface to that of Justinian. His code opens with the Imperial Creed on the Trinity, and the Imperial Anathema against Nestorius, Eutyches, Apollinaris. Justinian declares indeed that he holds the doctrine of the Church, of the Apostles and their successors. He recognises the authority of the four great Councils. He even acknowledges the supremacy of the Roman Church, and commands all Churches to be united with her. At the time of the publication of the code, John III. was Bishop of Rome; but he had been appointed under the Exarch, his inauguration had submissively awaited the Emperor's approbation. Rome therefore, it was hoped, had become, notwithstanding the rapid advance of the Lombards, an integral, an inseparable part of the Empire. Justinian legislates therefore for Rome as for the East. But though the Emperor condescends thus to justify the orthodoxy of his creed, it is altogether of his absolute, uncontrolled, undisputed will that it is law. It might seem indeed that the clergy were the subjects, as first in rank, whose offices, even whose lives, must first be regulated by imperial legislation.

In the following chapters the appointment, the organisation, the subordination, the authority of the ecclesiastical, as of the civil magistrates of the realm, is assumed to emanate from, to be granted, Laws for the Clergy. limited, prescribed by, the supreme Emperor. Excom-

munication is uttered indeed by the ecclesiastics, but according to the imperial laws and with the imperial warrant. Justinian deigns indeed to allow the canons of the Church to be of not less authority than his laws; but his laws are divine, and those divine laws all metropolitans, bishops, and clergy are bound to obey, and, if commanded, to publish.^c The hierarchy is regulated by his ordinance. He enacts the superiority of the Metropolitan over the bishop, of the bishop over the abbot, of the abbot over the monk. Distinct imperial laws rule the monasteries. The law prescribes the ordinations of bishops, the persons qualified for ordination,^d the whole form and process of that holy ceremony. The law admitted no immunities in the Clergy for crimes committed against the state and against society. It took upon itself the severe superintendence of clerical morals. The passion for theatrical amusements, for the wild excitement of the horse-race and the combat with wild beasts, or even more licentious entertainments, had carried away many of the clergy, even of the bishops. A law, more than once re-enacted and modified, while it acknowledged the power of the clergy's prayers to obtain victory over the barbarians, and to obtain from Heaven extended empire, declared that for this reason they should be unimpeachable. But, notwithstanding the most solemn admonition, they could not be persuaded, not even the bishops, to abstain from the gaming-table, or the theatre with all its blasphemies and licence. The Emperor was compelled to pass this law, prohibiting, under pain of suspension for the first offence, of irrevocable degradation and servitude^e to the public corpora-

^a τοὺς δὲ θειοὺς κανόνας οὐκ ἔλαττον τῶν νόμων ἰσχύειν καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι βούλονται νόμοι.—Cod. ii. 3, 43.

ἡμῶν τοῦτον νόμον.—Cod. ii. 3, 43.

^d Especially Nov. cxxiii.; it asserts the fees to be paid on each promotion.

^e δουλεῖν.—Cod. i. 14, 34.

tions, any one of the clergy, of any rank, from being present at the gaming-table or at any public spectacle. These penalties, with other religious punishments, as fastings, were to be inflicted, according to the rank of the offender, by the bishop or the metropolitan. The refusal to punish, or the endeavour to conceal, such offences made both the civil officers and ecclesiastics liable to civil as well as to ecclesiastical penalties.

The bishop was an imperial officer for certain temporal affairs. In each city he was appointed, with three of the chief citizens, annually to inspect the public accounts, and all possessions or bequests made for public works, markets, aqueducts, baths, walls and gates, and bridges. Before him guardians of lunatics swore on the Gospels to administer their trust with fidelity,^f and many legal acts might be performed either in the presence of the Defensor or the bishop of the city.^g For the discharge of these temporal functions the bishops were reasonably answerable to the Emperor; and thus the empire acknowledged at the inspiration of Christianity a new order of civil magistracy.

The law limited the number of clergy to be attached to each Church. This constitution was demanded in order to check that multiplication of the clergy which exhausted the revenues of the church, and led to burthensome debts. In the great Church at Constantinople the numbers were to be reduced to 425, besides 100 ostiarii.^h The smaller churches were on no account to have more than they could maintain.

^f Cod. i. 4, 27.

^g De Episcop. Audient.

^h 60 presbyters, 100 male 40 female deacons, 90 subdeacons, 110 readers, 25 singers. Novell. iii.

There is a curious law concerning interments in Constantinople. 1000 shops, or their rent, seem to have been bestowed on the church for the burial of the poor; they had a bier and

The State issued laws for the regulation of monasteries. None were to be established without the consent of the Bishop. The bishop elected the superior from the community. Slaves might be admitted as well as freemen. A probation of three years was required from all. A slave, if a runaway or thief, might be claimed by his master during those three years. When a monk, he could no longer be claimed, unless he abandoned the monastic life. All were to live in common, to sleep in one chamber. If a monk wished to leave his monastery he went forth a beggar; the monastery retained all his property. If he entered into the army, it could only be into the lowest rank. No monk could leave one monastery for another.¹

Such were the all-comprehending ecclesiastical laws which the Emperor claimed the power to enact. In many cases he commanded or limited the anathema or the interdict. The obedient world, including the Church, acknowledged, at least by submissive obedience, this imperial supremacy.

It is not till Justinian has thus, as it were, fulfilled his divine mission of legislating for his subjects as Christians, that he assumes his proper function, his legislation for them as Romans, and proceeds to his earthly task, the consolidation of the ancient and modern statutes of the Empire.

But the legislation of Justinian, as far as it was origi-

the attendance of the clergy without charge. The rich paid according to their means and will; there was a fixed payment for certain more splendid biens and more solemn attendance.—Novell. xciii.

¹ The Institutes acknowledge the Bishop, with the Defensor, to have

certain powers of appointing guardians.—i. 20, 5. Justinian speaks of the modesty of his times.—i. 22, 1. Two clauses (2, i. 8, 9) relate to churches, &c., iii. 28, 7. Churches named.—iv. 18, 8. Rape of nuns made a capital crime.

nal, in his Code, his Pandects, and in his Institutes, within its civil domain, was still almost exclusively Roman. It might seem that Christianity could hardly penetrate into the solid and well-compacted body of Roman law; or rather, the immutable principles of justice had been so clearly discerned by the inflexible rectitude of the Roman mind, so sagaciously applied by the wisdom of her great lawyers, that Christianity was content to acquiesce in those statutes, which even she might, excepting in some respects, despair of rendering more equitable. Christianity, in the Roman Empire, had entered into a temporal polity, with all its institutions long settled, its laws already framed. The Christians had in their primitive state no natural place in the order of things. That separate authority which the Church exercised over the members of its own community from its origin, and without which the loosest form of society cannot subsist, was in no way recognised by the civil power; they were the voluntary laws of a voluntary association. But, besides these special laws of their own, the Christians were in every respect subjects of the Empire. They were strangers in religion alone. After the comprehensive decree of Caracalla, they, like the rest of mankind within the pale of the Empire, became Roman citizens; and the supremacy of the State in all things which did not concern the vital principles of their religion (for which they were still bound, if the civil power should exercise compulsion, to suffer martyrdom) was acknowledged, both in the West and in the East, both before and after the conversion of Constantine.

The influence therefore of Christianity on the older laws of the Roman Empire could only be exercised through the mind of the legislator, now become Chris-

tian; and the general moral sentiment, which became more pure or elevated, might modify, and gradually mitigate, some provisions, or more rigidly enforce certain obligations. The Roman law, in its original code, might seem indeed to take a pride in resting upon its antiquity and its purely Roman character; it admits not the language, it appears even to affect a supercilious ignorance of the religion, of the people.^k In the *Institutes* of Justinian^m it requires keen observation to detect the Christianity of the legislator. Tribonian, the great lawyer, to whom the vast work of framing the whole jurisprudence was committed by the Emperor, has incurred the suspicion of atheism, an accusation which, just or not, is strong evidence that his work had refused to incorporate any of the statutes, and bore no signs of Christianity. The prefatory Christian laws, though now become fundamental, are altogether extraneous to the old re-enacted system. They are recorded laws before Tribonian assumes his functions.

The Roman Law may be most conveniently considered, in connexion with the influence of Christianity, as it regards A. Persons; B. Property; and C. Crime.ⁿ

A. The law as regards Persons comprehends the ranks and divisions, and the relations of mankind to each other, sanctioned or recognised by the law, with the privileges, rights, and immunities it may

^k There are several quotations from Homer, not one allusion to any of the sacred writings of Christianity.

^m The *Institutes* are without those prefatory chapters of Christian legislation contained in the code. From those chapters we pass into the Roman Code, as into another land; and it demands our closest attention to discern

how far, now that he has abandoned all the language of Christianity, the spirit of the religion follows the emperor into the ancient realm.

ⁿ This in some degree differs from the division adopted by many writers from the *Institutes* of Justinian, under which the criminal law ranks as a branch of the law of actions or obligations.

grant, the duties it may impose on each. In nothing is the stern and Roman character of the Justinian Code more manifest than in its full recognition of ^{Freemen and slaves.} slavery. Throughout, the broad distinction of mankind into freemen and slaves is the unquestioned, admitted groundwork of legislation. It declares indeed the natural equality of man, and so far is in advance of the doctrine which prevailed in the time of Aristotle, and is vindicated by that philosopher, that certain races or classes of men are pronounced by the unanswerable voice of nature, by their physical and intellectual inferiority, as designed for and irrevocably doomed to servitude. But this natural equality is absolutely and entirely forfeited by certain acknowledged disqualifications for freedom, by captivity in war, self vendition into slavery, or servile descent. Christianity had indeed exalted the slave to spiritual equality, as having the same title to the blessings, consolations, and promises of the Gospel, as capable of practising all Christian virtues, and therefore of obtaining the Christian's reward. This religious elevation could not be without influence, besides the more generous humanity to which it would soften the master, on their temporal and social position. It took them out of the class of brute beasts or inanimate things, to be transferred like cattle or other goods from one master to another, which the owner might damage or destroy with as much impunity as any other property; and placed them in that of human beings, equally under the care of Divine Providence, and gifted with the same immortality. But the legislation of the Christian Emperor went no further. It makes no claim to higher humanity; it does not attempt to despoil the pagan Emperors of the praise due to the first step made in that direction. It ascribes

to the heathen sovereign, Antoninus, the great change which had placed the life of the slave under the protection of the law. Even his punishment was then restricted by legislative enactment.^o But the abrogation of slavery was not contemplated even as a remote possibility. A general enfranchisement seems never to have dawned on the wisest and best of the Christian writers, notwithstanding the greater facility for manumission, and the sanctity, as it were, assigned to the act by Constantine, by placing it under the special superintendence of the clergy.

The law of Justinian gave indeed, or recognised, a greater value in the life of the slave. The Law of Slavery. edict of Antoninus had declared the master who killed his own slave without cause, liable to the same penalty as if he killed the slave of another.^p The Code of Justinian ratified the law of Constantine, which made it homicide to kill a slave with malice aforethought; and it describes certain modes of barbarous punishment, by which, if death follows, that guilt is incurred.^q The Code confirms the law of Claudius against the abandonment of sick and useless slaves; it enjoins the master to send them to the public hospitals. These hospitals were open to slaves as well as to poor freemen. "In these times, and under our empire," writes Justinian, "no one must be permitted to exercise unlawful cruelty against a slave." The motive, however, for this was not evangelic humanity, but the public good, which was infringed if any man ill-used his property.^r

^o Caius, i. 53; Just. Instit. i. viii.
 2. Constantine, in 312, had enlarged this law.—C. Theod. de emend. serv. l. 9, 1.

^p Caius, i. 53.

^q Cod. Just. ix. 14.

^r "Expedi enim reipublice, ne quere sua utatur male."—Instit. i. viii.

But while it protected the life, to a certain extent the person of the slave, it asserted as sternly as ever his inferior condition. He was the property of his master. Whoever became a slave lost all power over his children.^s His testimony could be received against his master only in cases of high treason. His union with his wife was still only concubinage, not marriage.^t The slave had no remedy for adultery before the tribunals; it was left to the master to punish the offence. A free woman who had unlawful connexion with her slave, according to the law of Constantine, not, as it seems, repealed by Justinian, was to be put to death, the slave to be burned alive. But the law of Constantine, confirmed in the West by Anthemius, which prohibited the union of a freeman and a slave, at least a freeman of a certain rank, under the penalty of exile and confiscation of goods, and condemned the female to the mines, appears to have been mitigated; at least the law of Claudius, which condemned the free woman who married a slave to servitude, was tempered to a sentence of separation. In the old Roman society in the Eastern Empire this distinction between the marriage of the freeman and the concubinage of the slave was long recognised by Christianity itself. These unions were not blessed, as the marriages of their superiors had soon begun to be, by the Church.^u Basil the Macedonian^x first enacted that the priestly benediction should hallow the marriage of the slave; but the authority of the Emperor was counteracted by the deep-rooted prejudices of centuries. Later laws appear to have attempted the reconciliation of the

^s Instit. i. 16, and ii. 9, 3. Cod. ix. 1, 20.

^t Contubernium, not connubium.

^u It was thought that the marriage

before the church would of itself confer civil freedom.—Biot sur l'Esclavage, p. 146.

^x A.D. 867-886.

Christian privilege with the social distinction. The marriages of slaves were to be celebrated in the Church; slaves and freemen were to receive the same nuptial benediction, without conferring freedom on the slave.[‡] As late as the thirteenth century a mandate of Nicetas, archbishop of Thessalonica, excommunicates masters who refuse to allow their slaves to be married in the Church.

The trade in slaves was still a principal and recognised branch of commerce. Man was a marketable commodity. The whole code of Justinian speaks of the slave as bearing a certain appreciable value, to be held by the same tenure, transferred by the same form, as other property. It was the weakness of Rome, not her humanity or her Christianity, which, by ceasing to supply the markets with hordes of conquered barbarians, diminished the trade; and Roman citizens were sold, with utter disregard of their haughty privileges, by barbarian or Jewish slave-venders. Throughout Greek and Latin Christendom, however the Church, by its precept and example, might rank the redemption of Christian slaves from bondage as a high virtue, the purchase and the sale of men, as property transferred from vendor to buyer, was recognised as a legal transaction of the same validity with the sale of other property, land, or cattle.

The Christian family, in its more restricted sense, comprehending the relations of husband and wife, of parent and children, had been the centre from which the Gospel worked outwards with all its beneficent energy on society. But Christianity, conscious of its more profound and extensive influence on morals, was in most respects content to rest without

[‡] *Constitut. Imp. xi. Jus Gr. Roman. i. p. 145. Biot, p. 213.*

intruding into the province of law.² It superadded its own sanctity to the dignity with which marriage had been arrayed by the older Roman law: it superadded its own tenderness to that mitigation of the arbitrary parental power with which the more humane habits of later times, and the wisdom of the great lawyers, had controlled the despotism of the Roman father. The Roman definition of marriage might almost satisfy the lofty demands of Christianity. Matrimony is the union of man and woman, constraining them to an inseparable cohabitation.³ Polygamy had been prohibited by the Prætorian Edict with a distinct severity not to be found in the New Testament.^b Marriage, in the oldest Roman law, was a religious rite. The purchase of the wife, the partaking of food together,^c took place in the presence of the pontiffs. These ceremonials were at no time absolutely necessary; but even under the Republic, marriage was

^a See throughout this chapter—the Codes, Pandects, and Institutes. Of modern works, Gibbon's celebrated chapter, with Warnkönig's notes; Ferdinand Walter, *Geschichte des Römischen Rechts*, pp. 332 *et seq.*

^a "Nuptiæ autem sive matrimonium est viri et mulieris conjunctio, *individuum vitæ consuetudinem continens.*" —Instit. i. ix. 1.

^b "Neminem qui sub ditione sit Romani nominis binas uxores habere posse vulgo patet; cum etiam in *Edicto Prætoris* hujusmodi viri infamia notati sint: quam rem competens iudex inultam esse non patietur." —Cod. v. tit. 5, 2. The silence of the New Testament as to polygamy, excepting in the doubtful text about the

bishop, has been the subject of much learned contest and inquiry. The desuetude into which it had fallen among the Jews, and its prohibition by Roman manners, if not by Roman laws, accounts for this silence, in my opinion, most fully, considering the popular character of our Lord's teaching and that of his apostles.

^c *Coemptio et confarreatio*. — The *confarreatio* was the more solemn form of marriage, and could only be annulled by certain tremendous rites, which represented as it were the death of the contracting parties. — Festus, *Defarreatio*. It had fallen into disuse with the extinction of the older families. The other two forms of marriage *coemptio* and *usus*.

altogether, as to its validity, a civil contract. With the Christians marriage had resumed a more solemn religious character. Certain forms of espousals or of wedlock are among the most unquestionable usages of the earliest Christian antiquity. On marriage the Christian is taught to take counsel of the bishop.^d Some kind of benediction in the Church, or in the presence of the community, gave its peculiar holiness to the marriage ceremony.^e Christianity did not decline some of the gayer and more innocent usages of Jewish and heathen marriages—the crowns, the ring, the veil of the virgin. Still, the Christian might hallow his union by the benediction of the Church; the betrothal or the espousals might take place in the presence of the religious community; yet the Roman citizen was bound only by the civil contract. On this alone depended the validity of the marriage, the legitimacy and right of succession in the children. The Church, or the clergy representing the Church, had no jurisdiction in matrimonial questions till after the legislation of Justinian. It was never perfect and supreme in the East; in the West it grew up gradually with the all-absorbing sacerdotal power.

As to incestuous marriages, marriages within the more intimate degrees of relationship, Christianity might repose upon the rigour of the Roman law.^f There was no necessity to recur to the books

^d Ignat. Epist. ad Polycarp. This passage is found in Mr. Cureton's Syriac version.

^e Tertull. ad Uxor. ii. c. 2-9; de Monogam. c. 11. "Unde sufficimus ad enarrandam felicitatem ejus matrimonii, quod ecclesia conciliat, et confirmat oblatio, et obsignat benedictio," &c. &c.: compare Augusti, Denk-

würdigkeiten, x. p. 288.

^f This was a voluntary rite, superinduced by Christian manners upon the law of the realm.

^g On forbidden marriages, Caius i. 58-62; Ulpian, v. 6; Collat. Leg. Mosai.: vi. 4-17; J. C. de Nupt. 5. 4. 1 to 1

of Moses. That law prohibited the union of brothers with sisters, of uncles and aunts with nephews and nieces: it did not proscribe that of cousins german.^h The Roman law extended this prohibition to connexions formed by affinity and by adoption. Connexions formed by marriage were as sacred as those of natural kindred, and an union with an adopted brother or sister was as inflexibly forbidden as in the case of blood.

But of the few passages in the Code of Justinian which reveal the Christian legislator, that extraordinary one stands out in peculiar contrast, which extends the prohibited degrees to spiritual relationship. But the manner, almost as it were furtive, in which this prohibition is introduced, shows how it grew out of the existing state of Roman feeling. The jealous law had prohibited, besides the incestuous degrees of relationship, the union of a guardian, or the son of a guardian, with his ward.ⁱ But a man might marry an alumna whom he had educated as a slave, but to whom he had afterwards granted liberty.^k The education as a slave implied that he had not towards her the affection of a parent. No one, however, would be so impious as to marry one

Spiritual relationships.

^h Plutarch, *Quæst. Rom.* 6; Cicer. *pro Cluent.* 5; Capitol. *M. Antonin.* The emperors Arcadius and Honorius married their cousins. *Instit.* i. x. The old law (*Caius, Instit.* p. 27) allowed a man to marry his niece on the brother's, not on the sister's side. The Emperor Claudius availed himself of this privilege. The Roman law, in fact, was not greatly extended by the canon law, the prohibitory degrees of which are summed up in these lines,—
 * *Nata, soror, neptis, matertera patris, et uxor, Et patrui conjux, mater, privigna, noverca,*

*Uxorisque soror, privigni nata, nurusque, Atque soror patris conjungi lege vetantur.**

ⁱ *Cod. Justin.* v. 6, 1 et 7.

^k *Cod. Justin.* v. 4, 26. There were other civil prohibitions: marriage of freeman with slave (see above), with a freed man or woman, by the Julian law confined to senators and their children (*Inst.* 16, de *Sponsal.*; *Justinian Cod. de Nupt.* 28, 5, 4), of senators with actors (*Ulpian.* xiii. 1. xvi. 2) or persons of infamous occupations, &c. &c.—See *Walter, p.* 539.

whom he had brought up in his house as a daughter. On this principle it was that, whether brought up in his family or not, the sponsorship in baptism implied an affection so tender and parental as to render such a marriage unholy.

Roman pride and rigid Christian morality would concur in some of those prohibitions which interdicted free Romans from certain degrading or disreputable marriages. There could be no marriages with slaves: children born from that concubinage were servile. The Emperor Valentinian further defined low and abject persons who might not aspire to lawful union with free-men—actresses, daughters of actresses, tavern-keepers, the daughters of tavern-keepers, procurers (lenones) or gladiators, or those who had kept a public shop.¹

The Roman law had gradually expanded from that exclusive patrician haughtiness which would not recognise the marriage with plebeians: it had admitted unions between all of Roman birth; but till Roman citizenship had been imparted to the whole Roman Empire, it would not acknowledge marriage with barbarians to be more than concubinage. Cleopatra was called only in scorn the wife of Antony. Berenice might not presume to be more than the mistress of Titus. The Christian world closed marriages again within still more and more jealous limits. Interdictory statutes declared marriages with Jews and heathens not only invalid but adulterous. The Councils condemned marriages with heretics in terms almost of equal rigour. The legislature was silent; though Manicheans especially, being outcasts by the law, marriages with them must have been of questionable validity.^m

¹ All this, however, was in the spirit
of the ancient Roman law

^m Cod. Theodos. iii. 7, 2, ix. 7, 5,
xvi. viii. 6; Cod. Justin. i. 9, 6.

Yet, however lofty the theory of the Roman lawyers as to the sanctity and perpetual obligation of marriage, it was practically annulled by the admitted right and by the inveterate usage of divorce. It was a contract which either party might dissolve, almost without alleged cause. In the older law, the wife being, like the rest of his family, the property of the husband, he might dismiss her at any time from his service. Even the law of the Twelve Tables admitted divorce. But the severer morals of the older Republic disdained to assert this privilege. The sixth century of Roman greatness is said to have begun, before the public feeling was shocked by the repudiation of a virtuous but barren wife by Spurius Carvilius Ruga.ⁿ But in the later Republic the frequency of divorce was at once the sign, the cause, and the consequence of the rapid depravation of morals. Paulus Æmilius discarded the beautiful Papyria with a scornful refusal to assign any reason.^o Cato, Cicero, exchanged or dismissed their wives. And the wives were not behind their husbands in vindicating their equal rights. Paula Valeria repudiated her husband without cause to become the wife of Decimus Brutus.^p Augustus might endeavour by laws and by immunities to compel or allure the reluctant

Divorce.

These laws, in the time of Augustine and Jerome, were by no means unnecessary. "At nunc pleræque contemnent apostoli jussionem, junguntur gentilibus et templa Christi idolis prostituunt, nec intelligunt se corporis ejus partem esse cujus et costæ sunt."—Hieron. In Jovin. i. 10: compare Augustin. de fid. et oper. c. 19. They gradually, as heathenism expired, became less denunciatory against such marriages, but maintained

and even increased their rigour against Jewish connexions.—Concil. Laodic. x.; but add xxxi.; Concil. Agath. lxxvii.; Concil. Arelat. xi.; Illiber. xvi. xvii.

ⁿ Dion. Hal. ii. 93; Val. Max. ii. 1; Aulus Gellius, iv. 3. Plutarch in Numâ.

^o "My shoes are new and well-made, but no one knows where they pinch me."—Plutarch. Vit. Paul. Æmil.

^p Cic. ad Fam.

aristocracy of Rome to marriage; he might limit divorce by statute:^a but his example more powerfully counteracted his own laws. He compelled the husband of Livia to divorce her during a state of pregnancy, and by marrying her became the father of a doubtful offspring. Mæcenas changed his wives as he changed his dress.^r Seneca, in his lofty Stoic morality, declares that the noble women of Rome calculated the year not by the Consuls, but by their husbands.^s Juvenal, in the bitterness of his satire, might describe the husband discarding his wife for the slightest infirmity;^t Martial might point an epigram against these legal adulteries;^u and all these writers might dwell, and with licensed exaggeration, only, or principally, on the manners of the capital and those of the higher orders; but throughout the Roman world there can be no doubt that this dissolution of those bonds which unite the family was the corroding plague of Roman society. Christianity must have subjugated public feeling to a great extent; it must have overawed, and softened, and rendered attractive the marriage state by countless examples in every part of the Empire (like that so beautifully described by Tertullian),^x far more than by its monastic notions of the superior dignity of virginity, before even Constantine could venture on his prohibitory law against divorce. Marriage was absolutely annulled by three causes, retirement to a monastic life, impotence, and captivity. The period at which captivity dissolved the tie, and permitted the husband

^a See the *lex Papia Poppæa*.

^r "Qui uxorem millies duxit."

Such is the hyperbole of Seneca, who hated, perhaps because he envied, the memory of Mæcenas. "Quotidiana repudia."—*De Provid.* c. 3.

^s *Senec. de Benef.* iii. 16.

^t "Conlige sarcinulas, dicet libertus, et exi; Jam gravis es nobis, et sæpe emungeris, exi

Oculus et propra: sicco venit altera naso."—*Sat.* vi. 146.

^u "Quæ nubit toties, non nubit, adultera lege est."—vi. 7.

^x *Ad uxor.* ii. c. 9.

or the wife to marry again, was differently defined in successive statutes. The divorce law of Constantine limited repudiation to three causes: against the husband, if he was a homicide, a magician, a violator of tombs.⁷ In either of these cases the wife recovered her dowry. If she sued for a divorce for any other cause, she forfeited her dowry, her jewels, even to the bodkin of her hair, and was sentenced to deportation into a desert island. Against the wife the three crimes were adultery, witchcraft, or acting as procuress. If the husband repudiated her for one of these causes he retained the dowry; if for any other the penalty was the forfeiture of the dowry. If he married again, the repudiated wife might enter his house and seize the dowry of the new bride. But the severity of this law was mitigated by Honorius,² its penalties abrogated by Theodosius the younger. This law, which is recited in the Code and in the *Novellæ* of Justinian, adds to the causes which justify divorce: on the part of the wife, if the husband is guilty of adultery, high treason, or forgery, sacrilege, pillage of churches, robbery or harbouring robbers, cattle-driving, man-stealing, having, to the disgrace of his family, connexion with loose women in the sight of his wife, attempting her life by poison or violence, or scourging her in a manner insupportable to a freewoman. On the part of the husband, besides all these, frequenting the banquets of strangers without his knowledge or consent, passing the night abroad without just cause or permission, or indulging in the Circus, the theatre, or the amphitheatre, without his leave.³

⁷ Cod. Theod. de repud. iii. xvi.

edict, only the penalties.

² Novell. xvii. de repudiis ad calc.
cod. Theodos. Ritter observes that the
constitutions were not annulled by this

³ Cod. v. xvii.; Pandects, xxiv. ii.;
Novellæ, xxii. cxvii. cxxxiv. The In-
stitutes avoid the subject.

The legislation of Justinian is obviously embarrassed with the difficulty of the question of repudiation: it re-enacts, but with some hesitation, the severe statutes of Theodosius: a succession of new laws explains, restricts, or confirms the plainer language of the Code. Justinian, indeed, first extended the penalties of the laws against divorce to cases of marriage without dower: if the husband repudiated an undowered wife without just cause, he forfeited to her one-fourth of his property.^b But the successor of Justinian was compelled to sweep away all these provisions, and to restore the liberty of divorce by mutual consent. The Emperor, as the law declares, was beset by complaints and remonstrances, that inextinguishable hatred was implanted in families by these restrictions, that secret poisonings would become common: he resisted long, but was compelled to yield to the general clamour. The manners of Constantinople, perhaps of the Roman world, triumphed over the severer authority of the Church.

Concubinage, a kind of inferior marriage, of which the issue were natural children not bastards, had been, to a certain extent, legalised by Augustus. The Christian Emperors endeavoured to give something of the dignity of legitimate marriage to this union, by enlarging the rights of natural children to succession; but in the East it was not abolished, as a legal union, till the time of Leo the Philosopher; in the West it was perpetuated by the pride of the conquering races, and in some respects by the practice of the clergy themselves to a much later period.^c

^b Cod. v. xvii. ii. To the first causes were added, endeavour to procure abortion, and indecent bathing in the public baths with men.

^c Ducange, art. Concubina.

That primeval constitution of Roman society, which made each family a little state, with its peculiar sacrifices and peculiar jurisdiction, of which the father was Priest and King, had long fallen into disuse. The parental power, in theory absolute, had been limited by public feeling and long desuetude. Even under the old republic, Brutus and Manlius were magistrates and generals as well as fathers; the execution of their sons was a sacrifice to Roman liberty and to Roman discipline, not an exertion of parental authority. Ericho, a Roman knight in the time of Seneca, whose son died under his chastisement, was pursued through the forum by the infuriated people.^d Alexander Severus limited the parental power by law. It was well perhaps for human nature that this change had taken place before the promulgation of Christianity. It was spared those domestic martyrdoms which might have taken place in many families. For that which the divine wisdom of its founder had foreshown was inevitable. Youth, in its prospective ardour, would be more prone to accept the new religion, than age, rigidly attached to ancient and established usages. It is the constant reproach with which the apologists of Christianity have to contend, that it nurtured filial disobedience, and taught children to revolt against the authority of parents.^e But this conflict was over long before Christianity entered into Roman legislation. The life of the child was as sacred as that of the parent; and Constantine, when he branded the murder of a son with the name of parricide, hardly advanced upon the dominant feeling. Some power remained of moderate chastisement, but even this was liable to the control of law.

^d Seneca de Clement. i. 14.

^e Tertull. Apologet. c. 3; Origen

contra Cels.; Hieronym. Epist. ad Lætam.

Disinheritance remained the only penalty which the father could arbitrarily inflict upon the son; for by degrees that absolute possession of all the property of the son which of old belonged to the father had been limited. The peculium over which full power was vested in the son was extended by Augustus, Trajan, and Hadrian to all which he might acquire in military service, even to captives who became his slaves, to be disposed of by gift or will; by Constantine and later Emperors to all emoluments obtained in civil employments; by Justinian to the inheritance, in certain cases, of the mother's property.

Infanticide was thus a crime by law, but the sale and exposure of children, the most obstinate vestige of the arbitrary parental power, aggravated by the increasing misery of the times, still contended with the humane severity of the laws, and the fervent denunciations of the Christian teachers.^f The sale of children was prohibited by law, yet prevailed to late times. The Emperor Trajan had declared that a free born child, exposed by its parents and brought up by a stranger, did not forfeit its liberty.^g The Christian Emperor first declared exposure of infants a crime;^h at the same time he declared the children of such poor parents as should be unable to nourish them, children of the state, to be clothed and supported by the public treasury. This

^f Athenagor. Apologet. Tertallian, Apologet. 9; Lactantius, D. I. vi. 20.

^g Pliny, Epist. x. 7.

^h The Cod. Justin. iv. 43, 1, confirmed the declaration of the law by Diocletian. "Liberos a parentibus neque venditionis neque donationis titulo, neque pignoris jure, aut alio quolibet modo, nec sub prætextu

ignorantiæ accipientes, in alium transferri posse, manifestissimi juris est." Yet in the life of Paphnutius by Jerome we read: "Mihi est maritus qui fiscalis debiti gratiâ, suspensus est et flagellatus, ac pœnis omnibus cruciatus, servatur in carcere. Tres autem nobis filii fuerunt, qui pro ejusdem debiti necessitate distracti sunt."

vast poor law could not have been carried into effect, or was necessarily modified by new laws, providing for children thus exposed. The stranger who took up such child and maintained it, might, according to a law of Theodosius the Great, bring it up as his own son, or as his slave. The father who had exposed his child, having abandoned his paternal power, could not reclaim it; he, however, who had sold his child through poverty might redeem it by paying the same price, or replacing it by another slave. But one of Justinian's supplementary laws both shows the unrepressed frequency of the practice, and by its strong language the profound sense of its inhumanity. It was now the custom to leave the children not merely in the streets, but in the churches, in order, no doubt, to appeal to the kindness of the clergy and of the more pious worshippers. If, says the law, worn-out slaves, who are exposed by their masters, obtain their freedom, how much the rather free-born infants? But, as if aware that this was rather a penalty on the charitable person, who might undertake the care of such children (for whom it might be better to be brought up as slaves than left to perish), condign punishment is threatened, it is to be presumed the penalty for murder, against the guilty parties. It is probable, however, that the practice, though not so clearly traceable, expired but slowly in the East; in the West it still required the decrees of Councils and the edicts of sovereigns to extirpate this pertinacious crime.¹

B. Christianity made no change in the tenure or succession to property. The Christian churches succeeded to that sanctity which the ancient law had attributed to the temples; as soon as they were

Law of property.

¹ Capit. vi. c. 142; Decret. Gregor. de exposit. lib. ii. 971, 972, 973.

consecrated they became public property, and could not be alienated to any other use. The ground itself was hallowed, and remained so even after the temple had been destroyed. This was an axiom of the heathen Papinian.^k Gifts to temples were alike inalienable, nor could they be pledged; the exception in the Justinian code betrays at once the decline of the Roman power, and the silent progress of Christian humanity. They could be sold or pledged for the redemption of captives, a purpose which the old Roman law would have disdained to contemplate.^l The burial of the dead made ground holy. This consecration might be made by any private person; but a public burial ground became, in a certain sense, public property.^m

The great law of Constantine, which enabled the Christian churches to receive gifts and bequests, was but an extension or transference of the right belonging to heathen templesⁿ and priesthods, many of which were endowed with large estates.^o Even during the reign of Constantine some parts of the estates of the

^k Instit. ii. 1, 8. Papinian lived under the reign of Severus.

^l Property might be bequeathed in general terms for the redemption of captives, c. i. 3, 48.

^m Instit. ii. 1, 9. If the owner gave consent, a body might be interred in any ground, which thereby became sacred; if the owner afterwards wished to withdraw his consent, he could not: his right was lost in the sanctity of the ground. Paolo Sarpi supposes, but quotes no authority, that the churches had, even before Constantine, received lands by bequest, but contrary to law. They were confiscated by Diocletian. The following is a law

of Diocletian and Maximian, A.D. 290: "Collegium, si nullo speciali privilegio subnixum sit, hæreditatem capere non posse, dubium non est."—C. 8 de hæred. instit.; Sarpi. Opere, iv. 71.

ⁿ A law in the Justinian code declares all gifts or bequests to heathen persons or places (*i. e.* priests and temples) null and void.—Leo. l. 11, 9.

^o On the church property of the ancients see the curious passage in Appian. During the pressure of the Mithridatic war, Sylla sold as much of the property devoted to sacrifices as produced 9000 pounds of gold.—De Bello Mithrid., c. xxii.

heathen temples were made over to the Christians: but the private offerings of the faithful, by donation and by will, poured in with boundless prodigality. Already hæridipety, seeking inheritances by undue means, is branded as an ecclesiastical vice by the severer teachers, and restrained by law: ^p already the abuses of wealth begin to appear. The Apostolic Constitutions enact that the property of the bishop should be kept distinct from that of his see, ^q his own he may bequeath by will to his wife, his children, or other heirs; the property of the Church is to descend sacred and inviolate. Already bishops are reproached, as too much involved in worldly affairs; Councils declare that they must be relieved from the administration of the temporal concerns of their churches; a steward or œconomus must be appointed in each church for this end.^r The sovereigns, instead of endeavouring to set bounds to this tide of wealth which was setting into the Church, to the loss of the imperial exchequer, swelled it by their own munificence, as well as by the tenor of their laws. They dared not incur the reproach at once of want of respect to the clergy, of parsimony to the poor, of stinting the magnificence of the edifices, now everywhere rising for the honour of God. These were the three acknowledged purposes to which were devoted the ecclesiastical revenues.

The legislation of Justinian confirmed all the provisions of former Christian emperors for the security and enlargement of ecclesiastical wealth. A law of Leo and Anthemius was the primary palladium of Church

^p Hieronymus in Nepot., Epist. xxxiv. The law of Valentinian. See page 90.

^q Apostol. Constit. can. 33.

^r Chrys. Hom. lxxxvi. in Matthæum. Concil. Antioch., Synod. Chalced. can. 26.

property. It declared every kind of property in land, in houses or rents, in moveables, in peasants or slaves, absolutely inalienable even with the concurrent consent of the bishop, the steward, and all the clergy. All such sacrilegious alienations by gift, bequest, or exchange, were absolutely null and void. The steward guilty of such alienation lost his office, and was bound to make good the loss out of his own property. The notaries who drew such deeds were condemned to perpetual exile; the judges who confirmed them lost their office and forfeited all their property.⁸ The lease or usufruct only could be granted under certain precise stipulations.

A law of Valentinian and Marcian empowered all widows, deaconesses, or nuns to bequeath to any church, chapel, body of clergy, monastery, or to the poor, the whole or any part of their property. Zeno enacted that if any one had bestowed any property on any martyr, prophet, or angel, to build a house of prayer; in case he died before the work was finished, his heirs were bound to complete it.^t The same applied to caravansaries, hospitals, or almshouses. The bishop or his officers might exact the completion to the full.^u Justinian recognises bequests simply to Jesus Christ, which might be claimed by the principal church of the city; and

* "Nec si omnes cum religioso episcopo et œconomo clerici in eorum possessionum alienationem consentiant."—c. i. 2. xiv. This law, which was originally limited to the church of Constantinople, was re-enacted with some slight alterations by Anastasius and by Justinian.—Const. 7. Justinian extended this law to the whole empire, including the West.—Nov. 7.

Const. ix. These two constitutions (c. i. 11, 24) gave the right of claiming bequests to the church for 100 years; this was afterwards limited to 40.—Nov. Constit. iii. 131-36. The emperor might, for the public good, receive church property in exchange, giving more valuable property.—Nov. 7.

^t C. i. 2, xv.

^u C. i. 3, 45.

bequests made to any archangel or saint, without specified place, went to the nearest church dedicated to that angel or saint.*

Founders of churches possessed the right of patronage, but the bishop might refuse an unqualified priest.†

All church property was declared free from baser services, and from extraordinary contributions.

Thus the Church might constantly receive and never depart from property; and thus began its immunities from public burthens. In the rapid change of masters, undergone in far the larger part of the Roman world, property of all kinds was constantly accumulating in the hands of the Church, which rarely, except through fraud or force, relaxed its grasp. The Church was the sole proprietor, whom forfeiture or confiscation could never reach; whose title was never antiquated; before whose hallowed boundaries violence stood rebuked; whom the law guarded against her own waste or prodigality; to whom it was the height of piety, almost ensured salvation, to give or to bequeath, sacrilege to despoil or to defraud; whose property if alienated was held under a perpetual curse, which either withered its harvest, or brought disaster and ruin on the wrongful possessor.

C. The penal laws of the Roman Empire, excepting in the inflexible distinction drawn between the freeman and the slave, were not immoderately severe, nor especially barbarous in the execution of punishment. In this respect Christianity introduced no great mitigation. The abolition of crucifixion as a punishment by Constantine was an act rather of religious reverence than of humanity. Another law of Constantine, if more rigor-

* Cod. i. 2, 26.

† Nov. 123. Nov. Constit. 57, 2.

ously just, sanctions the cruel iniquity, which continued for centuries of Christian legislature—the torture. No one could be executed for a capital crime, murder, magic, adultery, except after his own confession, or the unanimous confession of all persons interrogated or submitted to torture.^a

Some crimes were either made capital or more rigidly and summarily punished with death by the abhorrence of Christianity for sensual indulgences. The violation of virgins, widows, or deaconesses professing a religious life, was made a capital offence, to be summarily punished.^a

The crime against nature, the deep reproach of Greek and Roman manners, was capitally punished.^b

But remarkable powers had been given by former Emperors, and enlarged by Justinian, or rather, it was made part of the episcopal function, to visit every month the state prisons, to inquire into the offences of all persons committed, and to admonish the civil authorities to proceed according to the law.^c Private prisons were prohibited; the bishop was empowered to order all such illegal places of confinement to be broken open, and the prisoners set free.^d

In certain points the bishops were the legal as well as the spiritual guardians of public morality. They had power to suppress gaming of certain prohibited kinds.^e With the presidents of the provinces they might prevent women from being forced to appear on

^a By the Justinian code, Nov. cxliii. c. 31, torture (*βασανισμοί*) and exile were the punishment of any one who insulted a bishop or presbyter in the church. The disturbance of the sacred rites was a capital offence.

^a Cod. i. 3, 53.

^b Two bishops were publicly executed for this offence by Justinian.—Theophanes, p. 27.

^c Cod. i. 4, 22.

^d Cod. i. 4, 22.

^e Cod. ii. 4, 14.

the stage, or from being retained against their will in that dangerous and infamous profession.⁴ If the president, in his office of purveyor for the public amusement, should be the person in fault, the bishop was to act of himself, either of his own authority or by appeal to the Emperor.

A new class of crimes, if not introduced by Christianity, became multiplied, rigorously defined, mercilessly condemned. The ancient Roman theory, that the religion of the State must be the religion of the people, which Christianity had broken to pieces by its inflexible resistance, was restored in more than its former rigour. The code of Justinian confirmed the laws of Theodosius and his successors, which declared certain heresies, Manicheism and Donatism, crimes against the State, as affecting the common welfare. The crime was punishable by confiscation of all property, and incompetency to inherit or to bequeath. Death did not secure the hidden heretic from prosecution; as for high treason, he might be convicted in his grave. Not only was his testament invalid, but inheritance could not descend through him. All who harboured such heretics were liable to punishment; their slaves might desert them, and transfer themselves to an orthodox master.⁵ The list of proscribed heretics gradually grew wider. The Manicheans were driven still farther away from the sympathies of mankind; by one Greek constitution they were condemned to capital punishment. Near thirty names of less detested heretics are recited in a law of Theodosius the younger, to which were added, in the time of Justinian, Nestorians, Euty-chians, Apollinarians. The books of all these sects

⁴ De Episcop. Audient. ii. 4, §3.

⁵ Cod. de Hæret. i. 5, 11.

were to be burned; yet the formidable number of these heretics made, no doubt, the general execution of the laws impossible. But the Justinian code, having defined as heretics all who do not believe the Catholic faith, declares such heretics, as well as Pagans, Jews, and Samaritans, incapable of holding civil or military offices, except in the lowest ranks of the latter;^b they could attain to no civic dignity which was held in honour, as that of the defensors, though such offices as were burthensome might be imposed even on Jews.ⁱ The assemblies of all heretics were forbidden, their books were to be collected and burned, their rites, baptisms, and ordinations prohibited.^k Children of heretical parents might embrace orthodoxy; the males the parent could not disinherit, to the females he was bound to give an adequate dowry.^m The testimony of Manicheans, or Samaritans, and Pagans could not be received; apostates to any of these sects and religions lost all their former privileges, and were liable to all penalties.ⁿ

II. The Barbaric Laws^o differed from those of the empire in this important point. The Roman jurisprudence issued entirely from the will of the Emperor.^p The ancient laws, whether of the

Barbaric
codes.

^b There was an exception for the Goths in the service of the Empire.

ⁱ Cod. i. ix. 5. ^k Cod. i. 5, 21.

^m Cod. i. 5, 21. ⁿ Cod. i. 7.

^o All the barbarian codes are in Latin, but German words are perpetually introduced for offices and usages purely Teutonic.—Wergelda, Rachimburg. See Eichhorn, Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte, i. p. 232. See curious extract from Lombard Law on manumission, p. 331. The collection

which I have chiefly used is the latest, that of Canciani, *Leges Barbarorum*, Venice, 1781.

^p Many Christians, even of honourable birth, according to Salvian, fled from the cruel oppressions of the Roman law, no doubt the fiscal part, and took refuge among the heathen barbarians. “*Inter hæc vastantur pauperes, viduæ gemunt, orphani proculcantur, in tantum ut multi eorum et non obscuris natalibus editi et liber-*

Republic or of his imperial predecessors, received their final sanction, as comprehended within his code: the answers of the great lawyers, the accredited legal maxims, obtained their perpetuity, and became the permanent statutes of the realm through the same authority. The barbaric were national codes, framed and enacted by the King, with the advice and with the consent of the great council of his nobles, the flower and representative of the nation.⁹ They were the laws of the people as well as of the King. As by degrees the bishops became nobles, as they were summoned or took their place in the great council, their influence becomes more distinct and manifest: they are joint legislators with the King and the nobles, and their superior intelligence,^r as the only lettered class, gives them great opportunity of modifying, in the interest of religion or in their own, the statutes of the rising kingdoms. This, however, was of a later period. The earliest of these codes, the Edict of Theodoric, is so entirely

aliter instituti ad hostes fugiunt; ne persecutionis publicæ afflictionē moriantur, quærentes scilicet apud barbaros Romanum humanum, quia apud Romanos barbaram inhumanitatem ferre non possunt. Et quamvis ab his, ad quos confugiunt, discrepent ritu, discrepent linguâ, ipso etiam, ut ita dicam, corporum atque induviarum barbaricarum fœtore dissentiant, malunt tamen in barbaris pati cultum dissimilem, quam in Romanis injustitiam sævientem.”—De Gub. Dei, lib. v.

⁹ “Hoc decretum est apud Regem et principes ejus, et apud *cunctum populum* Christianum, qui infra regnum Merovingorum consistunt.”—Præf. ad

Leg. Ripuar. The Salic law is that of the Gens Francorum inclyta, among whose praises it is that they had subdued those Romans, who burned or slew the martyrs, while the Franks adorn their reliques with gold and precious stones.—Præf. ad Leg. Salic.

^r The first instance of this is in the preface to the code of Alaric. “Utilitates populi nostri propitiâ divinitate tractantes, hoc quoque quod in legibus videbatur iniquum meliori deliberatione corrigimus, ut omnis legum Romanarum et antiqui juris obscuritas, adhibitis sacerdotibus et nobilebus viris, in lucem *intelligentiæ melioris* deducta resplendeat.”

Roman, that it can scarcely be called barbaric jurisprudence. It is Roman in its general provisions, in its language, in its penalties; it is Roman in the supreme and imperial power of legislation assumed by the King: there is, in fact, no Ostrogothic code. The silence as to ecclesiastical matters in the edicts of Theodoric and Athalaric arises from the peculiar position of Theodoric, an Arian sovereign in the midst of Catholicism dominant in Rome and throughout Italy.^s But there is a singular illustration of the theory of ecclesiastical power, as vested in the temporal sovereign. The Arian Athalaric, the son of Theodoric, at the request of the Pope himself, issues a strong edict against simony, which by his command is affixed, with a decree of the Senate to the same effect, before the porch of St. Peter's. The points in which the Ostrogothic edict departs from the Roman law are: I. The stronger difference drawn between the crimes of the nobles and of the inferior classes. Already the Teutonic principle of estimating all crimes at a certain pecuniary amount, according to the social rank of the injured person, the *wehrgelt*, is beginning to appear, as well as its consequence, that he who could not pay by money must pay by his life.^t False witness is punished with death in the poor, by a fine in the rich; the incendiary is burned alive if a slave or serf,^u if free he has only to replace the amount of damage; should he be insolvent, he is condemned to beating and exile. Wizards, if of honourable birth, were punished with exile; if of humbler descent, with death; while a free-born adulteress was sentenced to death, in a vile and

^s There are some provisions favourable to the church borrowed from the Roman law. The church inherited all

the property of clergy dying intestate —xxvii.; apud Canciani, i. p. 15.

^t xc. 1.

^u xxvii. colonus.

vulgar woman the crime was venial.^v In seduction, the seducer was obliged to marry the woman; if married, to endow her with a third of his estate; if ignoble, he suffered death.^x II. The Edict, in the severity of its punishments, exceeds the Roman law, especially, as might be expected, among the Goths, in all crimes relating to the violation of chastity. Capital punishments were multiplied, and capital punishments almost unknown to the Roman law. The author of sedition in the city or the camp was to be burned alive.^y The male adulterer was to be burned, the female capitally punished.^z Death was enacted against pagans, soothsayers, low-born wizards; against destroyers of tombs, against kidnappers of free men, against forgery, against the judge who sentenced contrary to law;^a against robbery of churches, or forcibly dragging persons thence, death.^b

Not only were adulterers capitally punished, but whoever lent his house for the perpetration of the crime, or persuaded the woman to its perpetration.^c Rape of a free-woman or virgin was death, which extended to all who were aiding or abetting. Parents neglecting to prosecute for rape on a girl under age were condemned to exile. The consenting female suffered death.^d

The law of divorce, however, remained Roman: it admitted the same causes, and was limited by the same restrictions.^e The Edict of Athalaric against concubinage reduced the children of the free-born concubine to slavery. The slave-concubine was in the power of

^v lxii. ^x lix. ^y cvii. ^z lxi. ^a li. | himself from a charge of adultery by
^b cxv. ^c xxxix. So also the Lombard Law, ccxii. A man might defend | an oath or by his champion.—ccxiv.
^d xvii. xviii. ^e liv.

the matron, who might inflict any punishment short of bloodshed. Polygamy was expressly forbidden.^f

The Lombard laws are issued by King Rotharis,^g with the advice of his nobles.^h The Burgundian, in their whole character, are intermediate between the Roman and Barbaric jurisprudence: The bishops first appear as

Clergy co-legislators. co-legislators among the Visigoths. Already in France Alaric the Visigoth adopts the abridgment of the Roman law, by the advice of his priests as well as of his nobles.ⁱ But it is in Spain, after the Visigoths had cast off their Arianism, that the bishops more manifestly influence the whole character of the legislation. The synods of Toledo were not merely national councils, but parliaments of the realm.^k After the ecclesiastical affairs had been transacted, the bishops and nobles met together, and with the royal sanction enacted laws.^m The people gave their assent. The King himself is subject to the Visigothic law. The unlawful usurper of the Crown is subject to ecclesiastical as well as to civil penalties, to excommunication as well as to death. Even ecclesiastics consenting to such treason are to be involved in the interdict. These ecclesiastical lawgivers, while they arm themselves with great powers for the public good, claim no immunity. Bishops are liable to fines for disregard of judge's orders." The

^f VII. vi.

^g The laws of Rotharis were written seventy-six years after the invasion of Italy by the Lombards. The Lombards, it must be remembered, were still Arians. The church, therefore, is not co-legislative with the nobles.

^h "Cum primatibus meis iudicibus."—Præfat. in Canciani, vol. i.

ⁱ "Adhibitibus sacerdotibus ac nobilibus viris;" compare Canciani, in

Præfat. p. xiii. Eichhorn, not reckoning the Edict of Theodoric, arranges the codes thus: I. Lex Visigothica—the origin of the Fuero Juzgo—which, however, has many late additions. II. Lex Salica. III. The Burgundian. IV. Ripuarica, Alemannica, Bavarica. These betray higher kingly power.

^k Canciani, iv. p. 52.

^m Leges Visigoth. ð. 1, 6.

ⁿ ii. 1, 18, *ibid.*

clergy are amenable to the same penalty for contumacy as the laity.^o But great powers are given to the bishops to restrain unjust judges, even the counts.^p The terrible laws against heresy, and the atrocious juridical persecutions of the Jews, already designate Spain as the throne and centre of merciless bigotry.

The Salic law proclaims itself that of the noble nation of the Franks, lately converted to the Catholic faith, and even while yet barbarians untainted with heresy. In a later sentence it boasts that it has enshrined in gold and precious stones the reliques of those martyrs whom the Romans burned with fire, slew with the sword, or cast to the wild beasts.^q But it is the law of the King and the nobles: the bishops are not named, perhaps because as yet the higher clergy were still of Roman descent.

Still, however, the Teutonic kings and Teutonic legislators at first perhaps in their character of conquerors, assumed supreme dominion over the Church as well as over the State, and the subject bishops bowed before the irresistible authority. St. Remigius violated a canon of the Church on the ordination of a presbyter at the command of Clovis.^r Among the successors of Clovis no bishop was appointed without the sanction of the Crown.^s Theodoric, son of Clovis, commanded the elevation of St. Nicetius to the see of Treves.^t The royal

Salic law.

^o ii. l. 29, 30.

^p In the Visigothic code the observance of the Sunday and of holydays is appointed by law. The holydays were fifteen at Easter, seven before, seven after; the Nativity, Circumcision, Epiphany, Pentecost, Ascension, and certain days at harvest and vintage time.

^q Apud Canciani, vol. ii. see p. 370.

^r "Scribitis canonicum non fuisse quod jussit. . . . Præsul regionum, custos patriæ, gentium triumphator illud injunxit."—Epist. S. Remigii; Bouquet, iv. p. 52.

^s Planck, ii. 114. A.D. 329.

^t "Eum ad episcopatum iussit accersiri."—Gr. Tur.

power was shown in the shameless sale of bishoprics." The nomination or the assent of the clergy and the people was implied in the theory of the election, but often overborne by the awe of the royal authority.* The Council of Orleans, which condemned the sale of bishoprics, fully acknowledged the supremacy of the royal will. A few years later a Council at Paris endeavoured to throw off the yoke. It declared the election to be in the clergy and the people. It disclaimed the royal mandate, and condemned the bishop who should dare to obtain ordination through the King to be excluded from the fellowship of the bishops of the province.⁷ But the fierce Frankish sovereigns, while they appeared to accede to these pretensions, trampled them under foot. The right seems to follow them in their career of conquest. Dalmatius, Bishop of Rhodéz, in his last will, besought the King, under the most terrible adjurations, not to grant his office to a foreigner, a covetous person, or a married man.² In 562 a Synod, held under Leontius, Archbishop of Bordeaux, deposed the Bishop Emerius, as consecrated by a decree of King Chlotaire without his sanction. When the new Bishop Herculius presented himself at Paris, "What!" exclaimed King Charibert, "do men think that there is

* "Jam tunc germen illud iniquum cœperat fructificare, ut sacerdotium aut venderetur a regibus, aut compararetur a clericis."—Greg. Tur. Vit. Patr. vi. 3.

* "Ut nulli episcopatum præmiis aut comparatione liceat adipisci: sed cum voluntate regis juxta electionem cleri ac plebis," &c. A. D. 549. Concil. Can. 10.

7 "Nullus civibus invitis ordinetur episcopus, nisi quem populi et clericorum

electio plenissimâ quæsierit voluntate. *Non principis imperio, neque per quamlibet conditionem, contra metropolis voluntatem vel episcoporum provincialium ingeratur. Quod si per ordinationem regiam honoris istius culmen pervadere aliquis nimîa temeritate presumpserit, a provincialibus loci ipsius episcopus recipi nullatenus mereatur, quem indebitè ordinatum agnoscunt.*"—Can. viii.

* Gregor. Tur. v. 47.

no son of Chlotaire to maintain his father's decrees, that ye dare to degrade a bishop appointed by his will?" He ordered the rash intruder to be thrown into a cart strewn with thorns, and so sent into banishment; the Bishop Emerius to be reinstated by holy men.^a He fined the Synod. The royal prerogative was perpetually asserted down at least to the time of Charlemagne.^b

In the Gothic kingdom of Spain, so long as it was Arian, the kings interfered not in the appointment of bishops. Their orthodox successors left, it should seem, affairs to take their own course.^c But towards the close of the seventh century the Council of Toledo acknowledged the King as invested with the right of electing bishops.^d Ecclesiastical synods were only held by royal permission. Their decrees required the royal sanction.^e This theory may be traced through the numerous synods for ecclesiastical purposes in Gaul, between the conquest and the close of the sixth century.^f In Spain the custom appears distinctly recognised even under Arian kings.^g

^a Gregor. Tur. iv. 26. Loebel observes that Gregory, from his expression, "Et sic principis ultus est injuriam," thought the king in the right.

^b See instances in Loetel. King Guntran, in 584, rejected (it seemed an extraordinary case) gifts for episcopal appointments. "Non est principatus nostri consuetudo sacerdotium venundare sub pretio, sed nec vestrum cum præmiis comparare: ne et nos turpis lucri infamiâ notemur, et vos mago Simoni comparemini."—Greg. Tur. vi. 39.

^c Pope Hilarius laid before a synod at Rome a letter of the Tarragonian bishops complaining that in the other

provinces of Spain episcopal elections had ceased. The bishop nominated his successor in his testament.—Baron, sub. ann. 466.

^d "Quod regie potestatis sit episcopos eligere."

^e Planck, ch. ii. p. 125; from 511 to 590, were held twenty-one Gallic synods: most of them have permission "gloriosissimi regis," or some such phrase.

^f Planck, note, page 130.

^g King Theudes, in 531, permits the orthodox bishops "in Toledanam urbem convenire, et quæcunque ad ecclesiasticam disciplinam pertinerent dicere, licenterque dicere."—Isid. in Chron. ad A.D. 531.

As under the Roman law no one could evade civil office by retreating into holy orders. No deacon could be ordained without special permission. No freeman could be ordained in the Barbaric kingdoms without the consent of the King, because thereby the king lost his military service.^h

Below the sovereign power the people maintained the right of the joint election of bishops with the clergy. This old Christian usage would fall in with the Teutonic habits. As the Teutons raised their king upon the buckler, and proclaimed him with the assent of the freemen of the tribe, so the acclamation of the people ratified or anticipated the nomination of the bishop.ⁱ

The clergy enjoyed no immunity from the laws of the land.^k In criminal cases two successive Councils, at Macon and at Poitiers,^m acknowledged that for all criminal offences, as homicide, robbery, witchcraft, to which the latter adds adultery, they were amenable to the civil jurisdiction.ⁿ At a later period the presence of the bishop was declared necessary.^o If indeed the awe of the clergy might repress, or the obstinate claim to immunity embarrass, the ordinary judge, the royal

^h Conc. Aurelian. A.D. 511, can. 6. confirmed by a capitulary, A.D. 805. I. c. 114.—Marculf. i. 19.—Præceptum de Clericatu.—Planck, 159.

ⁱ For the usage under the Roman dominion in Gaul, from the earliest period to the fifth century, see Raynouard, Histoire du Droit Municipal en France, i. ch. xxvi. It continued to the twelfth century.

^k The appeal of the clergy to the civil courts for the redress of ecclesiastical grievances was strictly for-

bidden.—Concil. Tolet. iii. 13. Conc. Paris. A.D. 589. c. 13. Council under Recared, enacted, "Ne amplius liceat clericis conclericos suos relicto Pontifice ad judicia secularia pertrahere."—A.D. 589. c. 13.

^m Concil. Matiscon. A.D. 581. Concil. Pictav.

ⁿ According to Gregory of Tours, Count Leudastes of Tours had, almost every day, when he sat in justice priests brought before him in chains.—Lib. v. c. 49. ^o Capit. i. 23.

authority was neither limited by fear nor scruple.^p Numerous instances occur of bishops treated with the most cruel indignity by the fierce Frankish sovereigns for real or imputed crimes.^q At times indeed they submitted to the tardier process of a previous condemnation by an ecclesiastical synod. Prætextatus, Bishop of Rouen, was accused by King Chilperic as an accomplice in the rebellion of his son, before a synod in Paris. Prætextatus was in danger of being dragged from the church and stoned by the Franks. The bishops were prepared to utter the ban. But his defence was undertaken by the historian, Gregory of Tours. Neither fear nor bribery could deter the intrepid advocate from maintaining the innocence of the bishop.^r When the King could not obtain his condemnation,^s either the tearing his holy vesture, or the imprecation of the 108th Psalm against him, or even his exclusion from Christian communion, Prætextatus was suddenly hurried away to prison; on his attempt to escape, grievously beaten and sent into exile.^t This transaction, notwithstanding its melancholy close, shows some growing respect for ecclesiastical tribunals in cases even of high treason. The Spanish kings threaten bishops with royal as well as ecclesiastical censure.^u

There were appeals from ecclesiastical synods to

^p At the end of the sixth century the civil authorities in Spain took upon them to enforce clerical continence. They visited the houses of the clergy, and took out all suspicious females. With the consent of the bishops, who seem to have approved of this procedure, they might seize the women as slaves.—Concil. Hispal. 3.

^q Greg. Tur. vi. 24.

^r “Ducentas argenti libras promisit, si Prætextatus, me impugnante, opprimeretur.”

^s Gregory himself admits the supremacy of the king over the clergy. “Si quis de nobis, o rex, justitiæ tramitem transcendere voluerit a te corrigi potest; si vero tu excesseris, quis te corripiet?” ^t Greg. Tur. v. 18.

^u Plauck. ii. 188.

the Crown; in some cases the royal authority interposed to mitigate or to relieve from ecclesiastical penalties.^x

But there is a strong converse to this subjection of the Church to the power of the King or the nobility. Already in the sixth and seventh centuries, the bishops appear in all the great assemblies of the people.^y They have a voice in the election of the King; before long, his coronation becomes a religious ceremony. It was not, according to one theory, that they succeeded the Druids of Gaul and the Teutonic priests in their dignity (the Druids and their religion had long ceased to maintain any influence, the German priests do not appear to have formed a part of the great warlike migrations of the tribes), nor that the bishops claimed the privilege of all free Franks to give their suffrage in the popular assembly. There were few of these regular parliaments; they were rather great councils summoned by the king. The position of the Bishops, their influence with the people, their rank in public estimation, their superior intelligence, designated them as useful members of such council. The later Gothic kings of Spain felt even more awe of the clergy: they had been rescued by their zeal, not merely from the terrible retribution which awaited heathenism, but from that of heresy. Their conversion to orthodoxy showed the power which the Latin clergy had obtained over their minds; and they

^x See the curious Hist. of the Royal nuns (Greg. Tur. x. 20), and the excommunication of Archbishop Sisibert of Toledo: "Ut in fine vitæ tantum communionem accipiat, excepto, si regia pietas antea eum absolvendum creditur."—A.D. 698. Planck, p. 194.

^y According to Eichhorn, the first manifest "Concilium mixtum" was in A.D. 615. From this emanated the constitutions of Chlotaire II. which recognised the temporal powers of the hierarchy.—i. p. 520.

would hasten to lay the first fruits of their gratitude, submission, and reverence, at the feet of the clergy. Nor were the affairs discussed at these great councils strictly defined. There was no distinct line between civil and religious matters. This distinction belongs to a later period of civilisation. The clergy were not unwilling to obtain the royal or the national assent to their spiritual decrees. The king naturally desired the intelligence, the love of order, the authority, the influence of the clergy, to ratify his civil edicts. The reciprocal rights of each party had been as yet too little contested to awaken that sensitive jealousy of interference which grew up out of centuries of mutual aggression.

But if in the great public assemblies the bishops had already taken this rank, each in his city held an authority partly recognised by law, partly resting on the general awe and reverence.² As in the East, the bishop had a general superintendence over the courts of law. He had, if not always the presidential, a seat in the judicial tribunal.³ He was, if not by statute, by universal recognition, what the defensor had been in the old municipal system, only with all the increased influence of his religious character. To him the injured party could appeal in default of justice. He was the patron, the advocate of the poor. He had power to punish subordinate judges for injustice in the absence of the king. In Spain the Bishops had a special charge to keep continual watch over the administration of

² So King Chlotaire ordained.—
Greg. Tur. vi. 31.

³ On the residence of the bishops
in the cities, its effect on the great

increase in the power of the bishop,
and on the freedom of the cities, com-
pare Thierry.—*Récits Mérovingiens*
i. 266.

justice,^b and were summoned on all great occasions to instruct the judges to act with piety and justice.

Thus the clergy stood between the two hostile races in the new constitution of society—the reconcilers, the pacifiers, the harmonisers of the hostile elements. They were Latin in general in descent, in language, yet comprehending both races under their authority and influence; admitted to the councils of the Kings, and equal to the count or the noble in estimation; controlling one race by awe, looked up to by the other as their natural protectors; opposing brute force by moral and religious influences; supplying the impotency of the barbaric law to restrain oppression and iniquity (where every injury or crime had its commutative fine) by the dread of the religious interdict and the fears of hell; stooping unconsciously to the superstition of the times, but ruling more powerfully through that superstition. They were the guardians and protectors of the conquered,^c of the servile classes, whose condition was growing worse and worse, against the privileged free men; enduring, mitigating, when they could not control, the wild crimes of the different petty kings, who were constantly severing into fragments the great Frankish monarchy, and warring, intriguing, assassinating for each fragment. The Bishops during all that period, in Spain, in France, in Italy—making every allowance for the legendary and almost adoring tone in which their

^b "Ex decreto domini regis—simul cum sacerdotali concilio conveniant ut discant quam piè et justè cum populis agere debeant."—Concil. Tolet. iii. 38.

^c "Sint prospectores episcopi qualiter iudices cum populis agant, ut

iplos præmonitos corrigant, aut insolentiam eorum principum auribus innotescant. Quod si correptos emendare nequiverint, et ab ecclesiâ et a comunione suspendant."—Ibid.: compare Leg. Visigoth. ii. 1, 29, 30; Synod. Tolet. A.D. 633, can. 32.

histories have descended to us—appear as the sole representatives of law, order, and justice, as well as of Christian virtue and humanity. There is even a cessation of religious persecution, except against the Jews. After the extinction of Arianism, the human mind had sunk into such inactivity and barrenness that it did not even produce a new heresy. Except the peculiar opinions of Felix and Elipandus, and those of Adelbert and Clement in Gaul, down to the time when the monk Gotschalk started the question of predestination, the West slumbered in unreasoning orthodoxy.

A. The Barbaric codes, like the Roman, recognised slavery as an ordinary condition of mankind.^d Man was still a marketable commodity. The captive in war became a slave; and it was happy for mankind that he became so, otherwise the wars which swept over the whole world, civilised and uncivilised, must have been wars of massacre and extermination. The victory of Stilicho over Rhadagaisus threw 200,000 Goths or other Germans into the market, and lowered the price of a slave from twenty-five pieces of gold to one.^e The well-known story of the Anglo-Saxon youths who excited the compassion of Pope Gregory I. shows that in his time the public sale of slaves was still common in Rome. The redemption of captives—that is the repurchase of slaves in order to restore them to freedom—is esteemed an act of piety in the West as in the East. The first prohibition of this traffic, both by law and by public sentiment, was confined to the sale of Christians to pagans, Jews, and in

Rights of
persons
under Bar-
baric codes.

^a The church lived according to the Roman law: "Legem Romanam quæ ecclesia vivit."—Eichhorn, i. 297. In the Ripuarian law the wehrgeld of the clergyman was at first according to his birth, "Servus ut servum;" afterwards according to his ecclesiastical rank.—Ibid. • Orosius, vii. 37.

some cases to heretics. The Jews were the great slave-merchants of the age.^f But it was the religion rather than the personal freedom which was taken under the protection of the law. The capture and sale of men was part of the piratical system along all the shores of Europe, especially on the northern coasts. The sale of pagan prisoners of war was authorized by Clovis after the defeat of the Alemanni; by Charlemagne after that of the Saxons; by Henry the Fowler, as to that unhappy race which gave their name to the class—the Slaves.^g

The barbarian codes seem to acknowledge the legality of marriages between slaves, and their religious sanctity; that of the Lombards on the authority of the Scriptural sentence, “Whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder.” All unlawful connexion with married or unmarried slaves is forbidden.^h The slave who detected his wife in adultery might, like the free man, kill the two criminals.ⁱ Still, however, they were slaves. The law interfered to prohibit marriages between the slaves of different masters. If the marriage took place without the consent of the master, the slave was punishable, by the Salic law, either by a mulct of three pence, or was to receive a hundred stripes. The later laws became more lenient, and divided the offspring between the two masters.

The barbarian codes were as severe as the Roman in prohibiting the debasing alliance of the free man with the slave. The Salic and Ripuarian law condemned the free man guilty of this degradation

^f Hist. of Jews, iii. p. 48.

^g Compare Biot, p. 185, De l'Abolition de l'Esclavage ancien en Occi-

dent. Paris, 1840.

^h Lex Salic. tit. xxviii.

ⁱ Lex Salic. xxviii. 5.

to slavery;^k where the union was between a free woman and a slave, that of the Lombards^m and that of the Burgundiansⁿ condemned both parties to death; but if her parents refused to put her to death, she became the slave of the crown. The Ripuarian law condemned the female delinquent to slavery; but the woman had the alternative of killing her base-born husband. She was offered a distaff and a sword. If she chose the distaff, she became a slave; if the sword, she struck it to the heart of her paramour, and emancipated herself from her degrading connexion.^o The Visigothic law condemned the female who had connexion with or wished to marry her own slave, or even a freed man, to death.^p For the same offence with the slave of another, both were punished with a hundred stripes. For the fourth offence the woman became the handmaid of the slave's master. The Saxon law still more sternly interdicted all marriages below the proper rank, whether of nobles, free men, or slaves, under pain of death. The laws of the Lombards and of the Alcmanni were more mild. The latter allowed the female to separate from her slave husband on certain conditions, if she had not degraded herself by any servile occupation.^q

Under the barbarian as under the Roman law, the slave was protected chiefly as the property of his master. All injury or damage was done to the thing rather than the person, and was to be paid for by a mulct to the

^k Lex Sal. xxiv. v. 3: Lex Ripuar. lviii. 9.

^m cccxii. ⁿ Tit. xxxv, 2.

^o Lex Ripuar. lviii. 18.

^p Lex Visigoth. iii. ii. 2.

^q Adam. Brem., Hist. Eccles. i. 5. By

the Bavarian law, a slave committing fornication with a free woman was to be given up, to be put to death if they pleased, to the parents, and not to pay any mulct; "quia talis præsumpti excitat inimicitias in populo."—ii. ix.

owner, not as a compensation to the sufferer.^f By the Edict of Theodoric, he who killed the slave of another might be prosecuted for homicide, or sued by a civil process for the delivery of two slaves in place of the one killed.^g But slaves bore the penalty of their own offences, and even of those of their masters. If guilty of acts of violence, though under their masters' orders, they suffered death.^h The slave was not to be tortured, except to prove the guilt of his master, unless the informer would pay the master his value. If bought in order to suppress his evidence, he might be repurchased at the same price, and put to the torture.ⁱ The right of life and death still subsisted in the master. According to some of the barbaric codes, here retrograding from the Roman, he had full power to make away with his own property. This usage, noticed by Tacitus as common to the German tribes, continued to the Capitularies of Charlemagne. That code adopts the Mosaic provisions.^k Under Lewis the Debonnaire and Lothair, the arbitrary murder of a slave was punished by excommunication or two years' penance.^l

^f In the Burgundian law, the murder of a slave is only punished by a fine, according to his value.^m The humaner Visigothic code distinctly prohibited the murder of a slave. The punishment was fine and infamy. Another law recognised the image of God in the slave, and therefore interdicted his mutilation.

^g The Burgundian law shows that the artisans in the mingled Roman and barbarian society were chiefly slaves. "Quicumque vero servum suum auri-

ficem, argentarium, ferrarium, fabrum ærarium, sartorem vel sutorem, in publico adtributum artificium exercere permiserit," &c.—Tit. xxi.

^h Art. lxxvii.

ⁱ Art. c. ci. By the Bavarian law, if a slave was unjustly put to the torture, the false accuser of the slave was to give another slave to the master; if the slave died under torture, two.[†]

^k Exod. xxi. 20, 21.

^l Dachery, *Spicileg. Addit. ad Cap. c. 49.*; Biot, p. 286.

^m Tit. x.; *Leges Visigoth. vi. v. 12*; Law of Egica, vi. v. 12.

[†] Tit. viii. 15. 2; compare Burgundian law, Tit. vii.

The runaway slave was the outcast of society. At first he was denied the privilege of asylum.² It was a crime to conceal him; he might be seized anywhere; punished by his master according to his will; and according to some codes he might be slain in case of resistance. The influence of the Church appears in some singular and contradictory provisions.^a The Churches themselves were slaveholders.^b There were special provisions to protect their slaves. By the law of the Alemanni, whoever concealed an ecclesiastic's slave was condemned to a triple fine.^c In the Bavarian law, whoever incited the slave of a church or a monastery to flight, must pay a mulct of fifteen solidi, and restore the slave or replace him by another. The Church gradually claimed the right of asylum for fugitive slaves. The slave who had taken refuge at the altar was to be restored to his master only on his promise of remitting the punishment.^d

As under the Roman law, peculiar solemnity attached to the emancipation of the slave in the church and before the priest; and emancipation thus became an act of piety. So in some of the Teutonic codes, as in the Visigothic, emancipation before the parish priest was an ordinary act recognised by the law. It was a common form that it was done by the pious man for the remedy or the ransom of his soul.^e

^a Edict. Theodor. lxx.; Leg. Longobard. cclxxvii.

^b Lex Salica; Lex Ripuar. xiv.

^c "Non v'era anticamente Signor Secolare, Vescovo, Abbate, Capitolo di Canonici, e Monastero, che non avesse al suo servizio molti servi." Manumission was more rare among the clergy than among secular masters, because it

was an alienation of the property of the church.—Muratori, Ant. Italiane, Diss. xv. ^e Lex Alemann. 3.

^d Concil. Aurelian.: compare the Visigothic law, ix. 1, de fugitivis.

^e Leges Visigoth. v. vii.: compare note of Canciani, and the 15th Dissertation of Muratori. This began early both in East and West. "Servum

Easter was usually the appointed time for this public manumission in the churches; and no doubt the glad influences of that holy season awoke the disposition and the emulation, in many Christian minds, of conferring the blessing of freedom upon their slaves.

Gregory the Great seems to have been the first who enfranchised slaves on the pure and noble principle of the common equality of mankind.

But the great change in the condition of the servile order arose chiefly from other causes, besides the influence of Christianity. This benign influence operated no doubt in these indirect ways to a great extent, first on the mitigation, afterwards on the abolition, of domestic slavery; but it was perhaps the multiplication of slaves which to a certain extent slowly wrought its own remedy. The new relations of the different races consequent on the barbaric conquests, the habits of the Teutonic tribes settled within the Empire, the attachment of the rural or prædial slave to the soil, the change of the slave into the serf, which became universal in Europe, tended in different ways to the general though tardy emancipation. The serf was immoveable as the soil: he became as it were part of it, and so in some degree beyond the caprice or despotism of his master. Already under the Empire, the system of taxation had affixed the peasant to the soil: the owner paid according to the number of heads of slaves, as he might of cattle. Whether the cultivators were originally born on the estate ascribed to them, or settled upon it, they were equally irremoveable. No one could sell his estate, and

tuum manumittendum manu ducis in ecclesiam. Fit silentium. Libellus tunc recitatur, aut sit desiderii tui prosecutio."—S. August. Serm. xxxi
It was done pro remedio, or pro mercede animæ suæ.

transfer the slaves to another property. The estates of the Church were no doubt, as they yet enjoyed no immunity of taxation, subject to the same laws. It may be generally said that the whole cultivation of the Roman Empire was conducted, if not by slaves, by those whose condition did not really differ from slavery. The emancipation began at a period in the Christian history, centuries later than that at which we are arrived at present.^f

The barbaric codes, as well as the Edict of Theodoric,^g retained the high Teutonic reverence for the sanctity of marriage. In the Burgundian law, adultery was punishable by death.^h In all cases it rendered the woman infamous. A widow guilty of incontinency could not marry again—at least could not receive dower. In the Visigothic code the adulteress and her paramour were given up to the injured husband, to be punished according to his will: he might put them to death.ⁱ The law of divorce under the Burgundian law was Roman, excepting that the woman who divorced her husband without cause, according to an old German usage as to infamous persons, was smothered in mud.^k Among the Visigoths, divorce was forbidden, excepting for adultery. Incest, by the Visigothic law, was extended to the sixth degree of relationship. Rape was punished by confisca-

^f Tit. xl.-xlviii.: compare the Justinian code "De agricolis et censitis et colonis." Law of Constantius, i.—Law of Valentinian and Valens. "Omnes omnino fugitivos adscriptitios, colonos vel inquilinos, sine ullo sexus, muneris conditionisque discrimine ad antiquos penates, ubi *censiti* atque educati natiq̄ sunt, provinciis præsidentes redire compellant." On the

change of the slave into the serf in the Carolingian times compare Lahuërou, Institutions Carlovingiennes, page 204 *et seqq.* ^g See above.

^h Tit. lxxviii. and lii.

ⁱ Leges Visigoth. iii. iv. 14 *et seq.*

^k "Necetur in luto," xxxiv. 1. "Ignavos et imbelles et corpore infames cœno ac palude, injectâ super crate mergunt."—Tacit. Germ. c. xx.

tion of property, or failing that, by reduction to slavery.^m This code contained a severe statute against public prostitutes, rendering them liable to whipping. Incontinence in priests was corrected by penance; the woman was to be whipped. The former statute was in that stern tone towards unchastity which in the Goths Salvian contrasts with the impurity of Roman manners.ⁿ The later laws seem gradually to soften off into mulcts or compositions for these as for other crimes.

But among the yet un-Romanised Saxons, down to the days of St. Boniface, the maiden who has dishonoured her father's house, or the adulteress, is compelled to hang herself, is burned, and her paramour hung over the blazing pile; ° or she is scourged or cut to pieces with knives by all the women of the village till she is dead.

B. In the barbaric as in the Roman code, the law of property might seem enacted with the special view of securing to the Church wealth which could not but be constantly accumulating, and could never diminish. Every freeman might leave his property to the Church. No duke or count had a right to

Law of property.

^m Tit. iii. vi. Unnatural crimes were punished by castration. By the Bavarian law, whoever took away a nun to marry her committed adultery. "Scimus illum crimini obnoxium esse qui alienam sponsam rapit, quanto magis ille obnoxius est crimini qui Christi usurpavit sponsam."—xii. 1.

ⁿ iii. iv. 17. "Esse inter Gothos non licet scortatorem Gothum, solè inter eos præjudicio nationis ac nominis permittuntur impuri esse Romani."—Salvian, de Gub. Dei, vii. Lahuërou,

however, observes; "Voyez quelle énorme disproportion la loi met entre les obligations et les devoirs des deux époux! Le mari peut être infidèle autant de fois et à tel degré qu'il le voudra, sans que la femme ait le droit de s'en plaindre." The German woman was in fact, though in a less degree than the Roman, the property of her husband.—Lahuërou, Institutions Carlovingiennes, p. 38.

° A.D. 743. Bonifac. Epist. ad Ethelbal. Reg. Mercia.

interfere. The heir who ventured to reclaim such dedicated property was liable to the judgement of God and to excommunication, recognised in more than one code.^p The freeman might retain to himself and so enjoy the usufruct during his own life, and leave his heirs beggars. The proofs of such donations were all to the advantage of the Church. The barbaric codes left the clergy to secure the inalienability of their property by their own laws. At first, and until the Bishop began to be merged in the temporal feudatory, it was comparatively safe in its own sanctity. In the division of the conquered lands by the barbarians, the Church estates remained sacred. The new converts could not show their sincerity better than by their prodigality to the Church. Clovis and his first successors, ignorant of the value of their new acquisitions, awarded large tracts of land with a word. St. Remigius received a great number of lands to be distributed among the destitute churches. Their successors complained of this thoughtless prodigality. Already they had discovered that the royal revenues had been transferred to the Church.^q The whole Teutonic law, which appointed certain compensations for certain crimes, would have suggested, had suggestion been necessary, the commutation system of the Church. God, like the free man or the King, might be propitiated by the wehrgeld; the penance of the Christian be compensated by a pecuniary mulct. Already Queen Fredegunde satisfies the conscience of two hesitating murderers whom she would employ to assassinate her brother-in-law, King Sigebert, by the

^p Lex Alemann. et Lex Burgund., in | mansit locus noster, et divitiae nostrae
 mitio. | ad ecclesias intranslatæ."—Greg
^q "Ecce, aiebat Rex, pauper re- | Tur. vi. 46.

promise of large alms to the Church, in order to secure them from hell or purgatory.^r So rapidly and alarmingly was the Church in France becoming rich, that King Chilperic passed a law annulling all testaments in which the Church was constituted heir; but Gunthran, not long after, repealed the sacrilegious statute, and these murderous and adulterous and barbarous kings and nobles were again enabled to die in peace, confident in the remission of their sins by the sacrifice of some portion of their plunder (the larger the offering the more secure) on the altar of God.^a

But the barbarous times which bestowed so lavishly were by no means disposed superstitiously to respect the property of the Church. It was often but late in life that the access of devotion came on, while through all the former part, either by right of conquest, by terror, or by bribery, the barbarian had not scrupled to seize back consecrated land. Even kings were obliged to ratify and solemnise their own grants by synods or by national assemblies.^t The deepening of the imprecations uttered by these synods against robbers of the Church shows their necessity. These lands began to be guarded by all the terror of superstition; wild legends everywhere spread of the awful and miraculous

^r Gesta Francorum. Planck, ii. 199.

^a All the laws acknowledged the right of alienating some portion from the rightful heir, "pro remedio animæ," or "in remissionem peccatorum." There are legal formulæ in Marculf to this effect. Some codes, however, prohibited the absolute disinheritance of the right heir for the good of the church. Eichhorn, p. 359: *compare 363 et seqq.*

^t In a synod at Valence, King Gunthran demanded the ratification of all the gifts which he, his wife, and daughters had bestowed on the church. All plunderers of this property "anathemate perpetui iudicii divini plectendi atque supplicii æterni obnoxii tenendi sunt." King Dagobert confirmed his legacies in a parliament, the legacies which he had bequeathed "memoratorum quæ gesserit."—Planck, 203.

punishments which had fallen on such offenders.^a In a few centuries the deliverer of Europe from the Mahomedan yoke, Charles Martel, was plunged into hell, and revealed in his torments to the eyes of men, as a standing and awful witness to the inexpiable sin of sacrilege.

The property of the Church as yet enjoyed no immunity from taxation. Gradually special exemptions were granted. At length the manse of the church (a certain small farm or estate) was entirely relieved from the demands of the state. Even the claim to absolute freedom from contribution to the public expenses was of a much later period.^x

C. The Criminal law of the barbaric codes tended more and more to the commutation of crime or injury for a pecuniary mulct. High treason Criminal law of barbarians. alone, compassing the death of the King, corresponding with the enemies of the realm, or introducing them within its frontier, was generally a capital crime. Yet in the Visigothic code the capital punishment of treason could be commuted for putting out the eyes, Lex Lombard. Lex Visigoth. shaving the hair, scourging, perpetual imprisonment, or exile, with confiscation and attainder, and in this case the criminal could not make over his property to the Church.^y Such donations were void. But of all crimes the King had power of pardon with the consent of the clergy and the great officers of his palace. The Bavarian law adds sedition in the camp to acts of treason, but even this might be forgiven by the royal mercy.^z

^a Gregory of Tours is full of such tales.

^z Planck, ii. ch. vii. King Chlo-taire, in 540, demanded a third part of the revenue of the church as an extraordinary loan.—Greg. Tur. iv. 2.

^y Lex Visigoth. vi. 1, 2.

^z "Et ille homo qui hæc commisit benignum imputet regem aut ducem si ei vitam concesserit."—Lex Bavar. ii. iv. 3.

As to other crimes, except adultery and incest, it was Teutonic usage, not Christian humanity, which abrogated the punishment of death. In the Burgundian law homicide is still a capital crime; but gradually the life of every man below the King is assessed, according to his rank, at a certain value, and the wehrgeld may be received in atonement for his blood.^a Even the sacred persons of the clergy had their price, which rises in proportionate amount with their power and influence. By the Bavarian law, should any one kill a bishop lawfully chosen,^b a tunic of lead was to be fitted to the person of the bishop, and the commutation for his murder was as much gold as that tunic weighed: if the gold was not to be had, the same value in money, slaves, houses, or land; if the offender had none of these, he was sold into slavery. Nor was it life only which was thus valued; every wound and mutilation of each particular member of the body was carefully registered in the code, and estimated according as the man was noble, freeman, slave, or in holy orders. The slave alone was still liable to capital punishment for certain offences;^c the Visigothic code condemned him to be burned.^d Torture was not only, according to Roman usage, to be applied to slaves, but even to freemen in certain cases.^e

The privilege of asylum within the Church is recognised in most of the barbaric codes.^f It is asserted in the strongest terms, and in terms impregnated with true

^a Parricide alone, by the Visigothic law, was punished by the same death as that inflicted.

^b "Si quis episcopum quem constituit rex, vel populus elegit."—Lex Bavar. xi. 1.

^c Or scourging, for theft, by the

Burgundian law.—iv. 2.

^d Lex Visigoth. iii. iv. 14.

^e Lex Visigoth. vi. 1, 2, ii. iv. 4.

^f On the subject of asylum, compare the excellent dissertation of Paolo Sarpi, De jure Asylorum.—Opera, iv. p. 191.

Christian humanity, that there is no crime which may not be pardoned from the fear of God and reverence for the saints.^g As yet perhaps the awe of the Christian altar only arrested justice in its too hasty and vindictive march, and in these wild times gave at least a temporary respite for the innocent victim, to obtain liberty that he might plead his cause against the fierce populace or the exasperated ruler, for the man of doubtful guilt to obtain a fair trial, or for the real criminal to suffer only the legal punishment for his offence. As yet the priest could not shield the heinous criminal. By the Visigothic code he was compelled to surrender the homicide.^h With the ruder barbarians the sanctity of holy places came in aid of the sacerdotal authority; and in those savage times no doubt the notion that it was treason against God to force even the most flagrant criminal from his altar, protected many innocent lives, and retarded the precipitancy even of justice itself.ⁱ The right was constantly infringed by violent kings or rulers, but rarely without strong remonstrance from the clergy; and terrible legends were spread abroad of the awful punishments which befel the violaters of the sanctuary.^k

Already, in the earliest codes, appears the abrogation of the ordinary tribunals of justice by appeal to arms, and to the judgement of God: even the Burgundian law admits the trial by battle.^m

^g "Nulla sit culpa tam gravis, ut non remittatur, propter timorem Dei et reverentiam sanctorum."—Lex. Bavar. vii. 3. It was an axiom of the Roman law, "Templorum cautela non nocentibus sed læsis datur a lege."—Justin. Novell. xvii. 7.

^h Lex Visigoth. vi. v. 16.

ⁱ See Greg. Tur. vii. 19; iv. 18.

^k Restrictions were placed on this undefined right. In a capitular of 779—"Homicidæ et cæteri rei, qui mori debent legibus, si ad ecclesiam confugerint, non excusentur, neque eis ibidem victus detur."

^m Tit. xlv.

The ordeal is a superstition of all nations and of all ages. God is summoned to bear miraculous witness in favour of the innocent, to condemn the guilty.ⁿ The Riparian law admits the trial by fire,^o the Visigothic by red-hot iron.^p The Church, at a later period, took the ordeal under its especial sanction. There was a solemn ritual for the ceremony.^q It took place in the church. The scalding water, the red-hot iron, or the ploughshare were placed in the porch of the church and sprinkled with holy water. All the most awful mysteries of religion were celebrated to give greater terror and solemnity to the rite. Invention was taxed to discover new forms of appeal to the Deity; swearing on the Gospels, on the altar, on the reliques, on the host; plunging into a pool of cold water, he who swam was guilty, he who sunk innocent; they were usually held by a cord. There were ordeals by hot water, by hot iron, by walking over live coals or burning ploughshares.^r This seems to have been the more august

ⁿ Compare Calmet and Grotius on Numbers v. 31, for the instances from classical antiquity. Pliny and Solinus mention two rivers, which either by scalding or blinding, detected perjury. —H. N. xxxi. 2, cap. xi.

ἤμεν δ' ἔτοιμοι καὶ μύδρους αἶρειν χερσῶν,
καὶ πῦρ διέρπειν, καὶ θεοῦς ὀρκωμοτεῖν,
τὸ μῆτε δράσαι, μῆτε τῷ ξυνειδέειν
τὸ πρᾶγμα βουλεύσαντι μῆτ' εἰργασμένῳ.
Sophocl. Antig. 264.

“Et medium freti pietate per ignem
Cultores multa preminius vestigia prunâ.”
Virg. Æneid. xi. 787.

Pliny, xi. c. 2.

^o Tit. xxx.

^p Lex Visigoth. vi. 1, 3. See the very curious note of Canciani, and quotation from the Constitutions of Bæca on this passage.

^q See the very remarkable ritual in

Canciani, ii. 453.

^r The ordeal was condemned in later days by many popes as tempting God: by Alexander II., Stephen X., Honorius III. Muratori thought that it was abolished in the twelfth century. Canciani quotes later instances. That of Savonarola, a real ordeal, might suffice. Even Canciani seems to look back upon it with some lingering respect: “Ego reor Deo Opt. Max. plus placuisse majorum nostrorum simplicitatem et fidem quam recentiorum sapientum acutissimam philosophiam.” —Vol. ii. p. 293. Greg. Turon. de Martyr. 69, 70. All the ritualists, Martene, Mabillon, Ducange, under the different words, Muratori in two dissertations, one on the ordeal, one on

ceremony for queens and empresses—undergone by one of Charlemagne's wives, our own Queen Emma, the Empress Cunegunda. The ordeal went down to a more homely test, the being able to swallow consecrated bread and cheese.

The new crimes which the Christianity of these ages had introduced into the penal code of the Empire found their place in the barbaric codes. At first, indeed, they were left to the cognisance of the clergy, and to be visited by ecclesiastical penalties. The Arianism of the primitive Teutonic converts compelled the toleration of the laws, and retained a kind of dread of touching on such subjects in the earlier codes; but in proportion as the ecclesiastics became co-legislators, heresies became civil crimes, and liable to civil punishments.⁸ The statutes of the orthodox Visigothic kings, so terrible against the Jews, were not more merciful to heretics. The Franks were from the first the army of orthodoxy; heretics were traitors to the state, as well as rebels against the Church, confederates of hostile Visigoths, or Burgundians, or Lombards.

Witchcraft was a crime condemned by the Visigothic law.^t Its overt acts were causing storms, invocation of demons, offering nightly sacrifices to devils. The punishment was 200 stripes, and shaving the head. Consulting soothsayers concerning the death of the King was punished in a freeman by stripes and confiscation of property, and perpetual servitude: wizards guilty of poisoning suffered death.

III. But external to and independent of the Imperial

duel, furnish ample citations. Almost all, however, are later than these primitive barbaric laws.

⁸ Laws of Recared, xii. 2, 1.

^t Lex Visigoth. vi. 2, 3. There was a singular provision against judges consulting diviners in order to detect witches.

Law and the constitutions of the new western kingdoms was growing up the jurisprudence of the Church, commensurate with the Roman world, or rather with Christendom. Every inhabitant of the Christian empire, or of a Christian kingdom, was subject to this second jurisdiction, which even by the sentence of outlawry which it pronounced against heretics, assumed a certain dominion over those who vainly endeavoured to emancipate themselves from its yoke. The Church as little admitted the right of sects to separate existence, as the empire would endure the establishment of independent kingdoms or republics within its actual pale. Of this peculiar jurisprudence of the Church, the clergy were at once the legislature and the executive. This double power tended more and more to concentration. In the State all power resided in the Emperor alone; the unity of the empire under a monarch inevitably tended to that of the Church under one visible head. As the clergy more and more withdrew itself into a privileged order, so the bishops withdrew from the clergy, the Metropolitans rose above the bishops, and the Bishop of Rome aspired to supreme and sole spiritual empire. Had Rome remained the capital of the whole world, the despotism, however it might have suffered a perpetual collision with the imperial power, ruling in the Eternal City, would probably have become, as far as ecclesiastical dignity, an acknowledged autocracy. A people habituated for centuries to arbitrary authority in civil affairs would be less likely to question it in religion. The original independence of the Christian character which induced the first converts in the strength of their faith to secede from the manners and usages as well as the religious rites of the world, to form self-governed republics, as it were, within the social system

—this noble liberty had died away as Christianity became a hereditary, an established, an universal religion. Obedience to authority was inveterate in the Roman mind; reverence for law had sunk into obedience to despotic power; arbitrary rule seemed the natural condition of mankind. This unrepining, unmurmuring servility could not be goaded by intolerable taxation to resistance. Nothing less than religious difference could stir the mind into oppugnancy, and this difference was chiefly concentrated in the clergy: when a heretic was in power the orthodox, when the orthodox the heretic, alone asserted liberty of action or of thought. In all other respects the law of the Church, as enacted by the clergy, was received with implicit submission. In the provinces, as the Presidents, or Prefects, or Counts, in their regular gradation of dignity, ruled with despotic sway, yet were but the representatives of the remote and supreme central power, so the Bishops, Metropolitans, Patriarchs rose above each other, and culminated, as it were, to some distant point of unity. The Patriarchates had been fixed in the greatest cities of Europe, Asia, and Africa. These were the seats likewise of the highest provincial governments; the other chief provincial cities were usually the seats of local administration, and of the metropolitan sees; and so the stream of public business, civil and ecclesiastical, was perpetually flowing to the same centre. It was at once the place at which all that remained, the shadow, as it were, of the old popular assemblies, as well as the ecclesiastical synods, were convened; appeals came thither from all quarters, imperial mandates were issued to the province or theme. On this principle Constantinople continued still to rise in influence; Alexandria for above a century resisted, but resisted in vain, the

advancement of the upstart unapostolic See. The new Rome asserted her Roman dignity against the East, while on every favourable opportunity she raised up claims to independence, to equality, even to superiority, against the elder Rome, now a provincial city of the Justinian empire.

Rome was the sole Patriarchate of the West, the head and centre of Latin Christianity. Rome stood alone, almost without rival or reclamation. Ravenna, as the seat of empire under the exarchs, might aspire to independence, to equality; her pretensions were soon put down by her own impotence and by common opinion. Wherever the Latin language was spoken there was no rival to the supremacy of Rome. The African churches, distracted by the Donatists, oppressed and persecuted by the Arian Vandals, revived but as the churches of a province of the Eastern empire. Carthage was still one of the great cities of the world, her bishop the acknowledged head of the churches in Africa. But the African Church, though obedient to the East, after Justinian's conquest, and just emerging into ascendancy over the Arians, had neither ambition nor strength to assert independence. Of the Teutonic kingdoms founded within the ancient realm of Rome, three had been destroyed during the sixth century, those of the Ostrogoths in Italy, of the Vandals in Africa, of the Burgundians in France. Of the four which survived, the Lombard was still Arian, the Anglo-Saxon was heathen and not yet consolidated into one kingdom; those of the Visigoths in Spain and of the Franks in Gaul, if still of uncertain boundaries, and frequently subdivided in different proportions, accepted the supremacy of Rome as part of the Catholicism to which one had returned after a long apostasy, with all the blind and ardent zeal of a new

proselyte; the other, whose war-cry of conquest had been the Catholic faith, would bow down in awe-struck adoration before the head of that faith. The Latin clergy, who had made common cause with the Franks, would inculcate this awe as the most powerful auxiliary to their own dominion.

In the West the state of ecclesiastical affairs tended constantly to elevate the actual power of the single Patriarchate. The election of the bishops in the Roman provinces and in the new Teutonic kingdoms was in the clergy and the people. Strife constantly arose; the worsted party looked abroad for aid; if they found it not with the Metropolitan, they sought still further; and as the provincial of old appealed to Rome against the tyranny of the civil governor, so the clergy against the bishop, the bishop against the Metropolitan. They fled in the last resort to what might seem to be an impartial, at least might be a favourable tribunal.

But throughout these kingdoms there was another strong bond to Rome—the common interest of the Latin part of the community against the foreign and Teutonic. The old Roman aristocracy of the provinces, except in some municipal towns, perished or were degraded from their station by the new military aristocracy of the conquerors. But the clergy could not but continue, it has been seen that they did continue, for a considerable period to be Roman. They were thus a kind of peaceful force, bound together by common descent, and still looking to Rome as their parent. Nothing is known of the Arian clergy who accompanied the Goths, the Vandals, or the Lombards, and kept up the tradition of the heterodox faith, whether they too were chiefly Roman, or had begun to be bar-

The Clergy
Latin.

barian.^u The rare collisions which are recorded, the general toleration, except among the Vandals in Africa, might lead to the conclusion that they were the Teutonic clergy of a Teutonic people, each contentedly worshipping apart from each other, as under its separate law, so under its separate religion, until the superior intelligence, the more ardent activity of the orthodox Latins, brought over first the kings and nobles, as Recared in Spain and the later Lombard kings, afterwards the people, to the unity of the Church. The toleration of the Arians, and even writers like Orosius admit that in Gaul the Goths and Burgundians treated the orthodox Christians as brothers, was, after all, but indifference, or ignorance that there was another form of Christianity besides that which they had been taught.^x It was more often that the Catholics provoked than suffered persecution wantonly inflicted.^y That submission which the Roman paid to the clergy out of his innate and inveterate deference for law, if not from servility, arose in the Teuton partly from his inherent awe of the sacerdotal character, partly from his conscious inferiority in intellectual acquire-

^u In the *Collatio Episcoporum*, where Avitus of Vienne challenged the Arian clergy to bring their conflicting doctrines to the issue of a public disputation, the head of the Arian clergy is named Boniface. The Arians (it is a Catholic account) were struck dumb, or replied only in unmeaning clamours; one sentence alone betrays the ground they took, they stood on the Scripture alone; the Catholics were præstigiatores. Did they mean workers of false miracles? "Sufficere sibi se habere scripturam, quæ sit fortior omnibus præstigiis." The conference was in the year 419.—D'Achery, ii. p. 304.

^x Orosius, vii. 33. There was a kind of persecution of some bishops in Aquitaine. — Sidon. Apoll. vii. 6. Modaharius the Goth, a citizen, not a clergyman, is named by Sidonius—the name sounds like Latinised Teutonism. Of Euric, Sidonius says, "Pectori suo catholici mentio nominis acet." At this time the bishoprics of Bordeaux and eight others were vacant, no clergy ordained, the churches in ruins, herds pasturing on the grass-grown altars.

^y See on the confederacy of the orthodox bishops in Burgundy with the Franks, ch. ii.

ments.² No doubt already the Latin of the ordinary Church services had become, and naturally became more and more, a sacred language.³ The Gothic version of the Scriptures was probably confined to that branch of the nation for which it had been made by Ulphilas: it could not have been disseminated widely. The Latin clergy, even if they had the will, could not, during the formation of the various dialects or languages which grew up in Europe, have translated the sacred books or the services of the Church into the ever-shifting and blending dialects. Till languages grew up, recognised as their own by nations, there could be no claim to a vernacular Bible or a vernacular Liturgy. Latin would establish a strong prescription, a prescription, in fact, of centuries; and that, as on the one hand it would tend to keep the clerical office chiefly in the hands of those of Latin descent, would likewise preserve the unity of which the centre was Rome.^b

Rome throughout this period is still standing in more lonely pre-eminence: from various circumstances, perhaps from the continually shifting boundaries of the kingdoms, the Metropolitan power, especially in Gaul,

² Compare Paulus Diaconus on the conversion of the Lombards, iv. 44.

³ I cannot refrain from quoting the observations of a modern writer:—"Christianity offered itself, and was accepted by the German tribes, as a law and as a discipline, as an ineffable, incomprehensible mystery. Its fruits were, righteousness by works (*Werkheiligkeit*), and belief in the dead word. But in a barbarous people it is an immense advance, an unappreciable benefit. Ritual observance is a taming, humiliating process; it is submission

to law; it is the acknowledgment of spiritual inferiority; it implies self-subjection, self-conquest, self-sacrifice. It is not religion in its highest sense, but 'it is the preparation for it.'—Ritter, *Geschich.*, *Christ. Philos.* i. p. 40.

^b Planck supposes that for half a century after the conversion of the Franks the bishops were, without exception, Latin; about 566 appears a Meroveus, Bishop of Poitiers.—*Greg. Tur.* ix. 40; Planck, ii. 96. In the eighth century the clergy were chiefly from the servile class.—p. 159.

only centuries later, if ever, assumed its full weight. On the other hand, that of the bishops over the inferior clergy became throughout the western kingdoms more arbitrary and absolute. The bishop stands alone, the companion and counsellor of kings and nobles, the judge, the ruler; the College of Presbyters, the advisers, the co-ordinate power with the bishop, has entirely disappeared. It is rarely at this period that we discern in history the name of any one below the episcopal rank. Even in the legends of this age we scarcely find a saint who is not a bishop, or at least, and that as yet but rarely, an abbot.^c The monasteries at first claimed no exemption from the episcopal autocracy: they aspired not yet to be independent, self-governed republics. The primitive monks, laymen in every respect, would have shrunk from the awful assertion of superiority to the common law of subjection. The earlier councils prohibited the foundation of a monastery, even of a solitary cell, without the permission of the bishop. Gradually monks were ordained, that the communities might no longer depend for the services of religion on the parochial clergy; but this infringement on the profound humility of the monk was beheld with jealousy by the more rigid. S. Benedict admits it with reserve and caution. It was not till splendid monasteries were founded by religiously prodigal nobles, kings, and even prelates, and endowed with ample territories and revenues, that they were withdrawn from the universal subordination, received special privileges of exemption, became free communities under the protection of the King, or of the Pope.^d The lower clergy were in fact in great numbers

^c Planck, ii. 368.

^d Compare M. Guizot, *Civilisation Moderne*, Leçon xv., who has traced

the change, and cites the authorities with his usual sagacity and judgment.

ordained slaves, slaves which the Church did not choose at hazard from the general servile class, but from her own serfs, and who were thus trained to habits of homage and submission. The first Franks or Goths who entered into holy orders would hardly be tempted by a less prize, or stoop to a lower dignity, than that of a bishop, except as far as it might be necessary to pass rapidly through the lower orders. The clergy were so entirely under the power of the bishop that a Spanish council thinks it necessary and seemly to secure them from arbitrary blows and stripes.^e

The ecclesiastical jurisprudence, therefore, was entirely, as well as the administration of the law in its more solemn form, in the bishops. They alone attended the synods or councils, they alone executed the decrees. Their mandate or their sanction was necessary for every important act of religion.

The whole penitential system was under their control and rested on their authority. Private confession might be received, absolution for private offences be granted by the priest: public or notorious crimes could be remitted by the bishop alone.

This ecclesiastical jurisprudence had its specific laws as ordinances for the government of the clergy; its more general statutes, which embraced all ^{Penitential system.} mankind. Every man, barbarian or Roman, under whichever civil law he lived, freeman or slave, was amenable to this code, which had the penitential system for its secondary punishment; excommunication, which in general belief, if the excommunicated died unrecon

^e "Ne passim unusquisque episcopus honorabilia membra sua presbyteros sive Levitas, prout voluerit et complacuerit, verberibus subiciat et dolori."—Syn. Bracar. iv. A.D. 675, can. 7.

ciled, was tantamount to eternal perdition, for its capital punishment. The excommunication as yet was strictly personal: it had not grown into the interdict which smote a nation or a country.

Of this twofold law, that over the clergy and that over the laity, the administration of the first was absolutely in the bishops—that of the second only more remotely, and in the last resort. The usual penalties were different. The sacred person of the priest had peculiar privations and penalties, in some respects more severe, in others more indulgent, chastisements. The attempt to reconcile the greater heinousness of the offence in the sinful priest with the respect for his order, led at times to startling injustice and contradiction.^f

The delinquent clerk might be deprived for a time of his power of administering sacred things; he might be thrown back, an unworthy and a despised outcast, into the common herd of men, or rather lower than the common herd (for the ineffaceable ordination held him still in its trammels, in its responsibility, though he had forfeited its distinctions and its privileges), but even then the mercy of the Church provided courses of penance more or less long and austere, by which, in most cases, he might retrieve the past, and rise, to some at least, of his lost prerogatives. The monasteries, in later times, became a kind of penal settlements, where under strict provisions the exile might expiate his offences, work out the redemption of his guilt, if not permitted to return to the world, at least die in peace;

^f Throughout the Penitentials, the penalties are heavier on the clergy than the laity. For murder, a clerk did penance for ten years, three on bread and water; a layman, three, one on bread and water. The clergy, too, were punished according to their rank; where one in inferior orders has six, a deacon has seven, a priest ten, a bishop twelve years' penance.—Morinua.

at all events his degradation was concealed from a babbling and censorious world.

The law administered by the clergy, throughout the Christian polity, comprehended every moral or religious act; and what act of man could be beyond that wide and undefined boundary? Whatever the Church, whatever the individual clergyman, declared to be sin (the appeal even to the bishop was difficult and remote), was sin. The timid conscience would rarely dare to judge for itself: the judge therefore was at once the legislator, the expounder of the law, the executioner of the law.^a

This law had its capital punishment—excommunication, which absolutely deprived of spiritual life. Excommunication, in its more solemn form, was rarely pronounced by lower than bishops.^b It was the weapon with which rival bishops encountered each other, which they reserved for enemies of high rank. It was the sentence of Councils only which cut off whole sects from the communion of the Church.

But excommunication in a milder form—the temporary or the enduring deprivation of those means of grace without which salvation was hopeless, the refusal of absolution, the key which alone opened the gates of heaven—was in the power of every priest: on his judgment, on his decree, hung eternal life, eternal death.

^a “Itaque postquam criminum omnium occultorum pœna quibuslibet presbyteris concessa est, libelli Pœnitentiales præter canones conditi sunt in quibus hæc omnia distincte in simpliciorum presbyterorum gratiam et necessariam instructionem enarrabantur, ut penitentiarum imponendarum officio defungi possent.” — Morinus. This

work of Morinus de Pœnitentiâ affords ample and accurate knowledge on the history of the Penitential law, and of the different penitentials which prevailed in the Western churches.

^b Public penance was at first only adjudged by the bishops.—Sirmond. de Pœnit. Public.; Opera, vol. iv.

But though this, like all despotic irresponsible power, or power against which the mass of mankind had no refuge, was liable to abuse, was often no doubt abused, it was still constantly counteracted by the Penitentials which as wisely (lest men should break the yoke in utter despair) as mercifully, were provided by the religious code of Christianity. The Penitentials were part of the Christian law; how early part of the written law, is not quite clear; nor were they uniform, or in fact established by any universal or central authority—that of Pope or Council;¹ but they were not the less an admitted customary or common law, a perpetual silent control on the arbitrary power of the individual priest, a guarantee as it were to the penitent, that if he faithfully submitted to the appointed discipline, he could not be denied the inappreciable absolution. The Penitentials thus, by regulating the sacerdotal power, confirmed it; that which might have seemed a hard capricious exaction became a privilege; the mercies of the law were indissolubly bound up with its terrors. However severe, monastic; unchristian, as enjoining self-torture; degrading to human nature, as substituting ceremonial observance for the spirit of religion; debasing instead of wisely humiliating; and resting in outward forms which might be counted and calculated (so many hours of fasting, so many blows of the scourge, so many prayers, so many pious ejaculations, for each offence) yet as enforcing, it might be, a rude and harsh discipline, it was still a moral and religious discipline. It may have been a low, timid, dependent virtue to which it compelled the believer, yet still virtue. It was a perpetual proclama-

The three oldest were the Penitentials of Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury, of Bede, and the Roman. That of Rabanus Maurus obtained in Germany.—MORINUS.

tion of the holiness and mercy of the Gospel. It was a constant preaching, on one hand, it might be of an unenlightened, superstitious Christianity, but still of Christianity. So too, on the other hand, it was a recognition of a divine law, submission to a religion which might not be defied, which would not be eluded—a religion which would not deny its hopes to the worst, but would have at least resolutions, promises of amendment—the best security which it could obtain—from the unreasoning and fallible nature of man. It aspired at least to effect that which no human law could do, which baffled alike imperial and barbaric legislation, to impose constraint on the unchristian passions and dispositions. When sacerdotal religion was, if not necessary, salutary at least to mankind, it was the great instrument by which the priesthood ruled the mind of man. If it increased the wealth of the clergy, it was wealth much of which lawless possessors, spoilers, robbers, had been forced to regorge. If it invested them with an authority as dangerous to themselves as to the world, that authority was better than moral anarchy. However administered, it was still law, and Christian law, grounded on the eternal principles of justice, humanity, and truth.^k

^k It will hereafter appear in our History how the penitential system degenerated into commutations for penance by alms (alms being only part of the penance, compensated for prayer, fasting, and other religious observances); alms regulated indeed by the rank and wealth of the transgressor, but with full expiatory value; commutations became indulgences; indulgences, first the remission of certain penitential acts, then general remission of sins for definite periods, at length for periods almost approximating to eternity: and these for the easiest of religious duties, visits to a certain church, above all ample donations.

CHAPTER VI.

Western Monasticism.

MONASTICISM ascended the papal throne in the person of Gregory the Great. As our history ^{Western monasticism} approaches this marked period in the annals of Latin Christianity, it is necessary to describe the rise and progress of those institutions, which at once tended so powerfully to propagate, to maintain, and to give its peculiar character to the Christianity of Western Christendom.

Western monasticism was very different from that of the East. It was practical more than speculative; it looked more to the performance of rigid duty, the observance of an austere ritual, the alternation of severe toil with the recitation of certain stated offices or the reading appointed portions of sacred books, than to dreamy indolence and meditative silence, only broken ^{contrasted with Eastern.} by the discussion of controverted points of theology. Labour was part of the rule of all the eastern monks; it was urged by the wiser advocates of the monastic state, Athanasius, Basil, Chrysostom, even Jerome: it was enforced in the law of the monastic life brought by Cassianus from the East;^a and it is

^a "A labouring monk is troubled by one devil, an idle one by a host of devils."—Cassian. x. 23. Augustine wrote a book, de Opere Monachorum. M. Villemain has this striking observation: "De cette rude école du désert il sortait des grands hommes et des fous."—Mélanges, Eloquence Chrétienne, p. 356. The East had few great men, many madmen; the West, madmen enough, but still very many great men.

singular that it was first repudiated by Martin of Tours and his disciples;^b yet the eastern element predominated over the rule almost throughout Greek Christianity. The Greek monks have done little or nothing to advance the cultivation of barren lands, for the arts, for knowledge, or for civilisation. But the hermits in the West were in general content with the wild recesses of nature, and with a rigid but secret discipline. They had neither the ingenious nor the ostentatious self-tortures which were common in the East. They had hardly one Stylites, men who stood for decades of years^c on a lofty pillar, a pillar elevated in height as the saint drew nearer to heaven and to perfection^d—as yet no rambling and vagabond monks, astonishing mankind by the public display of their miserable self-inflicted sufferings. Nor did Cœnobites disturb the peace of the western cities by crowding with arms in their hands, ready with unscrupulous and sanguinary fanaticism for slaughter, or worse than slaughter, in the maintenance of some favourite doctrine, or some favourite prelate. Under their founder in Northern France, Martin of Tours, they might lend their tumultuous aid in the demolition of some heathen shrine or temple; but their habits were usually those of profound peace; they aspired not yet to rule the world which they had forsworn: it was not till much later that their abbots, now endowed with enormous wealth poured upon them by blind admiration of their holiness, assumed political

^b Paulin. de Vit. Martini, l. ii. Sulpic. Severus, c. 7.

^c Fifty-six, according to Evagrius, t. iii. i. 13; Theodoret. His. Relig., p. 882. For Wulfilas the one Stylites of the West at Treves, see Fleury, xxiv.

22.

^d "The Gallic bishops ordered a pillar to be destroyed on which an ambitious Western aspired to rival the East."—Greg. Tur. i. 17. Compare Schroeck, viii. p. 231.

existence. The western monks partook of that comparative disinclination to the more subtle religious controversy which distinguished Roman from Greek and Oriental Christendom. Excepting the school of semi-Pelagianism, propagated by the Oriental Cassianus among the monasteries in the neighbourhood of Marseilles (still to a certain extent a Greek city, and with the Greek language spoken around it), the monasteries were the seats of submissive, uninquiring orthodoxy. They were not as yet the asylums of letters. Both the ancient Latin prose and ancient Latin poetry were too repulsively and dangerously heathen to be admitted into the narrow cell or the mountain cloister. This perilous tendency to intellectual indulgence which followed Jerome into his cave in Palestine, and could only be allayed by the scourge and unintermitting fast, as yet did not penetrate into the solitudes of the western recluses. But, if the reason was suppressed with such unmitigated proscription, the imagination, while it shrunk from those metaphysic abstractions which are so congenial to eastern mysticism, had full scope in the ordinary occurrences of life, which it transmuted into perpetual miracle. The mind was centered on itself; its sole occupation was the watching the emotions, the pulsations of the religious life; it impersonated its impulses, it attributed to external or to foreign but in-dwelling powers the whole strife within. Everything fostered, even the daily labour, which might have checked, carried on in solitude and in silence, encouraged the vague and desultory dreaminess of the fancy. Men plunged into the desert alone, or united themselves with others (for there is no contagion so irresistible as that of religious emotion) under a deep conviction that there was a fierce contest taking place for the soul of

each individual, not between moral influences and unseen and spiritual agencies, but between beings palpable, material, or at least having at their command material agents, and constantly controlling the course of nature. All the monks' scanty reading was of the miracles of our Lord or his Apostles, or still more the legends of saints. Their singing was of the same subjects. Their fasts were to expel demoniacal possessions, their festivals to celebrate the actual presence of the tutelar saint. And directly the soul escaped, as it could not but escape, from the narrow internal world, it carried into the world without, not merely that awful reverence which sees God in everything, but a wondering ignorance of nature and of man, which made miracle the ordinary rather than the exceptional state of things. The scenes among which they settled were usually such as would promote this tendency—strange, desolate, gloomy, fearful, the interminable sea or desert, the mountain immeasurable by the eye, the unfathomed glen; in Italy volcanic regions, either cleft or distorted by ancient eruptions, and still liable to earthquake and disorder. Their solitudes ceased to be solitary; they were peopled with sounds, with apparitions unaccountable and therefore supernatural. Whenever a few met together, they met upon the principle of encouraging each other, of vying with each other, of measuring the depth of their faith by their unhesitating belief. The state of mind was contagious; those around them were mostly peasants, serfs, who admired their austerities, revered their holiness; and whose credulity, even if it outran their own, the monks would not disabuse, lest they should disturb instead of deepen their religious impressions. When the monks went still further forth into the world, the fame of their recluse sanctity, of

their miracle-working holiness preceded them. Men were prepared for wonders, and he who is prepared for wonders will usually see them. Emulation, zeal for the glory of their founder, the awe, often the salutary awe, which controlled multitudes, the mind unbalanced by brooding upon itself, and the frame distempered by the wildest ascetic usages, the self-walled, self-barred, the sunless dreary dungeons, which they made themselves in the midst of populous cities, wrought the same effects on the monks in Rome, or Milan or Tours. Thus religion, chiefly through monasticism, conspired with barbarism to throw back mankind into a new childhood, a second imaginative youth. The mythic period of Christianity had begun and continued for centuries: full of the materials of poetry, producing a vast mass of what was truly poetic, but wanting form and order, destined to await the creation of new languages before it should culminate in great Christian poems, commencing with the Divine Comedy and closing with the Paradise Lost.

Monasticism, as we have seen, was introduced into the West by the authority and by the writings of the great Athanasius. In the time of Jerome it had found its proselytes among the patricians and high-born matrons and virgins of Rome. Many monasteries in that city excited the admiration of Augustine; ^e and that of Nola, celebrated by S. Paullinus, did not stand alone in Southern Italy. ^f Milan ^g vied with Rome in the antiquity, in the severe sanctity of her monastery, which rose in one of the suburbs under

^e De Morib. Eccl. c. 33.

^f Ambros. Epist. lxxiii. S. August. Confess. iv. 6.

^g "Constructa statuit requiescere cella

Heic ubi gaudentem nemoris vel palmitis
umbris
Italiam pingit pulcherrima Metiolanum."
Paul. in vit. S. Mart.

The Western monks already loved the beauties of nature,

the fostering care of S. Ambrose; and Ambrose acknowledged that he had but followed the holy example of Eusebius of Vercelli. Monasticism had now spread throughout the West. In the recesses of the Apennines; in the secluded islands along the coast of Italy; in Gaul, where it had been disseminated by the zeal of Martin of Tours; in Ireland; in the parts of Britain yet unwasted by the heathen Saxons; in Spain; in Africa, these young républics rose in all quarters, and secluded themselves from the ordinary duties, occupations, pursuits, and as they fondly thought, the passions and the sins of men. In Gaul the earliest monasteries were those of Ligugé, near Toulouse, and of Tours, both founded by S. Martin, of the Isle Barbe, in the Saone above Lyons, Toulouse, in the Islands of the Hieres and of Lerins. Cæsarius, the Bishop of Arles, whom his age considered to unite in an unparalleled degree the virtues of the ecclesiastic and the monk, and Cassianus, who, originally an Oriental, settled at Marseilles, and endeavoured to realise in his monastery of St. Victor in that city the severity of his institutes, maintained and extended the dominion of monasticism in that province. The settlements of Columban will appear as the great initiatory measure which prepared and accomplished the conversion of Germany.

But even now no kingdom of the West is inaccessible to the rapid migrations, or sudden apparitions of these religious colonies.

The origin of Spanish monasticism is obscure. It is recognised by the decrees of various councils, those of Tarragona, of Lerida, of Barcelona, of Saragossa. It received a strong impulse from Donatus, an African, who landed with seventy monks from that country.

In Spain.

In Africa. In Africa, monasticism, under St. Augustine, assumed a peculiar form, intermediate between the ordinary sacerdotal institutions and the monastery. The clergy were to live in common under a rule, in some respects rigidly monastic, yet to discharge all the ordinary duties of the priesthood. They were the first regular canons; but the Augustinian Order formed, as it was designed, on this ancient and venerable model, is of much later date, the twelfth century.^h

In Britain. In Britain, monasticism had arrived before the Saxon invasion. It fled with Christianity to the fastnesses of Wales; the monks of Banchor, long established on the border, encountered the Saxon monks, who accompanied Augustine into the island. Ireland and the Western Isles were already studded with these religious retreats; Iona had its convent, and these institutions, which were hereafter to send forth S. Columban to convert and monasticise the German forests, were already at least in their early and initiatory state.

S. Benedict of Nursia. But the extension and organisation of monasticism in the West owes its principal strength and uniformity to Benedict of Nursia.¹ The life of Benedict, from infancy to death, is the most perfect illustration of the motives which then worked upon the mind of man. In him meet together and combine all those influences which almost divided mankind into recluses or cœnobites, and those who pursued an active life; as well as all the effects, in his case the best effects, produced by this phasis of human thought and feeling. Benedict, it was said, was born at that time, like a sun

^h Compare Thomassin, *La Discipline de l'Eglise*, i. 31.

¹ Baronius sub ann., but chiefly Mabillon, *Hist. Ordin. Benedict.*

to dispel the Cimmerian darkness which brooded over Christendom and to revive the expiring spirit of monasticism. The whole world was desolated by the inroads of the northern conquerors; the thrones of the new western kingdoms were filled by barbarian heretics; the East was distracted with controversy. War had not respected the monastic institutions; and those were fortunate who were shrouded in the mountain glens of the Apennines, or lay hid in some remote and sea-girt island. His age acknowledged Benedict as the perfect type of the highest religion, and Benedict impersonated his age.

In the time of Benedict no man could have made a profound impression or exercised an enduring influence upon the mind of man, without that enthusiasm in himself which would environ him with wonder, or without exciting that enthusiasm in others which would eagerly accept, propagate, and multiply the miracles which avouched his sanctity.

How perfectly the whole atmosphere was impregnated with this inexhaustible yearning for the supernatural, appears from the ardour with which the monastic passions were indulged at the earliest age. Children were nursed and trained to expect at every instant more than human interferences; their young energies had ever before them examples of asceticism, to which it was the glory, the true felicity of life, to aspire. The thoughtful child had all his mind thus pre-occupied; he was early, it might almost seem intuitively, trained to this course of life; wherever there was gentleness, modesty, the timidity of young passion, repugnance to vice, an imaginative temperament, a consciousness of unfitness to wrestle with the rough realities of life, the way lay invitingly open—the difficult, it is true, and painful, but

direct and unerring way—to heaven. It lay through perils, but was made attractive by perpetual wonders; it was awful, but in its awfulness lay its power over the young mind. It learned to trample down that last bond which united the child to common humanity, filial reverence; the fond and mysterious attachment of the child and the mother, the in-born reverence of the son to the father. It is the highest praise of St. Fulgentius that he overcame his mother's tenderness by religious cruelty.^k

History, to be true, must condescend to speak the language of legend; the belief of the times is part of the record of the times; and, though there may occur what may baffle its more calm and searching philosophy, it must not disdain that which was the primal, almost universal, motive of human life.

Benedict was born at Nursia, in the province of Spoleto, of respectable parents. He was sent A.D. 480. to Rome, according to still-prevailing custom, to be instructed in the liberal arts. But his pure spirit shrunk instinctively from the vices of the capital. He gave up the perilous study of letters, and preferred a holy ignorance.^l He fled secretly from the society of his dangerous associates, from the house of his parents, who, it seems, had accompanied him, as of old the father of Horace his son, to Rome.^m His faithful nurse alone discovered his design and accompanied his flight. This incident seems to imply that his flight took place

^k The approving bishop said, "Facile potest juvenis tolerare quemcunque imposuerit laborem qui poterit maternum jam despiciere dolorem."—Fulgent. Vit. apud Mabillon.

^l "Scienter nesciens, et sapienter

indoctus." Such are the words of Gregory the Great.—Dial. l. 2.

^m Compare (how strange the comparison!) the life of Horace and the life of S. Benedict.

at a very tender age; a circumstance, told at a later period, intimates that it was not before the first impulses of youthful passion. He took refuge in a small village called Effide, about two miles from Subiaco. The rustic inhabitants, pleased with his modesty and sweetness of disposition, allowed him to inhabit a cell near their church. Here took place his first miracle. The faithful nurse, Cyrilla, had borrowed a stone sieve, commonly used in that part of the country to make bread. It fell from her hands, and broke in two. Benedict, moved by her distress, united the two pieces, prayed over them, and the vessel became whole. The wondering rustics are said to have hung the miraculously restored sieve over the church door. But the sensitive youth shrunk from fame, as he had from vice: he sought a deeper solitude. In the neighbourhood of Subiaco, by the advice and assistance of a monk, named Romanus, he found a wild and inaccessible cavern, into which he crept, and for three years the softly and delicately educated boy lay hid in this cold and dismal dwelling from the sight of men. His scanty food was supplied by Romanus, who took it by stealth from his own small pittance in his monastery. The cave was at the foot of the hill on which the monastery stood, but there was no path down the precipitous rock. The food, therefore, was let down by a rope, and a small bell tied to the rope gave notice of its coming. Once the devil broke the rope; but he could not baffle the inventive charity of Romanus. To an imagination so prepared, what scene could be more suited to nurture the disposition to wonders and visions than the wild and romantic region about Subiaco? The cave of Benedict is still shown as a hallowed place, high on the crest of a toppling rock, with the Anio roaring beneath in a deep

ravine, clothed with the densest forest, and looking on another wild, precipitous crag. Half way up the zigzag and laborious path stands the convent of Benedict's sister, St. Scolastica.^a So entirely was Benedict cut off from the world that he ceased to mark not merely the progress of ordinary time, but even the fasts and festivals of the Church. A certain priest had prepared for himself some food of unusual delicacy for the festival of Easter. A mysterious admonition within his heart reproved him for this luxurious indulgence, while the servant of God was pining with hunger. Who he was, this holy and heaven-designated servant, or where he dwelt, the priest knew not, but he was led through the tangled thickets and over the rugged rocks to the cave of Benedict. Benedict was ignorant that it was Easter, and not till he was assured that it was that festal day, would he share in the heaven-sent banquet.

The secret of his hiding-place was thus betrayed, and some of the rude shepherds of the country, seeing the hermit in his coarse attire, which was no more than a sheep-skin thrown round him, mistook him at first for a wild beast: but when they approached him, they were so melted by his gentle eloquence, that their hearts yielded at once, and they were subdued to courtesy of manners and Christian belief. But the young hermit had not escaped the notice or the jealousy of the enemy of mankind. One day (we must not omit puerilities so

^a According to the annalist of the order, Subiaco, properly Sub-lacu, was a town at the foot of a lake made by the waters of the Anio, which had been dammed up by the Emperor Claudius. On the 20th February, 1325, the lake burst its dam, swept

away the road and bridge to San Lorenzo, and left only its dry bed, through which the torrent of the Anio still pours.—Annal. Ordin. Benedict. i. c. viii. The old monastery must have been on a peak higher than Benedict's cave.

characteristic, and this is gravely related by a late serious and learned writer) he appeared in the shape of a blackbird, and flapped him over the eyes with his wings, so as almost to blind him. The evil one took a more dangerous form, the unforgotten image of a beautiful woman whom young Benedict had known at Rome (he could not, then, have left it so very young). This was a perilous probation, and it was only by rushing forth and rolling his naked body upon the brambles and sharp points of the rocks that Benedict obtained the hard-wrung victory. Never after this, as he said to his familiar friends, was he exposed to these fleshly trials. Yet his warfare was not over. He had triumphed over sensual lust, he was to be tempted by religious ambition. A convent of monks in the neighbourhood, excited by the fame of his sanctity, determined to choose Benedict for their head. He fairly warned them of the rigorous and uncompromising discipline which he should think it his duty to enforce. Either fondly believing their own sincerity, or presuming on the latent gentleness of Benedict, they could not be dissuaded from the design. But in a short time the firm severity of the young abbot roused their fierce resentment; hatred succeeded to reverence and love. They attempted to poison him; but the cup with the guilty potion burst asunder in the hands of Benedict, who calmly reproved them for their crime, prayed for the divine forgiveness, reminded them of his own warnings before he undertook their government, and withdrew into his happier solitude.

It was no longer a solitude. The sanctity of Benedict, and the fame of his miracles, drew together daily fresh aspirants to the holiness or Fame of Benedict. the quietness of his recluse life. In a short time arose

in the poetic district, on the peaks and rent clefts, under the oaks and chestnuts round Subiaco, twelve monasteries, each containing twelve votaries (Benedict considered that less or more than this number led to negligence or to discord). The names of many of these cloisters designate their romantic sites; the Monastery of the Cavern, St. Angelo and St. Clement by the Lake, St. John by the Stream, St. Victor at the foot of the Mountain; Eternal Life, or the Holy Valley; and one now called Santa Scolastica, rising amid embowering woods on a far-seen ridge of the Apennines. The fame of these institutions soon spread to Rome. Some of the nobles joined the young fraternities, others sent their sons for the benefit of a severe and religious education; and already considerable endowments in farms and other possessions were bestowed by the piety and gratitude of parents or admirers. Maurus (afterwards St. Maur) was one of these young nobles, who became before long the friend, assistant, and successor of Benedict. To Maurus was soon attributed a share in the miraculous powers, as in the holiness of Benedict. Though wells of waters had broken out at the prayer of Benedict on the thirsty summits of the rocks, where the hermitages hung aloft, they were not always at hand or always full. A noble youth of fifteen, Placidus, in drawing water from the lake, fell in, and was carried by the waves far from the shore. Benedict cried to Maurus to assist. Maurus rushed in, and walking on the water, drew out the fainting youth by the hair. A contest of humility began: Maurus attributed the wonder to the holiness of his master, Benedict to the devotion of Maurus. It was decided by the youth, who declared that he had seen the sheepskin cloak of Benedict hovering over him. It

would not be difficult to admit all the facts of this miracle, which might be easily accounted for by the excitement of all parties.

It is strange to see the blackest crimes constantly, as it were, in collision with this high-wrought holiness. Florentius, a neighbouring priest, ^{The Priest Florentius.} was envious of the holy Benedict. He attempted to poison him in some bread which he sent as a present.^o Benedict had a prescient consciousness of the treason; and a raven at his command flew away with the infected food. Florentius, baffled in his design upon the life of the master, plotted against the souls of the disciples. He turned seven naked girls into the garden of one of the monasteries. Benedict determined to withdraw from the dangerous neighbourhood. He had set forth on his journey when Maurus hastily overtook him, and, not without some signs of joy, communicated the tidings of the death of Florentius. The wicked priest had been buried in the ruins of his chamber, which had fallen in, while the rest of the house remained standing. Benedict wept over the fate of his enemy, and imposed penance on his disciple for his unseemly and unchristian rejoicing in the calamity even of the wicked.

Benedict pursued his way (as the more poetic legend added, under the guidance of two visible angels) to Monte Casino, about fifty miles from Subiaco. On Monte Casino still arose a temple of Apollo amid its sacred grove; and in the midst, as it were, of Christianity, the pagan peasants brought their offerings to their ancient god. But there was no human resistance

^o Compare the attempt of the ambitious archdeacon to poison the aged Bishop of Canosa. The bishop drank the cup, having made the sign of the cross, and the archdeacon fell dead, as if the poison had found its way to his stomach.—Greg. Dial. iii. 5

when the zealous recluse destroyed the profane and stately edifice, broke the idol, overturned the altar, and cut down the grove. Unreluctant the people received the religion of Christ from the eloquent lips of Benedict. The enemy of mankind attempted some obstruction to the building of the church devoted to St. Martin. The obstinate stones would not move but at the prayers of Benedict. They fell and crushed the builders, who were healed by his intercession. The last stronghold of paganism was replaced by a Benedictine monastery; and here arose that great model republic, which gave its laws to almost the whole of Western Monasticism. If we might imagine the pagan deity to have any real and conscious being, and to represent the Sun, he might behold the monastic form of Christianity, which rose on the ruins of his ancient worship, almost as universally spread throughout the world, as of old the adoration of his visible majesty.

Three virtues constituted the sum of the Benedictine discipline. Silence with solitude and seclusion, Rule of S. Benedict. humility, obedience, which, in the strong language of its laws, extended to impossibilities. All is thus concentrated on self. It was the man isolated from his kind who was to rise to a lonely perfection. All the social, all patriotic virtues were excluded: the mere mechanic observance of the rules of the brotherhood, or even the corporate spirit, are hardly worthy of notice, though they are the only substitutes for the rejected and proscribed pursuits of active life.

The three occupations of life were the worship of God, reading, and manual labour. The adventitious advantages, and great they were, of these industrious agricultural settlements, were not contemplated by the founder: the object of the monks was not to make the wilderness

blossom with fertility, to extend the arts and husbandry of civilised life into barbarous regions, it was solely to employ in engrossing occupation that portion of time which could not be devoted to worship and to study.^p

For the divine service the monks awoke at midnight; they retired again, and rose after a brief repose for matins. After matins they did not return to their beds, but spent the time in reading, meditation, or the singing of psalms. From prime to noon, and all after the brief meal, and another period of reading or meditation, was devoted to labour. At particular periods, as at harvest, the labouring brothers did not return home to their religious service; they knelt and performed it in the fields. The mass was not celebrated on ordinary days, only on Sundays and holidays.

Abstinence from flesh, at least that of four-footed animals, was perpetual and universal; from that of fowls was prescribed with less rigour. The usual food was vegetable broth, bread, and a small measure of wine. From Easter to Pentecost there was no fast. From Pentecost to the ides of September, fasts on two days in the week; the rest of the year to Easter perpetual fast, with one evening meal of eggs or fish. Lent was still more rigorously enforced by abstinence not from food only, but from sleep and from speech. The punishment of delinquents was sequestration from the oratory, the table, and the common meetings; the contumacious and incorrigible were expelled from the community. The monastery contained within its walls the mill, the bakehouse, and everything necessary for life. It was strictly forbidden to partake of food without the walls; all wan-

^p "Cuius piæ mentis agitationi," says Mabillon, p. 52.

dering to any distance was prohibited; and if the monk was obliged to be absent during the whole day, he was enjoined to fast rather than partake of food abroad.

So were self-doomed to live the monks of St. Benedict; so all monks, whose number is incalculable, for the long centuries during which Latin Christianity ruled the western world. The two sexes were not merely to be strangers, but natural, irreconcilable enemies. This strong repulsion was carried not only into their judgements upon themselves, but into their judgements of those who were yet in the world without. All monks inevitably embraced, with the most extreme severity, the dominant notion of the absolute sinfulness of all sexual intercourse; at least, its utter incompatibility with religious service. A noble lady is possessed with a legion of devils, for compliance with her husband, before a procession in honour of the bones of St. Sebastian. The less questionable natural affections were proscribed with equal severity. Attachment to the order was to be the one absorbing affection. A boy monk, who loved his parents too fondly and stole forth to visit them, was not merely suddenly struck with death, but the holy earth refused to retain his body, and cast it forth with indignation. It was only by the influence of Benedict, who commanded the Holy Eucharist to be placed upon the body, that it was permitted to repose in the grave.⁹

⁹ Gregor. Dial. i. 10. There is another strange story of the power of Benedict; he had excommunicated certain nuns for the unbridled use of their tongues. They were buried, however, in the church. But when the sacrament was next administered, at the voice of the deacon, commanding all who did not communicate to

depart, the bodies rose from their graves and walked out of the church. This was seen by their nurse, who communicated the fact to Benedict. The pitying saint commanded an oblation to be made for them, and ever after they rested quietly in their graves.—Greg. Dial. ii. 23.

But the later days of Benedict, at Monte Casino, though adorned with perpetual miracle, did not seclude him or his peaceful votaries from the disastrous times which overwhelmed Italy during the fall of the Gothic monarchy and the re-conquest by the Eastern Emperor. War respected not these holy sanctuaries; and in prophetic vision Benedict saw his establishment laid waste, and all its lofty buildings in ruins before the ravages of the spoiler. He was consoled, however, it is added, by visions of the extension of his rule throughout Europe, and the rise of flourishing Benedictine monasteries in every part of the West. Nor were the virtues of Benedict without influence in assuaging the horrors of the war. Totila himself, the last and not least noble Gothic sovereign, came to consult the prophetic saint of Monte Casino as an oracle. He attempted to practise a deception upon him, by dressing one of his chieftains in the royal attire. Benedict at once detected the fraud, and Riggo, the chieftain, returned to his master, deeply impressed with awe at the supernatural knowledge of the saint. Totila himself, it is said, fell prostrate at the feet of Benedict, who raised him up, solemnly rebuked his cruelties, foretold his conquest of Rome, his passage of the sea, his reign of nine years, his death during the tenth. The greater humanity with which Totila from this time conducted the war, his severity against his soldiers for the violation of female chastity, the virtues, in short, of this gallant warrior, are attributed to this interview with Benedict. Considering the uncertainty of the date assigned to this event, it is impossible to estimate how far the fierce warrior was already under the control of those Christian feelings which led him to seek the solitude of the saint, or was really awe-struck

into more thoughtful religiousness by these prophetic admonitions.^r

Benedict did not live to witness the ruin of Monte

S. Scolastica. Casino; his sister, St. Scolastica, preceded him in her death but a few days. There is some-

thing striking in the attachment of the brother and sister, the human affection struggling with the hard spirit of monasticism. St. Scolastica was a female

Benedict. Equally devout, equally powerful in attracting and ruling the minds of recluses of her own sex, the

remote foundress of convents almost as numerous as those of her brother's rule. With the most perfect

harmony of disposition, one in holiness, one in devotion, they were of different sexes, and met but once a year.

The feminine weakness of the dying Scolastica for once extorted an unwilling breach of his rule from her severer

brother.^s He had come to visit her, probably for the last time; she entreated him to rest for the night in her

convent; but Benedict had never, so spake his own laws, passed a night out of his own monastery. But

Heaven was more indulgent than the monk. Scolastica reclined her head in profound prayer. Suddenly the

serene sky was overcast, lightnings and thunders flashed and roared around, the rain fell in torrents. "The

Lord have mercy upon you, my sister!" said Benedict; "what have you done?" "You," she replied, "have

rejected my prayers; but the Lord hath not. Go now, if you can." They passed the night in devout spiritual

^r There are several other anecdotes of Totila in the Dialogues of Gregory. He went to consult the Bishop of Canosa, as a prophet, and tried to deceive him. See likewise the odd story of Cassius, Bishop of Narni, whom Totila,

from his red nose, unjustly suspected of drunkenness. In several other instances Totila was compelled to reverence the sanctity of bishops, whom he had begun to persecute.—c. x. and xi.

^s Greg. Dial. 2, xxxiii.

exercises. Three days after Benedict saw the soul of his sister soaring to heaven in the shape of a dove. Only a short time elapsed, and Benedict was seized with a mortal sickness. Six days before his death he ordered his grave to be opened, and at the end breathed his last in prayer. His death was not without its prophetic announcements. It was revealed to a monk in his cell at Monte Casino, and to his chosen disciple, St. Maurus, who had already left Italy to establish the rule of his master in the monasteries of Gaul. In a convent near Auxerre, Maurus was rapt in spirit, and beheld a way strewn with garments and lighted with lamps, which led direct from the cell of Benedict to heaven. "May God enable us to follow our master along this heavenward way." Benedict was buried in the oratory of John the Baptist, which stood upon the site of the sanctuary of Apollo.

The vision of St. Benedict of the universal diffusion of his order was accomplished with a rapidity wonderful even in those times. In Italy, from Calabria to the Alps, Benedictine monasteries began to rise on the brows of beetling mountains, sometimes in quiet valleys. Their buildings gradually grew in spaciousness and splendour;† nor did they absolutely abandon the cities, as dangerous to themselves or beyond the sphere of their exemplary rigour. Few, if any of the great towns are without their Benedictine convent. Every monastery sent forth its colonies. The monks seemed to multiply with greater fecundity than the population of the most flourishing cities, and were obliged to throw off

† It did not often happen that a monastery, ashamed of its magnificence, like one built by the desire, out not according to the modest notions, of S. Waltruda, fell of its own accord, and gave place to a humbler edifice.--Mabillon, Ann. i. p. 405.

their redundant brethren to some new settlement. They swarmed, according to their language, like bees." Wherever was the abode of men was the abode of these recluses, who had put off the ordinary habits, attire, occupations of men; wherever they settled in the waste wilderness men gathered around them, as if to partake of their sanctity and security.* Maurus the faithful friend and associate of Benedict, had crossed the Alps even before his death. Bishop Innocent, of Le Mans, who had invited him to Gaul, had died before his arrival; but he was hospitably received in Orleans. The first Benedictine monastery in France rose at Glanfeuille, on the Loire, not far from Angers; it was but the first of many rich and noble foundations—foundations which, as they grew in wealth and splendour, and, in consequence, in luxury and ease, were either themselves brought back by some stern reformer, who wrought them up to their old austere discipline, or rivalled and supplanted by new monasteries, which equalled or surpassed the rigour of Benedict himself.† The name of St. Maur is dear to letters. Should his

* "Tanquam apes ex cœnobiali alveario de more egressi, nova monasteria, sive dicas cellas, construere amabant." —Note of Angelo della Noce, Abbot of Monte Casino, on the Chron. Casinen.

† The Benedictine rule was universally received even in the older monasteries of Gaul, Britain, Spain, and throughout the West; not as that of a rival order (all rivalry was of later date), but as a more full and perfect rule of the monastic life; as simply completing the less consummate work of Cassian, Martin of Tours, or Columban. It gave, therefore, not only a

new impulse to monasticism, as founding new monasteries, but as quickening the older ones into new life and energy.

† Noirmoutier, founded by S. Meudon, accepted the rule of S. Benedict, and became the head of the Benedictine order in France; other great monasteries were S. Benignus at Dijon; St. Denys; the Chaise Dieu, near Puy de Velay; Fleury, near the Loire. In England, Canterbury, Westminster, Glastonbury, St. Albans. In the north, Wearmouth, Yarrow, Lindisfarne.—Helyot.

disciples have in some degree departed from the iron rule of their founder, the world, even the enlightened Christian world, will pardon them if their profound and useful studies have withdrawn them from mechanical and automatic acts of devotion. In Spain the monasteries mostly fell in the general wreck of Christianity on the Mahomedan conquest; few scanty and doubtful records survived, to be gleaned by the industry of their successors, as Christianity slowly won back the land.²

With St. Augustine the rule of St. Benedict passed to England; but there it might seem as if the realm, instead of banishing them, or permitting their self-banishment, to the wild heath or the mountain crest, had chosen for them, or allowed them to choose, the fairest spots in the land for their settlements. In every rich valley, by the side of every clear and deep stream, arose a Benedictine Abbey. The labours of the monks in planting, in cultivation, in laying out the sunny garden, or hanging the hill with trees, may have added much to the picturesque grace of these scenes; but, in general, if a district in England be surveyed, the most convenient, most fertile, most peaceful spot, will be found to have been the site of a Benedictine abbey.

Their numbers at any one time it may be difficult to estimate.* Abbeys rose and fell, like other human institutions; the more favoured, however, handed down the sacred tradition of their foundation, of their endow-

* Flores, España Sagrada, passim. This valuable work gives the religious history of Spain, according to its provinces, so that the annals of each church or abbey must be followed out.

* Mabillon, Ann. Ordin. Benedict.

passim. The number of great monasteries founded in Italy, Rhenane Germany, and France, between 520 and 700, is astonishing. There are some after the conversion of Recared, Toledo, Merida, &c., in Spain.

ments, of their saints, of their miracles, of their good deeds to civilisation, till the final wreck of monastic institutions during the last century ; and even from that wreck a few have survived, or lifted up again their venerable heads.^b

^b Sarpi (p. 78, delle Mater Benefic.) | ing that in his day there were 15,000
quotes the Abbot Trithemius as assert- | Benedictine converts.

CHAPTER VII

Gregory the Great.

THE sixth century of Christianity was drawing towards its close. Anarchy threatened the whole West of Europe; it had already almost enveloped Italy in ruin and desolation. Italy had been a Gothic kingdom, it was now a province of the Eastern Empire. Rome had been a provincial city of Theodoric's kingdom, it was now a provincial, at least only the second, city in the monarchy of Justinian. But the Byzantine government, though it had overthrown the Gothic kingdom, had exhausted itself in the strife. The eunuch Narses had drained by his avarice that wealth which had begun to recover under the vigour of his peaceful administration. But Narses, according to the popular belief, had revenged himself upon the groaning province, which had appealed to Constantinople against his oppressive rule, and upon the jealous Emperor who had feared his greatness. He had summoned the Lombards to cross the Alps. The death of Narses had left his successor, the Exarch of Ravenna, only the dignity of a sovereignty which he was too weak to exercise for any useful purpose of government. Already the Lombards occupied great part of the north of Italy, and were extending their desolating inroads towards the south. The terrors of the defenceless province cowered before, no doubt exaggerated, the barbarity of these new invaders. The Catholics and the Romans had

Close of sixth century.

Lombard invasion.

leagued with the East to throw off the Gothic yoke; they were not even to rest under the more oppressive rule of their new masters; they were to be the prey, the victims, the slaves of a new race of barbarians. The Goths had been to a great degree civilised and Romanised before their conquest of Italy; their enlightened rulers had endeavoured to subdue them to the arts of peace, at least to a less destructive system of warfare. The Lombards were still obstinate barbarians; the Christianity which they had partially embraced was Arianism; and it had in no degree, if justly described, mitigated the ferocity of their manners. They had no awe of religious men, no reverence for religious places; they burned churches, laid waste monasteries, slew ecclesiastics, and violated consecrated virgins with no more dread or remorse than ordinary buildings or profane enemies.^a So profound was the terror of the Lombard invasion, that the despairing Italians, even the highest ecclesiastics, beheld it as an undoubted sign of the coming day of judgement. The great writer of the times describes the depopulated cities, the ruined castles, the churches burned, the monasteries of males and females destroyed, the farms wasted and left without cultivation, the whole land a solitude, and wild beasts wandering over fields once occupied by multitudes of human beings. He draws the inevitable conclusion: "what is happening in other parts of the world we know not, but in this the end of all things not merely announces itself as approaching, but shows itself as actually begun."^b This terror of the Lombards

^a On the ravages in Italy by these conflicts, Greg. Epist. v. 21, xiii. 38. ^b "Fuerit suum mundus jam non nunciat, sed ostendit."—Greg. Mag. Dial. iii. sub fine: compare iv. 41. Gregory was fully persuaded of the approaching Day of Judge-

seemed to survive and to settle down into an unmitigated detestation. Throughout the legends of the piety and the miracles wrought by bishops and monks in every part of Italy, the most cruel and remorseless persecutor is always a Lombard.^c And this hatred was not in the least softened when the popes, rising to greater power, became to a certain extent the defenders of Italy; it led them joyfully to hail the appearance of the more warlike and orthodox Franks, whom first the Emperor Maurice, and afterwards the popes, summoned finally to crush the sinking kingdom of the Lombards. The internecine and inextinguishable hatred of the Church, and probably of the Roman provincials, to the Lombards, had many powerful workings on the fortunes of Italy and of the popedom.

The Byzantine conquest had not only crushed the independence of reviving Italy, prevented the quiet infusion of Gothic blood and of Gothic institutions into the frame of society; it had almost succeeded in trampling down the ecclesiastical dignity of Rome. There are few popes whose reigns have been so inglorious as those of the immediate successors of that unhappy Vigilius, who closed his disastrous and dishonourable life at a distance from his see, Pelagius I., Benedict I., Pelagius II. They rose at the command, must obsequiously obey the mandates, not of the Emperor, but of the Emperor's representative, the Exarch of Ravenna. They must endure, even if under solemn but
A.D. 553
to 590.
 unregarded protests, the pretensions of the bishop of the Emperor's capital, to equality, perhaps to

ment. The world gave manifest signs of its old age.—Hom. v. on Matt. c. 10.

^c See the Dialogues of Gregory, passim, and frequent notices in the Epistles.

superiority. Western bishops seem to take advantage of their weakness, and supported, as they expect to be, by Imperial Constantinople, defy their patriarch.

Times of emergency call forth great men—men at least, if not great in relation to the true intellectual, moral, and spiritual dignity of man, great in relation to the state and to the necessities of their age; engrossed by the powerful and dominant principles of their time, and bringing to the advancement of those principles surpassing energies of character, inflexible resolution, the full conviction of the wisdom, justice, and holiness of their cause, in religious affairs of the direct and undeniable sanction of God. Such was Gregory I., to whom his own age and posterity have assigned the appellation of the Great.

Now was the crisis in which the Papacy must reawaken its obscured and suspended life. It was the only power which lay not entirely and absolutely prostrate before the disasters of the times—a power which had an inherent strength, and might resume its majesty. It was this power which was most imperatively required to preserve all which was to survive out of the crumbling wreck of Roman civilisation. To Western Christianity was absolutely necessary a centre, standing alone, strong in traditionary reverence, and in acknowledged claims to supremacy. Even the perfect organisation of the Christian hierarchy might in all human probability have fallen to pieces in perpetual conflict: it might have degenerated into a half secular feudal caste with hereditary benefices, more and more entirely subservient to the civil authority, a priesthood of each nation or each tribe, gradually sinking to the intellectual or religious level of the nation or tribe. On the rise of a power both controlling and conservative, hung, humanly

speaking, the life and death of Christianity—of Christianity as a permanent, aggressive, expansive, and, to a certain extent, uniform system. There must be a counterbalance to barbaric force, to the unavoidable anarchy of Teutonism, with its tribal, or at the utmost national independence, forming a host of small, conflicting, antagonistic kingdoms. All Europe would have been what England was under the Octarchy, what Germany was when her emperors were weak; and even her emperors she owed to Rome, to the Church, to Christianity. Providence might have otherwise ordained; but it is impossible for man to imagine by what other organising or consolidating force the commonwealth of the Western nations could have grown up to a discordant, indeed, and conflicting league, but still to a league, with that unity and conformity of manners, usages, laws, religion, which have made their rivalries, oppugnancies, and even their long ceaseless wars, on the whole to issue in the noblest, highest, most intellectual form of civilisation known to man. It is inconceivable that Teutonic Europe, or Europe so deeply interpenetrated with Teutonism, could have been condensed or compelled into a vast Asiatic despotism, or succession of despotisms. Immense and interminable as have been the evils and miseries of the conflict between the southern and northern, the Teutonic and Roman, the hierarchical and civil elements of our social system; yet out of these conflicts has at length arisen the balance and harmony of the great states which constitute European Christendom and are now peopling other continents with kindred and derivative institutions. It is impossible to conceive what had been the confusion, the lawlessness, the chaotic state of the middle ages, without the me-

diæval Papacy; and of the mediæval Papacy the real father is Gregory the Great. In all his predecessors there was much of the uncertainty and indefiniteness of a new dominion. Christianity had converted the Western world—it had by this time transmuted it: in all except the Roman law, it was one with it. Even Leo the Great had something of the Roman dictator. Gregory is the Roman altogether merged in the Christian bishop. It is a Christian dominion, of which he lays the foundations in the Eternal City, not the old Rome associating Christian influence to her ancient title of sovereignty.

Gregory united in himself every qualification and endowment which could command the veneration and attachment of Rome and of his age.^d In his descent he blended civil and ecclesiastical nobility. He was of a senatorial family: his father bore the imperial name of Gordian, his mother that of Sylvia. A pope (Felix II.) was his ancestor in the fourth degree—the pope who had built the church of SS. Cosmas and Damianus, close to the temple of Romulus. Two sainted virgins, Thirsilla and Sylvia, were his aunts. To his noble descent was added considerable wealth: and all that wealth, directly he became master of it by the death of his father, was at once devoted to religious uses. He founded and endowed, perhaps from Sicilian estates, six monasteries in that island; a seventh, in Rome, he chose for his own retreat; and having lavished on the poor all his costly

^d Homil. 38, in Evang. Dialog. Epist. iv. 16; Joh. Diac. in Vit. The date of his birth is uncertain; it was about the year 540.—Lau, Gregor I. der Grosse, page 10.

robes, his silk, his gold, his jewels, his furniture, he violently wrenched himself from the secular life (in which he had already attained to the dignity of prætor of the city^e), and not even assuming the abbacy of his convent, but beginning with the lowest monastic duties, he devoted himself altogether to God.^f His whole time was passed in prayer, reading, writing, and dictation.^g The fame of his unprecedented abstinence and boundless charity spread abroad, and, as usual, took the form of miracle. He had so destroyed his health by fasting, vigil, and study, that his brethren were obliged to feed him by compulsion. His life hung on a thread, and he feared that he should not have strength to observe the indispensable fast even on Good Friday. By the prayers of the holy Eleutherius his stomach was endowed with supernatural strength, and never after (he had manifestly, however, undermined his constitution) refused the sacred duty of abstinence.^h His charity was tried by an angel in the garb of a shipwrecked sailor, whose successive visits exhausted all he had, except a silver vessel set apart for the use of his mother. This too he gave, and the satisfied angel at length revealed himself.ⁱ

^e He describes his secular state, Præfat. ad Job. "Diu longeque conversionis gratiam distuli, et postquam cœlesti sum desiderio affectus, seculari habitu contegi melius putavi. . . . Cumque adhuc me cogeret animus præsentī mundo quasi specie tenus deservire, cœperunt multa contra me ex ejusdem mundi curâ succrescere, ut in eo jam non specie, sed quod est gravius, mente retinerer."

^f The date of Gregory's monkhood

is again uncertain—probably not earlier than 573, nor later than 577.—Lau, p. 21.

^g Greg. Tur. x. 1. According to Jaffè, the Register of Gregory's Letters not only marks the year (the indication), but the month of their date.

^h Dial. iii. 13; Joh. Diac. i. p. 9.

ⁱ See Præf. ad Dial., a pleasing passage, in which, oppressed by the cares and troubles of the papacy, he lock: back on the quiet of his monastery.

The monastery of St. Andrew was a perpetual scene of preternatural wonder. Fugitive monks were seized upon by devils, who confessed their power to Gregory; others were favoured with visits of angels summoning them to peace; and one brother, whose whole life, excepting the intervals of food and sleep, was spent in psalmody, was not merely crowned by invisible hands with white flowers, but fourteen years after, a fragrance, as of the concentrated sweetness of all flowers, breathed from his tomb. Such was the poetry of those days.

Gregory became abbot;^k and that severe discipline which he had imposed upon himself, he enforced with relentlessness, which hardened into cruelty, upon others. Many were tempted to embrace the monastic life who had not resolution to adhere to it, who found no consolation in its peace, and grew weary of its monotonous devotion. Fugitive monks were constantly revolting back to the world which they had forsaken: on these Gregory had no mercy. On the more faithful he exercised a tyranny of discipline which crushed out of the heart not only every lingering attachment to the world, but every sense and pulsation of humanity. The most singular history of this discipline, combining ingratitude and cruelty under the guise of duty, with a strange confidence in his own powers of appeasing the divine wrath, and in the influence of the eucharistic sacrifice, is the death of Justus, related by Gregory himself. Before he became a monk, Justus had practised physic. During the long illness of

^k Lau insists, I think on unsatisfactory grounds, that he was abbot only after his return from Constantinople.—p. 37.

Gregory, Justus, now a monk, had attended him day and night with affectionate care and skill. On his own death-bed Justus betrayed to his brother that he possessed three pieces of gold. This was in direct violation of that law as to community of property established in the monastery. After long search the guilty money was found concealed in some medicine. Gregory determined to strike the offender with a due sense of his crime, and to awe the brotherhood by the terror of his example. He prohibited every one from approaching the bed of the dying man, the new Simon Magus. No word of consolation or of hope was to soothe his departure. His brother alone might approach to tell him that he died detested by all the community. Nor did the inhuman disciplinarian rest here. The body was cast out upon the dunghill, with the three pieces of gold, the whole convent shouting aloud, "Thy money perish with thee!" After thirty days of fiery burnings, the inevitable fate of an unabsolved outlaw, the heart of Gregory began to relent. He permitted the mass to be celebrated for the afflicted soul. The sacrifice was offered for thirty days more, at the end of which the spirit of Justus appeared to his brother, and assured him of his release from penal torture.^m

But a mind of such force and ability as Gregory's could not be permitted to slumber in the holy quiet of a monastery. He himself began to comprehend that there were higher religious avocations and nobler services to God. He was still a monk of St. Andrew when that incident took place which, by the divine blessing, led to

^m "Mira sunt quæ narras et non mediocriter læta." Such, at the close of this story, is the quaint language of Gregory's obsequious hearer. Greg. Mag. Dial. iv. 55.

the conversion of our Saxon ancestors. The tale, though often repeated, is too pleasing not to find a place here. In the market-place of Rome Gregory saw some beautiful and fair-haired boys exposed for sale. He inquired from whence they came. "From Britain." "Are they Christians?" "They are still pagans." "Alas! that the Prince of Darkness should possess forms of such loveliness! That such beauty of countenance should want that better beauty of the soul!" He asked of what nation they were. "Angles" was the reply. "Truly," he said, "they are angels! From what province?" "That of Deira." "Truly they must be rescued *de irâ* (from the wrath of God). What is the name of their king?" "Ælla." "Yea," said Gregory, "Alleluia must be sung in the dominions of that king."

Gregory
aspires to
convert
Britain.

To be the first missionary to this beautiful people, and win this remote and barbarous island, like a Christian Cæsar, to the realm of Christ, became the holy ambition of Gregory. His long-suppressed humanity burst forth in this new channel. He extorted the unwilling consent of the Pope: he had actually set forth, and travelled three days' journey, when he was overtaken by messengers sent to recall him. All Rome had risen in pious mutiny, and compelled the Pope to revoke his permission.

Gregory in
Constanti-
nople.

But Gregory was not to retire again to his monastery. He was forced to embark in public affairs. He was ordained deacon (he was one of the seven deacons of the Church of Rome, the *Regionarii*), and sent by Pope Benedict on an important embassy to Constantinople. But his occupations were not confined to his negotiations with the court. He was the Pope's apocrisiarius or secretary. These negotiations were but partially successful. He reconciled, indeed, the two

successive emperors, Tiberius and Maurice, with the person of the Pope, Pelagius; but the aid against the Lombards was sent reluctantly, tardily, inefficiently. The schism between the East and West was still unallayed. He entered into a characteristic controversy with Eutychius, Bishop of Constantinople, on the nature of the body after the resurrection.ⁿ The metaphysical Greek imagined an impalpable body, finer and more subtile than the air. The Western theologian, unembarrassed by the materialism from which the Greek endeavoured to escape, strenuously asserted the unrefined identity of the renovated body with that of the living man.

In Constantinople^o Gregory commenced, if he did not complete, his great work, the 'Magna Moralia, or Exposition of the Book of Job,' at which the West stood astonished, and which may even now excite our wonder at the vast superstructure raised on such narrow foundations. The book of Job, according to Gregory, comprehended in itself all natural, all Christian theology, and all morals. It was at once a true and wonderful history, an allegory containing, in its secret sense, the whole theory of the Christian Church and Christian sacraments, and a moral philosophy applicable to all mankind. As an interpreter of the history, Gregory was entirely ignorant of all the Oriental languages, even of Greek.^p He read the book partly according to

ⁿ The controversy must have been somewhat perplexing, as Gregory was ignorant of Greek, and good translators were not to be found. "Quia hodie in Constantinopolitanâ civitate, qui de Latino in Græcum dictata bene transferant non sunt. Dum enim verba custodiant et sensus minimè attendunt,

nec verba intelligi faciunt, et sensus frangunt."—Greg. Mag. Epist. vii. 30.

^o Gregory resided three years in Constantinople: 584-587.

^p "Nam nos nec Græcè novimus, nec aliquod opus Græcè aliquando conscripsimus."—Greg. Mag. Epist. ix. 69

the older, partly according to the later Latin version. Of ancient or of Oriental manners he knew nothing. Of the book of Job as a poem (the most sublime of all antiquity) he had no conception: to him it is all pure, unimagined, unembellished history. As an allegory, it is surprising with what copious ingenuity ^{Magna} ^{Moralla.} Gregory discovers latent adumbrations of all the great Christian doctrines, and still more the unrelenting condemnation of heresies and of heretics. The moral interpretation may be read at the present time, if with no great admiration at the depth of the philosophy, with respect for its loftiness and purity. It is ascetic, but generally, except when heretics are concerned, devout, humane and generous.⁹

So congenial, however, was this great work to the Christian mind, that many bishops began to read it publicly in the churches; and it was perhaps prevented from coming into general use only by the modest remonstrance of Gregory himself; and thus Gregory, if his theology and morals had been sanctioned by the authority of the Church, would have become the founder

⁹ It may be safely said that, according to Gregory's licence of interpretation, there is nothing which might not be found in any book ever written; there is no single word which may not be pregnant with unutterable mysteries, no syllable which may not mean everything, no number which may not have relation to the same number wherever it may occur, to every multiple or divisible part of such number. "The seven sons of Job mean the twelve apostles, and therefore the clergy, because seven is the perfect number, and multiplied within itself, four by three or three by four, pro-

duces twelve. The three daughters mean the faithful laity, because they are to worship the Trinity." "In septem ergo filiis ordo predicantium, in tribus vero filiabus multitudo auditorum signatur." The three daughters may likewise mean the three classes of the faithful, the pastores, continentes, and conjugati. The curious reader may see the mystery which is found in the sheep and the camels, the oxen and the asses,—Lib. i. c. vi., and Lib. ii. c. xiv.—where the friends of Job are shown, from the latent meaning of their names, to signify the heretics.

of a new religion. It never appears to have occurred to the piety of that or indeed of other ages, that this discovery of latent meanings in the books of inspiration, and the authoritative enforcement of those interpretations as within the scope of the Holy Spirit, is no less than to make a new revelation to mankind. It might happen that the doctrines thus discovered were only those already recognised as Christianity, and the utmost error then would be the illustration of such doctrines by forced and inapplicable texts. But it cannot be denied that by this system of exposition the sacred writings were continually made to speak the sense of the interpreter; and if once we depart from the plain and obvious meaning of the Legislator, all beyond is the enactment of a new, a supplementary, an unwarranted law. Compare the Great Morals of Gregory, not with the book of Job, but with the New Testament; and can we deny that there would have been a new authoritative proclamation of the Divine will?

So far Gregory had kept his lofty way in every situation, not only fulfilling, but surpassing, the highest demands of his age. In his personal ^{Gregory in Rome.} character austere blameless; as an abbot (he resumed on his return to Rome the abbacy in his monastery of St. Andrew), mercilessly severe, the model of a strict disciplinarian; as an ambassador, displaying consummate ability; as a controversialist, defeating in the opinion of the West the subtleties of the rival Bishop of Constantinople; as a theologian, already taking that place which was assigned him by the homage of posterity, that of the fourth great father of the Latin Church.* Soon after his return to Rome the city

* Pelag. Epist. ad Greg. apud J. Diaconum in Vit.

became a scene of misery and desolation, so that all eyes could not but be turned on a man so highly favoured of God. The Lombard invasions continued to waste Italy; the feeble Exarch acknowledged that he had no power to protect Rome; the supplications for effectual aid from Constantinople had been unavailing. More dire and pressing calamities darkened around. The Tiber overflowed its banks, and swept away the granaries of corn. A dreadful pestilence ensued, of which the Pope Pelagius was among the first victims.^s With one voice the clergy, the senate, and the people summoned Gregory to the pontifical throne.^t His modest remonstrances were in vain. His letter entreating the Emperor Maurice to relieve him from the perilous burthen, by refusing the imperial consent to his elevation, was intercepted by the loving vigilance of his admirers. Among these was the prefect of the city, who substituted for Gregory's letter the general petition for his advancement. But, until the answer of the Emperor could arrive, Gregory assumed the religious direction of the people. He addressed them with deep solemnity on the plague, and persuaded them to acts of humiliation.^u On an appointed day the whole city joined in the religious ceremony. Seven litanies, or processions with prayers and hymns, and the greatest pomp, traversed the streets. That of the clergy set out from the Church of St. John the Baptist; that of the men from St. Marcellus; the monks from that of the martyrs John

^s The pestilence was attributed to a vast number of serpents and a great dragon, like a beam of timber, carried down the Tiber to the sea, and cast back upon the shore, where they putri-

fied, and caused the plague.—Greg. Turon.

^t 589-590, Jaffè.

^u The speech in Greg. Tur. x. i.; Paul. Diac. Ep. ii.; Joh. Diac. i. 41.

and Paul; the holy virgins from SS. Cosmas and Damianus; the married women from St. Stephen; the widows from St. Vitalis; that of the poor and the children from St. Cæcilia. But the plague was not stayed; eighty victims fell dead during the procession;^{*} but Gregory still urged the people to persist in their pious supplications.

To the end Gregory endeavoured to elude the compulsory honour of the Papacy. It was said that, knowing the gates to be jealously watched, he persuaded some merchants to convey him to a solitary forest in disguise; but a light, like a pillar of fire, hovered over his head, and betrayed his flight. He was seized, hurried to the Church of St. Peter, and forcibly consecrated as Supreme Pontiff.⁷

Monasticism ascended the Papal throne in the person of Gregory. In austerity, in devotion, in imaginative superstition, Gregory was a monk Monkhood of Gregory. to the end of his days.² From this turmoil of affairs,

* The picturesque legend, from which the monument of Hadrian took the name of the Castle of St. Angelo, cannot be reconciled with the Letters of Gregory. It ran, that as the last procession reached this building, an angel was seen sheathing his sword, as though the work of divine vengeance was over. The statue of the angel in this attitude commemorated the wonder.

7 The biographer of Gregory (John the Deacon) thinks it necessary to adduce evidence of the sincerity of this reluctance, which had been questioned by "certain perfidious Lombards." He cites a curious letter to Theoctista, the emperor's sister, among the strange

expressions in which is this: "Ecce serenissimus Dominus Imperator fieri Simiam Leonem jussit et quidem pro jussione illius vocari Leo potest; fieri autem Leo non potest." Compare letter to John of Constantinople, i. 24 and the following epistles; also Epist. vii, 4, and Regula Past. in init.

* "Cum quibus (amicis) Gregorius die nocteque versatus nihil monasticæ perfectionis in palatio, nihil pontificalis institutionis in ecclesiâ dereliquit. Videbantur passim cum eruditissimis clericis adhærere Pontifici religiosissimi monachi, et in diversissimis professionibus habebatur vita communis; ita ut talis esset tunc sub Gregorio penes urbem Romam ecclesia, qualem

civil and spiritual; the religious ambition of maintaining and extending the authority of his see; the affairs of pure Christian humanity in which he was involved, as almost the only guardian of the Roman population against the barbarian invasions; oppressed with business, with cares, with responsibilities, he perpetually reverts to the peace of his monastery, where he could estrange himself entirely from sublunary things, yield himself up to the exclusive contemplation of heaven, and look forward to death as the entrance into life.*

But he threw off at once and altogether the dreaming indolence of the contemplative life, and plunged into affairs with the hurried restlessness of the most ambitious statesman. His letters offer a singular picture of the incessant activity of his mind, the variety and multiplicity of his occupations. Nothing seems too great, nothing too insignificant for his earnest personal solicitude; from the most minute point in the ritual, or regulations about the papal farms in Sicily, he passes to the conversion of Britain, the extirpation of simony among the clergy of Gaul, negotiations with the armed conquerors of Italy, the revolutions of the Eastern empire, the title of Universal Bishop usurped by John of Constantinople.

The character of Gregory, as the representative of

hanc fuisse sub apostolis Lucas et sub Marco Evangelistâ penes Alexandriam Philo commemorat." Was Joh. Diaconus as ignorant of St. Luke's writings as of Philo's?—Joh. Diac. ii. 12.

* "Infelix quippe animus meus, occupationis suæ pulsatus vulnere, meminit qualis aliquando in monasterio fuit, quomodo ei labentia cuncta subter

erant; quantum rebus omnibus, quæ voluntur, eminebat; quod nulla nisi cœlestia cogitare consueverat; quod etiam retentus corpore, ipsa jam carnis claustra contemplatione transibat; quod mortem quoque quæ pæne cunctis pœna est, videlicet ut ingressum vitæ, et laboris sui præmium amabat."—Præfat. in Dial. Oper. iii. p. 233 compare Epist. i. 4 to 7.

his times, may be considered I. as a Christian bishop organising and completing the ritual and offices of the Church; as administrator of the patri-
Threefold character of Gregory.
 mony of the Roman See, and its distribution to its various pious uses. II. As the patriarch of the West, exercising authority over the clergy and the churches in Italy, in Gaul, and other parts of Europe; as the converter of the Lombards from Arianism, and of the Saxons of Britain from heathenism; in his conduct to pagans, Jews, and heretics; and as maintaining the independence of the Western ecclesiastical power against the East. III. As virtual sovereign of Rome, an authority which he was almost compelled to assume; as guardian of the city, and the protector of the Roman population in Italy against the Lombards; and in his conduct to the Emperor Maurice, and to the usurper Phocas.

I. Under Gregory the ritual of the Church assumed more perfect form and magnificence. The Roman ordinal, though it may have received
Services of the Church.
 additions from later pontiffs, in its groundwork and distribution belongs to Gregory. The organisation of the Roman clergy had probably been long complete; it comprehended the whole city and suburbs. The fourteen regions were divided into seven ecclesiastical districts. Thirty *titles* (corresponding with parishes) were superintended by sixty-six priests; the chief in each title was the cardinal priest. Each ecclesiastical district had its hospital or office for alms, over which a deacon presided; one of the seven was the archdeacon. Besides these, each hospital had an administrator, often a layman, to keep the accounts. The clergy of the seven regions officiated on ordinary occasions, each on one day of the week. Gregory appointed the *stations*, the

churches in which were to be celebrated the more solemn services during Lent and at the four great festivals. On these high days the Pope proceeded in state, usually on horseback, escorted by the deacons and other officers, from his palace in the Lateran to St. Peter's, S. Maria Maggiore, or some other of the great churches. He was received with obsequious ceremony, robed by the archdeacons, conducted to the choir with the incense and the seven candlesticks borne before him. Psalms were sung as he proceeded to his throne behind the altar. The more solemn portions of the service were of course reserved for the Supreme Pontiff.^b But Gregory did not stand aloof in his haughty sanctity, or decline to exercise more immediate influence over the minds of the people. He constantly ascended the pulpit himself, and in those days of fear and disaster was ever preaching in language no doubt admirably adapted to their state of mind, tracing to their sins the visible judgements of God, exhorting them to profound humiliation, and impressing them with what appears to have been his own conviction—that these multiplying calamities were the harbingers of the Last Day.

Gregory as
preacher.

The music, the animating soul of the whole ritual, was under the especial care of Gregory. He introduced a new mode of chanting, which still bears his name, somewhat richer than that of Ambrose at Milan, but still not departing from solemn simplicity. He formed schools of singers, which he condescended himself to instruct; and from Rome the science was

Music.

^b The reader who may not be inclined to consult Gregory's own *Sacramentarium* and *Antiphonarium*, or the learned labours of Mabillon on the Ordo Romanus, will find a good popular view of the Roman service in Fleury H. E. xxxvi. 16 *et seqq.*

propagated throughout the West: it was employed even to soothe and awe the barbarians of Britain. Augustine, the missionary, was accompanied by a school of choristers, educated in their art at Rome.^c

As administrator of the Papal patrimony Gregory was active and vigilant, unimpeachably just and humane. The Churches,^d especially that of Rome, now possessed very large estates, chiefly in Calabria, in Sicily;^e in the neighbourhood of Rome, in Apulia, Campania, Liguria; in Sardinia and Corsica; in the Cozian Alps; in Dalmatia and Illyricum; in Gaul; and even in Africa, and the East.^f There are letters addressed to the administrators of the Papal estates in all these territories; and in some cities, as Otranto, Gallipoli, perhaps Norcia, Nepi, Cuma, Capua, Corsealano; even in Naples, Palermo, Syracuse. Gregory prescribes minute regulations for these lands, throughout which prevails a solicitude lest the peasants should be exposed to the oppressions of the farmer or of the Papal officer. He enters into all the small vexatious exactions to which they were liable, fixes the precise amount of their payments, orders all unfair weights and

Gregory as administrator of the See.

^c The original copy of Gregory's Antiphonary, the couch on which he reclined while he instructed the singers, and the rod with which he threatened the boys, were preserved, according to John the Deacon, down to his time.—Vit. Greg. M. ii. 6.

^d These estates were called the patrimony of the patron saints of the city, in Rome of St. Peter, in Milan of St. Ambrose, in Ravenna of St. Apollinaris. Ravenna and Milan had patrimonies in Sicily.

^e See some good and striking re-

marks on Gregory's conduct, policy, and relations to Sicily in Amari, Storia dei Musulmani in Sicilia, l. i. c. 2. Also on his treatment of his slaves whom he retained in servitude, pp. 203-4.

^f Pope Celestine, writing, in the year 432, to the Emperor of the East, mentions "possessiones in Asiâ constitutas quas illustris et sanctæ recordationis Proba longâ a majoribus vetustate reliquerat Romanæ ecclesiæ." He prays the emperor that they may not be disturbed.

measures to be broker and new ones provided; he directs that his regulations be read to the peasants themselves; and, lest the old abuses should be revived after his death, they were to be furnished with legal forms of security against such suppressed grievances.^g Gregory lowered the seignorial fees on the marriages of peasants not free. Nor, in the protection of the poor peasant, did he neglect the rights and interests of the farmers; he secured to their relatives the succession to their contracts, and guarded the interests of their families by several just regulations. His maxim was, that the revenue of the Church must not be defiled by sordid gains.^h

The revenue thus obtained with the least possible intentional oppression of the peasant and the farmer was distributed with the utmost publicity, and with rigid regard for the interests of the diocese.ⁱ Rome, which had long ceased to receive the tributary harvests of Africa and of Egypt, depended greatly on the bounty of the Pope. Sicily alone had escaped the ravages of war, and from her corn-fields, chiefly from the Papal estates, came the regular supplies which fed the diminishing, yet still vast, poor population.^k In a synod

^g *Securitatis libellos*. The whole of this letter (i. 42) should be read to estimate the character of Gregory as a landlord. The peasants were greatly embarrassed by the payment of the first term of their rent, which being due before they could sell their crops, forced them to borrow at very high interest. Gregory directed that they should receive an advance from the church treasury, and be allowed to pay by instalments.

^h In more than one instance Gre-

gory represses the covetousness of the clergy, who were not scrupulous in obtaining property for the church by unjust means.—*Epist.* vii. 23, 43. Bequests to monasteries continually occur.

ⁱ The quadripartite division, to the bishop, the clergy, the fabric and services of the church, and the poor, generally prevailed in the West.—*Epist.* v. 12.

^k Sicily, since its conquest, had paid as tribute a tenth of its corn to th

at Rome it was enacted that the Pope should only be attended by ecclesiastics, who ought to enjoy the advantage of the example of his life, to the privacy of which the profane laity should not be admitted.^m

The shares of the clergy and of the papal officers, of the churches and monasteries, the hospitals, deaconries or ecclesiastical boards for the poor, were calculated in money, and distributed at four seasons of the year, at Easter, on St. Peter's day, St. Andrew's day, and that of the consecration of Gregory. The first day in every month he distributed to the poor in kind, corn, wine, cheese, vegetables, bacon, meat, fish, and oil.ⁿ The sick and infirm were superintended by persons appointed to inspect every street. Before the Pope sat down to his own meal a portion was separated and sent out to the hungry at his door. A great volume, containing the names, the ages, and the dwellings of the objects of papal bounty, was long preserved in the Lateran with reverential gratitude. What noble names may have lurked in that obscure list! The descendants of Consuls and Dictators, of the Flamens and the Augurs of elder Rome, may have received the alms of the Christian prelate, and partaken in the dole which their ancestors distributed to their thousand clients. So severe was the charity of Gregory that one day, on account of the death of an unrelieved beggar, he condemned himself to a hard penance for his guilt of neglect as steward of the Divine Bounty.^o

metropolis; the papal patrimony was liable to this burthen. But in case of shipwreck the farmers or peasants were obliged to make good the loss. Gregory relieves his tenants from this iniquitous burthen.

^m Epist. iv. 44.

ⁿ Among the instances of munificent

grants by Gregory, see that of *Aquæ Salvæ*, with its farms and vineyards, two gardens on the banks of the Tiber, and other lands, part of the patrimony of St. Peter, to the church of St. Paul, to maintain the lights.—xiv. 14.

^o It would be curious to obtain even an approximation to the value of the

Nor was Gregory's active beneficence confined to the city of Rome. His letters are full of paternal interposi-

patrimony of St. Peter at these times. These facts may be collected from the letters. The patrimony in Gaul was comparatively small: it is repeatedly called (Epist. iv. 14, vi. 6) *patrimonium*. At one time the Pope received 400 solidi in money, it does not appear clearly whether the residue of the annual rent. But the patrimony in Gaul seems to have been chiefly transmitted, or expended (there were no bills of exchange) in coarse cloths of Gallic manufacture for the poor. Besides this, Gregory ordered the purchase of English youths, of 17 or 18, to be bred in monasteries for missionary purposes.—vi. 33. These 400 solidi (putting the ordinary current solidus at from 11s. to 12s.—the Gallic solidus was one-third less, say 7s. 6d.) would not be above 160*l.* In one case the Gallic bishops seem to have withheld part of the patrimony—in Gregory's eyes a great offence. “*Valde est execrabile, ut quod a regibus gentium servatum est, ab episcopis dicatur ablatum.*”—vi. 53, 4. But in Sicily Gregory orders Peter the subdeacon, his faithful administrator, to invest 280 pounds of gold in his hands in corn. Taking the pound of gold at 40*l.* (see Gibbon on Greaves, ch. xvii.; Epist. vi. 35, note), this would amount to 2000*l.*; if the value of money was one and a half more than now, 5000*l.* But the produce of Sicily cannot be estimated at the money-rent. It had great quantities of cattle, especially horses (to the improvement of which Gregory paid great attention) in the plains about Palermo and Syracuse.

One mass or farm had been compelled by a dishonest factor to pay double rent to the amount of 507 aurei, nearly 280*l.* Gregory ordered it to be restored out of the property of the factor. The number of farms cannot be known, but suppose 100, and this an average rent. Rather more than a century later, the Emperor Leo the Isaurian confiscated to the public treasury the rights of the Roman See in Sicily, valued at three talents and a half.—Theophanes, Chron. p. 631, edit. Bonn. This passage, which at first sight promises the most full and accurate information, unfortunately offers almost insuperable difficulties. In the first place, the reading is not quite certain; nor is it absolutely clear whether it means some charge on the revenue of the island, or the full rents and profits of the patrimony of St. Peter. But the chief perplexity arises from our utter ignorance of what is meant by a talent. The loss inflicted on the hostile see of Rome must no doubt have been considerable; otherwise the emperor would not have inflicted it on him whom he considered a refractory subject; nor would it have commanded the notice of the historian. But any known talent, above all the small gold talent of Sicily, would give but an insignificant sum, under 900*l.* It had occurred to me, and has been suggested by a high authority, that it may mean 3½ talents in weight, paid in gold money. Fines in the Theodosian code are fixed at so many pounds of gold. 1½ cwt. of gold (if Gibbon be about right, accord

tions in favour of injured widows and orphans. It was even superior to some of the strongest prejudices of the time. Gregory sanctioned that great triumph of the spirit over the form of religion, by authorising not merely the alienation of the wealth of the clergy, but even the sale of the consecrated vessels from the altar for the redemption of captives—those captives not always ecclesiastics, but laymen.^p

II. Gregory did not forget the Patriarch of the West in the Bishop of Rome. Many churches in Italy were without pastors: their priests had been sold into slavery.^q He refused to intermeddle in the election of bishops,^r but his severe discipline did not scruple to degrade unworthy dignitaries and even prelates. Laurence, the first of the seven deacons, was deposed for his pride and other unnamed vices;^s the Bishop of Naples for crimes capital both by the laws of

Gregory
Patriarch of
the West.

ing to Greaves, in taking the pound of gold at 40*l.*) would give a large, perhaps not an improbable, sum: * and, if the relative value of money be taken into account, must have been a most serious blow to the papal revenue.

^p Gregory's humility is amusingly illustrated by his complaint, that of all his valuable stud in Sicily, his sub-deacon had only sent him a sorry nag, and five fine asses. The horse he could not mount because it was so wretched a one, the asses because they

were asses. "Præterea unum nobis caballum miserum, et quinque bonos asinos transmisisti; caballum istum sedere non possum quia miser est, illos autem bonos sedere non possum quia asini sunt."—ii, 32.

^q Epist. i. 8, 15. There is an instance of a clericus sold for 12 solidi, at which price he might be redeemed. Gregory directs the Bishop of Sipontum to take that sum, if it cannot be obtained elsewhere, from the captive's church.—iii. 17.

^r Epist. ii. 29. ^s Epist. ii. in Præf.

* Compare, however, Paolo Sarpi, who, probably taking the ordinary talent, makes a much lower estimate (delle Mat. Benefic. c. ix.); but where did he find three talents of silver, half a one of gold, directly contrary to the text in Theophaues, and to the translation of Anastasius? Much of this has been worked out, but far too positively, by the writer of a modern book for popular use, and therefore with no citation of authorities.—Bianchi-Giovini, Storia dei Papi. Capolago, 1851, t. iii. pp. 159-160.

God and man.^t The Bishop of Salona is reproved for neglect of his solemn duties, and indulgence in convivial pleasures; for his contumacy in refusing to reinstate his archdeacon, he is deprived of his pallium; if he continues contumacious, he is to be excluded from communion. The Pope reproves the Bishop of Sipontum, in more than one angry letter, for his criminal and irreligious remissness in allowing the daughter of a man of rank to throw off her religious habit and return to a secular life.^u He commands the bishop to arrest the woman who has thus defiled herself, and imprison her in a monastery till further instructions.^x He commands Andrew Bishop of Tarentum, if guilty of concubinage, to abdicate his see; if of cruelty to a female, to be suspended from his functions for two months.^y To Januarius, the Bishop of Cagliari, he speaks in still more menacing terms for a far more heinous offence—ploughing up the harvest of a proprietor on a Sunday before mass, and removing the landmark after mass. Nothing but the extreme age of Januarius saved him from the utmost ecclesiastical punishment.^z He gave a commission to four bishops to degrade the Bishop of Melita for some serious crime: certain presbyters, his accomplices, were, it seems, to be imprisoned in monasteries.^a We find the Bishop of Rome exercising authority in Greece over the Bishops of Thebes^b and Larissa and Corinth.^c The Bishops of Istria were less submissive.

^t Epist. ii.; the *ordo* and *plebs* were to elect his successor.

^u Epist. ii. 18.

^x Epist. iii. 43. ^y iii. 45.

^z This seems to be the sense of the passage vii. ii. 1. which is obscure, probably corrupt. Januarius seems to

have given Gregory much trouble. Another epistle censures him for exacting exorbitant burial fees.—vii. ii. 56. Oblations for lights might be received for those buried in the church.

^a vii. ii. 63.

^b Epist. iii. 6, 7.

^c iv. 51.

His attempts, at the commencement of his pontificate, to force them to condemn the three Chapters, were repressed by the direct interference of the Emperor.

In Gaul, simony and the promotion of young or unworthy persons to ecclesiastical dignities constantly demanded the interference of the Pontiff. The greater the wealth and honours attached to the sacred office, and the greater their influence over the barbarian mind, the more they were coveted for themselves, and sought by all the unscrupulous means of worldly ambition.^d The epistles of Gregory to the bishops, to Queen Brunehild, to Thierry and Theodobert, and to Chlotair kings in Gaul, are full of remonstrances against these irregularities.^e

Of all the great events of his pontificate, Gregory looked on none with more satisfaction than the conversion of the Arian-Gothic kingdom of Spain to Catholicism. He compares, in his humility, the few who in the last day will bear witness to his own zeal and influence, to the countless multitudes who would owe their salvation to the orthodox example of King Recared.^f

The Council of Toledo, at which Spain publicly proclaimed its Catholicity, closes the history of the old Teutonic Arianism. The Lombards, indeed, May 8, 589. remained to be subdued by the mild and Christian wisdom of Gregory; but in Burgundy and in Visigothic Gaul, the zeal and organisation of the Catholic clergy, and the terror, the power, the intrigues of the orthodox

^d iv. 54.

^e ix. 50 to 57. The privilegium said to have been granted by Gregory to the monastery of St. Medardus, anathematising kings and all secular persons who should infringe the de-

crees of his apostolic authority, and ranking them with Judas, is proved to be spurious by Launoï, and by Dupin.—Dissert. 7, de Antiq. Eccl. Discip.

^f Epist. ad Rechared. Reg. vii. 128.

Franks, had driven it from the minds of the kings, and from the hearts of the people. Twice Arianism had assailed the independence of Burgundy; twice it fell before the victorious arms of the Franks, the prayers, and no doubt more powerful aid than prayers of the Catholic hierarchy. The Council of Epaona (though Arianism rallied for the last desperate conflict under the younger Godemar after that Council) witnessed what might be considered the act of submission to Latin Christianity.

The history of Visigothic Arianism in Spain is a more dire and awful tragedy. During the early reigns, both of the Suevian and Visigothic kings, the Catholic bishops had held their councils undisturbed; Arianism had maintained its lofty or prudent or indifferent toleration. Leovigild ascended the throne, the ablest, most ambitious monarch who had sat on an Arian-Gothic throne, except Theodoric the Ostrogoth. Leovigild aspired to subdue the lawless Gothic lords who dwelt apart in their embattled mountain fastnesses, to compel the whole land (where each race, each rank, each creed asserted its wild freedom) to order and to law. He would be a king. He carried out his schemes with rigour and success. But he would compel religious differences also to unity. Himself a stern Arian, he even condescended to approximate, and with consummate art, to Catholicism; he sought by confounding to harmonise the contending parties; but he could not deceive the quick sight of the more vigilant, more intellectual Catholic hierarchy.

His young son, Hermenegild, became a Catholic—the Catholic a rebel. Seville and the southern cities rose against the King; Hermenegild was besieged in Seville; the Guadalquivir was blocked up; the city suffered the

extremity of famine. Hermenegild fled to Cordova : he was sold by the Greeks, who possessed some of the havens under allegiance to the Byzantine Emperor. He was imprisoned first, less rigorously, in pleasant Valencia ; afterwards more harshly in Tarragona. He was shut up in a noisome dungeon, with manacles on his hands. The young martyr (he was but twenty-one years old) increased his own sufferings by the sackcloth which chafed his soft and delicate limbs. He resisted all the persuasions, all the arts of his father. A fierce Goth, Sisebert, was sent into his cell, and clove his skull with an axe. The rebellious but orthodox Hermenegild, about ten centuries after, was canonised by Pope Sixtus V., through the influence of Philip II., the father of the murdered Don Carlos.^g

Leovigild, before his death, was compelled at least to adopt milder measures towards his Catholic subjects. He is even said to have renounced his Arianism.

The first act of his son Recared was to avenge his brother's death on the murderer Sisebert. He hardly condescended to disguise, even for a year, his Catholicism ; yet Recared was obliged to proceed with caution and reserve. It was not till the year before Gregory ascended the pontifical throne that Spain declared her return to Roman unity.^h

In Africa Gregory endeavoured to suppress the undying remains of the Donatist factions, which even now

^g The religion was not an affair of race : Massona, the Catholic Bishop of Merida, was a Goth. Leovigild set up Sanna as a rival bishop of Merida. Leovigild threatened the holy Massona with exile. "If you know where God is not, command your servants to conduct me thithr" A thunder-clap

pealed in the heavens. "That is the King of whom we and you should stand in awe. He is not a king like you."—Florez, España Sagrada.

^h Gregory of Tours and John of Bisclar are the great authorities for this period of Spanish history.

aspired to the primacy of the Numidian Churches; but
 Africa. Donatism expired only with the Christianity
 of Northern Africa.

By Gregory Britain was again brought within the
 Britain. pale of Christian Europe. The visions of his
 own early spiritual ambition were fulfilled by
 his missionary, the monk Augustine. In a letter to the
 Bishop of Alexandria he relates with triumph the tidings
 of this conquest, as communicated by Augustine, who
 boasts already of ten thousand baptised converts.¹ But
 in the conversion of the heathen Gregory was neither a
 fierce nor intolerant iconoclast. He deprecated the
 destruction of the pagan temples; he enjoined their
 sanctification by Christian rites;^k the idols only were
 to be destroyed without remorse. Even the sacrifices of
 oxen^m were to continue, but to be celebrated on the
 saints' days, in order gently to transfer the adoration of
 the people from their old to their new objects of worship.
 In his letters to the King and Queen, Ethelred and
 Bertha, he is gentle, persuasive, but he intimates the
 rapidly approaching end of the world in those awful
 terms which might appal the mind of a barbarian.ⁿ
 Even Ireland was not beyond the sphere of Gregory's
 patriarchal vigilance. He was consulted by certain
 bishops of that island on the question of rebaptising
 heretics. He thought it necessary to inform those

¹ vii. 31.

^k We find a singular illustration of the commercial intercourse kept up by means of religion: timber was to be brought from Britain to build the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul in Rome; and in several letters to the Bishop of Alexandria, Gregory informs him that he has sent him timber, and

acceptable present in Egypt.

^m It is curious to find the theory of the Egyptian origin of many of the Hebrew rites, received with so much apprehension in the writings of Spencer and Warburton, unsuspectingly promulgated by Gregory.—Epist. ix. 71

ⁿ ix. 60.

remote prelates, who perhaps were utterly ignorant of the controversy, as to his views on the three Chapters. The Irish bishops contrast their own state of peace with the calamities of Italy, and seem disposed to draw the inference that God approved their views on the contested points rather than those of the Italian prelates. Gregory replies that the miseries of Italy were rather signs of God's chastening love. The unconvinced Irish, however, adhered to their own opinions.^o

But if to these remote and yet unsubdued regions Gregory showed this wise forbearance, his solicitude to extirpate the last vestiges of heathenism which still lingered in Sardinia,^p and a few other barbarous parts, was more uncompromising and severe. Towards those obstinate heathens he forgot on one occasion his milder language. He instructs the Bishop of Cagliari to preach to them. If his preaching is without effect, to compel them to repentance by imprisonment and other rigorous measures.^q

Everywhere throughout the spiritual dominions of Gregory—in Gaul, in Italy, in Sicily, in Spain Gregory and the Jews.—the Jews dwelt mingled with his Christian subjects. To them Gregory was on the whole just and humane.^r He censured the Bishop of Terracina for unjustly expelling the Jews from some place where

^o Letter of Columbanus published by Usher. — Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Lugd.

^p Epist. iii. 23, 26; vii. 1, 2; compare 20.

^q "Siquidem servi sunt, verberibus, cruciatibusque, quibus ad emendationem pervenire valeant, castigare. Si vero sunt liberi, inclusione dignâ distinctâque sunt in pœnitentiam diri-

gendi; ut qui salubria et a mortis periculo revocantia audire contemnunt, cruciatus (ibus, qu. ?) saltem eos corporis ad desiderandam mentis valeas reducere sanitatem."—vii. ii. 67.

^r "Eos enim qui a religione Christianâ discordant, mansuetudine, benignitate, admonendo, suadendo, ad unitatem fidei necesse est congregare." —Epist. i. 33.

they had been accustomed to celebrate their festivals. He condemned the forcible baptism of Jews in Gaul, which had been complained of by certain itinerant Jewish merchants.⁹ Conviction by preaching was the only legitimate means of conversion. He did not scruple, however, to try the milder method of bribery. Certain Jewish tenants of Church property are told that if they embrace Christianity their rents will be lowered.^t Even if their conversion be not sincere, that of their children may be so.^u He denied them, however, the possession of Christian slaves, though where the slaves belonged as *coloni* to their estates (the Jews appear here, as in Sicily, in the unusual condition of landowners and cultivators of the soil), they were to maintain their uninvaded rights.^x Slaves of Jewish masters, who, whether pagans or Jews, had taken refuge in a church from the desire of embracing Christianity, were to be purchased from their owners.^y Gregory endeavoured to check the European slave-trade, which was chiefly in the hands of the Jews, but his efforts were by no means successful.^z Gregory reprov'd the Bishop of Cagliari, who had permitted a Jewish convert

⁹ Epistle to the bishops of Arles and Marseilles, i. 45.

^t iv. 6. This is remarkable as showing the Jews in the rare situation not only of cultivators of the soil, but as cultivators of church lands. In another passage he is extremely indignant at the sale of church vessels to a Jew, who was to be compelled to restore them.—i. 51.

^u ii. 37. See the curious story of a Jew who had deceived the Christians by setting up an altar to St. Elias, at which they were tempted to worship. (He must have been a singularly here-

tical Jew.) He was to be punished for the offence.

^x Epistle to the Bishop of Luna. To Queen Brunehild Gregory expresses his wonder that in her dominions Jews were permitted to possess Christian slaves.—vii. ii. 115, 116.

^y v. 31. In the next epistle Gregory expresses his indignation that certain Samaritans in Catania had presumed to circumcise their slaves. Compare vii. 1, 2, and xi. 15.

^z vii. ii. 30: compare Hist. of Jews, iii. 51.

named Peter to seize the synagogue, and to set up within it a cross and an image of the Virgin. The Jews had been forbidden to build new synagogues, but were not to be deprived of those which they possessed. In one the images were to be removed with due respect, and the building restored to its rightful owners.^a Directions in a similar spirit were given to the Bishop of Palermo.

Gregory's humanity was hardly tried by the temptation of persecuting heretics. He was happily wanting both in power and in opportunity. Gregory and the heretics. The heresies of the East, excepting as to the three Chapters, had almost died away in the West. The Pelagian controversy had almost argued itself to rest; and even Manicheism, which was later to spring up in new forms, lurked only in obscure places, undetected by the searching jealousy of orthodoxy. Arianism in Spain had recanted its errors; among the Lombards it was an armed antagonist which could only be assailed, as it was victoriously assailed, by the gentle means of persuasion and love.

While Gregory was thus, by his Christian virtues, establishing a substantial claim to Christian supremacy, and by superstitions congenial to the age still further unconsciously confirming his authority over the mind of man, he heard with astonishment and indignation that John the Patriarch of Constantinople had publicly, openly, assumed the title of Bishop of Constantinople Universal Bishop. Universal Bishop, a title which implied his absolute supremacy over the Christian world.^b This claim

^a vii. ii. 59 : compare xi. 15.

^b Cardinal Mai quotes a curious passage from a MS. Synodicon, in which the Primacy of Rome is attri-

buted to her being the centre of all affairs, civil and ecclesiastical: *πρότερον ἐν τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ Ῥώμῃ συνέβηεν τὰ πράγματα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτα*

rested on the civil supremacy of Constantinople. The Western empire had perished, Italy had sunk into a province, Rome into a provincial city. Constantinople was the seat of empire, the capital of the world; the bishop of the capital was of right the chief pontiff of Christendom. The pretensions of the successors of St. Peter were thus contemptuously set aside; the religious supremacy became a kind of appanage to the civil sovereignty; it lost at once its permanence, its stability, its independence; it might fluctuate with all the vicissitudes of political dominion, or the caprice of human despotism.^c

The letter of Gregory to the Emperor Maurice pours forth his indignation with the utmost vehemence, yet not without skill. All the calamities of the empire are traced to the pride and ambition of the clergy, yet there is a prudent reservation for the awfulness of their power, if applied, as it ought to be, as mediators between earth and heaven. "What fleshly arm would presume to lift itself against the imperial majesty, if the clergy were unanimous in ensuring, by their prayers and by

*συνέτρεχον πάντες ἐκεῖ . . . ἐν-
τεῦθεν γὰρ καὶ τὸ τῆς προεδρίας
προσβεῖον τῷ Ῥώμης θρόνῳ κ. τ. λ.
Deinde prosequitur auctor synodici,
more solito schismaticorum græco-
rum dicens, ea privilegia Romanæ sedi
obvenisse a sede imperii: quâ deinde
Constantinopolim translata, negoti-
orum universitatem devolutam esse ad
episcopum Byzantinum, excepto tantum
primatu. καὶ τῷ Ῥώμης τὸ
μὲν τῆς προεδρίας τίμιον εἰς ἔτι
σώζεται. ἢ δ' ἄλλη τῆς διοικήσεως
αφαίρεται μεγαλειότης, μὴ τῷ κράτει
λαμπρυνόμενῳ τῆς βασιλικῆς αἰθεν-
ρίας. — Spicilegium Romanum, vii.*

Præfatio, p. xxvi.

^c From the jealous and even angry tone in which Gregory writes to John Archbishop of Ravenna, who had dared to wear the pallium out of the church, and had ventured on other irregularities, at the same time that he protests that he always renders due honour to the church of Ravenna, it may be suspected that, as the residence of the Exarch, the emperor's representative, Ravenna was beginning to aspire towards some peculiar ecclesiastical superiority, at least to independence. — Epist. iv. ii. 15.

their merits, the protection of the Redeemer? Were the clergy what they should be, the fiercest barbarians would cease to rage against the lives of the innocent." "And is this a time, chosen by an arbitrary prelate, to invade the undoubted rights of St. Peter by a haughty and pompous title? Every part of Europe is abandoned to the dominion of the barbarians; cities are destroyed, fortresses overthrown, provinces depopulated, lands without inhabitants, the worshippers of idols are daily reveling in the massacre of the faithful, and the priests, who ought to be wailing in dust and ashes, are inventing new and profane appellations to gratify their pride. Am I defending my own cause? Is this any special injury to the Bishop of Rome? It is the cause of God, the cause of the whole Church. And who is he that usurps this uncanonical dignity?—the prelate of a see repeatedly ruled by heretics, by Nestorians, by Macedonians. Let all Christian hearts reject the *blasphemous* name. It was once applied, by the Council of Chalcedon, in honour of St. Peter, to the Bishop of Rome; but the more humble pontiffs of Rome would not assume a title injurious to the rest of the priesthood. I am but the servant of those priests who live as becomes their order. But 'pride goeth before a fall;' and 'God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble.'" ^d

A.D. 595.

To the Empress (for on all religious questions the Empress is usually addressed as well as the Emperor), Gregory brands the presumption of John as a sign of the coming of Antichrist; and compares it to that of Satan, who aspired to be higher than all the angels.^e

^d Epist. Maurit. Augusto. Epist. iv. 32.^e Ad Constant. Imperatric., Epist. iv. 33.

Among the exhortations to humility addressed to John himself, he urges this awful example:—"No one in the Church has yet sacrilegiously dared to usurp the name of Universal Bishop. Whoever calls himself Universal Bishop is Antichrist."† Gregory appeals also to the Bishops of Antioch and Alexandria to unite with him in asserting the superior dignity of St. Peter, in which they have a common interest; and it is remarkable with what address he endeavours to enlist those prelates in his cause, without distinctly admitting their equal claim to the inheritance of St. Peter, to which Antioch at least might adduce a plausible title.‡

III. In the person of Gregory the Bishop of Rome Gregory as first became, in act and in influence, if not in temporal sovereign. avowed authority, a temporal sovereign. Nor were his acts the ambitious encroachments of ecclesiastical usurpation on the civil power. They were forced upon him by the purest motives, if not by absolute necessity. The virtual sovereignty fell to him as abdicated by the neglect or powerlessness of its rightful owners: he must assume it, or leave the city and the people to anarchy. He alone could protect Rome and the remnant of her citizens from barbaric servitude; his authority rested on the universal feeling of its beneficence; his title was the security afforded by his government.

Nothing could appear more forlorn and hopeless than the state of Rome on the accession of Gregory to the

† Joanni Constant. Epist. iv. 38.

‡ "Itaque cum multi sunt apostoli, pro ipso tamen principatu sola apostolorum principis sedes in auctoritate convaluit quæ in tribus locis unius est. . . . Cum ergo unius atque una sit

sedes, cui ex auctoritate divinâ tres nunc episcopi president, quicquid ego de vobis boni audio, hoc mihi imputo, quod de me boni creditis hoc vestris meritis imputate."—Epist. vi. 37.

pontificate—continual wars, repeated sieges, the capture and recapture of the city by barbarian Goths and Vandals, and no less barbarous Greeks.^h Fires, tempests, inundations had raged with indiscriminating fury. If the heathen buildings of the city had suffered most, it was because, from their magnitude and splendour, they were more exposed to plunder and devastation. The Christian city was indebted for its comparative security, if partially to its sanctity, in a great degree to its humility. Epidemic plagues, the offspring of these calamities, had been constantly completing the work of barbarian enemies and of the destructive elements.

After the pestilence which raged at the accession of Gregory had been arrested (an event attributed no doubt to the solemn religious ceremonies of the Bishop), his first care was that of a prefect of the city—to supply food for the famishing people. This, as has been shown, was chiefly furnished from Sicily and from the estates of the Church. During this whole period the city was saved from the horrors of famine only by the wise and provident regulations of the Pope.¹

But it was the Lombard invasion which compelled the Pope to take a more active part in the The Lombards. affairs of Italy. For seven and twenty years, says Gregory, we have lived in this city in terror of the sword of the Lombards. If during the few later years of Gregory's pontificate of thirteen years Rome enjoyed a precarious peace, that peace it owed to the intervention of her Bishop.

^h Denina thinks that greater misery was inflicted upon Italy by the Grecian reconquest than by any other invasion.—*Revoluz. d'Italia*, t. i. l. v. p. 247.

¹ Gregory, in a letter to one of his agents in Sicily, writes thus:—"Quasi quid minus huc transmittetur, non unus quilibet homo, sed cunctus simul populus trucidatur."—*Epist.* i. 2.

In their first invasion of Italy, under Alboin,^k the Lombards extended their conquests as far as Tuscany and Umbria. Rome, Ravenna, and a few cities on the sea-coast, alone escaped their devastations, and remained under the jurisdiction of the Exarch of Ravenna, the representative of the Byzantine empire. The tragedy of Alboin's death, and that of his adulterous Queen, Rosmunda; the cup made out of her father's skull, with which Alboin pledged her in a public banquet, her revenge, her own murder by her guilty paramour, though in the latter event the Exarch of Ravenna had taken part, belong, nevertheless, to the unmitigated ferocity of the barbarian. The Lombard host comprehended wild hordes of Teutonic or Sclavonian tribes.^l They occupied all the cities of northern Italy, to which they gave the name of Lombardy; civilisation retreated as they advanced; the bishop, at their approach, fled from Milan. Nothing withheld them from the immediate and total subjugation of Italy but their wars with the Franks—wars excited by the intrigues of the Byzantine court, who by these means alone averted for a time the loss of their Italian territories.

After the short reign of Cleph, the elected successor of Alboin, the kingdom was divided into dukedoms, and these martial independent princes continued to extend their ravages over the still retiring limits of the Roman dominion. They compelled the cultivators of the soil to pay a third part of their produce; they plundered churches and monasteries without

^k A.D. 567, twenty-three years before the Popedom of Gregory, A.D. 590.

^l "Unde usque hodie eorum in viciis habitant vicos, Gepidos, Bulgares, Sarmatas, Pannonios, Suavos, Noricos, sive aliis hujuscemodi nominibus appellamus."—Paul. Diac. de Gestis Longobard., ii. 26.

scruple; massacred the clergy, destroyed the cities, and mowed down the people like corn.^m

The perpetual wars with the Franks, who still poured over the Alps, demanded from the Lombards a firmer government. Autharis was raised by acclamation to the Lombard throne. Within his own dominions the reign of Autharis was that of prosperity and peace. So only can any truth be assigned to the poetic description of his rule by the Latin historian the Deacon Paul, in whose glowing words the savage and desolating Lombards almost suddenly became an orderly, peaceful, Christian people. “Wonderful was the state of the Lombard kingdom: violence and treachery were alike unknown; no one oppressed, no one plundered another; thefts and robberies were unheard of; the traveller went wherever he would in perfect security.”ⁿ How strange a contrast with the bitter and unceasing complaints in the works of Gregory of the savage manners, remorseless cruelties, and sacrilegious impieties, of these most wicked Lombards,^o these heathen or Arian enemies of Rome and of true religion! During a period of cessation in his wars with the Franks, King Autharis swept unresisted over the whole of Southern Italy. At Reggio, the extreme point, the conqueror rode his horse into the sea, and with his spear struck a column, which had been erected there, exclaiming, “This is the boundary of the Lombard kingdom.” During this or former expeditions Lombard dukedoms had been founded in the south, of which the most formidable were those of Spoleto and Benevento. These half-independent chieftains waged war upon the

A.D. 584.

^m De Gestis Longobard., ii. 32

ⁿ Paul. Diac. ii. 16.

^o “Nefandissimos Lombardos” is Gregory’s standing epithet.

Romans; the latter especially carried his ravages to the gates of Rome.

The Italians sent earnest supplications and the Pope pressing message after message for succour, to the successive Emperors, Tiberius and Maurice. The Byzantine government was too feeble, or too much occupied by nearer enemies, to render effectual aid to this remote province: their allies, the Franks, were the only safeguards of Italy.

It was towards the close of the reign of Autharis that Gregory became bishop of the plague-stricken city. In the second year of his pontificate, Agilulf became the husband of Theodelinda, the widow of Autharis, and King of the Lombards.^p The Exarch, who had not the power to avert, had the folly to provoke the Lombards to new invasions. He surprised Perugia and some other cities, and, to protect them, withdrew great part of the insufficient garrison of Rome. Agilulf poured his unresisted swarms into Southern Italy.^q

Already had Gregory made peace with one formidable enemy, Ariulf, the Duke of Spoleto.^r The predatory bands of the Lombard had threatened the city

^p Gregory ascribes the death of "Nefandissimus" Autharis to a direct judgement of God, for his prohibiting the baptism of Lombard children in the Catholic faith, "pro quâ culpâ eum divina majestas extinxit." Autharis was reported to have died by poison (Epist. i. 16, Nov.—Dec. 590)—probably an idle tale.—Paul. Diac. iii. 36.

^q "Non Romanorum," wrote Gregory, "sed Longobardorum episcopus factus sum."

^r Gregory's letter to the Archbishop of Ravenna shows how these affairs were thrown upon him. "Movere vos non debet Romani patricii animositas. Age cum eo ut pacem cum Ariulpho faciamus, quia miles de Româ ablatu est. Theodosiani vero, qui remanserunt, regem non accipientes vix ad murorum custodiam se accommodant, et destituta ab omnibus civitas, si pacem non habet, quomodo subsistat?"—Epist. ii. 32.

where the walls were scarcely manned by a diminished and unpaid garrison. Agilulf, with his army, appeared at the gates of Rome.* Gregory suddenly brought to an end his exposition of the Temple of Ezekiel, on which he was preaching to the people. His work closes with these words:—"If I must now break off my discourse, ye are my witnesses for what reason, ye who share in my tribulations. On all sides we are girt with war; everywhere is the imminent peril of death. Some return to us with their hands chopped off, some are reported as captives, others as slain. I am constrained to cease from my exposition, for I am weary of life. Who can expect me now to devote myself to sacred eloquence, now that my harp is turned to mourning, and my speech to the voice of them that weep?"†

At least, by encouraging the commanders of the garrison, who seem to have done their duty, Gregory contributed to avert the impending capture of the city. While all the Romans, even those of the highest rank and family, without the city, were dragged like dogs into captivity,‡ at least those within were in safety, and owed their safety to the Pope; and the pacific influence which Gregory obtained in this momentous crisis led, after some years, to a definitive treaty of peace.‡

Yet while Gregory was thus exercising the real power, and performing the protecting part of a sovereign, the

* Chronologists differ as to the date of this siege. Sigonius gives 594, Baronius 595. I should agree with Muratori for 592, or at latest 593. Jaffé dates it 592, July.—Epist. ii. 46.

† Job xxx. 31, Exposit. in Ezekiel. sub fin.

‡ It is not quite clear at what

period the noble Romans, whom Gregory was anxious to ransom from the nefandissimi Lombardi, were carried into captivity upon the taking of Cortona.—Epist. vi. 23.

‡ Sigonius places the final peace in 599; so also Jaffé, March.—Epist. ix. 42.

Exarch, the feeble and insolent Romanus, affected to despise the weakness of Gregory, in supposing the barbarous Lombards disposed to peace.⁷ The Emperor Maurice, safe in his palace at Constantinople, looked with jealousy on the proceedings of Gregory, who thus presumed to save the narrow remnant of his dominions without his sanction, and disowned the peace, made, it should seem, by Gregory on his own authority.⁸ Gregory, indeed, according to his own statement, possessed greater powers than he displayed. The fate of the whole Lombard race depended on his will. On the occasion of a charge made against him, as having been accessory to the death of a bishop, he is not content with repelling the accusation as false and alien to his humane disposition, but he desires the Emperor to be reminded, that if he had been disposed to mingle himself up with the death of the Lombards, the nation would have been without king, duke, or count, and would have fallen into utter confusion. But the fear of God had forbidden him to be concerned in the death of any human being.⁹ It is difficult to reject this as an idle boast; more difficult to fix any period or to point to any juncture in which the Pope's humanity was exposed to this temptation.

⁷ According to Gregory, the oppressions of the Exarchs were even worse than the hostilities of the Lombards. "Quia ejus in nos militia gladios Longobardorum vicit: ita ut benigniores videantur hostes, qui nos interimunt, quam reipublicæ judices, qui nos malitiâ suâ, rapinis atque fallaciis in cogitatione consumunt."—*Epist. ad Sebast. Episc. vi. 42.*

⁸ *Epist. v. 40*: compare *v. 42.*

⁹ "Quod breviter suggeras domino

nostro, quia si ego servus eorum in morte Longobardorum miscere me voluissem, hodie Longobardorum gens nec Regem, nec Duces nec Comites haberet, atque in summâ confusione esset divisa."—*Epist. vii. 1, ad Sabin.* quoted also in Paul. Diacon. This seems to point at some conspiracy devised to massacre the Lombard chiefs. It cannot mean any fanatic confidence in his own prayers, as of power to pluck down divine vengeance upon them.

But it is most singular that the influence of Gregory was obtained by means not only more mild and legitimate, but purely religious. In his very hour of conquest he was subduing the conqueror. While the Lombard king was at the gates of Rome, at the head of a hostile and ferocious army, Gregory was pursuing the triumphs of the Catholic faith, entertaining a friendly correspondence with the orthodox Queen Theodelinda, and beginning, at least, to wean the sovereign and his subjects from what he thought, doubtless, the worst part of their character, their Arianism. Theodelinda was a Bavarian princess, bred up in Trinitarian belief, and to her Gregory appeals to show her genuine Christianity by her love of peace. Great would be her reward if she should check the prodigal effusion of blood. To Theodelinda Gregory addressed his memorable Dialogues; and perhaps the best excuse which can be made for the wild and extravagant legends thus stamped with his authority, and related apparently with such undoubting faith, may be found in the person to whom he dedicated this work. They might be, if not highly coloured, selected with less scruple in order to impress the Lombard queen with the wonder-working power of the Roman clergy, of the orthodox monks and bishops of Italy. Profound as was the superstition of Gregory, many of these stories need some such palliation.^b

Gregory employed the influence which he had obtained over Queen Theodelinda not merely to secure for Rome the blessings of peace; through him likewise, according

^a Some writers have endeavoured to relieve the memory of Gregory the Great from the authorship of the Dialogues. But there can be no rea-

sonable doubt of their authenticity; they are entirely in his style and manner, and alluded to more than once in his unquestioned writings.

to the annalist of the Lombards, from heathens, or, at most Arians, who paid no regard to the sacred possessions, the edifices, or the ministers of the Church, the whole nation, with Agilulf, their king, became orthodox Christians. Agilulf restored the wealth which he had plundered from the churches, reinstated the ejected bishops, and raised those who had remained in their sees from abject poverty and degradation to dignity and power.^c At what period this conversion took place it is difficult to decide; throughout Gregory's writings the Lombards are mentioned with unmitigated abhorrence; it could only, therefore, be towards the close of his life that this important event can be thought possible.

Still, however, Gregory acknowledged himself a subject of the Emperor. Though constrained to negotiate a separate peace, this measure was submissively excused as compelled by hard necessity. Even in his strongest act of opposition to the Byzantine court, in which the civil power of the Emperor and the monastic spirit of the Pope seemed to meet in irreconcilable hostility, his resistance to the law which prohibited soldiers actually enrolled or enlisted by a mark on the hand from deserting their duty to their country and taking refuge in monasteries, Gregory did not dare to resist the publication of the edict.^d His language is that of supplication rather than remonstrance; the humble expostulation of a subject, not the bold assertion of spiritual power. "I confess, my Sovereigns, that I am struck with terror at this edict, by which heaven is closed against so many; and that which before was lawful to all, is prohibited to some.

^c Paul. Diac. iv. 6.

^d This edict dates 593 Gregory's letter, Aug. 593.—Jaffé.

Many, indeed, may lead a religious life in a secular habit, but the most of men cannot be saved before God but by leaving all they have. What am I, who thus address my Sovereigns? Dust, and a worm! But I cannot be silent before my Sovereigns, because this edict is directed against God, the author of all things. Power was given to my Sovereigns over all men, to assist the good, to open wide the way to heaven; and that the kingdom of earth might be subservient to the kingdom of heaven. And now, behold, it is proclaimed that no one who is marked as an earthly soldier, unless he has completed his service, or is discharged from infirmity, shall be allowed to be a soldier of Jesus Christ. To this Christ answers, by me, the lowliest of his servants and yours: 'From a notary I made you captain of the guards; from captain of the guards, Cæsar; from Cæsar, Emperor; and, more than that, the father of Emperors. I commended my priests to your care, and you withdraw your soldiers from my service. Tell your servant what answer you will make to the Lord when he comes to judgement. It is supposed, perhaps, that such conversions are not sincere; but I, your unworthy servant, know many converted soldiers who in our own days have worked miracles and done many signs and wonders. And will you prohibit the conversion of such men by law? Inquire what Emperor it was that first issued such a statute.^e Consider, seriously, is this the time to prohibit men from leaving the world, when the end of the world is at hand? But a short time, and the earth and the heavens will burn,

^e The allusion is to Julian the Apostate—See Epist. 65. In the same letter Gregory asserts the temporal dominion of the sovereign in still

stronger terms. "Qui dominari eum non solum militibus, sed etiam sacerdotibus concessit."

and among the blazing elements, amid angels and archangels, and thrones and dominions, and principalities and powers, the terrible Judge will appear. And what, if all your sins be remitted and this law rise up against you, will be your excuse? By that terrible Judge I beseech you, let not so many tears, so many prayers, and alms, and fastings be obscured before the sight of God. Either mitigate or alter this law. The armies of my Sovereigns will be strengthened against their enemies in proportion as the armies of God, whose warfare is by prayer, are increased. I, who am subject to your authority, have commanded the law to be transmitted throughout the empire, but I have also avowed to my Sovereigns that I esteem it displeasing to God. I have done my duty in both cases; I have obeyed the Emperor, and not compromised my reverence for God." †

The darkest stain on the name of Gregory is his cruel and unchristian triumph in the fall of the Emperor Maurice—his base and adulatory praise of Phocas, the most odious and sanguinary tyrant who had ever seized the throne of Constantinople. It is the worst homage to religion to vindicate or even to excuse the crimes of religious men; and the apologetic palliation, or even the extenuation of their misdeeds rarely succeeds in removing, often strengthens, the unfavourable impression.

The conduct of the Emperor Maurice to Gregory had nothing of that vigour or generosity which had commended him to his Eastern subjects, while the avarice which had estranged their affections contributed manifestly towards the abandonment of Italy to the Lombard

† Ad Maurit. Imperat.—Epist. ii. 62.

invader. Gregory owed not his elevation to Maurice. The cold consent of the Byzantine Emperor had ratified his election, and from that time the Emperor had treated him with neglect and contempt. On one occasion Maurice had called him in plain terms a fool for allowing himself to be imposed upon by the craft of the Lombard Ariulf. "A fool indeed I am," replied Gregory, "to suffer, as I do, among the swords of the Lombards."^a Throughout his reign Maurice had impotently resented the enforced interference of Gregory in temporal affairs. He had thwarted and repudiated his negotiations, by which Rome was saved. The only act of vigour by which the Emperor had attempted to recruit his Italian armies had been that which Gregory in his monastic severity had denounced as a flagrant impiety. Maurice had, at least, connived at the arrogant usurpation of the title of Universal Bishop by the patriarch of Constantinople, even if he had not deliberately sanctioned it.^b

Could it be expected that Gregory should rise superior to all these causes of animosity; that he should altogether suppress or disguise what might appear his patriotic and religious hopes from a change of dynasty? Such revolutions were of so frequent occurrence on the throne of Byzantium as to awaken little surprise and less sympathy, in the remote provinces; and the allegiance of Italy was but of recent date—an allegiance which subjected the land to all the tyranny and oppression,

^a Epist. iv. 31. The craft which has been imputed to Gregory may perhaps be traced in this remarkable letter. He acknowledges himself and the priesthood in general subject to the censure of the emperor. "Sed excellenti consideratione propter eum cujus servi sunt, eis ita dominetur, ut etiam

debitam reverentiam impendat. Nam in divinis eloquiis sacerdotes aliquando dii, aliquando angeli vocantur."

^b Maurice, according to the biographer of Gregory, had meditated more violent hostility against the Pope, but had been deterred by the alarming nonobedience of a monk.—Vit. Greg.

and afforded none of the protection and security, of a regular government.

At the time of his insurrection Phocas was an undistinguished soldier, raised by the acclamations of the army to the post of peril and honour;¹ his mean and cruel character, even his repulsive and hideous person, might be unknown in Rome; and Gregory might suppose that in such an exigency the choice of the army would not fall upon a man without courage, energy, or ability. It was no uncommon event in the annals of the empire to transfer the diadem to some bold military adventurer; Rome and Constantinople owed some of their best rulers to such revolutions.

But the common usage of such revolutions could not vindicate to a Christian prelate the barbarities with which Maurice and his infant family were put to death; and the high-wrought resignation of Maurice, it might have been supposed, would awaken ardent admiration in a mind like Gregory's. "If he is a coward, he will be a murderer!" such was the prophetic language of Maurice concerning the successful usurper. Maurice had taken refuge in a sanctuary; but when Phocas appeared as Emperor at the gates, when, in discharge of the first imperial duty at Constantinople, he interfered between the blue and the green factions in the Circus, which still excited fiercer animosities than those of the state, the Blues, against whom the usurper took part, broke out into menacing and significant shouts, "Maurice

¹ Theophylact, viii. 1, vol. i. p. 706, edit. Bonn. His person and character are thus described by the hatred of later writers. He was short, deformed, with a fierce look, and red hair, with his brows meeting and his chin shaved.

He had a scar on his cheek, which looked black when he was angry. He was a drunkard, lewd, sanguinary, stern and savage in speech, pitiless, brutal, and a heretic! His wife Leonto was as bad.—Cedren. Lib. i. p. 708.

is not dead!" Phocas immediately ordered the fallen emperor to be dragged from his sanctuary. His five sons were butchered before his face. The unmoved and tearless father, as each received the fatal blow, exclaimed, "Just art thou, O Lord, and righteous are thy judgements!" With a sterner feeling of self-sacrifice, if it were not, indeed, despair which took the form of frenzy, he betrayed the pious fraud of a nurse, who had substituted her own child for the youngest of the Emperor. Maurice was beheaded the last; ^k the heads were cast before the throne of Phocas, who would not allow them, till compelled by their offensiveness, to be buried.

The intelligence of these events, with most, at least, of their revolting circumstances, must have arrived at Rome at the same time with that of the fall of Maurice and the elevation of Phocas. It is astonishing that even common prudence did not temper the language of the triumphant Pontiff, who launches out into a panegyric on the mercy and benignity of the usurper, calls on earth and heaven to rejoice at his accession, augurs peace and prosperity to the empire from his pious acts, and even seems to anticipate the return of the old republican freedom under the rule of the devout and gentle Phocas.^m

^k According to the biographer, Maurice owed profound obligations to Gregory, which might overbalance such merciless rejoicings at his worldly fate. He owed his eternal salvation to the prayer of Gregory. "Et quia oratio Gregorii, quâ illum petierat in terribili Dei judicio liberum ab omnibus delictis inveniri, *vacua esse non potuit*: idem Mauricius id recepit quod meruit et in cunctis suis incommodis Deum benedicens, a sempiterno

supplicio meruit liberari."—Joann. Diac. iii. 19.

^m "Lætentur cœli et exultet terra; et de benignis vestris actibus universæ reipublicæ populus, nunc usque vehementer afflictus, hilarescat. . . . Hoc namque inter reges gentium et reipublicæ Imperatores distat, quod reges gentium domini servorum sunt; Imperatores vero reipublicæ domini liberorum."—Epist. xi. 38.

The sad truth is, that Gregory was blinded by the one great absorbing object, the interest of the Church, which to him involved the interest of religion, of mankind, and of God. Loyalty, justice, candour, even humanity, yielded to the dominant feeling. Maurice was not above suspicion of heresy; the unscrupulous hostility, no doubt, of political enemies taunted him as a Marcionist. At all events, he had countenanced the usurpation of the Bishop of Constantinople. John of Constantinople, with his sanction, called himself Universal Bishop. The new emperor, out of enmity to the old, would probably espouse the opposite side. Already Phocas seems to have invited in some way the adulation of Gregory; and reverence for the see of Rome, obedience to legitimate ecclesiastical authority, were in themselves, or gave the promise of such transcendent virtues, that rebellion, murder, brutal barbarity, were overlooked, as the accidental result of circumstances, the inevitable evils of a beneficial revolution.

So completely, by this time, had the sacerdotal Phocas Emperor. A.D. 602-610. obtained the superiority over the moral influence of Christianity, that even a man of Gregory's unquestioned Christian gentleness and natural humanity could not escape the predominant passion.

Gregory was spared the pain and shame of witnessing the utter falsehood of his pious vaticinations as to the glorious and holy reign of Phocas. In the second year of the tyrant's reign he closed the thirteen important years of his pontificate. The ungrateful

Death of Gregory, March 10, 604.

Romans paid but tardy honours to his memory. His death was followed by a famine, which the starving multitude attributed to his wasteful dilapidation of the patrimony of the Church—that patrimony which had been so carefully administered, and so religiously devoted

to their use. Nothing can give a baser notion of their degradation than their actions. They proceeded to wreak their vengeance on the library of Gregory, and were only deterred from their barbarous ravages by the interposition of Peter, the faithful archdeacon. Peter had been interlocutor of Gregory in the wild legends contained in the Dialogues. The archdeacon now assured the populace of Rome that he had often seen the Holy Ghost, in the visible shape of a dove, hovering over the head of Gregory as he wrote. Gregory's successor therefore hesitated, and demanded that Peter should confirm his pious fiction or fancy by an oath. He ascended the pulpit, but before he had concluded his solemn oath he fell dead. That which to an hostile audience might have been a manifest judgement against perjury, was received as a divine testimony to his truth.^a The Roman Church has constantly permitted Gregory to be represented with the Holy Ghost, as a dove, floating over his head.^o

The historian of Christianity is arrested by certain characters and certain epochs, which stand as landmarks between the close of one age of religion and the commencement of another. Such a character is Gregory the Great; such an epoch his pontificate, the termination of the sixth century.

^a Joann. Diacon. Vit. iv. 69.

^o I am disposed to insert the epitaph on Gregory as an example of the poetry and of the religious sentiment of the times:—

"Suscipe, terra, tuo corpus de corpore
sumptum.
Reddere quod valeas, vivificante Deo.
Spiritus alta petit, leti nil jura nocebunt,
Cui vitæ alterius mors magis illa via est.
Pontificis summi hoc clauduntur membra
sepulcro,
Qui innumeris semper vivit ubique bonis.

Esuriem dapibus superavit, frigora veste,
Atque animas monitis textit ab hoste suis.
Implebatque actu quicquid sermone docebat,
Esset ut exemplum mystica verba lo-
quens.
Anglos ad Christum vertit, pietate ministræ,
Acquirens fideique agmina gente nova.
Hic labor, hoc studium, hæc tibi cura, hoc,
pastor, agebas,
Ut Domini offerres plurima lucra greges.
Hisque Dei consul factus lætare triumphis,
Nam mercedem operum jam sine fine
tenes."

Remark the old Roman image in the
last line but one.

Gregory, not from his station alone, but by the acknowledgment of the admiring world, was intellectually, as well as spiritually, the great model of his age. He was proficient in all the arts and sciences cultivated at that time; the vast volumes of his writings show his indefatigable powers; their popularity and their authority his ability to clothe those thoughts and those reasonings in language which would awaken and command the general mind.

His epoch was that of the final Christianisation of the world, not in outward worship alone, not in its establishment as the imperial religion, the rise of the church upon the ruin of the temple, and the recognition of the hierarchy as an indispensable rank in the social system, but in its full possession of the whole mind of man, in letters, arts as far as arts were cultivated, habits, usages, modes of thought, and in popular superstition.

Not only was heathenism, excepting in the laws and municipal institutions, Romanity itself was absolutely extinct. The reign of Theodoric had been an attempt to fuse together Roman, Teutonic, and Christian usages. Cassiodorus, though half a monk, aspired to be a Roman statesman, Boethius to be a heathen philosopher. The influence of the Roman schools of rhetoric is betrayed even in the writers of Gaul, such as Sidonius Apollinaris; there is an attempt to preserve some lingering cadence of Roman poetry in the Christian versifiers of that age. At the close of the sixth century all this has expired; ecclesiastical Latin is the only language of letters, or rather, letters themselves are become purely ecclesiastical. The fable of Gregory's destruction of the Palatine Library is now rejected, as injurious to his fame; but probably the Palatine Library if it existed, would have been so utterly neglected that

Gregory would hardly have condescended to fear its influence. His aversion to such studies is not that of dread or hatred, but of religious contempt; profane letters are a disgrace to a Christian bishop; the truly religious spirit would loathe them of itself.^p

What, then, was this Christianity by which Gregory ruled the world? Not merely the speculative and dogmatic theology, but the popular, vital, active Christianity, which was working in the heart of man; the dominant motive of his actions, as far as they were affected by religion; the principal element of his hopes and fears as regards the invisible world and that future life which had now become part of his conscious belief?

The history of Christianity cannot be understood without pausing at stated periods to survey the progress and development of this Christian Christian mythology. mythology, which, gradually growing up and springing as it did from natural and universal instincts, took a more perfect and systematic form, and at length, at the height of the Middle Ages, was as much a part of Latin Christianity as the primal truths of the Gospel. This growth, which had long before begun, had reached a kind of adolescence in the age of Gregory, to expand into full maturity during succeeding ages. Already the creeds of the Church formed but a small portion of Christian belief. The highest and most speculative questions of theology, especially in Alexandria and Constantinople, had become watchwords of strife and faction, had stirred the passions of the lowest orders; the two Natures, or the single or double Will in Christ,

^p See the pious wonder with which he reproves a bishop of Gaul. "Post hæc pervenit ad nos, quod *sine verecundia* memorare non possumus, fraternitatem tuam grammaticam quibusdam | exponere. . . . Quam grave nefandumque sit episcopus canere, quod nec laico religioso conveniat, ipse considerat."—Epist. ix. 48.

had agitated the workshop of the artisan and the seats in the Circus. But when these great questions had sunk into quiescence, or, as in Latin Christianity, had never so fully occupied the general mind; when either the triumph of one party, or the general weariness, had worn out their absorbing interest, the religious mind subsided into its more ordinary occupations, and these bore but remote relation to the sublime truths of the Divine Unity and the revelation of God in Christ. As God the Father had receded, as it were, from the sight of man into a vague and unapproachable sanctity; as the human soul had been entirely centred on the more immediate divine presence in the Saviour; so the Saviour himself might seem to withdraw from the actual, at least the exclusive, devotion of the human heart, which was busied with intermediate objects of worship. Christ assumed gradually more and more of the awfulness, the immateriality, the incomprehensibility, of the Deity, and men sought out beings more akin to themselves, more open, it might seem, to human sympathies. The Eucharist, in which the Redeemer's spiritual presence, yet undefined and untransubstantiated, was directly and immediately in communion with the soul, had become more and more wrapt in mystery; though the great crowning act of faith, the interdiction of which was almost tantamount to a sentence of spiritual death, it was more rarely approached, except by the clergy. Believers delighted in those ceremonies to which they might have recourse with less timidity; the shrines and the reliques of martyrs might deign to receive the homage of those who were too profane to tread the holier ground. Already the worship of these lower objects of homage begins to intercept that to the higher; the popular mind is filling

with images either not suggested at all, or suggested but very dimly, by the sacred writings; legends of saints are supplanting, or rivalling at least, in their general respect and attention, the narratives of the Bible.

Of all these forms of worship, the most captivating, and captivating to the most amiable weaknesses of the human mind, was the devotion to the Virgin Mary. The worship of the Virgin had first arisen in the East;^q and this worship, already more than initiate, contributed, no doubt, to the passionate violence with which the Nestorian controversy was agitated, while that controversy, with its favourable issue to those who might seem most zealous for the Virgin's glory, gave a strong impulse to the worship. The denial of the title "The Mother of God," by Nestorius, was that which sounded most offensive to the general ear; it was the intelligible odious point in his heresy. The worship of the Virgin now appears in the East as an integral part of Christianity. Among Justinian's splendid edifices arose many churches dedicated to the Mother of God.^r The feast of the Annunciation is already celebrated under Justin and Justinian.^s Heraclius has images of the Virgin on his masts when he sails to Constantinople to overthrow Phocas.^t Before the end of the century the Virgin is become the tutelar deity of Constantinople, which is saved by her intercession from the Saracens.^u

In the time of Gregory the worship of the Virgin had not assumed that rank in Latin Christi-
Worship of the Virgin.
 anity to which it rose in later centuries, though that second great impulse towards this worship, the unbounded admiration of virginity, had full possession of his monastic mind. With Gregory celibacy was the

^q Evagr. ii. E. v. 19. ^r Procop. de Edif. c. 6. ^s Niceph. H. E. xvii. 28.

^t Theophanes, p. 429, edit. Bonn.

^u Theophan. p. 609 *et passim*.

perfection of human nature; he looked with abhorrence on the contamination of the holy sacerdotal character, even in its lowest degree, by any sexual connexion.² No sub-deacon, after a certain period, was to be admitted without a vow of chastity; no married sub-deacon to be promoted to a higher rank. In one of his expositions⁷ he sadly relates the *fall* of one of his aunts, a consecrated virgin; she had been guilty of the sin of marriage. Of all his grievances against the Exarch of Ravenna none seems more worthy of complaint than that he had encouraged certain nuns to throw off their religious habits, and to marry.² Gregory does not seem to have waged this war against nature, however his sentiments were congenial with those of his age, with his wonted success.^a His letters are full of appeals to sovereigns and to bishops to repress the incontinence of the clergy; even monasteries were not absolutely safe.^b

It was not around the monastery alone, the centre of this preternatural agency, that the ordinary providence of God gave place to a perpetual interposition of miracu-

* "Nullus debet ad ministerium altaris accedere, nisi cujus castitas ante susceptum ministerium sit approbata."—Epist. i. 42. He protests against the election of a bishop who had a young daughter; this bishop, however, was also simplex, and charged with usury.—viii. 40. No bigamist, or one who had married a wife not a virgin, to be received into orders. Marriages, however, Gregory declares, cannot be dissolved on account of religion; *both* parties must consent to live continently in marriage.—ix. 39.

7 That on the text, "many are called, but few chosen."

^a Epist. iv. 18.

^a The absurd story about Gregory's

fishponds paved with the skulls of the drowned infants of the Roman clergy, is only memorable as an instance of what writers of history will believe, or persuade themselves they believe, when it suits party interests. But by whom, or when, was it invented? It is much older than the Reformation.

^b Epist. viii. 21. The regulations of Gregory about a monastic life are in a wiser spirit. None were to be received as monks under 18 (Epist. i. 41); none without two years' probation (iv. 44, viii. 23); but monks who left their monasteries were to be confined for life (i. 33, 40, xii. 28). He mentions also the wandering Africans, who were often secret Manicheans.

lous power. Every Christian was environed with a world of invisible beings, who were constantly putting off their spiritual nature, and assuming forms, uttering tones, distilling odours, apprehensible by the soul of man, or taking absolute and conscious possession of his inward being. A distinction was drawn between the pure, spiritual, illimitable, incomprehensible nature of the Godhead, and the thin and subtle, but bodily forms of angels and archangels. These were perceptible to the human senses, wore the human form, spoke with human language: their substance was the thin air, the impalpable fire; it resembled the souls of men, but yet, whenever they pleased, it was visible, performed the functions of life, communicated not with the mind and soul only, but with the eye and ear of man.^c

Angels.

The hearing and the sight of religious terror were far more quick and sensitive. The angelic visitations were but rare and occasional; the more active Dæmons were ever on the watch, seizing and making every opportunity of beguiling their easy victims.^d They were everywhere present, and everywhere

Devils.

^c The following definition is of a later period, but represents the established notion:—*περὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων, καὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ τούτους ἁγίων δυνάμεων, προσθήσω δὲ καὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας ψυχὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, νοσοῦς μὲν αὐτοὺς ἢ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία γινώσκει, οὐ μὴν ἀσωμάτων πάντη καὶ ἀοράτους, ὡς ὑμεῖς οἱ Ἕλληνες φατέ λεπτοσωμάτων δὲ καὶ ἀερώδεις ἢ πυρώδεις κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγελοῦς αὐτοὺς πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πῦρ φλέγον.* — Joann. Episcop. Thessalon. apud. Concil. Nic. ii., Labbe, p. 354.

^d Read Cassian, who writes indeed of monks, but the belief was universal. “Nosse debemus non omnes universas dæmones passiones ingerere, sed unicuique vitio certos spiritus incubare: et alios quidem immunditiis ac libidinum sordibus delectari; alios blasphemii, alios iræ furorique proclivius imminere, alios cenodoxiâ superbiâque mulceri; et unumquemque illud vitium humanis cordibus, quo ipse gaudet, inserere: sed non cunctos pariter suas ingerere pravitates, sed vicissim prout temporis vel loci vel suscipientis oportunitas provocaverit.”—Cass. Coll. 7 c. 17.

betraying their presence. They ventured into the holiest places; they were hardly awed by the most devout saints: but, at the same time, there was no being too humble, to whose seduction they would not condescend—nothing in ordinary life so trivial and insignificant but that they would stoop to employ it for their evil purposes. They were without the man, terrifying him with mysterious sounds and unaccountable sights. They were within him, compelling all his faculties to do their bidding, another indwelling will besides his own, compelling his reluctant soul to perform their service. Every passion, every vice, had its especial demon; lust, impiety, blasphemy, vain-glory, pride, were not the man himself, but a foreign power working within him. The slightest act, sometimes no act at all, surrendered the soul to the irresistible indwelling agent. In Gregory's Dialogues a woman eats a lettuce without making the sign of the cross; she is possessed by a devil, who had been swallowed in the unexorcised lettuce. Another woman is possessed for admitting her husband's embraces the night before the dedication of an oratory.

Happily there existed, and existed almost at the command of the clergy, a counterworking
 Martyrs. power to this fatal diabolic influence, in the perpetual presence of the saints, more especially in hallowed places, and about their own reliques.* These reliques were the treasure with which the clergy, above

* Gregory thus lays down the doctrine of his age: "Ubi in suis corporibus sancti martyres jacent, dubium, Petre, non est, quod multa valeant signa demonstrare, sicut et fecerunt, et purâ mente quærentibus innumera miracula ostendunt. Sed quia ab infirmis mentibus potest dubitari, utrumne ad exaudiendum ih̄i præsentibus sunt, ubi

constat, quia in suis corporibus non sunt, ita necesse est eos majora signa ostendere, ubi de eorum præsentia potest mens infirma dubitare. Quorum vero mens in Deo fixa est, tanto magis habet fidei meritum, quando eos novit et non jacere corpore, et tamen non desse ad exaudiendum."

all the bishops of Rome, who possessed those of St. Peter and St. Paul, with countless others, ruled the mind; for by these they controlled and kept in awe, they repaired the evils wrought by this whole world of evil spirits. Happy were the churches, the monasteries, whose foundations were hallowed and secured by these sacred talismans. To doubt their presence in these dedicated shrines, in the scenes of their martyrdom, obstinately to require the satisfaction of the senses as to their presence, was an impious want of faith; belief, in proportion to the doubtfulness of the miracle, was the more meritorious. Kings and queens bowed in awe before the possessors and dispensers of these wonder-working treasures,^f which were not only preservative against worldly calamities, but absolved from sin.^g

Reliques had now attained a self-defensive power; profane hands which touched them withered; and men who endeavoured to remove them were struck dead.^h Such was the declaration of Gregory himself, to one who had petitioned for the head or some part of the body of St. Paul. It was an awful thing even to approach to worship them. Men who had merely touched the bones of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Lawrence, though with the pious design of changing their position or placing the scattered bones together, had fallen dead, in one case to the number of ten. The utmost that the Church of Rome could bestow

Reliques.

^f See letters to the Bishop of Xaintonge and Brunchild Queen of France.

^g "Ut quod illius collum ligat ad martyrium, vestrum ab omnibus peccatis solvat."—Dialog. vi. 25.

^h On reliques, especially those of St. Peter, compare Epist. i. 29, 30, ii. 32, iii. 30, v. 50, 51, vi. 23, 25, vii. 2, 112, vii. 88, xii. 17. They

were formerly defended by law, their removal and sale prohibited. "Nemo martyrem distrahat, nemo mercetur."—C. Theod. ix. 17. Compare C. Justin. i. t. 2. Augustine speaks of vagabond monks, who traded in false reliques. "Membra martyrum, si tamen martyrum, venditant."—De Oper. Monach. c. 28.

would be a cloth which had been permitted to touch them; and even such cloths had been known to bleed. If, indeed, the chains of St. Paul would yield any of their precious iron to the file, which they often refused to do, this, he writes, he would transmit to the Empress; and he consoles her for the smallness of the gift by the miraculous power which it will inherently possess.ⁱ

Gregory doled out such gifts with pious parsimony. A nail which contained the minutest filings from the chains of St. Peter^k was an inestimable present to a patrician, or an ex-consul, or a barbaric king. Sometimes they were inserted in a small cross: in one instance with fragments of the gridiron on which St. Lawrence was roasted.^m One of the *golden* nails of the chains of St. Peter had tempted the avarice of a profane, no doubt, a heathen or Arian, Lombard; he took out his knife to sever it off; the awe-struck knife sprung up and cut his sacrilegious throat. The Lombard king, Autharis, and his attendants, were witnesses of the miracle, and stood in terror, not daring to lift the fearful nail from the ground. A Catholic was fortunately found, by whom the nail permitted itself to be touched, and this peerless gift, so avouched, Gregory sends to a distinguished civil officer.ⁿ

That sanctity, which thus dwelt in the reliques of the saints, was naturally gathered, as far as possible, around their own persons by the clergy, hallowed as they were, and set apart by their ordination from the common race of man; and if the

Sanctity of
the clergy.

ⁱ All this is verbatim from the curious letter to the Empress Constantia.—iii. 30. Gregory had forgotten that he had been allowed to transport from Constantinople to Rome an arm of St. Andrew and the head of St.

Luke, and owed a more liberal return.

^k Epist. i. 29, 30. King Childbert, vi. vi. "Quæ collo vestro suspensæ a malis vos omnibus tueantur."

^m Epist. ii. ii. 32.

ⁿ Dial. vi. 23; see also 25.

hierarchy had only wielded this power for self-protection; if they had but arrayed themselves in this defensive awe against the insults and cruelties of barbarians, such as the Lombards are described, it would be stern censure which would condemn even manifest imposture. We might excuse the embellishment, even the invention of the noble story of the Bishop Sanctulus, who offered his life for that of a captive deacon, before whom the Lombard executioner, when he lifted up his sword to behead him, felt his arm stiffen, and could not move it till he had solemnly sworn never to raise that sword against the life of a Christian.^o But this conservative respect for the sanctity of their order darkens too frequently into pride and inhumanity; the awful inviolability of their persons becomes a jealous resentment against even unintentional irreverence. A demoniac accuses the holy Bishop Fortunatus of refusing him the rights of hospitality; a poor peasant receives the possessed into his house, and is punished for this inferential disrespect to the Bishop by seeing his child cast into the fire and burnt before his eyes. A poor fellow with a monkey and cymbals is struck dead for unintentionally interrupting a Bishop Boniface in prayer.^p

The sacred edifices, the churches, especially, approachable to all, were yet approachable not without profound awe; in them met everything which could deepen that awe: within were the reliques of the tutelar saint, the mysteries, and the presence of the Redeemer, of God himself: beneath were the remains of the faithful dead.^q

* Dial. iii. 37. p Dial. i. 10, i. 9. | as suggestive memorials.—vii. ii. 54;

^q Gregory forbade the *worship* of | compare vii. 33, iii. “Pro lectionibus
images, though he encouraged them | pictura est.”—ix. 9.

Burial in churches had now begun ; it was a special privilege. Gregory dwells on the advantage of being thus constantly suggested to the prayers of friends and relatives for the repose of the soul. But that which was a blessing to the holy was but more perilous to the unabsolved and the wicked. The sacred soil refused to receive them ; the martyrs appeared and commanded the foetid corpses to be cast out of their precincts. They were seized by devils, who did not fear to carry off their own even from those holy places.* But oblations were still effective after death. The consecrated Host has begun to possess in itself wonder-working powers. A child is cast forth from his grave, and is only persuaded to rest in quiet by a piece of the consecrated bread being placed upon his breast. Two noble women, who had been excommunicated for talking scandal, were nevertheless buried in the church ; but every time the mass was offered, their spirits were seen to rise from their tombs, and glide out of the church. It was only after an oblation had been "immolated" for them that they slept in peace.†

The mystery of the state after death began to cease to be a mystery. The subtile and invisible soul gradually materialised itself to the keen sight of the devout. A hermit declared that he had seen Theodoric, the Ostrogothic king, at the instant of death, with loose garments and sandals, led between Symmachus the patrician and John the Pope, and plunged into the burning crater of Lipari.‡ Benedict, while waking, beheld a bright and dazzling light, in which he distinctly saw the soul of Germanus, Bishop

* Dial. iv. 50, &c.

† Dial. ii. 22, 23. Compare the two last chapters of Book iv.

‡ "Disinctus et discalceatus"—such was the confusion of the attributes of soul and body.—Dial. iv. 30.

of Capua, ascend to heaven in an orb of fire, borne by angels."^u

Hell was by no means the inexorable dwelling which restored not its inhabitants. Men were trans-ported thither for a short time, and returned Hell. to reveal its secrets to the shuddering world. Gregory's fourth book is entirely filled with legends of departing and of departed spirits, several of which revisit the light of day. On the locality of hell Gregory is modest, and declines to make any peremptory decision. On purgatory too he is dubious, though his final conclusion appears to be that there is a purgatorial fire, which may purify the soul from very slight sins.^x Some centuries must elapse before those awful realms have formed themselves into that dreary and regular topography, which Dante partly created out of his own sublime imagination, partly combined from all the accumulated legends which had become the universal belief of Christendom.

The most singular of these earlier journeys into the future world are the adventures of a certain Stephen, the first part of which Gregory declares he had heard more than once from his own mouth,^y and which he relates, apparently intending to be implicitly believed. Stephen had to all appearance died in Constantinople, but, as the embalmer could not be found, he was left unburied the whole night. During that time he went down into hell, where he saw many things which he had not before believed. But when he came before the Judge, the Judge said, I did not send for this man, but for Stephen the smith. Gregory's friend Stephen was too

^u Dial. iv. 30.

^x "Sed tamen de quibusdam levibus culpulis esse ante iudicium purgatorius

ignis credendus est."—Dial. iv. 39.

^y "De semet ipso mihi narrare consueverat."

happy to get back, and on his return found his neighbour Stephen the smith dead. But Stephen learned not wisdom from his escape. He died of the plague in Rome, and with him appeared to die a soldier, who returned to reveal more of these fearful secrets of the other world, and the fate of Stephen. The soldier passed a bridge, beneath it flowed a river, from which rose vapours, dark, dismal, and noisome. Beyond the bridge (the imagination could but go back to the old Elysian fields) spread beautiful, flowery, and fragrant meadows, peopled by spirits clothed in white. In these were many mansions, vast and full of light. Above all rose a palace of golden bricks, to whom it belonged he could not read. On the bridge he recognised Stephen, whose foot slipped as he endeavoured to pass. His lower limbs were immediately seized by frightful forms, who strove to drag him to the fœtid dwellings below. But white and beautiful beings caught his arms, and there was a long struggle between the conflicting powers. The soldier did not see the issue of the conflict.

Such were among the stories avouched by the highest ecclesiastical authority, and commended it might seem by the uninquiring faith of the ruling intellect of his age—such among the first elements of that universal popular religion which was the Christianity of ages. This religion gradually moulded together all which arose out of the natural instincts of man, the undying reminiscences of all the older religions, the Jewish, the Pagan, and the Teutonic, with the few and indistinct glimpses of the invisible world and the future state of being in the New Testament, into a vast system, more sublime perhaps for its indefiniteness, which, being necessary in that condition of mankind, could not but grow up out of the kindled imagination and religious

faith of Christendom; and such religion the historian who should presume to condemn as a vast plan of fraud, or a philosopher who should venture to disdain as a fabric of folly, only deserving to be forgotten, would be equally unjust, equally blind to its real uses, assuredly ignorant of its importance and its significance in the history of man. For on this, the popular Christianity, popular as comprehending the highest as well as the lowest in rank, and even in intellectual estimation, turns the whole history of man for many centuries. It is at once the cause and the consequence of the sacerdotal dominion over mankind; the groundwork of authority at which the world trembled; which founded and overthrew kingdoms, bound together or set in antagonistic array nations, classes, ranks, orders of society. Of this, the parent, when the time arrived, of poetry, of art, the Christian historian must watch the growth and mark the gradations by which it gathered into itself the whole activity of the human mind, and quickened that activity till at length the mind outgrew that which had been so long almost its sole occupation. It endured till faith, with the Schoolmen, led into the fathomless depths of metaphysics, began to aspire after higher truths; with the Reformers, attempting to refine religion to its primary spiritual simplicity, gradually dropped, or left but to the humblest and most ignorant, at least to the more imaginative and less practical part, of mankind, this even yet prolific legendary Christianity, which had been the accessory and supplementary Bible, the authoritative and accepted, though often unwritten, Gospel of centuries.

BOOK IV.

CONTEMPORARY CHRONOLOGY.

POPES.		PATRIARCHS OF CONSTANTINOPL.		EMPERORS OF THE EAST.		EXARCHS OF RAVENNA.	
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
		Cyrinus	610			Callinicus	608
Gregory I. died	604			602 Phocas	610		
604 Sabinianus	606					608 Smaragdus (re-stored)	610
606 Boniface III.	607					610 John Remigius	615
608 Boniface IV.	615	610 Sergius	638	610 Heraclius	641	615 Eleutherius	619
						619 Isaac	648
615 Deudedit	618						
619 Boniface V.	625	639 Pyrrhus, deposed	641				
625 Honorius I.	638			641 Constantine III., Heraclionas			
638 Severinus	640	641 Paul II.	654	642 Constans II.	668		
640 John IV.	642					643 Calliopas	650
642 Theodorus I.	649	654 Pyrrhus, reinstated	655			650 Olympius	652
649 Martin I.	655	655 Peter	686			652 Calliopas again	687
654 Eugenius I.	657						
657 Vitalian	672	666 Thomas II.	669				
		669 John V.	675	668 Constantine Pogonatus	685		
672 Adeodatus	676						
676 Donus	678	675 Constantine, deposed	677				
678 Agatho	681	677 Theodorus, deposed	678				
		678 George I.	683				
682 Leo II	683						
683 (?) Benedict II.	685	683 Theodorus, reinstated	686	685 Justinian II.	694		
685 Conon	687	686 Paul III.	698			687 John Platon	702
687 Paschal (antipope)	692						
687 Theodorus		698 Callinicus, deposed	705	694 Leontius I.	697		
687 Sergius I.	701			697 Tiberius	704		
						708 Theophylact	710
701 John VI.	705			704 Justinian II., re-stored	711		
705 John VIII.	707	705 Cyrus, deposed	712			710 John Rixocopus	718
708 Sisinnius				717 Philippicus	718		
708 Constantine I.	715	712 John VI., deposed	715	718 Anastasius II.	715	718 Scholasticus	725
				715 Theodosius III.	717		
715 Gregory II.	731	715 Germanus, deposed	731	717 Leo the Isaurian	741		
						725 Paul the Patrician	727
731 Gregory III.	741	731 Anastasius	753			727 Eutychius the Eunuch	732
741 Zacharias	742	" deposed	746	741 Constantine Copronymus	775	Conquered by Lombards.	
742 Stephen II.		" died	754				
748 Stephen III.	757	754 Constantine, banished —beheaded	768				
757 Paul I.	767						
767 Constantine II.	768	766 Nicetas the Eunuch	780				
768 Philip							
768 Stephen IV.	772			775 Leo IV.	780		
772 Hadrian I.	795	780 Paul IV., deposed	784	780 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, with Irene	797		
		784 Tarasius	806				
795 Leo III.	816			797 Irene			
		806 Nicephorus, deposed	815				
		815 Theodorus Casimerus	821				

BOOK IV.

CONTEMPORARY CHRONOLOGY.

LOMBARD KINGS.		KINGS OF FRANCE.			CALIFHS.
<p>A.D. 590 Agilulf</p> <p>616 Theodelinda and Adelwald</p> <p>626 Arivald</p> <p>638 Rotharis</p> <p>654 Rodoald</p> <p>659 Aribert</p> <p>662 Gondibert</p> <p>663 Grimoald</p> <p>672 Garibald. Pertharit</p> <p>690 Cunibert with Pertharit</p> <p>691 Cunibert alone</p> <p>701 Luitprand</p> <p>702 Aribert II.</p> <p>718 Ansprand</p> <p>713 Luitprand</p> <p>743 Hildebrand</p> <p>744 Rachis Duke of Friuli</p> <p>750 Astolphus</p> <p>756 Desiderius</p>	<p>A.D. 616</p> <p>626</p> <p>638</p> <p>654</p> <p>659</p> <p>662</p> <p>663</p> <p>672</p> <p>690</p> <p>691</p> <p>701</p> <p>702</p> <p>718</p> <p>713</p> <p>743</p> <p>756</p> <p>774</p>	<p><i>Burgundy.</i></p> <p>A.D. 601 Thierry II.</p> <p>614 Chlotaire II., alone, 628</p> <p>628 Dagobert</p> <p><i>Austrasia.</i></p> <p>637 Sigebert I..</p> <p>654 Childeric II.</p> <p>663 Childeric II., alone</p> <p>673 Thierry III.</p> <p>679 Thierry III., alone 691</p> <p>(687 Pepin, Mayor of the Palace, 714)</p> <p>690 Clovis III. 695</p> <p>695 Childebert III. 711</p> <p>701 Dagobert III.</p> <p>716 Chilperic II. Chlotaire IV.</p> <p>720 Thierry IV.</p> <p>(736 Charles Martel, Mayor of Palace)</p> <p>749 Childeric III. 751</p> <p>751 Pepin</p> <p>769 Charlemagne and Carloman</p> <p>772 Charlemagne, alone</p>	<p><i>Neustria.</i></p> <p>A.D. Chlotaire II.</p> <p><i>Part of Aquitaine.</i></p> <p>Charibert 630</p> <p><i>Neustria.</i></p> <p>Clovis II. 655</p> <p>658 Chlotaire III. 668 (Queen Bathildis guardian.)</p> <p>672 Dagobert II.</p> <p>705 Walid I.</p> <p>714 Suleiman</p> <p>717 Omar II.</p> <p>719 Yazid II.</p> <p>728 Hidjam</p> <p>742 Walid II</p> <p>743 Yazid III.</p> <p>744 Ibrahim</p> <p>745 Merwan</p> <p>749 Abdalla the Abbasside</p> <p>753 Abugafar Almansor</p> <p>775 Mohammed Manades</p> <p>785 Musa</p> <p>786 Haroun Alrashed</p>	<p>A.D.</p> <p>622 Mohammed</p> <p>634 Abubeker</p> <p>634 Omar</p> <p>644 Othman</p> <p>656 Ah</p> <p>680 Moawijah</p> <p>679 Yazid</p> <p>685 Abdumelek</p>	

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

Mohammed.

THE seventh century of Christianity was destined to behold a new religious revolution, only inferior in the extent of its religious and social influence to Christianity itself. Christianity might seem, notwithstanding her internal dissensions, while slowly subduing the whole of Europe, to be still making gradual encroachments in Asia, and at least to apprehend no formidable invasion within her own frontier. The conflict which had raged on the eastern boundaries of the Roman world, in which at one time the Persians had become masters of Syria and plundered the religious treasures of Jerusalem, was a war of the two empires of Rome and Persia, not of Christianity and Fire-worship. The danger which threatened the Byzantine empire, and which, if unaverted, would have yielded up Asia, and even Constantinople, to the followers of Zoroaster, had been arrested by the great military ability and enterprise of Heraclius, the successor of the tyrant Phocas on the throne. But though Persian conquest, had it spread over Asia Minor and Syria and into Europe, might have brought on a dangerous collision with the religion of the conquerors, yet the issue could not eventually have been fatal, even to the domi-

Roman East
at commence-
ment of
seventh cen-
tury.

War of
Persia.

nance of Christianity. Zorcastrianism had failed to propagate itself with any great success in the parts of Christian Armenia which it had subjugated: nor can we imagine that religion, even when advancing under the victorious banner of its believers, as likely to obtain any firm hold on the inhabitants of Western Asia or Europe, still less as tending to extirpate the deep-rooted Christianity of those regions.

In the mean time, in an obscure district of a country esteemed by the civilised world as beyond its boundaries, a savage, desert, and almost inaccessible region, suddenly arose an antagonist religion, Mohammedanism in appearance. which was to reduce the followers of Zoroaster to a few scattered communities, to invade India, and tread under foot the ancient Brahminism, as well as the more widespread Buddhism, even beyond the Ganges; to wrest her most ancient and venerable provinces from Christianity; to subjugate by degrees the whole of her Eastern dominions, and Roman Africa from Egypt to the Straits of Gibraltar; to assail Europe at its western extremity; to possess the greater part of Spain, and even to advance to the banks of the Loire; more than once to make the elder Rome tremble for her security, and finally to establish itself in triumph within the new Rome of Constantine. Asiatic Christianity sank more and more into obscurity. It dragged on its existence within the Mohammedan empire as a contemptuously tolerated religion; in the Byzantine empire it had still strength to give birth to new controversies—that of Iconoclasm, and even still later that concerning the divine light. It was not without writers, in learning, perhaps, and theologic argument, superior to any in the West—John of Damascus, Eustathius of Thessalonica. Yet its aggressive vigour had entirely departed, and it was happy to

be allowed inglorious repose, to take no part in that great war waged by the two powers, now the only two living, active, dominant powers, which contested the dominion of the world—Mohammedanism and Latin Christianity. These implacable adversaries might appear to divide mankind into two unmingling, irreconcilable races. Like the Iran and Touran of the remoter East, the realm of light and the realm of darkness, each is constantly endeavouring to push forward its barriers, appearing on every side, or advancing into the heart of the hostile territory. The realm of darkness, as regards civilisation, at times might seem to be the realm of light, the realm of light that of darkness; till eventually Mohammedanism sank back into its primeval barbarism, Latin Christianity, or, rather, the Christianity of later Europe, emerged into its full, it may be hoped, yet growing authority, as the religion, not only of truth, but of civilisation.

Arabia, the parent of this new religion, had been a world within itself; the habits and character of the people might seem both to secure them from the invasion of foreign conquerors and to prohibit them from more than a desultory invasion of other countries. Divided into almost countless petty kingdoms, an aggregate of small, independent, and immemorially hostile tribes, they had no bond of union to blend them into a powerful confederacy. The great empires of the East, of Greece and of Rome, had aspired to universal sovereignty, while these wandering tribes of the desert, and even the more settled and flourishing kingdoms of Southern Arabia had pursued unknown and undisturbed their intestine warfare. A nominal and precarious sovereignty had been exercised by some of the Asiatic conquerors over the frontier tribes; but the poverty and

irreclaimable wandering habits of most of these, with the impracticable nature of the country, had protected from the ambition of the conquerors the southern regions, of which the wealth and fertility had been greatly exaggerated, and which were supposed to produce all those rich commodities, in fact, transmitted to them from India. Arabia formed no part of the great eastern monarchies. Alexander passed on from Egypt and Syria to the remoter East. His successors in Egypt and in Syria, the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ, were in general content with commercial relations, carried on with Arabia or through Arabia. The Romans, who might seem to scrutinise the world in order that nothing might escape their ambition, had once or twice turned their arms towards the fabled wealth of Arabia.^a The unsuccessful, if not ignominious, result of the expedition of Ælius Gallus had taught how little was to be gained, how much hazarded, in such a warfare. The Romans contented themselves with the acquisition of Petra, a city not strictly Arabian, but Edomite in its origin, though for some centuries occupied by the Nabatean Arabs, a commercial emporium, as a station between the East and the Roman world, of the greatest importance, and adorned, during the age of the Antonines, with magnificent buildings in that colossal half-barbarous Roman style with which at that time they built temples in so many of the great cities of Syria, Asia Minor, and Egypt.

If Arabia offered no great temptation to the foreign invader from the civilised world, the civilised world had as little dread of any dangerous irruption from these

The "*intactis nunc Arabum in-* | relation in which Arabia stood to the
vides gazis" of Horace, shows the | rapacity and to the arms of Rome.

wild and disunited tribes. Here and there, perhaps, beyond the proper limits of Arabia, in districts, however, which seemed to belong to their marauding habits rather than to the settled cultivation of more advanced nations, upon the eastern frontier of Syria and towards the Euphrates, had arisen Arabian kingdoms. The Nabatean Petra had attained to some power during the first period of Christianity, had waged an aggressive war against Rome, and even gained possession of Damascus. This territory, however, had become a Roman province; but down to the reign of Justinian petty Saracenic chieftains who assumed the name of kings were engaged on either side in the interminable wars between Rome and Persia. Yet while the prolific North and East were periodically discharging their teeming hordes upon Asia and Europe, Arabia might seem either not gifted with this overflow of population, or to consume it within her own limits. The continual internal wars; polygamy, which became more unfavourable to the increase of the population from the general usage of destroying female infants;^b the frugal, nomadic, and even the imaginative character of the race, which seemed to attach them to their own soil, and to suppress all desire of conquest in softer, less open, more settled regions, conspired to maintain the immutable character of Arabia and of the Arab people; their national and tribal pride, their ancient traditions, their virtues, their polity, and even their commerce, which absorbed the activity of the more enterprising, might appear to coop within itself this peculiar people, as neither destined nor qualified to burst the limits of their own peninsula, or to endanger the peace, the liberties, or the religion of the world.

^b Weil, p. 19.

On a sudden, when probably only vague rumours had reached the courts of Persia or of Constantinople of the religious revolution which had taken place in Medina and Mecca (a revolution which might seem to plunge the whole region in still more desperate internal hostility), Arabia appeared in arms against mankind. A religious fanaticism, almost unexampled in its depth and intensity, had silenced all the fierce feuds of centuries; the tribes and kingdoms had become one; armies, seemingly inexhaustible, with all the wild courage of marauding adventure and the formidable discipline of stubborn unity of purpose, poured forth, one after another, from the desert; and at their head appeared, not indeed the apostle himself (he had discharged his mission in organising this terrible confederacy), but a military sovereign who united in himself the civil and spiritual supremacy, whose authority rested on the ardent attachment of a clan towards its chief, and the blind and passive obedience of a sect to a religious leader. The reigning Caliph was king and pontiff, according to the oriental theory of sovereignty the father of his people, but likewise the successor of the Prophet, the delegate of God.

Mohammedanism appeared before the world as a stern and austere monotheism, but it was a practical not a speculative monotheism.^c It had nothing abstract, indistinct, intellectual in its primary notion of the Godhead. Allah was no philosophic first cause, regulating the universe by established laws, while itself stood aloof in remote and unapproachable majesty. It was an ever-present, ever-working energy, still accomplishing

^c One of the sublimest descriptions of God may be found in the second chapter of the Korân, Sale's translation, i. p. 47.

its own purposes.^d Its predestinarianism was not a fixed and predetermined law wrought out by the obedient elements of the human world, but the actual, immediate operation of the Deity, governing all things by his sole will,^e and through his passive ministers.^f It threw aside with implacable and disdainful aversion all those gradations as it were of divinity which approximated man to God and God to man—the Asiatic or Gnostic Æons and Emanations; the impersonated Ideas of the later Platonism, with their all-comprehending Logos; above all, the co-equal Persons of the Christian Trinity. Nothing existed but the Creator and the Creation: the Creator one in undistinguished, undivided Unity, the Creation, which comprehended every being intermediate between God and man: angels, devils, genii, all owed their being to almighty power, and were liable to death or to extinction.

Mohammedanism, in more respects than one, was a republication of Mosaic Judaism, with its strong principle of national and religious unity (for wherever it went it carried its language), with its law simplified to a few rigid and unswerving observances, and the world for its land of Canaan; the world which

^d See the fine passage, ch. vi. vol. i. p. 166, &c.

^e "It is he who hath created the heavens and the earth in truth; and whenever he saith unto a thing, Be, it is." This whole chapter is full of striking passages. "And whomsoever God shall please to direct, he will open his breast to receive the faith of Islam; but whomsoever he shall please to lead into error, he will render his breast strait and narrow, as though

he were climbing up to heaven (*i.e.* attempting an impossibility). Thus does God inflict a terrible punishment on those who believe not."—p. 178.

^f "Though men and angels and devils conspire together to put one single atom in motion, or cause it to cease its motion without his will and approbation, they would not be able to do it."—Creed of orthodox Mohammedans in Ockley, vol. ii. p. li.

it was commissioned to subdue to the faith of Islam, and to possess in the right of conquest.

Yet nothing was less simple than the popular Mohammedanism. It rationalised, if it might be called Rationalism, only in its conception of the Deity. It had its poetic^g element, its imaginative excitement, adapted to the youthful barbarianism of the state of society, and to the Oriental character. It created, or rather acknowledged, an intermediate world, it dealt prodigally in angelic appearances, and believed in another incorporeal, or, rather, subtly-corporeal race, between angels and men; the genii, created out of a finer substance, but more nearly akin to man in their weaknesses and trials.^h The whole life of man was passed under the influence, sometimes in direct communion with these half-spiritual beings.ⁱ Mohammedanism borrowed its poetic machinery from all the existing religions—from Magianism, Orientalism, Judaism, Christianity. No religion was less original.^k Its assertion of the divine unity was a

^g "They (the idolaters) say the Korân is a confused heap of dreams; nay, he has forged it; nay, he is a poet."—ch. xxii. v. ii, p. 152.

^h "He created men of dried clay, like an earthen vessel, but he created the genii of fire, clear from the smoke."—Ch. lv. v. ii. p. 209: compare vi. i. p. 178.

ⁱ Mohammedan tradition adopts for the genii the definition of the dæmons in the Talmud. They have three qualities of angels: I. They have wings. II. They pass from one end of the world to the other. III. They know future events, but not certainly: they only hear them from behind the cur-

tain. They have three human qualities. I. They eat and drink. II. They have carnal appetites. III. They die.—Geiger, Was hat Mohammed, p. 83.

^k In this respect, how different from Christianity! The religion of Christ, on its first promulgation, had to introduce into the world new conceptions of the Deity, new forms of worship, its sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, new vices, and new virtues; a new history of man, both as to his creation and his destiny; new religious ancestors, Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, David, the Jewish prophets, besides the divine author of the rel-

return to Judaism, a stern negation at once of the vulgar polytheism which prevailed among the ruder Arab tribes, and of the mysterious doctrines of Trinitarian Christianity. As to the intermediate world it only popularised still further the popular belief. Its angels were those already familiar to the general mind through Talmudic Judaism and Christianity; its genii were those of the common Eastern superstition. The creation, as affirmed in Islam, was strictly biblical; ^m the history of man was that of the Old Testament, recognised in the New, though not without a large admixture of Jewish legend. The forefathers of the Mohammedan, as of the Jewish and Christian religions, were Adam, Noah, Abraham; and to the older prophets of God, among whom were included Moses and Jesus, were only added two local prophets, sent on special missions to certain of the Arab tribes, to Ad and to Thamud.ⁿ Even Mohammedan fable had none of the inventive originality of fiction. There is scarcely a legend which is not either from the Talmud, or rather the source of most of the Talmud, the religious tradition of the Jews^o or the spurious (not the

gion and his apostles. All these names were almost strange to the Roman world, and were to supersede those already sacred and familiar to the thoughts of all the Christian converts.

^m Compare Geiger, p. 64; but Mohammed was impatient of the ascribing *rest* to God on the seventh day. The strictness of the Jewish Sabbath was enforced upon them for their obstinacy in preferring the day of the supposed *rest* of the Almighty to Friday, the proper day of divine worship.—ch. xvi. v. ii. p. 94.

ⁿ These were no doubt the mythic forms of some historic events; the impersonated memorials of some fearful calamities ascribed to the hand of God; and still living in Arabic tradition.

^o Sale has traced in his notes many of the fables in the Korân to their Talmudic or Rabbinical sources. A prize Essay, on a theme proposed by the University of Bonn, "Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume genommen," by Abraham Geiger, Rabbi of Wiesbaden, is modest, sensible, and contains much curious in-

genuine) Gospel of Christianity. The last day, the judgement, the resurrection, hell, and paradise, though invested in a circumstantiality of detail, much of it foreign, as far as we can judge, to the Pharisaic notions of our Saviour's day, and singularly contrasting with the modest and less material images of the New Testament, were already parts of the common creed. The Korân has scarcely surpassed the grosser notions of another life which were already received by the Talmudic Jews and the Judaising Christians, the Chiliasts of the early ages. It only adapted this materialism to the fears and hopes of a Bedouin and a polygamous people. It may be doubted whether it goes beyond the terrific imaginations of the Talmudists in those minute and particular effects of hell-fire which glare in all its pages.^p In its paradise it dwelt on that most exquisite luxury to a wanderer in the desert, perennial rivers of cool pure water; and it added a hareem to the joys of the blessed.^q

In the rites and ceremonial of Islam there was nothing which required any violent disruption of religious habits: its four great precepts only gave a new impulse and a new direction to established religious observances. I. *Prayer*, is the universal language of all religion; and

formation. The names for Paradise and Hell, the garden of Eden, and Gehenna, are Hebrew; and he gives twelve other words in the Korân, including Shechinah, all taken from Rabbinical Judaism.

^p Korân passim, e.g. "And they who believe not shall have garments of fire fitted unto them, boiling water shall be poured upon their heads, their bowels shall be dissolved thereby, and also their skins, and they shall be

beaten with maces of iron. So often as they shall endeavour to get out of hell because of the anguish of their torments, they shall be dragged into the same, and their tormentors shall say unto them, 'Taste ye the pains of burning.'"—ch. xxii. v. ii. p. 169.

^q For Paradise, ch. xlvi. ii. p. 377. "The rivers of incorruptible water, of milk, of wine, of clarified honey, and all kinds of fruits." Still more fully lv. ii. 411.

the sense of the perpetual presence, the direct and immediate agency of God in all human things, enforced by the whole Mohammedan creed, as well as the concentration of all earthly worship on one single, indivisible God, has maintained a strict and earnest spirit of adoration throughout the Mohammedan world. II. The natural sympathies of man; the narrower, yet impressive, humanity of the Old Testament, which had bound the Jew to relieve the distressed of his brethren with a generosity which, contrasting with his apparent hostility to the rest of mankind, had moved the wonder of the heathen; the more beautiful, the prodigal, the universal charity of the Christian; perhaps the hospitable habits of the Arabs, had already consecrated *Almsgiving* as among the highest of religious virtues; and Mohammedanism did not degenerate in this respect from what may be called her religious parents. III. As to *Fasting*, the Ramadan was but Lent under another name. IV. The Christianity of the Gospel had in vain abrogated the peculiar sanctity of places. The nature of man, yet imperfectly spiritualised, had sunk back to the old excitements of devotion; the grave of the Redeemer had become to the Christian what the site of the Temple was to the Jew; and the Korân, by turning the hearts of all its votaries to the Holy Cities, to Medina and Mecca, availed itself of the universal passion for *pilgrimages*.[†]

The six great articles in the faith of Islam were in like manner the elemental truths of all religions: though peculiarly expressed, they were neither repugnant to human reason nor to prevalent habits of thought. Most

[†] Gregory the Great mentions pilgrimages to Mount Sinai as still performed in his day, and by women.—*Epist.* iii. 44.

men, in some form, believed—I. In God. II. In his Angels. III. In his Scriptures (in divine revelation). IV. In his Prophets. V. In the Resurrection and Day of Judgement. VI. In God's absolute decree and pre-determination of good and evil, though this was softened in most creeds into a vague acknowledgement of God's providential government.

The one new and startling article in the creed of Islam was the divine mission of the prophet Mohammed, the apostle of God. Yet Mohammed was but the successor of other prophets; the last of the long and un-failing line of divine messengers to man. Mankind in general might demand miraculous and supernatural proofs of a prophetic mission. The Jew might sullenly disclaim a prophet sprung from the bastard race of Ishmael; the Christian might assume the gospel to be the final and conclusive message to man; but Mohammed averred that his mission was vouched by the one great miracle, the Korân; that he was foreshown both in the Law and in the Gospel, though these prophecies had been obscured or falsified by the jealousy of the dominant party among the Jews and Chris- Mohammed. tians. Mohammed himself remains, and must remain, an historic problem: his character, his motives, his designs are all equally obscure. Was the Prophet possessed with a lofty indignation at the grovelling idolatry of his countrymen? Had he contrasted the sublime simplicity of the Mosaic unity of God with the polytheism of the Arabs; or, that which appeared to him only the more subtle and disputatious polytheism of the Christians? Had he the lofty political ambition of uniting the fierce and hostile tribes into one confederacy, of forming Arabia into a nation, and so of becoming the founder of a dynasty and an empire; and did

he imagine his simple religion as the bond of the confederacy? Did he contemplate from the first foreign conquest or foreign proselytism? or did his more pliant ambition grow out of and accommodate itself to the circumstances of the time, submit to change and modification, and only fully develop itself according to existing exigencies? At this distance of time, and through the haze of adoring and of hostile tradition, it is difficult to trace clearly the outward actions of the Prophet, how much more the inward impulses, the thoughts and aspirations of his secret spirit. To the question whether Mohammed was hero, sage, impostor, or fanatic, or blended, and blended in what proportions, these conflicting elements in his character? the best reply is the favourite reverential phrase of Islam, "God knows."^s

^s Maracci wrote of Mohammed with the learning, but in the spirit, of a monk. With Prideaux he is a vulgar impostor. Spanheim began to take a higher view of his character. Sale and Gagnier, while vindicating him from the coarse invectives of former writers, kindled into admiration, which was accused of approaching to belief. With Boulanvilliers, he rose into a benefactor of the human race; with White and his coadjutors he became the subject of some fine pulpit declamation. Gibbon is brilliant, full, on the whole fair; but his brilliancy on the propagation of Mohammedanism singularly contrasts with his cold, critical view of that of Christianity. Passing over Savary, Volney, in our own times we have the elaborate biography of Dr. Weil, whom scarcely anything has escaped, and Caussin de Perceval's *Histoire des Arabes* (Paris,

1848), a work of admirable industry and learning, which, with the history and genealogy of the early tribes, embraces the time of Mohammed and his two successors. Major Price, whose contributions to the history of Mohammedanism, from the Shiite (the Persian) traditions (all which we had before were Sunnite and Arabic), are invaluable, of Mohammed himself gives us nothing new. But Col. Vans Kennedy furnishes some extracts from Tabari, a writer some centuries earlier than any of the known biographers of the Prophet, Elmacin, and Abulfeda. Tabari wrote within three centuries of the Hejira, and his account is at once the most striking and most credible which has appeared in Europe. Col. Vans Kennedy's own appreciation of the Prophet (which may be overlooked in a criticism on Voltaire's Mahomet) is the most just with which I am

The Korân itself is not above suspicion, at least as far as its absolute integrity and authenticity. It was put together some time after the death of Mohammed,^t avowedly not in the exact order of its delivery. It is not certain whether it contains all that the Prophet revealed, or those revelations in their original and unaltered form.^u

The Korân.

acquainted.—See Bombay Transactions, vol. iii. This passage appears to have escaped the notice of Dr. Weil, whose recent “Mohammed der Prophet” is not only laborious, but also candid and comprehensive. Now, however (1855), the life of Mohammed (part I.), by Dr. Sprenger (Allahabad, 1851) has greatly enlarged our knowledge of, and enabled us to appreciate the earlier traditions of Islam. Still while duly grateful for these valuable accessions to our knowledge, and with all respect for the great learning and industry of Dr. Sprenger, I must demur to some of his conclusions. Islam, he asserts, was long anterior to Mohammed, believed by many before he preached it, “It was begotten by the spirit of the time; it was the inevitable birth of the age and people, the voice of the Arabic nation” (pp. 44, 165, 175). True, as far as the first article of the faith, there is but one God: but it was the second, Mohammed is his Prophet; it was this, forced as a divine revelation into the belief of so large a part of mankind, which was the power, the influence, the all-subduing energy of Islam; the

principle of its unity, of its irresistible fanaticism, its propagation, its victories, its empire, its duration.*

* In the reign of Abubeker, who employed Mohammed’s secretary, Zeid Abu Thabit. Zeid collected every extant fragment which was in different hands, written on parchment, on leather, on palm leaves, on bones, or stones.—Weil, Mohammed der Prophet, p. 349; Caussin de Perceval, Histoire des Arabes.

^u My own judgement is in favour of the authenticity of the Korân (but I know it only from translations). The evident suggestion of the different chapters by the exigencies of different events, and the manifest contradictions, are proofs of its antiquity. The convenient doctrine of abrogation, by which a later sentence annuls a former, and which seems to have been admitted from the first, implies the general integrity of the book.† Dr. Weil believes that though the Korân must not be considered without omission or interpolation, there is no important change, addition, or omission. But see on Othman’s revision—Weil, die Chalifen, note. i. p. 168. Dr. Sprenger

* Dr. Sprenger’s ‘Life’ has now appeared in a much enlarged form, I think with increased fancifulness; as also the more calm—if less learned, more trustworthy—work of Mr. Muir.

† There are 225 verses which contain doctrines or laws recalled by later revelations—Weil, p. 355.

Mohammed ^x was an orphan of a noble family; after the death of his parents he was maintained, first by his grandfather, afterwards by his father's brother. The first twenty-five years of his life passed in obscurity, which the earlier and more authoritative tradition has not ventured to embellish with wonders ominous of his future greatness.^y

Chadijah, a wealthy widow of his kindred, chose Mohammed *the faithful* (his character had gained him that honourable appellation) to conduct her commercial affairs. He travelled with this charge to Syria,^z and his success was so great in comparison with that of the former agents of Chadijah, that on his return the grateful widow, moved, according to the simpler account, by the prosperity of her trade in his hands, according to the more marvellous, by wonders which took place on his journey, bestowed herself and her wealth on the young and handsome merchant.^a

Twelve more years, from his marriage at the age of twenty-eight, passed away. In his fortieth year, that eventful period in oriental life,^b the Prophet began to listen to the first intimations of his divine mission.

says, "Though not free from interpolation, yet there seems no reason to doubt its authenticity," p. 63. The best account of the question, in my opinion, is in Muir, ch. i.

^x Mohammed, born April, 570; April, 13, 571, or May 13, 569. Sprenger, p. 75.

^y For the later traditions, wild and fantastic enough, see Dr. Weil, p. 23, note 6, and 26, note 1, and Muir. Notes to Ch. 1.

^z Bosra is named as the mart to which Mohammed conducted the caravan of Chadijah. The admiration of

ships (as one of the most wonderful gifts of God), which perpetually occurs in the Korân, leads me to suspect that the writer had seen more of maritime scenes, in one of the ports of Syria perhaps, than what he may have gathered from accidental glimpses of the navigation of the Red Sea.

^a For the description of Mohammed's person, see Dr. Weil, p. 340; Causin de Perceval, iii. 332, and on his habits at great length, Sprenger. 84, 94; Muir, ii. 28.

^b Some intended analogy with the life of Moses might be suspected; but

The caves of mount Hira, in the immediate neighbourhood of Mecca, were already hallowed, it is said, by Arabian superstition. During one of the holy months^c men were accustomed to retire to a kind of hermitage, built or scooped out of the rocks, for devout meditation : that meditation which, in an imaginative people, is so apt to kindle into communion with the unearthly and invisible. It was in one of these caves that Mohammed received his first communication from heaven.^d But the form assumed by the vision, the illusion, or the daring conception of Mohammed, showed plainly in what school he had received his religious impressions. It was none of the three hundred and sixty-six deities of the old Arabian religion, or the astral influences of the dominant Tsabaism, it was Gabriel, the divine messenger, hallowed in the Jewish and the Christian scriptures, who appeared as a mighty and majestic figure, with his feet upon the earth and his head in the heavens.^e After this solemn interview, as Mohammed walked along (so fully was his mind wrapt in its vision), the stones and clods seemed to exclaim, "Prophet of God."^f By day the inanimate works of God thus summoned him to his office, by night the angel of God

40, it is well known, is the indefinite number in the East, and no doubt in many cases it has been assumed to cover ignorance of a real date.

^c The four holy months, when peace reigned through Arabia, were the first, the seventh, the eleventh, the twelfth. Islam afterwards annulled the holy months as far as war *with unbelievers*.

^d Each family had its hermitage; that of Hashem, to which Mohammed belonged, was peculiarly disposed to

this kind of devotion.

^e Chadijah is represented as altogether ignorant of Gabriel; and it was only from the information she obtained from a relative (Warkeh ben Nussul), a learned Christian, that she learned the name and rank of the angel. Yet she is afterwards said to have been well acquainted with the Pentateuch and the Evangelists.

^f Tabari, as quoted by Vans Kennedy.—*Bombay Transactions*, iii. p. 421.

perpetually haunted his slumbers, and renewed his call. The incredulous Mohammed suspected that these were but the awful workings of insanity. His faithful wife consoled him with the praise of his virtues, which could not be so cruelly tried by God. Chadijah at length put these revelations to a singular and characteristic test. They were alone in their chamber when the figure appeared. Chadijah was sitting, as became a chaste matron, shrouded in her veil.⁵ She took the Prophet in her arms and said, "Dost thou now see it?" The Prophet said, "I do." She cast off her veil, her head and face were uncovered: "Dost thou now see it?" "I do not." "Glad tidings to thee, O Mohammed," exclaimed Chadijah, "it is not a divi, but an angel; for had it been a divi it would not have disappeared and respected my unveiled face." The visions became more frequent and distinct. At length, on the mountain of Hira, the angel stood before Mohammed in defined and almost human form. Mohammed, still suspecting his own insanity, fled to the summit of the mountain to cast himself headlong from it. The angel caught him under his wing, and as he reposed on his bosom commanded him to read. "I cannot read,"^b replied Mohammed. "Repeat then!" And the angel communicated to the Prophet the revelation of Islam.

⁵ There is a curious passage in Tertullian contrasting the modesty of the Arabian women of his day with the Christian virgins, who shamelessly showed their faces. "Judicabunt nos Arabiæ feminæ ethniciæ, quæ non caput sed faciem quoque ita totam tegunt, ut uno oculo liberato contentæ sint dimidium frui lucem, quam totam faciem prostituere."—*De Virg. Ve.* c. 17.

^b On the translation of these words depends the question whether Mohammed was absolutely illiterate. Those who deny it explain the phrase as confined to that which the angel then ordered him to read. Sprenger, p. 95, gives a different version: "but it is certain that no Mussulman will admit the sense which I give to these verses of the Korân."—Sprenger, 77, 111.

Mohammed on his return to his house related to his wife the personal appearance of the angel, and spoke of his mysterious communication. A short time after he lay down,¹ cold and weary, to repose. His wife had covered him. The angel again appeared. Mohammed's divine mission. "Arise, thou wrapped up." "Why should I arise?" "Arise and preach," said Gabriel; "cleanse thy garments, and flee every abomination." Mohammed imparted to his wife his *divine mission*. "I," said Chadijah, "will be the first believer." They knelt in the appointed attitude of prayer: by the command of Gabriel they performed their ablutions. The child Ali, but seven years old, beheld them, and inquired the reason of this strange conduct. Mohammed replied that he was the chosen prophet of God; that belief in Islam secured salvation in earth and heaven. Ali believed, and became the second of the faithful. Thus was Mohammed the prophet of his household.^k Slowly, however, did he win proselytes, even among his own kindred.^m Three years elapsed before the faith received the accession of Abubeker and of Othman, the future taliphs. Mohammed at length is accepted as the prophet of his family, of the noble and priestly house of Hashem. Abu Talib, his uncle, remains almost alone an unbeliever. And now Mohammed aspires to be the prophet of his *Tribe*.ⁿ That tribe, the Koreishite, was a

¹ On the subject of Mohammed's epilepsy, consult the long note of Dr. Weil, p. 42. It is difficult to resist the evidence which he adduces. Dr. Weil concludes: "I do not think, with Theophanes, that he alleged the apparition of Gabriel to conceal his malady, but that the malady itself was the cause of his belief in these apparitions."

^k Compare throughout Sprenger who arranges these events differently.

^m See on the slave converts, specially Zaid, Sprenger, 159.

ⁿ It was not till the fourth or fifth year after his own conversion that he came forth as a public preacher.—Sura xv. v. 94-99; Sale, ii. p. 75. Compare xxvi. p. 218. He preached on the hill Safa.

kind of hierarchy, exercising religious supremacy, and the acknowledged guardians of the Caaba, the sacred stone of Mecca, with its temple. The temple of the Caaba was at once, as is usual among Oriental nations, the centre of the commerce and of the religion of Arabia. Tradition, even in the days of Mohammed thought immemorial, had associated this holy place with the names of Adam, of Seth, and of Abraham; and worshippers from all quarters, idolaters who found each his peculiar idol, the Jew and the Christian, looked with awful reverence on this mysterious spot. The pilgrim of every creed, the merchant from every part of the peninsula, met at Mecca: almost all joined in the ceremonial of visiting the sacred mountain, kissing the black stone, approaching the holy well of Zemzem, each seven times, the mystic number with Arab as with Jew; and sacrifices were offered with devout prodigality. Arabian poetry hung up its most popular songs in the temple of the Caaba. It is not clear to what peculiar form of idolatry the Koreishite adhered, whether to the primitive and Arabian worship, which had enshrined in the temple of Caaba her three hundred and sixty deities; or to the later Tsabaism, a more refined worship of the planetary bodies.^o But the intractable Koreish met him with contemptuous unbelief. They resisted the new prophet with all the animosity of an established priesthood trembling for their dignity, their power, and their wealth; they dreaded the superiority which would be assumed by the family of Hashem. In that family Abu

^o The uncle of Mohammed, Abu Talib, was strenuous for the worship of *two* female deities, and the adoration of the "daughters of God" is reprobated in the Korân as one of the worst, probably therefore one of the most prevalent, forms of idolatry: compare Sprenger, 170, and the striking scene described by Muir from Hashâme, ii. p. 162.

Talib, though he resisted the doctrines, protected the person of Mohammed, as did all his kindred, except the implacable Abu Lahab. Like other hierarchies the Koreish had been tolerant only so long as they were strong. The eloquence, the virtue, the charity of Mohammed only made him more dangerous; his proselytes increased; the conversion of Hamza, another of his uncles, one of the most obstinate of unbelievers, drove them to madness. A price was set upon his secret assassination, a hundred camels and a Persecution of Mohammed. thousand ounces of silver. Omar, now twenty-six years old, undertook the deed.^p He was accosted on his way by the convert Nueim. "Ere thou doest the deed," said Nueim, "look to thine own near kindred." Omar rushed to the house of his sister Fatima, to punish her apostacy: he found some sentences of the Korân, he read them, and believed. Yet the Koreishites abated not in their hostility. The life of Mohammed was a struggle to enforce his creed on an obstinate and superstitious people; of threatened martyrdom for the unity of God and for his own prophetic mission. He was at length placed under a solemn interdict by the two ruling families of the Koreishites. Some of his humbler followers fled to Abyssinia, where they were protected by the sovereign of that land.^q Mohammed submitted to personal insult. He allowed himself to be abused, to be spit upon, to have dust thrown upon him, and to be dragged out of the temple by his own turban fastened to his neck: he beheld his followers treated with the same ignominy. At times his mind was so depressed as to need the consolations of the angel Gabriel. He

^p Weil, p. 59; Sprenger, 188.

^q Sprenger, p. 189. Compare throughout the new edition of Sprenger and Muir.

constantly changed his bed to elude the midnight assassin. For three years Mohammed was under this interdict,^r dwelling in a castle of his uncle Abu Talib, situated in a deep and unassailable ravine, and came to Mecca only during the holy months.^s The death of Chadijah broke one of the prophet's ties to Mecca: that of Abu Talib, who died an unbeliever, left him only the valour and vigilance of his disciples to shield him against the implacable and deepening hatred of the Koreishites. The Prophet must fly from his native city; and the hopes of making Mecca the national religious metropolis, the centre of his new spiritual empire, seemed to have failed utterly and for ever. Miracle or craft alone saved him from the hands of his enemies, who surprised him, nearly alone, in the house of Abubeker. During his flight he only escaped assassination by the faithful

Ali taking his place in the tent; and, so ran the legend, when he slumbered in a cave, the spider wove its web over the entrance, and a pigeon laid two eggs to show that its solitude had been undisturbed.^t

Medina (Yathrib^u) at once accepted the dignity which had been spurned by Mecca. Six of her most distinguished citizens had already embraced at Mecca the cause of the Prophet. The idolatry of Medina had not the local strength of that of Mecca; it had not the same strongly organised hierarchy. Some rivalry with

^r The interdict was suspended in the temple, according to Dr. Weil, in the seventh year of Mohammed's mission.

^s See Muir on Abu Talib, ii. 176, as also expedition to Tayef, pp. 198, &c.

^t Æra of the Hegira or flight, April 19, 622. According to Caussin

de Perceval, the true date of Mohammed's flight from Mecca was the 18th or 19th June, 622.—iii. 17. Weil makes it 20th September. The question is, whether the intercalated year was in use at this time.

^u Yathrib now took the name of Medina (the city).—C. de P. iii. 21.

the commercial importance of Mecca, so closely connected with her religious supremacy, entered, no doubt, into the minds of the Medinese when they thus allied themselves with the chief of the new religion. The proselytes to Islam had prepared the whole city, and Mohammed did not leave Mecca till a deputation from Medina had sworn fealty to their new sovereign.^x The form of the oath showed the Prophet under a new character. "If," said these Ansarii (the assistants), "we are slain in your cause, what is our reward?" "Paradise," replied the Prophet.^y

In Medina appear manifest indications of more direct advances to the Jews. The Arabian Jews in the neighbourhood of the two great cities were numerous and powerful, formed whole tribes, occupied strong fortresses, and evidently, from the Talmudic character of the Korân, exercised a most extensive religious influence over the central part of Arabia. The wide-spread expectation of the Messiah among the Jews was mingled, no doubt, with the suggestive movements in the mind of Mohammed; and this fanaticism enlisted in his cause would have placed him at once at the head of a most formidable confederacy.^z Jerusalem suddenly becomes

^x This was the second or great oath of Acaba.—Caussin de Perceval, iii. 8.

^y In the 2nd Sura, Mohammed appears to forbid all but defensive warfare: "And fight for the religion of God, against those who fight against you: but transgress not by attacking them first, for God loveth not the transgressors." He was as yet too weak for aggressive war.—Sur. ii. p. 34.

^z Tabari, according to Col. Vans Kennedy, ascribes the ready acqui-

escence of the Medinese in the views of the Prophet to their fear lest they should be anticipated by their neighbours the Jews. On their return these men first recited the passages of the Korân which they had learned from Mohammed, and then said, "This is that Prophet whose name the Jews daily invoke, and whose coming they so anxiously expect: should they therefore receive him, and be obedient to him, you will be reduced to the greatest difficulties; it is

the centre of the Islamite system instead of Mecca; it is the Kiblah of all prayer. The Prophet is transported to its walls. His journey, to the more refined and spiritual minds, might appear to have taken place in a heaven-sent vision; to the ruder he was described as riding bodily on the mysterious horse El Borak, and alighting from his aerial voyage on the site of the temple of Jerusalem.^a

But the Jews repelled the overtures of the Prophet sprung from the race of Ismael. They scoffed at his pretensions, they provoked his terrible vengeance.^b Tribe after tribe was defeated; their castle-fastnesses could not sustain the assaults of the impetuous warriors who now went forth under the banner of Islam. First the Jews of Kainoka, then those of Al Nadhir, then those of Koraidha and of Khaibar were forced to submission. The remorseless massacre of the Koraidha

therefore expedient that you should hasten to anticipate the Jews, and receive Mohammed before they can unite with him." Bombay Trans. p. 430. Compare Caussin de Perceval, iii. 8.

^a On the Kiblah, see Korân, Sur. ii. p. 26-27, with Sale's note; Abulfeda, ch. xxvi.; Geiger, p. 19. A certain Imam says, that whilst Mohammed was in Mecca, he used the Caaba as his Kiblah, but whilst in Medina he used the holy house as his Kiblah, and there also made a general change; so that one period was abrogated by another. In a certain exposition it is said that he first prayed in Mecca towards the Caaba, and then changed to the Baitu i Mahaddos, which also his followers did at Medina for their pilgrimages, or even sacred processions:

but that afterwards the Kiblah was transferred to the Caaba. Hist. of the Temple of Jerusalem, by Jelal Addin al Jebal, translated by F. Reynolds.—Orient. Fund Translat. p. 109. Jelal Addin is disposed to glorify the temple at Jerusalem, but there is no reason to question his citations from early Mohammedan writers. See also Weil, p. 90. Sprenger, p. 123; he places it a year before the flight. Sprenger gives at some length the wild legend of the Borak, on which he rode not to Jerusalem, but to the Seven Heavens. The voyage was called the Nuraj, p. 126.

^b At different periods many Jews of note embraced Islamism: Waraka, the cousin of Chadijah, Halib ben Maleh, a Jewish prince, and Abdallah ib: Sallaam.—Geiger, page 24.

after the great battle of the Ditch, in which Mohammed watched the slaughter of seven hundred and ninety Jews in cold blood, whom the Korân pursues to the fires of hell, shows the implacable resentment of the Prophet.^c On other occasions the Prophet was not wanting in clemency; here his deliberate recklessness may be traced to the disappointment of high-wrought hopes.

At length, after a war of some years between the rival cities and the followers of the rival religions, after two bloody battles, that of Beder, ^{Progress of Islam.} in which the Mussulmans were victorious,^d that of Ohud, won by the Koreishites, after Medina had been twice besieged by the warriors of Mecca, and after a short truce, violated by the Koreishites, a sudden awe of Islam seized the obstinate unbelievers. In a few years an expedition, which at first bore the appearance of a peaceful pilgrimage and encountered but feeble resistance, made the Prophet master of Mecca.^e The Caaba opened its unresisting gates; the three hundred and sixty idols fell without resistance on the part of their worshippers. "The truth hath come, let lies disappear." They were dashed to pieces. The Mouedhin proclaimed from the roof, "There is one God, and Mohammed is his prophet." No contumacious voice is heard in denial. The conquest was almost without bloodshed, except that of a few from ^{11 Jan. 630.} old hereditary hostility. The most powerful of the

^c See in 'History of the Jews,' the successive wars with these Jewish tribes, v. iii. p. 93, 97. For their dates (some years intervened), compare Caussin de Perceval, vol. iii.

battle of Beder in Caussin de Perceval, iii. 49-65; of Ohud, 89-104: in this battle Mohammed was wounded in the face, and in great danger.

^d See the vivid description of the

^e VIII. of the Hegira.—Caussin de Perceval, iii. p. 21, &c.

Prophet's adversaries became proselytes to the faith; the whole population swore allegiance. From that time Mecca becomes again the capital city of Islam; the divine edict in favour of Jerusalem is abrogated; the Prophet is sternly and exclusively Arabian; pilgrimages to the Caaba, now purified of its idols, become an essential part of the religion; the whole energy of Mohammedanism flows from and circulates back to the centre of the system.

Lord of Mecca, Mohammed stands supreme and alone; the Arabian mind and heart are his; the old idolatry has sunk at once before the fear of his arms and the sublimity of his new creed. He can disdain the alliance of those whom before he might stoop to conciliate; he can express hatred and contempt for the Jew and for the Christian, at least within the Arabian peninsula; he may pursue them with fierce and implacable hostility. But more than this, and herein is the great debt of gratitude which Arabia owes to Mohammed, the old hereditary feuds of the tribes and races are hushed in awe or turned into one impetuous current against the infidels. What on the whole was the influence of Mohammedanism on the world, we pause not now to inquire, or whether human happiness paid dear for the aggrandisement of the Arab race. But Arabia is now a nation; it takes its place among the nations of the earth; it threatens to become the ruling nation of the world.^f

^f See in Tabari, ii. 276-8; Ibn Khaldun, 194, the remarkable conversation attributed to Yezdegerd and the ambassadors of Omar: "Who are you to attack an empire? Of all the nations of the world, the poorest, most disunited, most ignorant, most stranger to the arts which are the source of power and wealth." "What you have said of our poverty, our divisions, or barbarism, *was* true indeed." . . . The ambassador describes their misery, their superstition, their idolatry. "Such were we. Now we are a new people. God has raised up among us a man. . . . his envoy

It was the policy of Mohammed first to secure the absolute religious unity of Arabia. In Arabia Islam at once declares irreconcilable war with all forms of unbelief: they are swept away or retire into ignominious obscurity. The only dangerous antagonists of Mohammedanism after the death of Mohammed are rival prophets. Moseilama for a time seems to arrest or to divert the current of religious conquest. But even the religious unity of Arabia, much less that of the conquered world, dawns but by degrees upon the mind of Mohammed; his religious ambition expands with his success; his power is the measure of his intolerance; hence the strong contradictions in the Korân, the alternating tone of hatred and of tolerance, of contempt and of respect, with which are treated the authors and the votaries of other religions. He is a gentle preacher until he has unsheathed the sword;^g the sword once unsheathed is the one remorseless argument. The convenient principle of abrogation annuls all those sentences of the Korân which speak in a milder tone to unbelievers.^h At one time we find the broad principle of Eastern toleration explicitly avowed; the diversity of religion is ascribed to the direct ordinance, and all share in the equal favour of God.ⁱ

and true prophet. Islamism, his religion, has enlightened our minds, extinguished our hatreds, made us a society of brothers under laws dictated by divine wisdom. He has said, Consummate my work; spread the empire of Islam over the whole world; the earth is the Lord's, He has bestowed it on you."

^g There is a passage in the 29th Sura (revealed at Mecca) commanding Islamites "to dispute mildly with

those who receive the Scriptures." But this verse is thought to be abrogated by the chapter of the Sword.— Compare Sale *in loco*.

^h This principle was early asserted in the Korân. "Whatever verse we shall abrogate or cause thee to forget, we shall bring a better than it, or one like unto it."—ch. ii. p. 21.

ⁱ "Surely those who believe, and those who Judaize, and Christians and Sabeans, whoever believeth in God

But the Korân gradually recants all these gentler sentences, and assumes the language of insulting superiority or undisguised aversion. Even in the Sura which contains the loftiest and most tolerant sentences, their spirit is abrogated by the repeated assertion that Jew and Christian have been alike unfaithful to their own law, and that the same disobedience which instigates them to rebel against their own religion is the cause of their unbelief in Islam.^k The Jews from the earliest ages had been the murderers of the prophets.^m The murder of the prophet Jesus is among their darkest crimes.

The Korân becomes intolerant. To Jews. What wonder that they now turn a deaf ear to the prophet Mohammed? They had falsified their scriptures; they had erased or perverted the predictions concerning Mohammed; they were enemies, therefore, to all true religion, and, as enemies, to be pursued with unmitigated enmity. They are guilty of a worse impiety (strange, no doubt, was the charge to their own ears), an infringement of the unity of God, which would demand the vengeance of

and the last day, and doth that which is right, they shall have their reward with their Lord; there shall come no fear on them, neither shall they be grieved."—ch. ii. p. 12. This and the parallel passage in the 5th chapter are said to be abrogated, or are explained by commentators whom Reland follows, as meaning that they will previously embrace Mohammedanism. But nothing less than abrogation can remove another passage: "Unto every one of you were given a law and an open path, and if God had pleased He had surely made you one people: but He hath thought not to give you different laws, that He might try you in

that which He hath given you respectively. Therefore strive to equal each other in good works. Unto God shall ye all return, and then will He declare unto you that concerning which ye have disagreed."—ch. v. In another place is the broad axiom, "Let there be no violence in religion."—ch. ii. p. 48.

^k "Thou shalt surely find the most violent of all men in enmity against the true believers, to be the Jews and the idolaters."—ch. v. p. 147.

^m "They dislocate the words of the Pentateuch from their places, and have forgotten part of that which they were admonished."—ch. v. p. 131.

of all true believers. "They hold Ezra to be the Son of God."^a

Towards the Christians these early tolerant maxims of religious freedom were still further neutralised by the collision of the first principle of Mohammedanism with that of the dominant Christianity. In one milder passage the Korân intimates that the Christians were less irreconcilable enemies to the Prophet than the Jew and the idolater, and this is attributed to the influence of the priests and the monks.^o The sense and the occasion of this sentence are manifest. The idolaters and Jews were in arms against the Prophet, and defending their religion with desperate valour. The only Christians with whom he had then come in contact were a peaceful people, probably monastic communities. But as its views and its conquests expand, in the Korân the worship of Christ becomes the worst impiety: the assertion of his divinity involves the guilt of infidelity.^p The worshipper of the Christian Trinity denied the unity of God, and however the contemptuous toleration of a mighty Mohammedan empire might give indulgence to such errors among the lower orders of its

^a Ch. ix. p. 243. Sale quotes one of the commentators (Al Beidawi), who says that this imputation must be true, because it was read to the Jews and they did not contradict it.

^o "Thou shalt surely find those among them to be the most inclinable to entertain friendship for the true believers who say, 'We are Christians.' This cometh to pass because there are priests and monks among them; and because they are not elated with pride."—ch. v. vol. i. p. 147.

^p "Verily Christ Jesus, the son of

Mary, is the apostle of God, and His word which He conveyed unto Mary, and a spirit proceeding from Him. Believe, therefore, in God and His apostles, and say not there are three Gods: forbear this, it will be better for you. God is but one God. Far be it from Him that He should have a son. . . . Christ doth not proudly disdain to be a servant unto God neither the angels who approach near to his presence."—ch. iv. p. 126
Passages might be multiplied from almost every Sura.

subjects, the vital principles of the two religions stood opposed in stubborn antagonism. The Christian would not be soothed by the almost reverential admission of Jesus into the line of heaven-commissioned prophets, or even the respectful language concerning the Virgin Mary. The Mohammedan would not endure with patience the slightest imagined impeachment on the divine Unity. The rude and simple Arab had as yet no turn to or comprehension of metaphysical subtlety: he could not, or would not, conceive the Trinity but as three Gods.

It was indeed but a popular and traditionary Judaism,^a a popular and traditionary Christianity—neither the Judaism of the Law, nor the Christianity of the Gospel—which Mohammed encountered in Arabia. The Prophet may have exaggerated his own ignorance in order to heighten the great standing miracle of the faith, the composition of the exquisite and unrivalled Korân by an unlettered man.⁷ But throughout he betrays that he has no real knowledge either of the Old or New Testament: the fables blended up with the genuine Jewish history, though Talmudic, are not drawn from that great storehouse of Jewish learning, but directly from the vulgar belief.⁸ The Jews of Arabia had ever been held in contempt, and not without justice, by their more polished brethren of Babylon or Tiberias, as a rude and barbarous people; they had revolted back to old Arabian habits; they are said not even to be noticed in the Talmud.

The Prophet's notions of Christianity were from

^a Geiger, p. 29.

⁷ "Thou couldst not read any book before this, neither couldst thou write it with thy right hand; then had the

gainsayers justly doubted of the divine original thereof."—Sur. 29, ii, p. 250.

⁸ See the whole account of Moses in the 2nd Chapter.

equally impure sources, if, as no doubt they were, drawn from the vulgar creed of the Arabian Christians. They also must have dwelt apart, as well from the more rigid orthodoxy, as from the intellectual condition of the Church in the more civilised part of the world. They were Trinitarians, indeed, and at least almost worshippers of the Virgin Mary. They are distinctly charged with her deification.[†] But the spurious gospels of the Infancy[‡] and of Barnabas[§] contribute far more to the Christianity shown in the Korân than the writings of the Evangelists. Their Gnostic tendencies are shown by the Docetism[¶] or unreality of the Saviour's crucifixion, supposed by Mohammed to be the common belief of all Christians.^{**} To monastic Christianity Islam stood even in more direct opposition. Marriage in the Korân appears to be the natural state of man.^{‡‡} Chastity, beyond a prudent temperance in connubial enjoyments and the abstinence from unlawful indulgences, is a virtue unknown in the Korân; it belongs neither to saints in earth nor in heaven. Even in the respect shown to the Virgin Mary she is spoken of, not under the appellation which sanctified her to Christian ears, but as the *mother*

† "And when God shall say unto Jesus at the last day, O Jesus, son of Mary! hast thou said unto men, Take me and my mother for two Gods, beside God? he shall answer, Praise be unto thee! it is not for me to say that which I ought not."—ch. v. i. p. 156.

‡ See in ch. xxx. the account of the birth of Christ. It is difficult to acquit Mohammed of confounding the Virgin Mary with Miriam the Prophetess, the sister of Moses.—vol. ii. p. 133.

§ These works exist in Arabic in

more than one form. Compare Thilo, Codex Apoc. N. T.

¶ This Docetic notion was formed to favour the Gnostic (not the Catholic) view of the divinity of Christ.—Hist. of Christianity, ii. 61.

** See the very curious extract from Tabari (Weil, die Chalifen, i. 103), on the substitution of a Jewish youth for Jesus on the Cross, and the ascension of Jesus to heaven.

‡‡ Mohammed was aware that the monastic system was later than Christianity. It was not ordained by God.—ch. lvii. p. 421.

of Jesus. The Korân admits none of the first principles of monasticism, or, rather, directly repudiates them. It disdains the Pantheistic system in all its forms; the Emanation theory of India, the Dualism of Persia, the Mysticism of monkery. God stands alone in his nature, remote, unapproachable; in his power dominant throughout all space and in all time, but divided by a deep and impassable gulf from created things. The absorption into, or even the approximation towards the Deity by contemplation in this life or perfection in the life to come, are equally foreign to the Korân. The later Sufism, which mingled this Orientalism with the religion of the Prophet, is more absolutely at variance with its original spirit, even than with that of the Gospel. Mohammed raised no speculative or metaphysical questions about the origin of evil: he took the world as it was, and denounced the vengeance of God against sin. To sin, angels, genii, and men were alike liable: they were to be judged at the final resurrection, and either condemned to one of the seven hells, or received into one of the seven heavens. And these seven hells and seven heavens are eternal, immutable. There is no re-absorption of the universe into the Deity. The external world and God will maintain throughout eternity the same separate, unmingling, unapproximating existence.

Such then was the new religion which demanded
the submission of the world. As a sublime
Creed of Islam. Monotheism entitled to disdain the vulgar Polytheism of Arabia, of the remoter East, perhaps the Fire-worship of Persia, or even the depraved forms of Judaism and Christianity—yet at the highest it was but the republication of a more comprehensive Judaism; in all other respects its movement was retrograde. The

habits of the religion, if it may be so said, were those of the Old Testament, not of the New; the Arabs had hardly attained the point in civilisation at which the Jews stood in the time of the Mosaic dispensation.^b Mohammedanism triumphant over the world would have established the Asiatic form of Society: slavery and polygamy would have become the established usages of mankind.

Islamism recognises slavery to its fullest extent; it treats it as one of the ordinary conditions of society; none of the general principles tend even remotely to its extinction, or, except in the general admonitions to clemency and kindness, towards its mitigation. The Korân, as the universal revelation, would have been a perpetual edict of servitude.

Slavery.

Polygamy was the established usage of Arabia, and Mohammed limited, perhaps, rather than enlarged its privilege. The number of lawful wives is fixed, and with the permission of polygamy^c are mingled some wise and humane provisions against its evils.^d But as concubinage with female captives was recognised hardly with any limit, unbounded licence became the reward of brilliant valour, and the violation of women or the appropriation of all female

Polygamy.

^b There were some distinctive usages, which are said to have been studiously introduced in order to show aversion and contempt for the Jews.—Pocock, Not. Miscel. c. 9, p. 369; Geiger, p. 198. Of these the most important is the total abolition of the distinction of meats, with the exception of those prohibited to the Jewish converts to Christianity — that which died a natural death, blood, swine's flesh, and meat sanctified to idols.—Korân,

c. ii. p. 30, v. p. 128, vi. 181.

^c All other licence was forbidden. True believers keep themselves from carnal knowledge of any woman except their wives, or the captives which their right hands possess (for as to them they shall be blameless); but whoever coveteth any woman beyond these, they are transgressors.

^d The laws of divorce and of prohibited degrees, &c., are chiefly from the Old Testament.—ch. ii. and iv.

captives to the hareem became one of the ordinary laws of war.^e

The Korân was a declaration of war against mankind.

Korân war
against man-
kind.

The world must prepare at once for a new barbarian invasion and for its first great universal religious war. This barbarian invasion was not, like that of the Teutons, the Huns, or even the later Monguls of the North and East, wave after wave of mutually hostile tribes driving each other upon the established kingdoms of the civilised world, all loose and undisciplined; it was that of an aggregation of kindred tribes, bound together by the two strong principles of organisation, nationality and religious unity. The Arab had been trained in a terrible school. His whole life was a life of war and adventure. The Arabians were a nation of marauders, only tempered by some commercial habits; the Arab was disciplined in the severest abstemiousness and endurance; bred in utter recklessness of human life. The old romance of Antar may show that the Arabs had already some of the ruder elements of chivalry—valour which broke out in the most extraordinary paroxysms of daring, the fervid and poetic temperament, the passion for the marvellous; their old

^e The heaven-sanctioned indulgence of Mohammed in the violation of his own laws, by which he assumed and exercised a right to fifteen or more wives (the number is not quite certain), is perhaps not unjustly charged to the unbridled lust of the Prophet. Yet another at least concurrent cause may be suggested—the anxiety for male issue. Mohammed bitterly felt the death of his four sons by Chadijah, who died in their infancy; and that of one by Maria the Egyptian. This

was not only a fatal blow to his ambition, which doubtless would have led to the foundation of an hereditary religious dynasty, but was a reproach among his people, and threw some suspicion on his pre-eminent favour with God. Al-as Ebn Wayel, who was so cruel and so daring as to insult him on the loss of his favourite boy as “caudâ mutilus,” was accursed of heaven, and a special Sura (the 108th) was revealed to console the Prophet.—Abulfeda, c. lxxvii., with Gagnier’s note

poetry displays their congeniality both with the martial life and the amatory paradise opened by the Korân to true believers.^f For to all this was now superadded the religious impulse, the religious object, the pride of religious as of civil conquest. Religious war is the duty, the glory, assures the beatitude of the true believer. The last revealed chapter, the ninth, of the Korân, the legacy of implacable animosity bequeathed to mankind, has deepened to an unmitigated intenseness of ferocity. It directs the extermination of the idolaters of Arabia; it allows them four months for submission to the belief and to the rites of Islam; after that it commands them to be massacred without mercy, and proceeds after death to inflict on them an eternity of hell-fire.^g If the same remorseless extermination is not denounced against the Jew and the Christian, the true Islamite is commanded to fight against them till they are reduced to subjection and to the payment of tribute; while, to inflame the animosity of his followers, he repeats in the strongest terms what to their ears sounded not less odious than the charge of idolatry: against the Jew the worship of Ezra as the Son of God; against the Christian, not only that of Christ, but, in allusion no doubt to the worship of saints and martyrs, of their priests and monks.^h The wealth of the priests and monks is temptingly suggested, and their employment of it against true religion sentenced with a particularity which might warrant the

^f Antar, translated by Terrick Hamilton, Esq., passim.

^g "And when the months wherein ye are not allowed to attack them are passed, kill the idolaters wherever ye shall find them, and take them prisoners, and besiege them, and lay wait for them in every convenient

place."—ch. ix. p. 238. The works of these men are vain, and they shall remain.

^h They take their priests and their monks for their lords, besides God and Christ the son of Mary, although they are commanded to worship ~~one~~ God only.

most unscrupulous seizure of such ill-bestowed treasures.ⁱ The Islamites who stood aloof, either from indolence, love of ease, or cowardice, from the holy warfare, were denounced as traitors to God: the souls of more faithful believers were purchased by God: paradise was the covenanted price if they fought for the cause of God: whether they slay or be slain the promise is assuredly due. The ties of kindred were to be burst: the true believer was to war upon the infidel, whoever he might be; the idolater was even excluded from the prayers of the faithful.^k The sacred months were not to suspend the warfare against unbelievers. Victory and martyrdom are the two excellent things set before the believer. What may be considered the dying words, the solemn bequest of Mohammed to mankind, were nearly the last words of the last-revealed Sura: "O true believers! wage war against such of the infidels as are near you, and let them find severity in you, and know that God is with them that fear him."^m

Nevertheless, the Mohammedan invasions (and this was still more appalling to mankind) were by no means the inroads of absolute savages; not the outbursts of spoilers who wasted the neighbouring kingdoms and retired to their deserts, but those of conquerors governed by a determined policy of permanent subjugation. Not merely was the alternative of Islamism or tribute to be

ⁱ Dante might have borrowed some of these phrases. "In the day of judgment their treasures shall be intensely heated in the fire of hell, and their foreheads and their sides and their backs shall be stigmatised therewith; and their tormentors shall say, This is what ye have treasured up for your souls; take therefore that

which ye have treasured up."—ch. ix. p. 244.

^k "It is not allowed unto the Prophet, nor those who are true believers, that they pray for idolaters, although they be of them, after it is become known unto them that they are inhabitants of hell." — ch. ix. p. 252.

^m Ch. ix. p. 263.

offered, and unbelievers beyond the bounds of Arabia allowed to capitulate on these milder terms, but even their war-law contained provisions which, while they recognised the first principles of humanity, showed that the invaders intended to settle as masters in the conquered territories. After victory they were to abstain from indiscriminate carnage,ⁿ from that of children, of the old, and of women; they were to commit no useless or vindictive ravage; to destroy no fruit or palm trees; to respect the corn fields and the cattle. They were to adhere religiously to the faith of treaties. Their conduct to the priests or ministers of an opposite religion was more questionable and contradictory. The monks who remained peacefully in their convents were to be respected and their buildings secured from plunder. But, as if conscious of the power of fanaticism in themselves, they wisely dreaded its reaction through the despair, and it might be, heroic faith of the priesthood. Towards them the war-law speaks in a sterner tone, though even they are not excluded from the usual terms of capitulation. "Another sort of people that belong to the synagogue of Satan, that have shaven crowns, be sure you cleave their skulls and give them no quarter till they either turn Mohammedan or pay tribute."^o

Mohammed himself, if we are to trust the tradition preserved by the best Arabian historians, had not only vaguely denounced war against mankind in the Korân, but contemplated, at least remotely, vast and unlimited conquests. The vision of the great Arabian empire had dawned upon his mind.^p Already, even before the

ⁿ "When ye encounter the unbelievers, strike off their heads, until ye have made a great slaughter among them; and bind them in bonds; and either give them a free dismissal afterwards, or exact a ransom until

the war shall have laid down its arms."—ch. xlvii. ii. 376.

^o The instructions of Abubeker to the Syrian army, in Ockley, vol. i. p. 22.

^p In the 7th year of the Hegira.

conquest of Mecca, he had summoned, not only the petty potentates of the neighbouring kingdoms, but the two great powers of the more civilised world, the king of Persia and the emperor of the East, to submit to his religious supremacy. His language, indeed, was courteous, and only invited them to receive the creed of Islam. If there be any foundation for this fact, which was subsequently embellished with mythic fiction, it might seem that the Prophet, either despairing of the subjugation of his intractable countrymen, had turned his mind to foreign conquest; or that he hoped to dazzle the yet hostile Arabs into his great national and religious confederacy by these magnificent pretensions to universal sovereignty. The neighbouring princes replied in very different language. The governor of Egypt, Mokawkas, treated the mission with great respect, and sent, among many valuable presents, two beautiful girls, one of whom, Mary, became a special favourite. The king of Bahrein, Mondar Ebn Sawa, embraced Islam with almost all his people. The king of Ghassan, Al Harith Ebn Ali Shawer, answered, that he would go himself to Mohammed. For this supposed menace the Prophet imprecated a curse on that kingdom. A more fearful malediction was uttered against Hawdka Ebn Ali, king of Yemen, who had apostatised back from Islamism to Christianity, and returned a contemptuous answer. The Prophet's curse was fulfilled in the speedy death of the king. The king of Persia received with indignant astonishment this invitation from an obscure Arabian adventurer to yield up the faith of his ancestors. He tore the letter and scattered the fragments. "So," said the Prophet, "shall his empire be torn to pieces."⁹ The Moham-

⁹ Later Arabian poetry is full of the birth of Mohammed foreshowed the omens and prophecies which at the fall of the Persian empire. The palace

medan tradition of Persia still points out the scene of this impious rejection of the Prophet's advances.^r The account of the reception of the Prophet's letter by the emperor Heraclius bears still stronger marks of Arabian fancy. He is said to have treated it with the utmost reverence, placed it on his pillow, and nothing but the dread of losing his crown prevented the Roman from embracing the faith of Islam. A strange but widespread Jewish tradition contrasts strongly with this view of the character of Heraclius. A vision had warned the Emperor that the throne of Byzantium would be overthrown by a circumcised people.^s So ignorant was Heraclius of any people so distinguished, but the Jews, that he commenced a violent persecution of the race, and persuaded the kings of France and Spain to join in his merciless hostility to the Israelites.

The Korân itself, the only trustworthy authority as to the views of Mohammed, shows that he watched not without anxiety the strife which, during his own rise, was raging between the Roman and the Persian empires. He rejoiced in the unexpected discomfiture of the Persians, who under Khoosroo Purveez seemed rising to a

of the sovereign fell, the holy fires went out, and a seer uttered a long poetic prediction concerning the final ruin of the race and empire of Chosroes. — Abulfeda, Vit. Moham. c. i. p. 3, &c.

^r Khoosroo Purveez was encamped on the banks of the Karasoo river when he received the letter of Mohammed. He tore the letter, and threw it into the Karasoo. For this action the moderate author of the *Zeenut ul-Tuarikh* calls him a wretch, and rejoices in all his subsequent misfortunes. These notions still exist.

“I remarked to a Persian, when encamped near the Karasoo, in 1800, that the banks were very high, which must make it difficult to apply its waters to irrigation.” “It once fertilised the whole country,” said the zealous Mohammedan, “but its channel shrunk with horror from its banks, when that madman, Khoosroo, threw our holy Prophet's letter into the stream; which has ever since been accursed and useless.” — Malcolm's *Persia*, vol. i. p. 126.

^s See *Hist. of Jews*, iii. p. 102: compare Basnage and Jost.

height of power formidable to the independence of the East, and fatal to the extension of his own meditated empire. The Greeks like the Mohammedans, people of the Book, were less irreconcilably opposed to Islam than the Persians, whom they held to be rank idolaters.[†] Persia, when Mohammed was assuming the state of an independent prince in Medina, was the threatening and aggressive power. Syria, Jerusalem itself, had been wrested from the Roman empire; and Syria and Jerusalem were the first conquests which must pave the way for an Arabian empire. Before the death of Mohammed they had been reconquered by Heraclius, who seemed suddenly to have revived the valour and enterprise of the Roman armies. The Roman empire, therefore, was the first and only great foreign antagonist encountered by the Islamites during the life of the Prophet. The event was not promising: in the battle of Muta some of the bravest of the followers of the Prophet had fallen; [‡] the desperate valour and artifice of Khaled, the Sword of God, and the panic of the Roman army, had with difficulty retrieved the day. The war of Tabuc, for which Mohammed made such threatening preparations, ended in failure and disappointment. The desert seemed to protect the Roman empire on this first invasion from the sons of the desert.^x

[†] Ch. xxx. p. 253. Entitled the Greeks, or al Rum. It announces the defeat of the Greeks by the Persians, and prophesies the final victory of the Greeks. [‡] Abulfeda, ch. xlv.

^x Abulfeda, ch. lvii.; Gagnier, l. vi. ch. xi. Gibbon describes this war with spirited brevity. Korân, 9. The Moslems were discouraged by the heat. "Hell is much hotter," said the in-

dignant Prophet. "Les Musulmans s'avancent vers la Syrie; tout à coup le Prophète reçoit du ciel l'ordre de faire halte. Il revient à Medinah, et la raison de ce mouvement rétrograde n'a jamais été bien expliquée."—Oelsner, Des Effets de la Religion de Mohammed, p. 43. Oelsner supposes the progress of the rival Prophet Moseilama to have been the cause.

CHAPTER II.

Successors of Mohammed.

THE death of Mohammed* appeared at first the signal for the dissolution of the great Arabian confederacy. The political and religious empire might seem to have been built on no solid foundation. The death of the Prophet could not but be a terrible blow to the faith of the believers. He had never, indeed, pretended to any exemption from the common lot of mortality. He had betrayed his suspicions that he had been poisoned by a Jewish woman. His death had nothing majestic or imposing. It was caused by a fever, and at times his mind wandered. The accounts as to his firmness or feebleness in his last hour are very discrepant. He was said, on one hand, to have edified his followers by an appeal to his own severe justice and virtue. He was prepared to redress wrong: to make restitution for any injustice committed during his life. He actually did make restitution of three drachms of silver claimed by some humble person from whom he had withheld them wrongfully. But his impatience under suffering moved the wonder, almost the contempt, of his wife Ayesha. Such weakness he had rebuked in a woman. The

* June 7 or 8, 632. Compare, however, Weil, *Leben Mohammed*, 351, and *Geschichte der Chaliphen*, i. p. 2; also p. 16, and note p. 15. He ascribes to Abubeker the publication or forgery of the verses which declared the Prophet mortal. This work of Dr. Weil as summing up, with the same careful industry as in his *Life of Mohammed*, the labours of all his predecessors, will be among my chief authorities in the few following pages.

Prophet excused himself by declaring that God afflicted him with anguish poignant in the proportion with which he had distinguished him by glory above all mankind.^b At the death of Mohammed it might seem that, the master-hand withdrawn, all would return to the former anarchy of tribal independence and of religious belief.^c

His death, on the contrary, after but a short time, was the signal of the most absolute unity ; of a concentrated force, which first controlling all the antagonistic elements of disunion in Arabia, poured forth in one unbroken torrent on the world. The great internal schism as to the succession to the caliphate, the proud inheritance of the Prophet, was avoided until Mohammedanism was strong enough to bear the division, which might have been fatal at an earlier period. The rightful heir, the heir whose succession was doubtless intended by the Prophet, and more or less distinctly declared, was set aside ; and yet no dissension, at least none fatal to the progress of their arms, paralysed the counsel or divided the hearts of the Islamites. Three caliphs, Abubeker, Omar, Othman, ascended, in due order, the sacred throne, and organised the first foreign conquests of Islam. Those first foreign conquests, Syria, Persia, Egypt, part of Africa, were achieved before the fierce conflict for the caliphate between Ali and Moawija. It is impossible not to admire the singular beauty of the character of Ali. Three times on the point of ascending the throne, each time supported by a formidable host of followers, each time he was supplanted through the boldness or the intrigues of the more turbulent chieftains, each time he submitted with grace and dignity to

^b Price, History of Mohammedanism, i. p. 13.

^c See on the vain attempt of the Medinese to wrest the succession from the Koreishites, Weil, i. 3.

the exclusion,^d remained strenuously faithful to the cause, repressed the ambition in which he was by no means wanting, condescended to the condition and zealously discharged the duties of a loyal subject. This he did though the nearest male relation of the Prophet, the son of his uncle, and the husband of a violent woman, the Prophet's daughter, and the father of sons who might have looked forward to the great inheritance.^e The tragedy of the death of these sons casts back even a more powerful interest on the gentle but valiant Ali.^f

Never was disunion so perilous to the cause of Mohammedanism; never would a contested succession have produced such disastrous consequences. The dangerous swarm of rival prophets were multiplying in different parts of Arabia; it required the collective force of Islam to crush them; but they fell before the arms and the authority of the caliphs. Moseilama, the most formidable of all, whose extraordinary influence, subtlety, and valour, seemed at one time to balance the rising fortunes of Mohammedanism, to render it doubtful under the banner of which religion, that of Moseilama or of Mohammed, would go forth the great Arab invasion of the civilised world, lost at length his power and his life before the Sword of God, the intrepid Khaled.^g The effect of this,

^d Dr. Weil seems to think not so willingly, on the first submission, i. p. 6; on the last, p. 153-155. Ali, by general tradition, is exculpated from all share in the murder of Othman. Dr. Weil is throughout very unfavourable to Ali.

^e Ali, during the lifetime of Fatima the Prophetess, took no second wife: he had altogether fifteen sons and eighteen daughters.—Weil, p. 253.

^f Hasan and Hussein. Dr. Weil,

pitilessly critical, is dead to all the pathetic circumstances of the death of Hussein. Even Tabari's striking account he throws into a note.—p. 317.

^g Dr. Weil treats the intrigue of Moseilama with the Prophetess Ladjah and the obscene verses quoted with such coarse zest by Gibbon, as fictions of the Mussulman. Moseilama was then 100, if not 150, years old. I confess the latter sounds to me most like fiction.—On Moseilama, pp. 21-26.

no doubt, was not merely to suppress these hostile sects, but to centre the enthusiasm, which was now burning in diverging lines, into one fiery torrent; to crowd the ranks of Islam with new warriors, who had joined it rather from the restless love of enterprise than from any strong conviction as to the relative truth of either creed, and were ready to transfer their allegiance, as success and glory were the only true tests of the divine favour, to the triumphant cause. They became at once earnest and zealous proselytes to a religion which actually bestowed such higher successes upon earth, and promised rewards, guaranteed by such successes, in the life to come. Soldiers, marauders by birth and habit, they had become followers of either prophet by the accidents of local or tribal connexion, by the excitement of the imagination and the passion of sect. Their religion was a war-cry, and so that it led to conquest they cared little what name it might sound.^h

That war-cry was now raised against all who refused faith or tribute to the creed and to the armies of the Caliph. The first complete foreign conquest of Mohammedanism was Syria, the birthplace of Christianity. Palestine, the hallowed scene of the Saviour's life and death, was wrested by two great battles,ⁱ and by the sieges of a few great cities, Bosra, Damascus, and Jerusalem, from the domain of Christendom. It was an easy conquest, fearfully dispiriting to the enemies of Islam, to the believers the more intoxicating, as revealing their irresistible might: the more it baffled calculation the more it appalled the defeated, and made

^h For the wars of Khaled in Persia under Abubeker, see Weil, 31 *et seq.* | p. 40, note. Jarmuk, after the death of Abubeker, August 22, 634.—Weil, 46, probably the following day,

ⁱ Adjnadein, July 30, 634.—Weil, Aug. 23.

those who found themselves invincible, invincible indeed. On the one side had at first appeared numbers, discipline, generalship, tactics, arms, military engines, the fortifications of cities; on the other, only the first burst of valour, which from its very ignorance despised those advantages. The effete courage of the Roman legionaries had been strengthened by the admission of barbarians into their ranks; and the adventurous campaigns of Heraclius against the Persians had shown that the old intrepidity of the Roman armies was not quite worn out, and under a daring and skilful general might still be aggressive as well as defensive. But now the Emperor and the armies seem alike paralysed by the suddenness and impetuosity of the Arab movements. The Emperor stands aloof, and does not head his armies. The armies melt away before the uncontrollable onset of the new enemies. At Adjnadein and at Jarmuk the slaughter of the Roman armies was counted by tens of thousands, that of the Mohammedans hardly by hundreds. But it was the religious impulse which made the inequality of the contest. Religious warfare had not yet become a Christian duty; it atoned for no former criminality of life; it had no promise of immediate reward; it opened not instantaneously the gate of heaven. The religious feeling might blend itself with patriotism and domestic love. The Christian might ardently desire to defend the altar of his God, as well as the freedom of his country and the sanctity of his household hearth. But, even if the days of heroic martyrdom were not gone by, the martyrs whose memory he worshipped had been distinguished by passive endurance rather than active valour. The human sublimity of the Saviour's character consisted in his suffering. According to the monastic view of Christianity, the

total abandonment of the world, with all its ties and duties, as well as its treasures, its enjoyments, and objects of ambition, advanced rather than diminished the hopes of salvation. Why should they fight for a perishing world, from which it was better to be estranged? They were more highly purified by suffering persecution than by triumphing over their adversaries. It is singular, indeed, that while we have seen the Eastern monks turned into fierce undisciplined soldiers, perilling their own lives and shedding the blood of others without remorse, in assertion of some shadowy shade of orthodox expression, hardly anywhere do we find them asserting their liberties or their religion with intrepid resistance. Hatred of heresy was a more stirring motive than the dread or the danger of Islamism. After the first defeats the Christian mind was still further prostrated by the common notion that the invasion of the Arabs was a just and heaven-commissioned visitation for their sins. Submission was humble acquiescence in the will of God; resistance a vain, almost an impious, struggle to avert inevitable punishment. God was against them; hereafter he might be propitiated by their sufferings, but now (such was their gloomy predestinarianism) they were doomed to drink the lees of humiliation.

On the other hand, the young fanaticism of the Musulman was constantly fed by immediate promises and immediate terrors. He saw hell with its fires blazing behind him if he fled, paradise opening before him if he fell.^k The predestined was but fulfilling his fate,

^k The exhortation of the generals was brief and forcible (at the battle of Jarmuk): "Paradise is before you; the devil and hell-fire in your rear."—Gibbon, c. xli. ix. 405.

accomplishing the unalterable will of God, whether in death or victory. God's immutable decree was the guardian of his unassailable life, or had already appointed his inevitable death. The battle-cry of Khaled, the Sword of God, was "Fight, fight! Paradise! Paradise!" "Methinks" (cried the youthful cousin of Khaled in the heat of battle) "I see the black-eyed girls looking upon me, one of whom, if she should appear in this world, all mankind would die for the love of her. And I see in the hand of one of them a handkerchief of green silk, and a cap made of precious stones, and she beckons me, and calls out, Come hither quickly, I love thee!"^m Contrast this as a motive to the heart of a ruder, a grosser race, with the Christian's calm, vague, trembling anticipations of a beatitude, in which that which was most definite was exemption from the sorrows and sins of life, the companionship of saints and martyrs, or even of the Redeemer himself; or perhaps some indistinct vision of angelic presence, sweet and solemn but unimpassioned music, a wilderness of dazzling light.

But Christianity did not even offer a stubborn passive resistance.ⁿ The great cities, which in the utter inexperience of the Arabs in the art of siege, might have been expected to be inexpugnable, except by famine, fell one after another; Bosra, Damascus,

Feeble resistance of Christianity.

^m Ockley, i. p. 267.

ⁿ The complete conquest of Syria occupied about five years.—Weil, i. 82. Abubeker's instructions to the first army which invaded Christian Syria were in these terms: "Fight valiantly. . . . Mutilate not the vanquished; slay not old men, women, or children; destroy not palm-trees; burn not

fruit-trees; kill not cattle, but for food. You will find men in solitude and meditation, devoted to God: do them no harm. You will find others with their heads tonsured, and a lock of hair upon their shaven crowns; them smite with your scythes, and give them no quarter."—Caussin de Perceval, iii. 343.

Jerusalem became Mohammedan. The first great conquest, before either of the decisive battles which lost Syria, showed that the religion as well as the arms of Islam was formidable to Christendom. The strong city of Bosra fell not merely by an act of treachery, but of apostacy, and that in no less a person than the governor, the base Romanus. In the face of the people, thus reduced to the yoke of the Saracens, the unblushing renegade owned his treason. He reproached the Christians as enemies of God, because enemies of his apostle; he disclaimed all connexion with his Christian brethren in this world or the next, and he pronounced his new creed with ostentatious distinctness. "I choose God for my Lord, Mohammedanism for my religion, the temple of Mecca for the place of my worship, the Mussulmans for my brethren, and Mohammed for my prophet and apostle."

At Damascus the valiant Thomas, who had assumed the command of the city, attempted to counter the fanaticism of the Mussulmans by awakening as strong fanaticism on his own side. The crucifix was erected at the gate from which Thomas issued forth to charge the enemy. The bishop with his clergy stood around, the New Testament was placed near the crucifix. Thomas placed his hand on the book of peace and love, and solemnly appealed to Heaven to decide the truth of the conflicting religions. "O God, if our religion be true, deliver us not into the hands of our enemies, but overthrow the oppressor. O God, succour those which profess the truth and are in the right way."° The prayer was interpreted by the apostate Romanus to Serjabil, the Mohammedan general

Fall of
Damascus.

°Ockley, i. 87.

“Thou liest, thou enemy of God; for Jesus is of no more account with God than Adam. He created him out of the dust, and made him a living man, walking upon the earth, and afterwards raised him to heaven.” But Christianity in the East was not yet a rival Moham-
 medanism; it required that admixture of the Teutonic character which formed chivalry, to combat on equal terms with the warriors of the Korân. Latin Christianity alone could be the antagonist of the new faith. The romantic adventure of Jonas the Damascene, who to save his life abandoned his religion, in his blind passion led the conquering Moslems in pursuit of the fugitives from Damascus, and was astonished that his beloved Eudocia spurned with contempt the hand of a renegade, may suggest that Christianity had no very strong hold on many of the bravest of the Roman soldiers.^p

The capitulation of Jerusalem shows the terms imposed by the conqueror on his subjects who refused to embrace Islamism, and the degraded state to which the Christians sank at once under the Mohammedan empire. The characteristic summons of the city was addressed to the chief commanders and inhabitants of Ælia. If they admitted at once the unity of God, that Mohammed was the Prophet of God, and the resurrection and the last judgement, then it would be unlawful for the Mohammedans to shed their blood or violate their property. The alternative was tribute or submission; “otherwise I shall bring men against you who love death better than you do the drinking of wine or eating hog’s-flesh.”^q He declared that he

Of Jerusalem.
A.D. 636.

^p This story, the subject of Hughes’s *Siege of Damascus*, is told at length by Ockley and Gibbon: Dr. Weil treats

it as fiction.

^q Ockley, from the author of the *History of the Holy Land*.

would not leave the walls till he had slain the garrison and made slaves of the people. During four months Jerusalem held out in gallant resistance; even then it refused to surrender but to the Caliph in person. The sternly frugal Omar arrived before the walls. On the part of the Romans the negotiation was conducted by the Bishop Sophronius; and Sophronius was constrained to submit to the humiliating function of showing the Holy Places of the city to the new Lord of Jerusalem;† to point out the site of the temple in order that the Caliph might erect there his stately mosque for the worship of Islam. In the secret bitterness of his heart the bishop said, "Now indeed is the abomination of desolation in the Holy of Holies."

By the terms of the treaty the Christians sank at once to an inferior and subject people,‡ Christianity to a religion permitted to exist by the haughty disdain of the conqueror; it submitted to the ignominy of toleration. Christianity was to withdraw from the public gaze, to conceal itself in its own modest sanctuary, no longer to dazzle the general mind by the pomp of its processions or the solemnity of its services.‡ The sight of the devout Mussulman was not to be offended by the symbols of the faith; the cross was no

Treaty of
capitulation.

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† The Arabian traditions mention various artifices of Sophronius to divert Omar from the real holy place, but its true site had been described by the Prophet to Omar. The Prophet had seen it, as will be remembered, in his mysterious journey. One curious account states that Omar crept on his hands and knees till he came to the great sewer. He then stood upright, and proclaimed it to be the place described by the Prophet.—Hist. of

Temple of Jerusalem, p. 176.

‡ The capitulation is in the History of the Temple, above cited. It is quoted from the work of Abderrahman Ibn Tamin. It pretends that these were terms submitted of their own accord by the Christians, but the language of the conquering Mussulman is too manifest.

‡ They were not publicly to exhibit the associating religion, that is, which associated other gods with the one God.

longer to be exhibited on the outside of the churches. The bells were to be silent; the torches no longer to glitter along the streets. The Christians were to wail their dead in secrecy; they were, at the same time, though their ceremonies were not to be insulted by profane interruption, not to enjoy the full privilege of privacy. Their churches were at all times to be open, if the Mussulman should choose to enter; but to attempt to convert the Mussulman was a crime. They were interdicted from teaching their children the Korân, lest, no doubt, it should be profaned by their irreverent mockery; even the holy language (the Arabic) was prohibited: they were not to write or engrave their signet-rings with Arabic letters.

The monasteries were allowed to remain, and the Mussulman exacted the same hospitality within those hallowed walls which was wont to be offered to the Christian. The monks were to lodge the wayfaring Mussulman, as other pilgrims, for three nights and give him food. No spy was to be concealed in church or monastery.

The whole people was degraded into a marked and abject caste. Everywhere they were to honour the Mussulmans, and give place before them. They were to wear a different dress; not to presume to the turban, the slipper, or girdle, or the parting of the hair. They were to ride on lowly beasts, with saddles not of the military shape. The weapons of war were proscribed, the sword, the bow, and the club. If at any time they carried a sword, it was not to be suspended from the girdle. Their foreheads were to be shaved, their dress girt up, but not with a broad girdle. They were not to call themselves by Mussulman names; nor were they

to corrupt the abstemious Islamite by selling wine; nor possess any slave who had been honoured by the familiarity of a Mussulman. Omar added a clause to protect the sanctity of the Mussulman's person, it was a crime in a Christian to strike a Mussulman.

Such was the condition to which the Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem fell at once; nearly the same terms, no doubt, were enforced on all the Christians of Syria. For neither Antioch nor Aleppo, nor any of the other great towns, made any vigorous or lasting resistance. The Emperor Heraclius withdrew his troops and abandoned the hopeless contest. Syria, from a province of the Roman empire, became a province of Islamism, undisturbed by any serious aggression of the Christians till the time of the Crusades.

The Christian historian is not called upon to describe the Mohammedan conquest of Persia. The religion of the fire-worshippers, and the throne of the Sassanian dynasty, occupied the arms of the Mohammedans less than twenty years. Yezdegird, the last of the Sassanians, perished in his flight by an ignoble hand. The Caliph was master of all the wealth, the territory, and the power of that Persian kingdom which had so long contested the East with the Byzantine empire.

At the same time the tide of conquest was flowing westward with slower but as irresistible force.* In less than three years the Saracens were masters of Egypt. Egypt fell an easy prey, betrayed by the internal hostility of the conflicting Christian sects.

* The invasion of Amrou is dated June, 638; the capture of Alexandria December 22, A.D. 640 (641, Weil).

The Monophysite religious controversy had become a distinction not of sect only but of race. The native Egyptian population, the Copts, were stern Monophysites: the Greeks, especially those of Alexandria, adhered to the Council of Chalcedon. Mokawkas, by his name a native Egyptian, had attained to great power and influence; he is called Governor of Egypt under Heraclius. Mokawkas, according to the tradition, had been among the potentates summoned by Mohammed himself to receive the doctrine of Islam. He had returned a courteous refusal, accompanied with honourable gifts. Now, on the principle that religious hatred is more intense against those who differ the least in opinion, Mokawkas and the whole Coptic population, perhaps groaning under some immediate tyranny, preferred to the rule of those who asserted two natures in Christ, that of those who altogether denied his divinity. They acquiesced at once in the dominion of Amrou; they rejoiced when the proud Greek city of Alexandria, the seat of the tyrannical patriarch, who would enforce upon them the creed of Chalcedon, fell before his arms; they were only indignant that the contemptuous toleration of the Mohammedans was extended as well to those who believed in the two natures, as to those who adhered to the Monophysitic creed.^x

The complete subjugation of Africa was less rapid; it was half a century before the fall of Carthage. The commencement of the eighth century saw the Mohammedans masters of the largest and most fertile part of Spain. Latin Christianity has lost the country of Cyprian and Augustine; the number of extinguished bishoprics is almost countless.

Of Africa.
647 to 698.

* Compare Weil, p. 105-114.

The splendour of these triumphs of the Mohammedan arms has obscured the progress of the Mohammedan religion. In far less than a century, not only has the Caliph become the sovereign, but Islamism the dominant faith in Persia, Syria, Egypt, Africa, and part of Spain.⁷ But how did the religion, though that of the ruling power, become that of the subject people? In Arabia alone the Korân had demanded the absolute extirpation of all rival modes of belief, of Judaism and Christianity, as well as of the older idolatries. Though vestiges both of Judaism and Christianity might remain, to Omar is attributed the glory of having fulfilled the Prophet's injunctions. But the earlier conquests do not seem, like those of a later period, that of the Ghaznevides in India, and of the Turks in Europe, the superinduction of an armed aristocracy in numbers comparatively small; of a new and dominant caste into an old society, which in the one case remained Brahminical or Buddhist, in the other Christian. Mohammedanism in most of the conquered countries becomes the religion of the people. In Persia the triumph of the religion was as complete as that of the arms. The faithful worshippers of fire, the hierarchy of Zoroaster, dwindled away, and retired either into the bordering and more inaccessible districts, or into India. On the south of the Caspian, on Mount Elbourz, the sacred fire continued to burn in solitary splendour, after it had been extinguished or had expired on the countless temples, which, under the Sassanian dynasty, had arisen from the Tigris nearly to the Indus. The sacred books of Zoroaster, or at least those of the revived Zoroastrianism under Ardeschir Babhegan, were preserved

Progress of
Mohammed-
anism.

⁷ Ockley, vol. i. p. 318.

by the faithful communities, who found an hospitable reception in India. Soon after the conquest the followers of Magianism seem to have become so little dangerous, that the Caliphs gave to them the privilege of the same toleration as to the Christians and Jews: they became what the Korân denied them to be, a third people of the Book. The formation of a new national language, the modern Persian, from the admixture of the old native tongue with the Arabic, shows the complete incorporation of the two races, who have ever since remained Mohammedan.

But in the countries wrested from Christianity the case was different. With the remarkable exception of Northern Africa, perhaps of Southern Spain, Christianity, though in degradation and subjection, never ceased to exist. There was no complete change wrought like the slow yet total extinction of Paganism in the Roman world by Christianity. In all the Christian countries, in Syria, and other parts of Asia, and in Egypt, of the three fearful alternatives offered by the Arabian invader—Islam, the sword, or tribute—the Christians, after a vain appeal to the sword, had quietly acquiesced in the humiliating tribute. They had capitulated on the payment of a regular poll-tax, and that not a very heavy one, imposed on the believers in every religion but that of the Korân. So the Nestorian and Jacobite Christians in Persia and Syria, the Copts in Egypt, and a few waning communities for a certain time even in Africa, maintained their worship. Still the relative numbers of the Mohammedans increased with great rapidity. But as, for the achievement of these immense conquests, spread over so vast a surface, the Arabian armies must have been very inconsiderable (little confidence can be placed in the statement of numbers in Oriental writers), so also

looking, in a general way, to the population of Arabia, and supposing that the enthusiasm of conquest and religion swept forth a very large part of it in these armed migrations to foreign lands, they must have borne but a small proportion to the conquered races. In most countries the Arabic language became not merely that of the state, but of the people.

Our information is singularly deficient as to this silent revolution in the Christian part of the Mohammedan conquests. We have seen, though not so distinctly, perhaps, as we might wish, primitive Christianity gradually impregnating the mind and heart of the Roman world; the infant communities are found settling in all the great cities, and gradually absorbing into themselves a large portion of the people; minds of all orders, orators, philosophers, statesmen, at length emperors, surrender to the steady aggression of the Gospel. In some cases may be traced the struggles of old religious belief, the pangs and throes of the spiritual regeneration. We know the arguments which persuaded, the impulses which moved, the hopes and fears which achieved, the religious victory.

But the moral causes, and moral causes there must have been, for the triumph of Islamism, are altogether obscure and conjectural. Egypt has shown how the mutual hostility of the Christians advanced the progress of the Mohammedan arms; it is too probable that it advanced likewise the progress of the Mohammedan faith. What was the state of the Christian world in the provinces exposed to the first invasion of Mohammedanism? Sect opposed to sect, clergy wrangling with clergy upon the most abstruse and metaphysical points of doctrine. The orthodox, the Nestorians, the Eutychians, the Jacobites, were perse-

Causes.
obscure.

cutting each other with unexhausted animosity; and it is not judging too severely the evils of religious controversy to suppose that many would rejoice in the degradation of their adversaries under the yoke of the unbeliever, rather than make common cause with them in defence of their common Christianity. In how many must this incessant disputation have shaken the foundations of their faith! It had been wonderful if thousands had not, in their weariness and perplexity, sought refuge from these interminable and implacable controversies in the simple, intelligible truth of the Divine Unity, though purchased by the acknowledgment of the prophetic mission of Mohammed.

Mohammed, when he sanctioned one of the old Arabian usages, Polygamy, foresaw not how powerful an instrument this would be for the dissemination of his religion. This usage he limited, indeed, in the Korân, but claimed a privilege in himself of extending to the utmost. His successors, and most of the more wealthy and powerful Mohammedans, assumed the privilege and followed the example of the Prophet, if not in direct violation, by a convenient interpretation of the Law.

Polygamy, on the whole, is justly considered as unfavourable to population, but while it diminishes in one class, it may proportionately tend to rapid and continual increase in another. The crowding together of numerous females in one hareem, unless they are imported from foreign countries, since the number of male and female births are nearly equal, must withdraw them from the lower and poorer classes. While then the wealthy and the powerful would have very large families, the poor would be condemned to sterile celibacy, to promiscuous concubinage, or worse. In this relation

Effects of
polygamy.

stood the Christian to the Mohammedan population. There can be no doubt that the Christian females were drawn off in great numbers by violence, by seduction, by all the means at the command of the conqueror, of the master, of the purchaser, into the hareems of the Islamites. Among the earliest questions suggested to the Caliph by the chiefs of the Syrian army, was the lawfulness of intermarriage with Grecian women, which had been prohibited by the severe Abu Obeidah. The more indulgent Caliph Omar, though himself the most abstemious of men, admitted the full right of the brave Mohammedans to these enjoyments which they had won by their valour. Those who had no families in Arabia, might marry in Syria; and might purchase female slaves to the utmost of their desires and of their abilities.² The Christian, on the other hand, confined by his religion to one wife, often too degraded or too poor to desire or to maintain one; with a strong and melancholy sense of the insecurity of his household; perhaps with the monastic feeling, already so deeply impressed on many minds, now strengthened by such dismal calamities, might, if of a better class, shrink from being the parent of a race of slaves; or impose upon himself as a virtue that continence which was almost a necessity.

But all the children of Christian women by Mohammedans, even if the mothers should have remained faithful to the Gospel, would, of course, be brought up as Mohammedans; and thus, in the fresh and vigorous days of the early Arabian conquerors, before the hareem had produced its inevitable eventual effects, effeminacy, feebleness, premature exhaustion, and domestic jealousies, polygamy would be constantly swelling the

* Ockley, i. 275.

number of the Mohammedan aristocracy, while the Christians were wasting away in numbers, as in wealth and position. Nor would it be the higher ranks of the conquerors alone which would be thus intercepting, as it were, the natural growth of the Christian population, and turning it into Mohammedan. The Arab invasions were not, like the Teutonic, the migrations of tribes and nations, but the inroad of armies. Some might return to their families in Arabia; a few, when settled in foreign lands, might be joined by their household; but by far the larger number of the warriors, whether married or unmarried, would assert the privilege of conquest sanctioned by the Korân, and by the Caliph, the expounder of the Korân. As long as there were women, the hot Arab would not repress his authorized passions; he would not wait for paradise to reward his toils. The females would be the possession of the strongest; and he would not permit his offspring, even if the mother should be a fervent Christian, and retain influence over her child (in most cases she would probably be indifferent, if not a convert), to inherit the degradation of an inferior caste, but would assert for him all the rights of Islamitish descent. It would be difficult to calculate the effect of this constant propagation of one race, and diminution of the other, even in a few generations.

So grew the Mohammedan empire into a multitude of Mohammedan nations, owing, notwithstanding contested successions, at least a remote allegiance to the Caliph, the heir and representative of the Prophet, but with their religious far more formidable to Christendom than their political unity. Christendom was not only assailed in front and on its more immediate borders; not only reduced to but

Extent of
Mohammedan
con-
quests.

a precarious and narrow footing in Asia; endangered, so soon as the Arabs became a naval as well as a military power, along the whole of the Mediterranean, in all its islands and on all its coasts: but it was flanked, as it were, by the Mohammedans of Spain, who crossed the Pyrenees, and penetrated into the very heart of the Frankish empire.

But the most important consequence of the outburst of Mohammedanism in the history of the world and of Christianity was its inevitable transmutation of Christianity into a religion of war, at first defensive, afterwards, during the Crusades, aggressive. Religious wars, strictly speaking, were as yet unknown. Religious wars, strictly speaking, were as yet unknown. Christian nations had mingled in strife, religious animosities had embittered, or even been a pretext for wars between the Arian Goths or Vandals and the Trinitarian Romans or Franks. Local persecutions, as among the Donatists of Africa, had been enforced and repelled by arms; perhaps in some instances bishops, in defence of their native country, had at least directed military operations. In ancient history the gods of conflicting nations had joined in the contest. But the world had not yet witnessed wars of which religion was the avowed and ostensible motive, the object of conquest the propagation of an adverse faith, the penalty of defeat the oppression, if not the extirpation, of a national creed. The appearance of the Crescent or of the Cross, not so much over the fortresses or citadels, as over the temples of God, the churches, or the mosques, was the conclusive sign of the victory of Christian or Islamite. Hence sprung the religious element in Christian chivalry; and happily, or rather mercifully for the destinies of mankind in which Christianity and Christian civilisation were hereafter to resume, or, more properly, to attain their

slow preponderance (it may be hoped, their complete and final triumph), was it ordained that the ruder barbarian virtues, strength, energy, courage, endurance, enterprise, had been infused into the worn-out and decrepit Roman empire ; that kings of Teutonic descent, Franks, Germans, Normans, had inherited the dominions of the Western empire, and made, in some respects, until the late conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, common cause with the Christian East. Christendom thus assailed along its whole frontier, and threatened in its very centre, in Rome itself, and even in Gaul, was compelled to emblazon the Cross on its banner, and to heighten all the impulses of freedom and patriotism by the still stronger passion of religious enthusiasm. Christianity had subdued the world by peace, she could only defend it by war. However foreign then and adverse to her genuine spirit ; however it might tend to promote the worst and most anti-Christian vices, cruelty, licentiousness, pride, hatred, and to establish brute force as the rule and law of society ; however the very virtues of such a period might harmonize but doubtfully with the Gospel ; it was an ordeal through which it must pass. The Church must become militant in its popular and secular sense ; it must protect its altars, its temples, its Gospel itself by other arms than those of patient endurance, mild persuasion, resigned and submissive martyrdom.

The change was as complete as inevitable. Christianity in its turn began to make reprisals by the Mohammedan apostleship of fire and sword. Christianity warlike. The noblest and most earnest believers might seem to have read the Korân rather than the Gospel. The faith of Christ or the sword is the battleword of Charlemagne against the Saxons ; the Pope preaches the Crusades ;

and St. Louis devoutly believes that he is hewing his way to heaven through the bleeding ranks of the Saracens.

Nor indeed, in some other respects, was Mohammedanism altogether an unworthy antagonist of Christianity. Not less rapid and wonderful than the expansion of the Mohammedan empire, and the religion of Islam, was the growth of Mohammedan civilisation—that civilisation the highest, it should seem, attainable by the Asiatic type of mankind. Starting above six centuries later, it has nearly reached its height long before Christianity. The barbarous Bedouins are become magnificent monarchs; in Damascus, in Bagdad, in Samarcand, in Cairo, in Cairouan, in Fez, in Seville, and in Cordova, the arts of peace are cultivated with splendour and success. The East had probably never beheld courts more polished than that of Haroun al Raschid. Cairo, in some points at least, rivalled Alexandria. Africa had not yet become a coast of pirates. In Spain cultivation had never been carried to such perfection: Andalusia has never recovered the expulsion of the Moors. In most of the Mohammedan cities the mosques were probably, in grandeur and decoration (so far as severe Islamism would allow), as rich as the Christian cathedrals of those times. Letters, especially poetry, were objects of proud patronage by the more enlightened caliphs; the sciences began to be introduced from Greece, perhaps from India. Europe recovered the astronomy of Alexandria, even much of the science of Aristotle, from Arabic sources. Commerce led her caravans through the whole range of the Mohammedan dominions; the products of India found their way to the court of Cordova. Mohammedanism might seem in danger of decay, from the progress of its own unwarlike

Mohammedan civilisation.

magnificence and luxury. But it was constantly finding on its borders, or within its territories, new fierce and often wandering tribes. New Arabs, as it were, who revived all its old adventurous spirit, embraced Islamism with all the fervour of proselytes, and either filled its thrones with young dynasties of valiant and ambitious kings, or propagated its empire into new regions. The Affghans overran India, and established the great empire of the Ghaznevdes. The Turks, race after race, Seljukians and Osmanlies, seized the falling crescent, and, rivalling in fanaticism the earliest believers, perpetuated the propagation of the faith.

The expansion of Islamism itself, the enlargement of her stern and narrow creed, is even more extraordinary. The human mind, urged into active and vigorous movement, cannot be restrained within close and jealous limits. The Korân submits to a transmutation more complete than the Gospel under the influences of Asiatic Gnosticism and Greek philosophy. Metaphysical theology, if it does not tamper with the unity of God, discusses his being and attributes. The rigid predestinarianism is softened away, if not among the soldiery, in the speculative schools. The sublime, unapproachable Deity is approached, embraced, mingled with, by the Divine Love of Sufi. Monachism enslaves the Mohammedan, as it had the Christian mind. The dervish rivals the Christian anchorite, as the Christian anchorite the Jewish Essene or the Indian Faquir.

CHAPTER III.

Conversion of England.

CHRISTIANITY had thus lost the greater part of her dominion in two continents. Almost the whole of Asia had settled down under what might seem a more congenial form of civil and religious despotism; it became again Asiatic in all its public and social system. Northern Africa was doomed to exchange her Roman and Christian civilisation for Arabic religion, manners, and language, which by degrees, after some centuries, partly from the fanatic and more rude Mohammedanism of the savage native races, the Berbers and others, sank back into utter barbarism. In Europe, in the mean time, Christianity was still making large acquisitions, laying the foundations of that great federation of Christian kingdoms, which by their hostility, as well as their intercourse, were to act upon each other: until at length that political and balanced system should arise, out of which and by means of which, our smaller continent was to take the lead in the fuller development of humanity; and Christian Europe rise to a height of intellectual and social culture, unexampled in the history of mankind, and not yet, perhaps, at its full and perfect growth. For it was Christianity alone which maintained some kind of combination among the crumbling fragments of the Roman empire. If the Barbaric kingdoms had two associating elements, their common Teutonic descent and their common religion, far the weaker was

the kindred and affinity of race. Their native independence was constantly breaking up that affinity into separate, and, ere long, hostile tribes. No established right of primogeniture controlled the perpetual severance of every realm, at each succession, into new lines of kings. Thus Christianity alone was a bond of union, strong and enduring. The Teutonic kingdoms acknowledged their allegiance to the ecclesiastical supremacy of Rome; Rome was the centre and capital of Western Christendom.

Western Christendom was still aggressive. Its first effort was to reclaim Britain, which had been almost entirely lost to pagan barbarism: and Conquests of Western Christianity. next advancing beyond the uncertain boundary of the old Roman empire, to plant all along the Rhine, and far beyond, among the yet unfelled forests and untilled morasses of Germany, settlements which gradually grew up into great and wealthy cities. Slowly, indeed, but constantly in advance, after the repulse of the Saracenic invasion by Charles Martel, Christianity remained, if not undisputed, yet the actual sovereign of all Europe, with the exception of the Mauro-Spanish kingdom and some of the Mediterranean islands; and so compensated by its conquests in the North for its losses in the East and South. Till many centuries later, a new Asiatic race, the Seljukian Turks, a new outburst, as it were, with much of the original religious fanaticism, precipitated itself upon Europe, and added the narrow remnant of the Greek empire to Islamism and Asiatic influence.

Britain was the only country in which the conquest by the Northern barbarians had been followed by the extinction of Christianity. Christianity in Britain. Nothing certain is known concerning the first promulgation of

the Gospel in Roman Britain. The apostolic establishment by St. Paul has not the slightest historical ground; and considering the state of the island, a state of fierce and perpetual war between the advancing Roman conquerors and the savage natives, may be dismissed as nearly impossible. The Roman legionary on active service, the painted Briton, in stern resistance to the Roman and under his Druidical hierarchy, would offer few proselytes, even to an apostle. The conversion of King Lucius is a legend. There can be no doubt that conquered and half-civilised Britain, like the rest of the Roman empire, gradually received, during the second and third centuries, the faith of Christ. The depth of her Christian cultivation appears from her fertility in saints and in heretics. St. Helena, the mother of Constantine, probably imbibed the first fervour of those Christian feelings, which wrought so powerfully on the Christianity of the age, in her native Britain. St. Alban, from his name and from his martyrdom, which there seems no reason to doubt, was probably a Roman soldier.^a Our legendary annals are full of other holy names; while Pelagius, and probably his companion Celestine, have given a less favourable celebrity to the British Church.^b

But all were swept away, the worshippers of the saints and the followers of the heretics, by the Teutonic

^a This will account for S. Alban's death in the persecution of Diocletian, which did not extend, in its extreme violence at least, to the part of the empire governed by Constantius. Yet the doubtful protection of that emperor may neither have been able nor willing to prevent zealous officers from putting the military test to their soldiers. The

persecution began with the army.— See Hist. of Christianity, vol. ii. p. 214.

^b S. Germain, Bishop of Auxerre, is said to have been sent into Britain to extirpate Pelagianism, which had spread to a great extent. But this, considering how early the monk left his native land, must be very doubtful. —The authority is Prosper.

conquest. The German races which overran the island came from a remote quarter yet unpenetrated by the missionaries of the Gospel. The Christianity retires before the Saxons. Goths, who formed three kingdoms in Italy, Spain, and Southern France, were already Christians; the Lombards partially converted; even among the Franks. Christianity was known, and perhaps had some proselytes before the victories of Clovis. But the Saxons and the Anglians were far more rude and savage in their manners; in their religion unreclaimed idolaters. They knew nothing of Christianity, but as the religion of that abject people whom they were driving before them into their mountains and fastnesses. Their conquest was not the settlement of armed conquerors amidst a subject people, but the gradual expulsion—it might almost seem, at length, the total extirpation—of the British and Roman British inhabitants. Christianity receded with the conquered Britons into the mountains of Wales, or towards the borders of Scotland, or took refuge among the peaceful and flourishing monasteries of Ireland. On the one hand, the ejection, more or less complete, of the native race, shows that the contest was fierce and long; the re-occupation of the island by paganism is a strong confirmation of the complete expulsion of the Britons. The implacable hostility engendered by this continuous war, prevented that salutary re-action of the Christianity of the conquered races on the barbarian conquerors, which took place in other countries. The clergy fled, perhaps fought, with their flocks, and neither sought nor found opportunities of amicable intercourse, which might have led to the propagation of their faith; while the savage pagans demolished the churches and monasteries (which must have existed in considerable numbers) with the other

vestiges of Roman civilisation.^c They were little disposed to worship the God of a conquered people or to adopt the religion of a race whom they either despised as weak and unwarlike, or hated as stubborn and implacable enemies.

A century—a century of continued warfare^d—would hardly allay the jealousy with which the Anglo-Saxons would have received any attempt at conversion from the British churches. Nor was there sufficient charity in the British Christians to enlighten the paganism of their conquerors. They consoled themselves (they are taunted with this sacrifice of Christian zeal to national hatred) for the loss of their territory, by the damnation of their conquerors, which they were not generous enough to attempt to avert; they would at least have heaven to themselves, undisturbed by the intrusion of the Saxon.^e Happily Christianity appeared in an opposite quarter. Its missionaries from Rome were unaccompanied by any of these causes of mistrust or dislike. It came into that part of the kingdom the farthest removed from the hostile Britons. It was the religion of the powerful kingdom of the Franks; the influence of Bertha, the Frankish princess, the wife of King Ethelbert, wrought no doubt more powerfully for the reception of the faith than the zeal and eloquence of Augustine.

^c The fine legend of the Halleluiah Victory, in which St. Germanus, at the head of an army of newly baptised Christians (at Easter), marched against the Saxons, chanting Alleluia, and overwhelming them with rocks and trees in a difficult pass of the Welsh mountains, is one of the brightest episodes in the war.

^d The first Saxon invasion was

A.D. 476. Augustine came to England, A.D. 597.

^e "Qui inter alia inerrabilem scelerum facta, quæ historicus eorum Gildas flebili sermone describit, et hoc addebant, ut nunquam genti Saxonum sive Anglorum, secum Britanniam incolenti, verbum fidei prædicante committerent."—Bele. H. E. i. c.

Gregory the Great, it has been said, before his accession to the Papacy, had set out on the sublime though desperate mission of the re-conquest of Britain from idolatry. It was Gregory who commissioned the monk Augustine to venture on this glorious service. Yet so fierce and savage, according to the common rumour, were the Anglo-Saxon inhabitants of Britain, that Augustine shrunk from the wild and desperate enterprise; he hesitated before he would throw himself into the midst of a race of barbarous unbelievers, of whose language he was ignorant. Gregory would allow no retreat from a mission which he had himself been prepared to undertake, and which would not have appalled, even under less favourable circumstances, his firmer courage.

The fears of Augustine as to this wild and unknown land proved exaggerated. The monk and his forty followers landed without opposition on the shores of Britain. They sent to announce themselves as a solemn embassy from Rome, to offer to the King of Kent the everlasting bliss of heaven, an eternal kingdom in the presence of the true and living God. To Ethelbert, though not unacquainted with Christianity (by the terms of his marriage, Bertha, the Frankish princess, had stipulated for the free exercise of her religion), there must have been something strange and imposing in the landing of these peaceful missionaries on a shore still constantly swarming with fierce pirates, who came to plunder or to settle among their German kindred. The name of Rome must have sounded, though vague, yet awful to the ear of the barbarian. Any dim knowledge of Christianity which he had acquired from his Frankish wife would be blended with mysterious veneration for the Pope, the great high

priest, the vicar of Christ and of God upon earth. With the cunning suspicion which mingles with the dread of the barbarian, the king insisted that the first meeting should be in the open air, as giving less scope for magic arts, and not under the roof of a house. Augustine and his followers met the king with all the pomp which they could command, with a crucifix of silver in the van of their procession, a picture of the Redeemer borne aloft, and chaunting their litanies for the salvation of the king and of his people. "Your words and offers," replied the king, "are fair; but they are new to me, and as yet unproved, I cannot abandon at once the faith of my Anglian ancestors."^f But the missionaries were entertained with courteous hospitality. Their severely monastic lives, their constant prayers, fastings, and vigils, with their confident demeanour, impressed more and more favourably the barbaric mind. Rumour attributed to them many miracles. Before long the King of Kent was an avowed convert; his example was followed by many of his noblest subjects. No compulsion was used, but it was manifest that the royal favour inclined to those who received the royal faith.

Augustine, as the reward of his triumph, and as the encouragement of his future labours, was nominated to preside over the infant Church. He received a Metropolitan pallium, which made him independent of the bishops of Gaul. The choice of the see wavered for a short time between Canterbury and London, but it was eventually placed at Canterbury. The Pope already contemplated the complete spiritual conquest of the island, and anticipated a second metropolitan see at

^f All this must have gone on through the cold process of interpretation, probably by some attendants of the queen. Augustine knew no Teutonic language. Latin to the Anglo-Saxons was an unknown.

York. Each metropolitan was to preside in his province over twelve bishops. So deliberately did the ardent Gregory partition this realm, which was still divided into conflicting pagan kingdoms. Augustine was in constant correspondence with Rome; he requested and received instructions upon some dubious points of discipline. The questions and the replies are deeply tinged with the monastic spirit of the times.⁸ It might seem astonishing that minds capable of achieving such great undertakings, should be fettered by such petty scruples; but unless he had been a monk, Augustine would hardly have attempted, or have succeeded in the conversion of Britain. With this monkish narrowness singularly contrasts the language of Gregory. On the more delicate question as to the course to be pursued in the conversion of the pagans, whether that of rigid, uncompromising condemnation of idolatry with all its feelings and usages, or the gentler though somewhat temporising plan of imbuing such of the heathen usages, as might be allowed to remain, with a Christian spirit; whether to appropriate the heathen temples to Christian worship, and to substitute the saints of the Church for

⁸ Some of the strange questions submitted to the Papal judgment have been the subject of sarcastic animadversion.* But the age and system were in fault, not the men. There are functions of our animal nature on which the less the mind dwells the better. It was the vital evil of the monastic system, that it compelled the whole thoughts to dwell upon them. The awfulness of the religious rites, which it was the object of this system to guard by the most minute

provisions as to personal purity, was in all probability much more endangered. But on the whole it is impossible not to admire the gentleness, moderation, and good sense of Gregory's decisions. It is remarkable to find him shaking off the fetters of a rigid uniformity of ceremonial. "Ex singulis ergo quibusque ecclesiis, quæ pia, quæ religiosa, quæ recta sunt, elige, et hæc quasi in fasciculum collecta, apud asylnm mentis in consuetudinem depone."—Bede, i. c. 27.

* Hume, Hist. ch. i.

the deities of the heathen—was it settled policy, or more mature reflection which led the Pope to devolve the more odious duty, the total abolition of idolatry with all its practices, upon the temporal power, the barbarian king; while it permitted the milder and more winning course to the clergy, the protection of the hallowed places and usages of the heathen from insult by consecrating them to holier uses? To Ethelbert the Pope writes, enjoining him, in the most solemn manner, to use every means of force as well as persuasion to convert his subjects; utterly to destroy their temples, to show no toleration to those who adhere to their idolatrous rites. This he urges by the manifest terrors of the Last Day, already darkening around; and by which, believing no doubt his own words, he labours to work on the timid faith of the barbarian. To Mellitus, now bishop of London, on the other hand, he enjoins great respect for the sacred places of the heathen, and forbids their demolition. He only commands them to be cleared of their idols, to be purified by holy-water for the services of Christianity. New altars are to be set up, and reliques enshrined in the precincts. Even the sacrifices were to be continued under another name.^b The oxen which the heathen used to immolate to their gods were to be brought in procession on holy days. The huts or tents of boughs, which used to be built for the assembling worshippers, were still to be set up, the oxen slain and eaten in honour of the Christian festival: and thus these outward

^b "Quia si fana eadem bene constructa sunt, necesse est, ut a cultu dæmonum in obsequio veri Dei debeant commutari; ut dum gens ipsa eadem fana sua non videt destrui, de corde

errorem deponat, et Deum verum cognoscens ac adorans ad loca, quæ consuevit, familiariter concurrat."—Greg. M. Epist. ad Mellit.: quoted also in Bede, i. 30.

rejoicings were to train an ignorant people to the perception of true Christian joys.

The British Church, secluded in the fastnesses of Wales, could not but hear of the arrival of the Roman missionaries, and of their success in the conversion of the Saxons. Augustine and his followers could not but inquire with deep interest concerning their Christian brethren in the remote parts of the island. It was natural that they should enter into communication: unhappily they met to dispute on points of difference, not to join in harmonious fellowship on the broad ground of their common Christianity. The British Church followed the Greek usage in the celebration of Easter; they had some other points of ceremonial, which, with their descent, they traced to the East: and the zealous missionaries of Gregory could not comprehend the uncharitable inactivity of the British Christians, which had withheld the blessings of the Gospel from their pagan conquerors. The Roman and the British clergy met, it is said, in solemn synod. The Romans demanded submission to their discipline, and the implicit adoption of the Western ceremonial on the contested points. The British bishops demurred; Augustine proposed to place the issue of the dispute on the decision of a miracle. The miracle was duly performed,—a blind man brought forward and restored to sight. But the miracle made not the slightest impression on the obdurate Britons. They demanded a second meeting, and resolved to put the Christianity of the strangers to a singular test, a moral proof with them more convincing than an apparent miracle. True Christianity, they said, “is meek and lowly of heart. Such will be this man (Augustine), if he be a man of God. If he be haughty

British
Coun't

Meeting of
Roman and
British
clergy.

and ungentle, he is not of God, and we may disregard his words. Let the Romans arrive first at the synod. If on our approach he rises from his seat to receive us with meekness and humility, he is the servant of Christ, and we will obey him. If he despises us, and remains seated, let us despise him." Augustine sat, as they drew near, in unbending dignity. The Britons at once refused obedience to his commands, and disclaimed him as their Metropolitan. The indignant Augustine (to prove his more genuine Christianity) burst out into stern denunciations of their guilt, in not having preached the Gospel to their enemies. He prophesied (a prophecy which could hardly fail to hasten its own fulfilment) the divine vengeance by the hands of the Saxons. So complete was the alienation, so entirely did the Anglo-Saxon clergy espouse the fierce animosities of the Anglo-Saxons, and even embitter them by their theological hatred, that the gentle Bede relates with triumph, as a manifest proof of the divine wrath against the refractory Britons, a great victory over that wicked race, preceded by a massacre of twelve hundred British clergy (chiefly monks of Bangor), who stood aloof on an eminence praying for the success of their countrymen.¹

During the lifetime of Augustine Christianity appeared to have gained a firm footing in the Relapse into heathenism. kingdom of Kent. A church arose in Canterbury, with dwellings for the bishop and his clergy; and a monastery without the walls, for the cœnobites who accompanied him. Augustine handed down his see in this promising state to his successor, Laurentius. The king of the East Saxons (Essex) had followed the

¹ "Itaque in hos primum arma verti jubet, et sic cæteras *nefandæ* militiæ copias . . . delevit."—H. E. ii. 2

example of the King of Kent. Two other bishoprics, at London and at Rochester, had been founded, and entrusted to Mellitus and Justus. But Ethelbert, the Christian King of Kent, died, and was buried by the side of his wife, Bertha. About the same time died also Sebert, the King of Essex. The successors to both kingdoms fell back to paganism. Both nations, at least ~~the~~ leading men, joined as readily in the rejection, as they had in the acceptance of Christianity. The new King of Kent was pagan in morals as in creed. He was inflamed with an unlawful passion for his father's widow. The rudeness and simplicity of the men of Essex show how little real knowledge of the religion had been disseminated; they insisted on partaking of the fine white bread which the bishops were distributing to the faithful in the Eucharist: and when the clergy refused, unless they submitted to be baptised, they cast them out of the land.

It was a sad meeting of the three Christian bishops, who saw all their pious labours frustrated; and so desperate seemed the state of things, Laurentius. that the bishops of London and of Rochester fled into France. Laurentius determined on one last effort; it was prompted, as he declared, by a heavenly vision. He appeared one morning before the king, and, casting off his robe, showed his back scarred and bleeding from a recent and severe flagellation. The king inquired who had dared to treat with such indignity a man of his rank and character. The bishop averred that St. Peter had appeared to him by night, and had inflicted that pitiless but merited punishment for his cowardice in abandoning his heaven-appointed mission. The king was struck with amazement, bowed at once before the awful message, commanded the reinstatement of Chris-

tianity in all its honours, and gave the best proof of his sincerity in breaking off his incestuous connexion. The fugitive bishops were recalled; Justus resumed the see of Rochester, but the obstinate idolaters of London refused to receive Mellitus. That prelate, on the death of Laurentius, succeeded to the Metropolitan see of Canterbury.

The powerful kingdom of Northumberland was opened to the first teachers of Christianity by the same influence which had prepared the success of Augustine in Kent. Edwin the king married a daughter of Ethelbert, the Christian sovereign of Kent. The same stipulation was made as in the case of Bertha, for the free exercise of her religion. The sanctity attributed to their females by the whole German race, the vague notion that they were often gifted with prophetic powers, or favoured with divine revelations; with something, perhaps, of a higher cultivation and commanding gentleness, derived from a purer religion, increased the natural ascendancy of birth and rank. Ethelberga was accompanied into Northumberland by the saintly Paulinus. Already, in the well-organised scheme of Gregory for the spiritual affairs of this island, York had been designated as the seat of a northern Metropolitan. Paulinus was consecrated before his departure bishop of that see. But Paulinus laboured long in vain; his influence reached no further than to prevent the family of the queen from relapsing into paganism.

Personal danger, the desire of revenge, and paternal feeling, opened at length the hard heart of Edwin. An assassin, in the pay of his enemy the King of Wessex, attempted his life; the blow was intercepted by the body of a faithful servant. At that very time his queen was brought to bed of her first child, a daughter

Christianity
in Northum-
berland.

Paulinus, who was present, in sincerity no doubt of heart, assured the king that he owed the safety of his life, and the blessing of his child, to the prayers which the bishop had been offering up to the God of the Christians. "If your God will likewise grant me victory over my enemies, and revenge upon the King of Wessex, I will renounce my idols and worship him." As a pledge that he was in earnest, he allowed the baptism of the infant.

Edwin was victorious in his wars against Wessex. But, either doubting whether after all the God of the Christians was the best object of worship for a warlike race, or mistrusting his own authority over his subjects, he still hesitated notwithstanding the urgent remonstrances of Paulinus, to fulfil his promise. He ceased to worship his idols, but did not accept Christianity. Even letters from the Pope to Edwin and his queen had but little effect. Paulinus now perhaps first obtained knowledge of Edwin's wild and romantic adventures in his youth, and of a remarkable dream, which had great influence on his future destiny. An exile from the throne of his fathers, Edwin had at length found precarious protection in the court of Redwald, king of the East Anglians. Warned that his host meditated his surrender to his enemies, he was abandoning himself to his desperate fate, when an unknown person appeared to him in a vision, not only promised to fix the wavering fidelity of Redwald, but his restoration likewise to the throne of his ancestors, in greater power and glory than had ever been obtained by any of the kings of the island.

Paulinus, however he obtained his knowledge, seized on this vision to promote his holy object. He boldly ascribed it to the Lord, who had already invested Edwin

Conversion of
King Edwin.

in his kingdom, given him victory over his enemies, and, if he received the faith, would likewise deliver him from the eternal torments of hell. Edwin summoned a conference of his pagan priesthood; this meeting gives a striking picture of the people and the times. To the solemn question, as to which religion was the true one, the High Priest thus replied:—"No one has applied to the worship of our gods with greater zeal and fidelity than myself, but I do not see that I am the better for it; I am not more prosperous, nor do I enjoy a greater share of the royal favour. I am ready to give up those ungrateful gods; let us try whether these new ones will reward us better." But there were others of more reflective minds. A thane came forward and said, "To what, O King, shall I liken the life of man? When you are feasting with your thanes in the depth of winter, and the hall is warm with the blazing fire, and all around the wind is raging and the snow falling, a little bird flies through the hall, enters at one door and escapes at the other. For a moment, while within, it is visible to the eyes, but it came out of the darkness of the storm, and glides again into the same darkness. So is human life; we behold it for an instant, but of what has gone before, or what is to follow after, we are utterly ignorant. If the new religion can teach this wonderful secret, let us give it our serious attention." Paulinus was called in to explain the doctrines of the Gospel. To complete the character of this dramatic scene, it is not the reflective thane, but the high priest who yields at once to the eloquence of the preacher. He proposed instantly to destroy the idols and the altars of his vain gods. With Edwin's leave, he put on arms and mounted a horse (the Anglian priests were forbidden the use of arms and rode on

mares), and, while the multitude stood aghast at his seeming frenzy, he spurred hastily to the neighbouring temple of Godmundingham, defied the gods by striking his lance into the wail, and encouraged and assisted his followers in throwing down and setting fire to the edifice. The temple and its gods were in an instant a heap of ashes.^k

Edwin, with his family and his principal thanes, yielded their allegiance to Christianity. York was chosen as the seat of Paulinus the Metropolitan. In both divisions of the great Northumbrian kingdom, the Archbishop continued for six years, till the death of Edwin, to propagate the Gospel with unexampled rapidity. For thirty-six consecutive days he was employed, in the royal palace of Glendale, in catechising and baptising in the neighbouring stream; and in Deira the number of converts was equal to those in Bernicia. The Deiran proselytes were baptised in the river Swale, near Catterick.

The blessings of peace followed in the train of Christianity. The savage and warlike people seemed tamed into a gentle and unoffending race. So great are said to have been the power and influence of Edwin as Bretwalda,^m or Sovereign of all the kings of Britain, that a woman might pass, with her new-born babe, uninjured from sea to sea. All along the roads the king had caused tanks of water to be placed, with cups of brass, to refresh the traveller. Yet Edwin maintained the awfulness of military state; wherever he went he was

^k Bede, ii. c. xiii.

^m I leave the question as to the real existence of a Bretwalda to Mr. Kemble, and those, if there still are those, who resist his arguments. If

no Bretwalda, as is most probable, Edwin had great power. Much of this history, so striking in many scenes, trembles on the verge of legend.

preceded by banners; his rigorous execution of justice was enforced by the display of kingly strength.

But the times were neither ripe for such a government nor such a religion. A fierce pagan obtained, not

Penda. at first the crown, but a complete ascendancy in yet un-Christianised Mercia. The savage

Penda entered into a dangerous confederacy with Ceadwalla the Briton, King of Gwyneth, or North Wales. Ceadwalla was a Christian, but the animosity of race was stronger than the community of religion. The ravages of the Briton were more cruel and ruthless than those of Penda himself, who was thought ferocious even among a ferocious and pagan people. Edwin fell in

A.D. 633. the great battle of Hatfield Chase, near Doncaster; and with Edwin seemed to fall the whole noble but unstable edifice of Christianity in the north of the island. The queen of Edwin fled with Paulinus to the court of her brother, the King of Kent.ⁿ

The successors to the Northumbrian kingdom, which was now again divided, Osric and Eanfrid, the Fall of Edwin and of Christianity. sons of the former usurper, and enemies of Edwin, made haste to disclaim all connexion with the fallen king by their renunciation of Christianity. Both, however, were cut off, one in war, the other by treachery. Oswald was now the eldest surviving prince of the royal house of Edelfrid; and Oswald set up the Cross as his standard, appealed, and not in vain, to the Christian's God, and to the zeal of his Christian followers. After ages revered the Cross, to which was ascribed the victory of Oswald over the barbarous Ceadwalla, and

ⁿ Paulinus, who had received the pall of the archbishopric of York, as Honorius that of Canterbury, from the Pope Honorius, undertook the administration of the vacant bishopric of Rochester.—Bede, ii. 18.

the re-establishment of the kingdom; portions of the wood were said to be endowed with miraculous powers. The Roman clergy had fled with Paulinus after the fall of Edwin; and the gratified Oswald, eager to lose no time in the restoration of Christianity, looked to his nearest neighbours in Scotland for missionaries to accomplish the holy work. The peaceful monastic establishments of Ireland had spread into Scotland, and made settlements in the Western Isles. Of these was Hii, or Iona, the retreat of the holy Columba; and in this wild island had grown up a monastery far renowned for its sanctity. From this quarter Oswald sought a bishop for the Northumbrian Church. The first who was sent was Cormac, a man of austere and inflexible character, who, finding more resistance than he expected to his doctrines, in a full assembly of the nation, sternly reproached the Northumbrians for their obstinacy, and declared that he would no longer waste his labours on so irreclaimable a race. A gentle voice was heard: "Brother, have you not been too harsh with your unlearned hearers? Should you not, like the apostles, have fed them with the milk of Christian doctrine, till they could receive the full feast of our sublimer truths?" All eyes were turned on Aidan, a humble but devout monk; by general acclamation that discreet and gentle teacher was saluted as bishop. The Episcopal seat was placed at Lindisfarne, which received from a monastery, already established and endowed, the name of Holy Island. In this seclusion, protected by the sea from sudden attacks of pagan enemies, lay the quiet bishopric; and on the wild shores of the island the bishop was wont to sit and preach to the thanes and to the people who crowded to hear him. Aidan was yet imperfectly acquainted with

Monasteries
of Scotland
and Ireland.

Aidan.

the Saxon language, and the king, who as an exile in Scotland had learned the Celtic tongue, sat at the bishop's feet, interpreting his words to the wondering hearers. From the Holy Island, Aidan and his brethren, now familiar with the Saxon speech, preached the Gospel in every part of the kingdom;° they would receive no reward from the wealthy, only that hospitality required by austere and self-denying men; all gifts which they did receive were immediately distributed among the poor, or applied to the redemption of captives. Churches arose in all quarters, and Christianity seemed to have gained a permanent predominance throughout Northumbria.

Oswald might enjoy the pious satisfaction of assisting in the conversion of the most pagan of the Saxon kingdoms, that of Wessex.^P The Bishop Birinus had been delegated by the Pope (Honorius) on this difficult enterprise. His success, if not altogether, was in great part due to the visit of Oswald, to demand in marriage the daughter of Cynegils, the king. The king, his whole family, and his principal thanes, received baptism at the hands of Birinus, for whose residence was assigned the city of Dorchester, near Oxford.

But paganism was still unbroken in Mercia, and at the head of the pagan power stood the aged but still ferocious and able Penda, who had already once overthrown the kingdom of Northumbria and killed in battle the Christian Edwin. A second invasion by Penda the Mercian was fatal to Oswald; he, too, fell in the field. His memory lived long in the grateful reverence of his people. His dying thoughts

° Compare the high character of even excuses Aidan's error as to the time of keeping Easter.—iii. 17.
 observance, Roman, Bede, iii. 5. Bede ^P "Paganissimos."—Bede.

were said to have been of their eternal welfare; his dying words "The Lord have mercy on their souls!" A miraculous power was attributed to the dust of the field where his blood had flowed. The places, where his head and arms had been exposed on high poles by the insulting conqueror till they were laid to rest by the piety of his successor, were equally fertile in wonders.

That successor, his brother Oswio, followed the example of Oswald's Christian devotion with better fortune. But the commencement of Oswio and Oswin. his reign was sullied by a most unchristian crime. While Oswio was placed on the throne of Bernicia, Oswin, of the race of Edwin, was raised to that of Deira. Oswin was beautiful in countenance and noble in person, affable, generous, devout. The attachment of the good Bishop Aidan to Oswin was scarcely stronger than that of his ruder subjects. Jealousies soon arose between the two kingdoms which divided Northumbria. The guileless Oswin was betrayed and murdered by the more politic Oswio. On the spot where the murder was committed, Gelling near Richmond, a monastery was founded, at once in respect for the memory of the murdered and as an atonement for the guilt of the murderer.

The ability of Penda and the unmitigated ferocity of the old Saxon spirit gave him an advantage over his more gentle and civilised neighbours. This aged chief now aspired to the nominal, as he had long possessed the actual, sovereignty over the island. He had dethroned the King of Wessex; East Anglia was subservient to his authority; his influence named the King of Deira, and when he laid waste Bernicia as far as Bamborough, Oswio had neither the courage nor the power to resist the conqueror of Edwin and of Oswald.

The influence of the gentler sex at length brought Mercia within the pale of Christianity. Alchfrid, the son of Oswio, had married the daughter of Penda. The son of Penda, Peada, visited his sister. Alchfrid, partly by his own influence, partly by the beauty of his sister Alchflæda, of whom Peada became enamoured, succeeded in winning Peada to the faith of Christ. Peada returned to the court of his father a baptised Christian, accompanied by four priests. With that indifference which belongs to all the pagan systems, especially in their decline, even Penda, though he adhered to his war-god Woden, did not oppose the free promulgation of Christianity; but with much shrewdness he enforced upon those who professed to believe the creed of the Gospel the rigorous practice of its virtues. They were bound to obey the God in whom they chose to believe.⁹

Penda himself maintained to the end his old Saxon and pagan privilege of ravaging his neighbours' territories and of enforcing the payment of an onerous tribute. His plunder and his exactions drove Oswio at length to despair. He promised a richer offering to God than he had ever paid to the Mercian Bretwalda, if he might obtain deliverance from the enemy of his family, his country, and his religion. The terrible battle which decided the fate of Northumbria, and led to the almost immediate reception of Christianity throughout the great kingdom of Mercia, was fought on the banks of the Aire^r near Leeds. Penda fell, and with Penda fell paganism. According to the Saxon proverb, the death of five kings was avenged in the waters of Winwéd—the death of Anna, of Sigebert, and of Egene, East Anglians, of Edwin and of Oswald.

A.D. 655.

⁹ Bede, iii. 21.

^r At Winwéd field.

Oswio, by this victory, became the most powerful king in the island. Immediately after the death of Penda he overran Mercia and East Anglia; his authority was more complete than had ever been exercised by any Bretwalda or supreme sovereign. The Christianity of the island was almost co-extensive with the sovereignty of Oswio. In all the kingdoms, except by some singular chance, that of Sussex, it had been preached with more or less success. Everywhere episcopal sees had been founded and monasteries had arisen. In Kent, perhaps, alone, the last vestiges of idolatry had been destroyed by the zeal of Ercombent. Essex, almost the first to entertain Christianity, was one of the last to settle down into a Christian kingdom. Redwald, who had first embraced the faith, had wanted power or courage to establish it throughout his kingdom. He attempted a strange compromise. A temple subsisted for some time, in which the king had raised an altar to Christ, by the side of another which reeked with bloody sacrifices to the god of his fathers. But the zeal of his successors made up for the weakness of Redwald. Sigebert, the brother of Erpwald, Redwald's successor, abandoned the throne for the peaceful seclusion of a monastery. From this retreat he was forced in order to join in battle against the terrible Penda. He refused to bear arms, but not the less perished by the sword of the pitiless Mercian. But from that time Christianity prevailed in Essex, as well as throughout East Anglia, though perhaps less deeply rooted than in other parts of the island: for in the fatal pestilence which not long after ravaged both England and Ireland, many of the East Anglians, ascribing it to the wrath of their deserted deities, returned to their former idolatry. The episcopal

Power of
Oswio.

East Anglia.
A.D. 627.

A.D. 665.

seat of Essex was in London; that of East Anglia, first at Dunwich, afterwards at Thetford.

But triumphant Christianity was threatened with an internal schism; one half of the island had Division in the Anglo-Saxon Church. been converted by the monks from Scotland, the other by those of Rome. They were opposed on certain points of discipline, held hardly of less importance than vital truths of the Gospel.^s The different period at which each, according to the Eastern or the Roman usage, celebrated Easter, became not merely a speculative question, in which separate kingdoms or separate Churches might pursue each its independent course, but a practical evil, which brought dispute and discord even into the family of the king. The queen of Oswio, Eanfled, followed the Roman usage, which prevailed in Kent; Oswio, the king, cherished the memory of the holy Scottish prelate Aidan, and would not depart from his rule. So that while the queen was fasting with the utmost rigour on what in her calendar was Palm Sunday, the commencement of Passion week, the king was holding his Easter festival with conscientious rejoicings.

A synod was assembled at Whitby, the convent of the famous Abbess Hilda, at which appeared, on the Scottish side, Colman, the Bishop of Lindisfarne; on the other, Wilfrid, afterwards Archbishop of York, who had visited Rome, was firmly convinced of the Roman supremacy, and exercised great influence over Alchfrid, the heir to the throne. With Wilfrid was Agilbert, afterwards Bishop of Paris, and other distinguished men. Colman urged the uninterrupted descent of their tradition from

^s It is curious to find Greek Christianity thus at the verge of the Roman world maintaining some of its usages and co-equality.

St. John; the authority of Anatolius, the ecclesiastical historian; and that of the saintly Columba, the founder of Iona. Wilfrid alleged the supreme authority of St. Peter and his successors, and the consent of the rest of the Catholic world. "Will he," concluded Wilfrid, "set the authority of Columba in opposition to that of St. Peter, to whom were given the keys of heaven?" The king broke in, and, addressing the Scottish prelates, said, "Do you acknowledge that St. Peter has the keys of heaven?" "Unquestionably!" replied Colman. "Then, for my part," said Oswio, "I will hold to St. Peter, lest, when I offer myself at the gates of heaven, he should shut them against me." To this there was no answer.

A second question, that of the tonsure, was agitated, if with less vehemence, not without strong altercation. The Roman usage was to shave the crown of the head, and to leave a circle of hair, which represented the Saviour's crown of thorns; the Scottish shaved the front of the head in the form of a crescent, and allowed the hair to grow behind. Here likewise the Roman party asserted the authority of St. Peter, and taunted their adversaries with following the example of Simon Magus and his followers! Gradually the Roman custom prevailed on both these points: the Scottish clergy and monks in England by degrees conformed to the general usage; those who were less pliant retired to their remote monasteries in Iona or in Ireland.

In no country was Christianity so manifestly the parent of civilisation as among our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. The Saxons were the fiercest of the Teutonic race. Roman culture had not, more than the Gospel, approached the sandy plains or dense forests which they inhabited in the north of Germany. On the rude

manners of the barbarian had been engrafted the sanguinary and brutalising habits of the pirate. Every vestige of the Roman civilisation of the island had vanished before their desolating inroad, and the Britons, during their long and stubborn resistance, had become as savage as their conquerors. The religion of the Anglo-Saxons was as cruel as their manners; they are said to have sacrificed a tenth of their principal captives on the altars of their gods.* A more settled residence in a country already brought into cultivation may in some degree have mitigated their ferocity, at all events weaned them from piratical adventure; but the century and a half which had elapsed before the descent of Augustine on their coasts had been passed in constant warfare, either against the Britons or of one kingdom against another.

Anglo-Saxon Britain had become again a world by itself, occupied by hostile races, which had no intercourse but that of war, and utterly severed from the rest of Europe. The effect of Christianity on Anglo-Saxon England was at once to re-establish a connexion both between the remoter parts of the island with each other, and of England with the rest of the Christian world. They ceased to dwell apart, a race of warlike, unapproachable barbarians, in constant warfare with the bordering tribes, or occupied in their own petty feuds or inroads; rarely, as in the case of Ethelbert, connected by intermarriage with some neighbouring Teutonic state. Though the Britons were still secluded in their mountains, or at the extremities of the land, by animosities which even Christianity could not allay, yet

* Sidon. Apoll. vii. 6. Compare | laud. Constant. p. 34; Zosimus, iii.;
Amm. Marc. xxviii. p. 526; Procop. | Orosius, vii. p. 549. See Lingard,
Hist. Goth. iv.; Julian, orat. i. in | Hist. of England, ch. ii. p. 62-3.

the Picts and Scots, and the parts of Ireland which were occupied by Christian monasteries, were now brought into peaceful communication, first with the kingdom of Northumbria, and, through Northumbria, with the rest of England. The intercourse with Europe was of far higher importance, and tended much more rapidly to introduce the arts and habits of civilisation into the land. There was a constant flow of missionaries across the British Channel, who possessed all the knowledge which still remained in Europe. All the earlier metropolitans of Canterbury and the bishops of most of the southern sees were foreigners; they were commissioned at least by Rome, if not consecrated there; they travelled backwards and forwards in person, or were in constant communication with that great city, in which were found all the culture, the letters, the arts, and sciences which had survived the general wreck. But the nobler Anglo-Saxons began soon to be ambitious of the dignity, the influence, or the higher qualifications of the Christian priesthood. Nor were the Roman clergy or monks so numerous as to be jealous of those native labourers in their holy work; if there was any jealousy, it was of the independent Scottish missionaries, their rivals in the north, and the opponents of their discipline. A native clergy seems to have grown up more rapidly in Britain than in any other of the Teutonic kingdoms. But they were in general the admiring pupils of the Roman clergy. To them Rome was the centre and source of the faith: a pilgrimage to Rome, to an aspirant after the dignity or the usefulness of the Christian priesthood, became the great object and privilege of life. Every motive which could stir the devout heart or the expanding mind sent them forth on this holy journey; piety,

which would actually tread a city honoured by the residence, and hallowed by the reliques of apostles; awful curiosity, which would behold and kneel before the vicar of Christ on earth, the successor of that Pope who had brought them within the pale of salvation; perhaps the desire of knowledge, and the wish to qualify themselves for the duties of their sacred station. Nor was this confined to the clergy. Little more than half a century after the landing of Augustine, Alchfrid, the son of the King of Northumbria, had determined to visit the eternal city. He was only prevented by the exigencies of the times, and the authority of his father. He was no doubt excited to this design by the accounts of the secular and religious wonders of the city, which already filled the mind of the famous Wilfrid, to whom his father, Oswio, had entrusted his education. Wilfrid had already, once at least, visited Rome; his friend Benedict Biscop several times.

The life of Wilfrid, the first highly distinguished of the native clergy, is at once the history of Anglo-Saxon Christianity in Britain to its complete establishment, and a singular illustration of the effects of this intercourse with the centre of civilisation in Italy on himself and on his countrymen.^u

Wilfrid was the son of a Northumbrian thane. The sanctity of his later life, as usual, reflected
Wilfrid. back a halo of wonder around his infancy. The house in which his mother gave him birth shone with fire, like the burning bush in the Old Testament. In his youth he was gentle, firm, averse to childish pursuits, devoted to study. A jealous stepmother seconded his

^u Eddii, Vit. S. Wilfridi apud Gale X. Scriptores compared with the Ecclesiastical History of Bede.

desire to quit his father's house ; she bestowed on him arms, a horse, and accoutrements, such as might beseem the son of a nobleman, when he should present himself at the court of his king. The beauty and quickness of the youth won the favour of the queen, Eanfled, who, discerning no doubt his serious turn of mind, entrusted him to the care of a cœnobite, with whom he retired to the monastery of Lindisfarne. After a few

A.D. 654.

years he was seized with an earnest longing to visit the seat of the great apostle, St. Peter. Eanfled listened favourably to his design, gave him letters to her kinsman Ercombert, King of Kent ; and, accompanied by another youth, Benedict Biscop, he crossed, in a ship provided and manned by King Ercombert, into France, and found his way to Lyons.

In Lyons.

In that city he was hospitably received by Delfinus, the rich and powerful prelate of the see. Delfinus was so captivated by his manners and character that he made him an offer of splendid secular employment, proposed to adopt him as his son, to marry him to his niece, and put him at the head of the government over great part of Gaul.* But Wilfrid was too profoundly devoted to his religious views, too fully possessed with the desire of accomplishing his pilgrimage to Rome ; he declined the dazzling offer of the noble virgin bride and her dowry of worldly power. He arrived at Rome ; and if his mind, accustomed to nothing more imposing than the rude dwelling of a Northumbrian thane, or the church of wood and wattles,

* Eddius, the biographer, and Bede agree in this statement. But there are great difficulties in the story. Smith, in his notes on Bede, observes that there is no Delfinus in the list of bishops of Lyons. And in those troubled and lawless times in France, how could a bishop dispose of a civil government of such extent ?

expanded at the sight of the cities, which probably, like Lyons, still maintained some of the old provincial magnificence, with what feelings must the stranger have trod the streets of Rome, with all its historical and religious marvels! In Rome the Archdeacon

In Rome.

Boniface, one of the council of the Pope, kindly undertook the care of the young Saxon. He instructed him in the four Gospels, in the Roman rule of keeping Easter, and other points of ecclesiastical discipline, unknown or unpractised in the Anglo-Saxon Church. He was at length presented to the successor of St. Peter, and received his blessing. Under the protection of certain reliques, one of the inestimable advantages which often rewarded a pilgrimage to Rome, Wilfrid returned to his friend the Bishop of Lyons. There he resided three years, and now, tempted no more by secular offers, or acknowledged to be superior to them, he received, at his earnest request, the tonsure according to the Roman form. But Delfinus (so runs the legend) had incurred the animosity of the Queen Bathildis. With eight other bishops he was put to death. Wilfrid stood prepared to share the glorious martyrdom of his friend. His beauty arrested the arm of the executioner; and when it was found that he was a stranger he was permitted to depart in peace.⁷

The young Saxon noble, who had seen so many distant lands—had been admitted to the familiarity of such powerful prelates—had visited Rome, received the

⁷ Here is a greater difficulty. The Queen Bathildis is represented by the French historians, not as a Jezebel who slays the prophets of the Lord (as she is called by Eddius), but as a princess of exemplary piety, a devout servant of the church, and the foundress of monasteries. Ebroin too, the Mayor of the Palace, in this legend is drawn in very dark colours. But on Bathildis and Ebroin more hereafter.

blessing of the Pope, and travelled under the safeguard of holy reliques—was welcomed by his former friend Alchfrid, now the pious king of Northumbria, with wondering respect. He obtained first a grant of land at a place called Æstanford; afterwards a monastery was founded at Ripon, and endowed with xxx manses of land, of which Wilfrid was appointed abbot. He was then admitted into the priesthood by Agilbert, the Bishop of Wessex. Colman, the Scottish bishop of Lindisfarne, after his discomfiture in the dispute concerning Easter, retired in disgust and disappointment to his native Iona. Tuta, another Scot, was carried off by the fatal plague, which at this time ravaged Britain. Upon his decease, the Saxon Wilfrid was named by common consent to the Northumbrian bishopric. But the plague had swept away the greater part of the southern prelates. Wina alone, the West-Saxon bishop, was considered by Wilfrid as canonically consecrated; the rest were Scots, who rejected the Roman discipline concerning Easter and the tonsure. Wilfrid went over to France; the firm champion of the Catholic discipline was received with the highest honours. No less than twelve bishops assembled for his consecration at Compiègne: he was borne aloft on a gilded chair, supported only by ^{Consecrated at Compiègne.} bishops—no one else was allowed to touch it. He remained some time (it is said three years) among his friends in Gaul.* On his return to England a wild adventure on the shores of his native land showed how strangely the fiercest barbarism still encountered the progress of civilisation—paganism that of Christianity. The kingdom of Sussex was yet entirely heathen.

* There may be some confusion in his two periods of residence in Gaul.

Wilfrid was driven by a storm on its coast. The Saxon pirates had become merciless wreckers ; they thought everything cast by the winds and the sea on their coasts their undoubted property, the crew and passengers of vessels driven on shore their lawful slaves. They attacked the stranded bark with the utmost ferocity : the crew of Wilfrid made a gallant resistance. It was a strange scene. On one side the Christian prelate and his clergy were kneeling aloof in prayer ; on the other a pagan priest was encouraging the attack, by what both parties supposed powerful enchantments. A fortunate stone from a sling struck the priest on the forehead, and put an end to his life and to his magic. But his fall only exasperated the barbarians. Thrice they renewed the attack, and thrice were beaten off. The prayers of Wilfrid became more urgent, more needed, more successful.^a The tide came in, the wind shifted ; the vessel got to sea, and reached Sandwich. At a later period of his life Wilfrid nobly revenged himself on this inhospitable people by labouring and with success, in their conversion to Christianity.

On Wilfrid's return to Northumbria, after his long unexplained absence, he found his see preoccupied by Ceadda, a pious Scottish monk, a disciple of the venerated Aidan.^b Wilfrid peaceably retired to his monastery at Ripon. He was soon summoned to more active duties : he obeyed the invitation of Wulfhere, King of Mercia, to extend Christianity in his kingdom. In the

^a Eddius compares the pagan priest to Balaam, the slayer to David, the resistance of this handful of men to that of Gideon, the prayers of Wilfrid to those of Moses and Aaron when

Joshua fought with Amalek.

^b Perhaps after all Wilfrid was only nominated by the Roman party, who, diminished by the plague, may not have been able to support their choice.

south he must have obtained high reputation. On the death of Deus-dedit, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Wilfrid was entrusted with the care of the vacant diocese. On the arrival of Theodorus, who had been invested in the metropolitan dignity at Rome, almost his first act was to annul the election of Ceadda, and to place Wilfrid in the Northumbrian see at York. Ceadda made no resistance; and, as a reward for his piety and his submission, was appointed to the Mercian see of Lichfield.

The Christianity of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, whether from Rome or Iona, was alike monastic. That form of the religion already prevailed in Britain, when invaded by the Saxons, with them retreated into Wales, or found refuge in Ireland. It landed with Augustine on the shores of Kent; and came back again, on the invitation of the Northumbrian king, from the Scottish isles. And no form of Christianity could be so well suited for its high purposes at that time, or tend so powerfully to promote civilisation as well as religion.

The calm example of the domestic virtues in a more polished, but often, as regards sexual inter-
course, more corrupt state of morals, is of Monasticism
of the Church inestimable value, as spreading around the parsonage an atmosphere of peace and happiness, and offering a living lesson on the blessings of conjugal fidelity. But such Christianity would have made no impression, even if it could have existed, on a people who still retained something of their Teutonic severity of manners, and required therefore something more imposing—a sterner and more manifest self-denial—to keep up their religious veneration. The detachment of the clergy from all earthly ties left them at once more unremittingly devoted to their unsettled life as missionaries.

more ready to encounter the perils of this wild age; while (at the same time) the rude minds of the people were more struck by their unusual habits, by the strength of character shown in their labours, their mortifications, their fastings, and perpetual religious services. All these being, in a certain sense, monks, the bishops and his clergy cœnobites, or if they lived separate only less secluded and less stationary than other ascetics, wherever Christianity spread, monasteries, or religious foundations with a monastic character arose. These foundations, as the religion aspired to soften the habits, might seem to pacify the face of the land. They were commonly placed, by some intuitive yearning after repose and security, in spots either themselves beautiful by nature, by the bank of the river, in the depth of the romantic wood, under the shelter of the protecting hill; or in such as became beautiful from the superior care and culture of the monks,—the draining of the meadows, the planting of trees, the home circle of garden or orchard, which employed or delighted the brotherhood. These establishments gradually acquired a certain sanctity: if exposed like other lands to the ravages of war, no doubt at times the fear of some tutelary saint, or the influence of some holy man, arrested the march of the spoiler. If the growth of the English monasteries was of necessity gradual, the culture around them but of slow development (agricultural labour does not seem to have become a rule of monastic discipline), it was not from the want of plentiful endowments, or of ardent votaries. Grants of land and of moveables were poured with lavish munificence on these foundations; ° sometimes tracts of land, far larger than

• Bede calls some of these donations, “stultissimos.”

they could cultivate, and which were thus condemned to sterility. The Scottish monks are honourably distinguished as repressing, rather than encouraging, this prodigality.^d The Roman clergy, if less scrupulous, might receive these tributes not merely as offerings of religious zeal to God, but under a conviction that they were employed for the improvement as well as the spiritual welfare of the people. Nor was it only the sacred mysterious office of ministering at the altar of the new God, it was the austere seclusion of the monks, which seized on the religious affections of the Anglo-Saxon convert. When Christianity first broke upon their rude but earnest minds, it was embraced with the utmost fervour, and under its severest forms. Men were eager to escape the awful punishments, and to secure the wonderful promises of the new religion by some strong effort, which would wrench them altogether from their former life. As the gentler spirit of the Gospel found its way into softer hearts, it made them loathe the fierce and rudely warlike occupations of their forefathers. To the one class the monastery offered its rigid course of ceremonial duty and its ruthless austerities, to the other its repose. Nobles left their halls, queens their palaces, kings their thrones, to win everlasting life by the abandonment of the pomp and the duties of their secular state, and, by becoming churchmen or monks, still to exercise rule, or to atone for years of blind and sinful heathenism.

^d "Aidanus, Finan et Colmannus, miræ sanctitatis fuerunt et parsimonia. Adeo enim sacerdotes erant illius tem-
poris ab avaritiâ immunes ut nec territoria, nisi coacti, acceperunt."—Hens. & Hunting. apud Gale, lib. iii. p. 333.

CHAPTER IV.

Wilfrid—Bede.

WILFRID, the type of his time, blended the rigour of the monk with something of prelatiic magnificence. The effect of his visit to more polished countries—to Gaul and Italy—soon appeared in his diocese. He who had seen the churches of Rome and other Italian cities, would not endure the rude timber buildings,^a thatched with reeds—the only architecture of the Saxons—and above which the Scottish monks had not aspired.^b The church of Paulinus at York had been built of stone, but it was in ruins; it was open to the wind and rain, and the birds flew about and built their nests in the roof and walls. Wilfrid repaired the building, roofed it with lead, and filled the windows with glass. The transparency of this unknown material excited great astonishment. At Ripon he built the church from the ground of smoothed stones; it was of great height, and supported by columns and aisles.^c All the chieftains and thanes of the kingdom were invited to the consecration of this church. Wilfrid read from the altar the list of the lands which had been bestowed by former kings, for the salvation of their souls, upon the church, and those which were offered

^a Lappenberg observes that the Anglo-Saxons have no other word for building but *getimbrian*, to work in wood.—*Geschichte Engl.*, i. 170.

^b Eddius, c. xvi.

^c “*Polito lapide a terrâ usque ad summum, ædificatam variis columnis et porticibus suffultam in cultum erexit et consummavit.*” — Eddius, xviii.

that day; and also of the places once dedicated to God by the Britons, and abandoned on their expulsion by the Saxons. This act was meant for the solemn recognition of all existing rights, the encouragement of future gifts, and, it seems, the assertion of vague and latent claims.^d After this Christian or sacerdotal commemoration, there was something of a return to heathen usage, during three days and three nights uninterrupted feasting. But the architectural wonder of the age was the church at Hexham, which was said to surpass in splendour every building on this side of the Alps. The depth to which the foundations were sunk, the height and length of the walls, the richness of the columns and aisles, the ingenious multiplicity of the parts, as it struck the biographer of Wilfrid, give the notion of a building of the later Roman, or, as it is called, Byzantine style, aspiring into something like the Gothic.^e

The friend and companion of Wilfrid at Rome, Benedict Biscop (a monk of Holy Island), was introducing, in a more peaceful and less ostentatious way, the arts and elegancies of life. When about to build his monastery at Wearmouth, he crossed into Gaul to collect masons skilled in working stone after the Roman manner; when the walls were finished, he sent for glaziers, whose art till this time was unknown in Britain.^f Nor was architecture the only art introduced

Benedict
Biscop.

^d Eddius, c. xvi.

^e "Cujus profunditatem in terrâ cum domibus mirificè politis lapidibus fundatam, et super terram multiplicem domum, columnis variis et multis porticibus suffultam, mirabilique altitudine et longitudine murorum ornata, et variis linearum anfractibus vararum aliquando sursum, aliquando

deorsum per cochleas circumductam."

—Eddius, c. xxii.

^f Painted glass seems to have been known at an early period in Gaul,—

"Sub versicoloribus figuris vernans herbida crusta,
Sapphiratós flectit per prasinam vitrum capillos."
Sidon. Apollin.

This, however, seems a kind of mosaic.

by the pilgrims to Rome. Benedict brought from abroad vessels for the altar, vestments which could not be made in England, and especially two palls, entirely of silk, of incomparable workmanship.^g Books, embellished if not illuminated manuscripts, and paintings, came from the same quarter. Wilfrid's offering to the church of Ripon was a copy of the Gospels, written in letters of gold, on a purple ground.^h Other manuscripts were adorned with gold and precious stones. On each of his visits to Rome Benedict brought less ornamented books; on one occasion a large number: and he solemnly charged his brethren, among his last instructions, to take every precaution for the security and preservation of their library. The pictures, which he brought from Rome, were to adorn two churches, one at Wearmouth, dedicated to St. Peter; one at Jarrow, to St. Paul. These were no doubt the earliest specimens of Christian painting in the country. In the ceiling of the nave at Wearmouth were the Virgin and the twelve apostles; on the south wall subjects from the Gospel history; on the north from the Revelations. Those in St. Paul's illustrated the agreement of the Old and New Testament. In one compartment was Isaac bearing the wood for sacrifice, and below the Saviour bearing his cross.ⁱ

So far Wilfrid rises to his lofty eminence an object of

^g "Vasa sancta, et vestimenta quia domi invenire non poterat loserica."

^h "Auro purissimo in membranis depurpuratis, coloratis."—Eddius, c. xvii.

Bede, after describing the pictures, proceeds: "Quatenus intrantes ecclesiam omnes etiam literarum ignari,

quaquaversum intenderent, vel semper amabilem Christi, sanctorumque ejus, quamvis in imagine contemplarentur aspectum: vel Dominicæ Incarnationis gratiam vigilantiore mente recolerent, vel extremi discrimen examinari quasi coram oculis habentes, districtius se ipsi examinare meminissent."—Smith's Bede, p. 295.

universal respect, veneration, and love. On a sudden he is involved in interminable disputes, persecuted with bitter animosity, degraded from his see, an exile from his country, and dies at length, though at mature age, yet worn out with trouble and anxiety. The causes of this reverse are lost in obscurity. It was not the old feud between the Roman and the Scottish clergy, for Theodorus, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the head of the Roman party, joins the confederacy against him. As yet the jealousies between the secular and the regular clergy, the priests and monks, which at a later period, in the days of Odo and Dunstan, distracted the Anglo-Saxon Church, had not begun. The royal jealousy of the pomp and wealth of the bishop, which might seem to obscure that of the throne, though no doubt already in some strength, belongs in its intensity to other times. Egfrid, now King of Northumbria, had been alienated from Wilfrid, through his severe advice to the Queen Ethelreda to persist in her vow of chastity. The first husband of Ethelreda had respected the virginity which she had dedicated to God. When compelled to marry Egfrid, she maintained her holy obstinacy, and took refuge, by Wilfrid's connivance, in a convent, to escape her conjugal duties. A new queen, Ercemburga, instead of this docile obedience to Wilfrid, became his bitterest enemy.^k She it was who inflamed her husband with jealousy of the state, the riches, and the pride of the bishop, his wealthy foundations, his splendid buildings, his hosts of followers. Theodorus, the Archbishop of

* The language ascribed to Ercemburga might apply to a later archbishop of York, the object of royal envy and rapacity. "Enumerans ei
 omnem gloriam ejus secularem, et divitias, nec non Cœnobiorum multitudinem, et ædificiorum magnitudinem, innumerumque sodalium exercitum, regalibus vestimentis et armis ornatum."
 —This is not Wolsey, but Wilfrid.

Canterbury, eagerly accepted the invitation of the King of Northumbria, to assist in the overthrow of Wilfrid.

Theodorus was a foreigner, a Greek of Tarsus, and might perhaps despise this aspiring Saxon. After the death of Archbishop Deus-dedit, the see of Canterbury had remained vacant four years. The kings of Kent and Northumbria determined to send a Saxon, Wighard, to Rome, to receive consecration. Wighard died at Rome; the Pope Vitalian was urged to supply the loss. His choice

fell upon Theodorus, a devout and learned monk. Vitalian's nomination awoke no jealousy, but rather profound gratitude.^m It was not the appointment of a splendid and powerful primate to a great and wealthy church, but a successor to the missionary Augustine. But Theodorus, if he brought not ambition, brought the Roman love of order and of organisation, to the yet wild and divided island; and the profound peace which prevailed might tempt him to reduce the more than octarchy of independent bishops into one harmonious community. As yet there were churches in England, not one Church. Theodorus appears to have formed a great scheme for the submission of the whole island to his metropolitan jurisdiction. He summoned a council at Hertford, which enacted many laws for the regulation of the power of the bishops, the rights of monasteries, on keeping of Easter, on divorces, and unlawful marriages. Archbishop Theodorus began by dividing the great bishoprics

^m "Episcopum quem petierant a Romano Pontifice." There is a violent dispute (compare Lingard, Anglo-Sax. Antiq., and note in Kemble's Anglo-Saxons, ii. 355) upon the nature of

this appointment; all parties, except Mr. Kemble, appear to me to overlook the state of Christianity in England at the time.

in East Anglia and in Mercia, and deposed two refractory prelates. He proceeded on his sole spiritual authority, with the temporal aid of the king, to divide the bishopric of York into three sees; so, by the appointment of three bishops, Wilfrid was entirely superseded in his diocese.ⁿ Wilfrid appealed to Rome, and set out to lay his case before the Pope.^o Wilfrid appeals to Rome. So deep was the animosity, that his enemies in England are said to have persuaded Theodoric, King of the Franks, and Ebroin, mayor of the palace, to seize the prelate on his journey, and to put his companions to the sword. Winfred, the ejected bishop of Mercia, was apprehended in his stead, and thrown into prison.

The wind was fortunately adverse to Wilfrid, and drove him on the coast of Friesland. The barbarous and pagan people received the holy man with hospitality; their Fisheries that year being In Friesland, remarkably successful, this was attributed to his presence; and the king, the nobles, and the people, were alike more disposed to listen to the Gospel, first preached among them with Wilfrid's power and zeal. The way was thus prepared for his disciple, Willibrod, and for that remarkable succession of missionaries from England, who, kindred in speech, converted so large a part of Germany to Christianity.

After nearly a year passed in this pious occupation in Friesland, Wilfrid ventured into Gaul, and was favourably received by Dagobert II. Two years elapsed before he found his way to Rome. The Pope (Agatho) received his appeal, submitted it to A.D. 679. October. a synod, who decided in his favour. Agatho issued

ⁿ Eddius compares Egfrid and Theodorus to Balak and Balaam.—Wilkins, Concil.

^o Eddius says that he left England amid the tears of *many thousands of his monks.*

his mandate for the reinstatement of Wilfrid in his see.

Though the Papal decree denounced excommunication against the layman, degradation and deprivation against the ecclesiastic, who should dare to disobey it, it was received by the King of Northumbria with contempt, and even by Archbishop Theodorus with indifference. Wilfrid, on his return, though armed with the papal authority, which he was accused of having obtained by bribery,^p was ignominiously cast into prison, and kept in solitary confinement. The queen, with the strange mixture of superstition and injustice belonging to the age, plundered him of his reliquary, a talisman which she kept constantly with her, in her own chamber and abroad. Wilfrid's faithful biographer relates many miracles, wrought during his imprisonment. The chains of iron, with which they endeavoured to bind him, shrunk or stretched, so as either not to admit his limbs, or to drop from them. The queen fell ill, and attributed her sickness to the stolen reliquary. She obtained his freedom, and was glad when the dangerous prelate, with his reliques, was safe out of her kingdom.

He fled to Mercia, but the Queen of Mercia was the sister of Egfrid; to Wessex, but there the queen was the sister of Ercemburga; he found no safety. At length he took refuge among the more hospitable pagans of Sussex—the only one of the Saxon kingdoms not yet Christian. The king and the queen, indeed, had both been baptised; the king, Ethelwach, at the persuasion of Wulfhere, King of Mercia,

^p See Eddius for this early instance of the suspected venality of the Roman curia. "Insuper (quod execrabilius erat), defamaverant in animarum suarum perniciem, ut *pretio* dicerent redempta esse scripta, quæ ad salutem observantium ab apostolicâ sede destinata sunt."—c. xxxiii.

who rewarded his Christianity with the prodigal grant of the Isle of Wight; Eabba, the queen, had been admitted to the sacred rite in Worcestershire. Yet, till the arrival of Wilfrid, they had not attempted to make proselytes among their subjects. They had rested content with their own advantages. A few poor Irish monks at Bosham (near Chichester) had alone penetrated the wild forests and jungles which cut off this barbarous tribe from the rest of England. But their rude hearts opened at once to the eloquence of Wilfrid. He taught them the arts of life as well as the doctrines of the Gospel. For three years this part of the island had suffered by drought, followed by famine so severe, that an epidemic desperation seized the people. They linked themselves by forties or fifties hand in hand, leaped from the rocks, were dashed in pieces, or drowned.^a Though a maritime people, on a line of sea-coast, they were ignorant of the art of fishing. Wilfrid collected a number of nets, led them out to sea, and so provided them with a regular supply of food. The wise and pious benefactor of the nation was rewarded by a grant of the peninsula of Selsey (the isle of seals). There he built a monastery, and for five years exercised undisturbed his episcopal functions.

A revolution in the west and south of the island increased rather than diminished the influence of Wilfrid. Ceadwalla, a youth of the royal house of Wessex, had lived as an outlaw in the forests

Conquest of
Sussex by
Ceadwalla.

^a The South Saxons are thus described :

• Gens igitur quædam scopulosis indita terris
Saltibus incultis, et densis horrida dumis
Non facilem propriis aditum præbebat in
arvis,
Gens ignara Dei, simulacris dedita vanis.”

Fredegard, p. 191.

Eddius admits that the South Saxons were *compelled* by the king to abandon their idolatry. According to Bede, they understood catching eels in the rivers.—H. E. iv. 13.

of Chiltern and Anderida. He appeared suddenly in arms, seized the kingdom of the West Saxons, conquered Sussex, and ravaged or subdued parts of Kent. Some obscure relation had subsisted between Ceadwalla (when an exile) and the Bishop Wilfrid.^r Wilfrid's protector, Adelwalch, fell in battle during the invasion of the stranger. After Ceadwalla had completed his conquests by the subjugation of the Isle of Wight, Wilfrid became his chief counsellor, and was permitted by the king, still himself a doubtful Christian, if not a heathen, to convert the inhabitants; and Ceadwalla granted to the Church one-third of the Isle of Wight. The conversion of Ceadwalla is too remarkable to be passed over. It has been attributed to his horror of mind at the barbarous murder of his brother in Kent.^s It was no light and politic conviction, but the deep and intense passion of a vehement spirit. The wild outlaw, the bloody conqueror, threw off his arms, gave up the throne which he had won by such dauntless enterprise and so much carnage. He went to Rome to seek that absolution for his sins, from which no one could so effectually relieve him as the successor of St. Peter. At Rome he was christened by the name of Peter. At Rome he died, and an epitaph, of no ordinary merit for the time, celebrated the first barbarian king, who had left his height of glory and of wealth, his family, his mighty kingdom, his triumphs and his spoils, his thanes, his castles, and his palaces, for the

Conversion of
Ceadwalla.

^r "Sanctus antistes Christi in nonnullis auxiliis et adjumentis sæpe anxiatum exulem adjuvavit et confirmavit."—Eddius, c. 41.

^s According to Henry of Huntingdon, Ceadwalla was not a Christian when he invaded Kent. Wolf (his

brother), a savage marauder, was surprised and burned in a house, in which he had taken refuge, by the Christians of the country. "Post hæc Ceadwalla Rex West Saxonix, de his et aliis sibi commissis pœnitens, Romam perrexit."—Apud X. Script. p. 742.

perilous journey and baptism at the hands of St. Peter's successor. His reward had been an heavenly for an earthly crown.^t

Archbishop Theodorus was now grown old, and felt the approach of death; he was seized with remorse for his injustice to the exiled bishop of York. Wilfrid met his advances to reconciliation in a Christian spirit. In London Theodorus declared publicly that Wilfrid had been deposed without just cause; at his decease entrusted his own diocese to his charge, and recommended him as his own successor. Wilfrid either declined the advancement, or, more probably, was unacceptable to the clergy of the South. After a vacancy of two years, the Abbot of Reculver, whose name, Berchtwald, indicates his Saxon descent, was chosen. He was the first native who had filled the see.^u

Wilfrid was again invested in his full rights as Bishop of York. The king, Egfrid, had fallen in battle against the Picts. His successor was Aldfrid, who had been educated in piety and learning by certain Irish monks. This, though an excellent school for some Christian virtues, had not taught him humble submission to the lofty Roman pretensions of

Wilfrid reinstated in York.

^t "Culmen, opes, sobolem, pollentia regna, triumphos,

Exuvias, proceres, mœnia, castra, Lares, Quæque patrum virtus et quæ congesserat ipse

Cædwal armipotens liquit amore Dei. Ut Petrum sedemque Petri rex cerneret hospes,

Cujus fonte meras sumeret almus aquas, Splendificumque jubar radianti sumeret haustu,

Ex quo vivificus fulgor ubique fluit, Percipiensque alacer redvivæ præmia vitæ Barbaricam rabiem, nomen et inde suum Conversus, convertit ovans, Petrumque vocari,

Sergius Antistes jussit, ut ipse Pater Fonte renascentis, quem Christi gratia purgans

Protinus ablutum vexit i arce poli.

Mira fides regis! clementia maxima Christi, Cujus consilium nullus adire potest!

Sospes enim veniens supremo ex orbe Brianni,

Per varias gentes, per freta, perque vias, Urbem Romuleam vidit, templumque verendum

Aspexit Petri, mystica dona gerens. Candidus inter oves Christi sociabilis ivit, Corpore nam tumulum, mente superna tenet;

Commutasse magis sceptrorum insignia credas,

Quem regnum Christi præmeruisse vides."^u

Bede, H. E. v. 7.

^u According to the Saxon chronicle and others. Bede calls him a native of Wessex.

Wilfrid. The feud between the king and the bishop broke out anew. Wilfrid pressed some antiquated claims on certain alienated possessions of the Church; the king proposed to erect Ripon into a bishopric independent of York. Wilfrid retired to the court of Mercia.

A general synod of the clergy of the island was held at a place called Eastanfeld. The synod demanded the unqualified submission of Wilfrid to certain constitutions of Archbishop Theodorus. Wilfrid reproached them with their contumacious resistance, during twenty-two years, to the decrees of Rome, and tauntingly inquired whether they would dare to compare their archbishop of Canterbury (then a manifest schismatic) with the successors of St. Peter.^v However the clergy might reverence the spiritual dignity of Rome, the name of Rome was probably less imposing to the descendants of the Saxons than to most of the Teutonic tribes. The Saxons had only known the Romans in their decay, as a people whom they had driven from the island. The name was perhaps associated with feelings of contempt rather than of reverence. The king and the archbishop demanded Wilfrid's signature to an act of unconditional submission. Warned by a friendly priest that the design of his enemies was to make him surrender all his rights and pronounce his own degradation, Wilfrid replied with a reservation of his obedience to the canons of the fathers. They then required him to retire to his monastery at Ripon, and not to leave it without the king's

^v "Interrogavit eos quâ fronte auderent statutis apostolicis ab Agathone sancto et Benedicto electo, et beato Sergio sanctissimis papis ad Britanniam pro salute animarum directis præ-

ponere, aut eligere decreta Theodori episcopi quæ in discordiâ constituit." So writes Eddius, no doubt present at the synod.

permission ; to give up all the papal edicts in his favour ; to abstain from every ecclesiastical office, and to acknowledge the justice of his own deposition. Expulsion of Wilfrid. The old man broke out with a clear and intrepid voice into a protest against the iniquity of depriving him of an office, held for forty years. He recounted his services to the Church. The topics were singularly ill-chosen for the ear of the king. He had extirpated the poisonous plants of Scottish growth, had introduced the true time of keeping Easter, and the orthodox tonsure ; he had brought in the antiphonal harmony : and “ having done all this ” (of his noble apostolic labours, his conversion of the heathen, his cultivation of arts and letters, his stately buildings, his monasteries, he said nothing), “ am I to pronounce my own condemnation ? I appeal in full confidence to the apostolic tribunal.” He was allowed to retire again to the court of Mercia. But his enemies proceeded to condemn him as contumacious. The sentence was followed by his excommunication, with circumstances of more than usual indignity and detestation. Food which had been blessed by any of Wilfrid’s party was to be thrown away as an idol offering ; the sacred vessels which he had used were to be cleansed from the pollution.

But the dauntless spirit of Wilfrid was unbroken, his confidence in the rightful power of the pope unshaken. At seventy years of age he again undertook the dangerous journey to Italy, again presented himself before the pope, John V. A second decree was pronounced in his favour. On his return, the archbishop, overawed, or less under the influence of the Northumbrian king, received him with respect. But the king, Aldfrid, refused all concession. “ I will not alter one word of a sentence issued by myself, the archbishop, and all the

dignitaries of the land, for a writing coming, as ye say, from the apostolic chair." The death of Aldfrid followed; it was attributed to the divine vengeance; and it was also given out that, on his deathbed, he had expressed deep contrition for the wrongs of Wilfrid. On the accession of Osred a new synod was held on the

A.D. 705. banks of the Nid. The archbishop Berchtwald appeared with Wilfrid, and produced the apostolic decree, confirmed by the papal excommunication of all who should disobey it. The prelates and thanes seemed disposed to resist; they declared their reluctance to annul the solemn decision of the synod at Eastanfeld. The abbess Alfreda, the sister of the late king, rose, and declared the deathbed penitence of Aldfrid for his injustice. She was followed by the ealdorman, Berchfrid, the protector of the realm during the king's minority, who declared that, when hard pressed in battle by his enemies, he had vowed, if God should vouchsafe his deliverance, to espouse Wilfrid's cause. That deliverance was a manifest declaration of God in favour of Wilfrid. Amity was restored, the bishops interchanged the kiss of peace; Wilfrid re-assumed the monasteries of Ripon and Hexham. The Death of Wilfrid. A.D. 709. few last years of his life (he lived to the age of 76) soon glided away. He died in another monastery, which he had founded at Oundle; his remains were conveyed with great pomp to Ripon.

So closes the life of Wilfrid, and the first period of Christian history in England. The sad scenes of sacerdotal jealousy and strife, which made his course almost a constant feud and himself an object of unpopularity, even of persecution, are lost in the spectacle of the blessings conferred by Christianity on our Saxon ancestors. Even the wild cast of religious adventure in

his life was more widely beneficial than had been a more tranquil course. As the great Prelate of the North, as a missionary, his success showed his unrivalled qualifications. As a bishop, he provoked hostility by an ecclesiastical pomp which contrasted too strongly with the general poverty, and his determination to enforce strict conformity to the authority of Rome offended the converts of the Scottish monks. His banishment into wild pagan countries and his frequent journeys to Rome, were advantageous, though in a very different manner, the former among the rude tribes to whom he preached the Gospel, the latter to his native land. He never returned to England without bringing something more valuable than Papal edicts in his own favour.*

The hatred of the churchmen of this time might seem reserved for each other; to all besides their influence was that of pure Christian humanity. Their quarrels died with them; the civilisation which they introduced, the milder manners, the letters, the arts, the sciences survived. On the estates which the prodigal generosity of the kings, especially when they gained them from their heathen neighbours, bestowed on the Church, the immediate manumission of the slaves could not but tend to mitigate the general condition of that class. Some of these were probably of British descent, and so Christianity might allay even that inveterate national hostility. Nor were their own predial slaves alone directly benefited by the influence of the Churchmen. The redemption of slaves was one of the objects for which the canons allowed the alienation of their lands.

* Compare Kemble's *Anglo-Saxons*, ii, 432 *et seqq.* I was glad to find that I had anticipated the high authority of Mr. Kemble.

Among the pious acts by which a wealthy penitent might buy off the corporal austerities demanded by the discipline of the Church, was the enfranchisement of his slaves. The wealth which flowed into the Church at that time in so full a stream was poured forth again in various channels for the public improvement and welfare.^y The adversaries of Wilfrid, as well as his friends, like Benedict Biscop, were his rivals in this generous strife for the advancement of knowledge and civility. Theodorus, the archbishop, was a Greek by birth; perhaps his Greek descent made him less servilely obedient to Rome. While the other ecclesiastics were introducing the Roman literature with the Roman service, Theodorus founded a school in Canterbury for the study of Greek. He bestowed on this foundation a number of books in his native language, among them a fine copy of Homer.

The rapid progress of Christianity and her attendant civilisation, appear from the life and occupations of Bede. Not much more than seventy years after the landing of Augustine on the savage, turbulent, and heathen island, in a remote part of one of the northern kingdoms of the Octarchy, visited many years later by its first Christian teacher, a native Saxon is devoting a long and peaceful life to the cultivation of letters, makes himself master of the whole range of existing knowledge in science and history as well as in theology; and writes Latin both in prose and verse, in a style equal to that of most of his contemporaries. Nor did Bede stand alone; the study of letters was promoted with equal activity by Archbishop Theodorus,

^y Burke observes, "They extracted the fruits of virtue even from crimes, and whenever a great man expiated his private offences, he provided in the same act for the public happiness."—*Abridgment of Fæg. Hist. Works*, x. p. 268.

and by Adrian, who having declined the archbishopric, accompanied Theodorus into the island. Aldhelm² of Malmesbury was only inferior in the extent of his acquirements, as a writer of Latin poetry far superior to Bede.

The uneventful life of Bede was passed in the monastery under the instructor of his earliest youth, Benedict Biscop. Its obscurity, as well as the extent of his labours, bears witness to its repose.^a Bede stood aloof from all active ecclesiastical duties, and mingled in none of the ecclesiastical disputes. It was his office to master, and to disseminate through his writings, the intellectual treasures brought from the continent by Benedict.

Even if Bede had been gifted with original genius, he was too busy in the acquisition of learning to allow it free scope. He had the whole world of letters to unfold to his countrymen. He was the interpreter of the thoughts of ages to a race utterly unacquainted even with the names of the great men of pagan or of Christian antiquity.

The Christianity of the first converts in the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms was entirely ritual. The whole theology of some of the native teachers was contained in the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. Some of them were entirely ignorant of Latin, and for them Bede himself

² Aldhelm was born about 656, died 709.

^a The Pope Sergius is said to have invited Bede to Rome in order to avail himself of the erudition of so great a scholar. This invitation is doubted.—See Stevenson's *Bede*, on another reading in the letter adduced by William of Malmesbury. I agree

with Mr. Wright (*Biograph. Lit.* p. 265), that it is more probable the Pope should send for Bede than for a nameless monk from the monastery at Wearmouth. It is nearly certain that Bede did not go to Rome. The death of Pope Sergius accounts very naturally for Bede's disobedience to the papal mandate, or courteous invitation.

translated these all-sufficient manuals of Christian faith into Anglo-Saxon.^b Bede was the parent of theology in England. Whatever their knowledge, the earlier foreign bishops were missionaries, not writers; and the native prelates were in general fully occupied with the practical duties of their station. The theology of Bede flowed directly from the fountain of Christian doctrine, the sacred writings. It consists in commentaries on the whole Bible. But his interpretation is that which now prevailed universally in the Church. By this the whole volume is represented as a great allegory. Bede probably did little more than select from the more popular Fathers, what appeared to him the most subtle and ingenious, and therefore most true and edifying exposition. Even the New Testament, the Gospels, and Acts, have their hidden and mysterious, as well as their historical, signification. No word but enshrines a religious and typical sense.^c

The science as the theology of Bede was that of his age—the science of the ancients (Pliny was the author chiefly followed), narrowed rather than expanded by the natural philosophy, supposed to be authorised and established by the language of the Bible.^d Bede had

^a See the letter of Bede to Bishop Egbert, in which he enjoins him to enforce the learning these two forms by heart: "Quod non solum de laicis, id est, in populari vitâ constitutis, verum etiam de clericis sive monachis, qui Latine sunt linguæ expertes, fieri oportet." He urges their efficacy against the assaults of unclean spirits.—Smith's Bede, p. 306.

^b "De rerum natura," in Giles, vol. vi.

^c It is this Christian part of Bede's

natural philosophy which alone has much interest, as showing the interworking of the biblical records of the creation, now the popular belief, into the old traditional astronomy derived by the Romans from the Greeks; and so becoming the science of Latin Christendom. The creation by God, the creation in six days, is of course the groundwork of Bede's astronomical science. The earth is the centre and primary object of creation. The heaven is of a fiery and subtle nature,

read some of the great writers, especially the poets of antiquity. He had some familiarity with Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, Statius, and even Lucretius. This is shown in his treatises on Grammar and Metre. His own poetry is the feeble echo of humbler masters, the Christian poets, Prudentius, Sedulius, Arator, Juvencus, which were chiefly read in the schools of that time. It may be questioned, however, whether many of the citations from ancient authors, often adduced from mediæval writers, as indicating their knowledge of such authors, are more than traditionary, almost proverbial, insulated passages, brilliant fragments, broken off from antiquity, and reset again and again by writers borrowing them

round, equidistant in every part, as a canopy, from the centre of the earth. It turns round every day, with ineffable rapidity, only moderated by the resistance of the seven planets,—three above the sun : Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, then the Sun ; three below : Venus, Mercury, the Moon. The stars go round in their fixed courses ; the northern perform the shortest circle. The highest heaven has its proper limit ; it contains the angelic virtues, who descend upon earth, assume ethereal bodies, perform human functions, and return. The heaven is tempered with glacial waters, lest it should be set on fire ; the inferior heaven is called the firmament, because it separates these superincumbent waters from the waters below. These firmamental waters are lower than the spiritual heavens, higher than all corporeal beings, reserved, some say, for a second deluge, others more truly, to temper the fire of the stars. The rest of Bede's system on the motions

of the planets and stars, on winds, thunder, light, the rainbow, the tides, belongs to the history of philosophy. His work on the Nature of Things is curious as showing a monk, on the wild shores of Northumberland, so soon after the Christianisation of the island, busying himself with such profound questions, if not observing, recording the observations of others on the causes of natural phenomena learning all that he could learn, teaching all he had learned, in the Latin of his time ; promoting at least, and pointing the way to these important studies. Bede's chronological labours (he was a strenuous advocate for the shorter Hebrew chronology of the Old Testament, in order to establish his favourite theory, so long dominant in theology, of the six ages of the world) implied and displayed powers of calculation rare at that time in Latin Christianity, in England probably unrivalled, if not standing absolutely alone.—*Epist. ad Pleguin., Giles, i. p. 145.*

from each other, but who had never read another word of the lost poet, orator, or philosopher.

The works of Bede were written for a very small intellectual aristocracy. To all but a few among the monks and clergy, Latin was a foreign language, in which they recited, with no clear apprehension of its meaning, the ordinary ritual.^e

But even at this earlier period, Christianity seized and pressed into her service the more effective vehicle of popular instruction, the vernacular poetry. No doubt from the first there must have been some rude preaching in the vulgar tongue, but the extant Anglo-Saxon homilies are of a later date. Cædmon, however, the greatest of the Anglo-Saxon poets, flourished during the youth of Bede. So marvellous did the songs of Cædmon (pouring forth as they did the treasures of biblical poetry, the sublime mysteries of the Creation, the Fall, the wonders of the Hebrew history, the gentler miracles of the New Testament, the terrors of the judgement, the torments of hell, the bliss of heaven) sound to the popular ear, that they could be attributed to nothing less than divine inspiration. The youth and early aspirations of Cædmon were invested at once in a mythic character like the old poets of India and of Greece, but in the form of Christian miracle.

The Saxons, no doubt, brought their poetry from their native forests. Their bards were a recognised order: in all likelihood in the halls of the kings of the

^e See above, quotation from Epist. to Egbert. Bede adds, that for this purpose he had himself translated the Creed and Lord's Prayer into the vernacular Anglo-Saxon. "Propter quod et ipse multis sæpe sacerdotibus idiotis, hæc quoque utraque, et symbolum videlicet, et Dominicam orationem, in linguam Anglorum translata obtuli."—Epist. ad Egbert. Bede's birth is uncertain; he died about 680.

Octarchy, the bard had his seat of honour, and while he quaffed the mead, sang the victories of the thanes and kings over the degenerate Roman and fugitive Briton. Of these lays some fragments remain, earlier probably than the introduction of Christianity, but tinged with Christian allusion in their later tradition from bard to bard: such are the battle of Conisborough, the Traveller's Song, and the Romance of Beowulf.^f The profoundly religious mind of Cædmon could not endure to learn these profane songs of adventure and battle, or the lighter and more mirthful strains. When his turn came to sing in the hall, and the harp was handed to him, he was wont to withdraw in silence and in shame.^g One evening he had retired from the hall; it was that night his duty to tend the cattle; he fell asleep. A form appeared to him in a vision and said, "Sing, O Cædmon!" Cædmon replied, "that he knew not how to sing, he knew no subject for a song." "Sing," said the visitant, "the Creation." The thoughts and the words flashed upon the mind of Cædmon, and the next morning his memory retained the verses, which Bede thought so sublime in the native language as to be but feebly rendered in the Latin.

The wonder reached the ears of the famous Hilda, the abbess of Whitby: it was at once ascribed to the grace of God. Cædmon was treated as one inspired. He could not read, he did not understand Latin. But when any passage of the Bible was interpreted to him, or any of the sublime truths of religion unfolded, he sat for some time in quiet rumination, and poured it

^f Kemble's Beowulf, with preface.

^g "Unde nonnunquam in convivii, cum esset lætitiæ causâ, et omnes per ordinem cantare deberent, ille ubi

appropinquare sibi citharam cernebat, surgebat a mediâ cœnâ, et egressus ad suam domum repedabat." — Bede, H. E. iv. c. 24.

all forth in that brief alliterative verse, which kindled and enchanted his hearers. Thus was the whole history of the Bible, and the whole creed of Christianity, in the imaginative form which it then wore, made at once accessible to the Anglo-Saxon people. Cædmon's poetry was their bible, no doubt far more effective in awakening and changing the popular mind than a literal translation of the Scriptures could have been. He chose, by the natural test of his own kindred sympathies, all which would most powerfully work on the imagination, or strike to the heart of a rude yet poetic race.

The Anglo-Saxon was the earliest vernacular Christian poetry, a dim prophecy of what that poetry might become in Dante and Milton. While all the Greek and Latin poetry laboured with the difficulties of an uncongenial diction and form of verse; and at last was but a cold dull paraphrase of that which was already, in the Greek and in the Vulgate Bible, far nobler poetry, though without the technical form of verse; the Anglo-Saxon had some of the freedom and freshness of original poetry. Its brief, sententious, and alliterative cast seemed not unsuited to the parallelism of the Hebrew verse; and perhaps the ignorance of Cædmon kept him above the servility of mere translation.^b

Aldhelm of Malmesbury was likewise skilled in the vernacular poetry, but though he used it for the purpose of religious instruction, it does not seem to have been written verse, though one of his songs survived in the popular voice for some time.¹ What he no doubt

^a The poetry of Cædmon may be judged by the admirable translations in the volume on Anglo-Saxon poetry by J. J. Coneybeare. The whole has been edited, with his fulness of Anglo-Saxon learning, by Mr. Thorpe; London, 1832. Mr. Coneybeare may to a certain degree have Miltonised the simple Anglo-Saxon; but he has not done more than justice to his vigour and rude boldness.

¹ "Nativæ quippe linguæ non

considered the superior majesty or sanctity of the Latin was alone suited for such mysterious subjects. Of Adhelm it is recorded that he saw with sorrow the little effect which the services of religion had on the peasantry, who either listened with indifference to the admonitions of the preacher, or returned home utterly forgetful of his words. He stationed himself therefore on a bridge over which they must pass, in the garb of a minstrel, and when he had arrested the crowd and fully enthralled their attention by the sweetness of his song, he gradually introduced into his profane and popular lay some of the solemn truths of religion. Thus he succeeded in awakening a deeper devotion and won many hearts to the faith, which he would have attempted in vain to move by severer language, or even by the awful excommunication of the church. What he himself no doubt despised, his vernacular verse, in comparison with the lame stateliness of his poor hexameters, ought to have been his pride.

Among a people accustomed to the association of music, however rude, with their poetry, the choral service of the church must have been peculiarly impressive. The solemn Gregorian system of chanting

negligebat carmina, adeo ut teste libro Elfredi, de quo superius dixi, nullâ unquam ætate par ei fuerat uspiam poesin Anglicam posse facere, tantum componere, eadem appositè vel canere vel dicere. Denique commemorat Elfredus carmen triviale Adhelmum fecisse; adjiciens causam qua probet rationaliter tantum virum his quæ videntur frivola instituisse. Populum eo tempore semibarbarum, parum divinis sermonibus intentum, statim cantatis missis domos cursitare

solitum: ideoque sanctum virum, super pontem qui rura et urbem continuat, abeuntibus se opposuisse obicem, quasi artem cantandi professum. Eo plus quam semel facto, plebis favorem et concursum emeritum hoc commento, sensim inter ludicra verbis scripturarum insertis, cives ad sanitatem reduxisse, qui si severè et cum excommunicatione agendum putasset, profecto profecisset nihil."—W. Malmesb. Vit. Adhelm.; Wharton, Anglia Sacra, p. 4.

was now established in Rome, and was introduced into England by the Roman clergy and by those who visited Rome, with zealous activity. Here, though opposed on some points, Archbishop Theodorus and Wilfrid acted in perfect amity.^k In Kent the music of the church had almost from the first formed a part of the divine worship, and James the Deacon, the companion of Paulinus, had taught it in Northumbria. It is recorded to the praise of Theodorus that on his visitation throughout the island he introduced everywhere that system of chanting which had hitherto been practised in Kent alone; and among the important services to the church, of which Wilfrid boasted before the synod of Eastrefield, is the introduction of antiphonal chanting.^l So much importance was attached to this part of the service, that Pope Agatho permitted John, the chief of the Roman choir, to accompany Benedict Biscop to England^m in order to instruct the monks of Wearmouth in singing: John gave lessons throughout Northumbria.

Even at this early period the Anglo-Saxon laws are strongly impregnated with the dominant Christianity: they are the laws of kings, whose counsellors, if not their co-legislators, are prelates. In those of King Ina of Wessex, either the parent or the priest is bound to bring, or force to be brought, the infant to holy baptism within thirty days, under a penalty of thirty shillings;ⁿ if he should die unbaptised, the wehrgeld of this spiritual death is the whole possessions of the guilty

^k Bede, H. E. iv. 2.

^l "Aut quomodo juxta ritum primitivæ ecclesiæ consono vocis modulamine binis astantibus choris per saltare, responsoriis antiphonisque reciprocis instruerem." — Eddius, c. 45.

^m Bede, H. E. iv. 18. On this and on the pictures brought from Rome on more than one occasion, compare Wright, *Biographia Literaria*, Life of B. Biscop.

ⁿ Thorpe, vol. i. p. 103; Kemble, ii. 490 *et seqq.* et append. D.

person. Spiritual relationship was placed in the same rank with natural affinity. The godfather claimed the wehrgeld for the death of his godson, the godson for that of the godfather. Sunday was hallowed by law. The slave who worked by his lord's command was free, and the lord paid a fine ; if by his own will, without his lord's knowledge, he suffered corporal chastisement. If the free man worked on the holy day without his lord's command, he lost his freedom or paid a compensation of sixty shillings.

Already the awful church had acquired a recognised right of sanctuary. The nature of kirk shot, a payment of certain corn and seed as first fruits, is somewhat obscure, whether paid to the church as the church, or to the church only from lands held of the church. The laws of Kent during the archiepiscopate of Berchtwald, protect the Sabbath, punish certain immoralities, and guarantee all grants of land to the church : there are even exemptions from secular imposts.

Thus, then, in less than a century and a half from the landing of Augustine to the death of Bede, A.D. 597-735. above half a century before the conflicting kingdoms were consolidated into one monarchy, every one of these kingdoms had become Christian. Each had its bishop or bishops. Kent had its metropolitan see of Canterbury and the bishopric of Rochester ; Essex, London ; East Anglia, Dunwich, afterwards, under Archbishop Theodorus, Elmham, removed later to Norwich ; late-converted Sussex had Selsey ; Wessex, Winchester, afterwards also Sherburn. The great kingdom of Mercia at first was subject to the single Bishop of Lichfield ; Leicester, Worcester, Hereford, and Sidmanchester in Lindesay were severed from that vast diocese. The province of York, according to Archbishop

Theodorus' scheme, was to comprehend York, Hexham, and Lindisfarne. Hexham fell in the Danish invasions; Lindisfarne was removed to Durham; a see at Ripon saw but one bishop; the modern bishopric of Carlisle may be considered the successor of the bishopric of Witherne in Galloway. Above these rose the Metropolitan of Canterbury; after some struggle A.D. 785. for its independence that of York. As in all the Teutonic kingdoms the hierarchy became a co-ordinate aristocracy, taking their seats as representatives of the nation in the witenagemote,^o counsellors of the king as great territorial lords, sitting later as nobles with the earls, as magistrates with the ealdermen. Besides their share in the national councils, as a separate body they hold their own synods, in which they enact laws for all their Christian subjects — at Hertford, at Hatfield, at Cloveshoo probably near Tewkesbury (Cloveshoo was appointed as the place of meeting for an annual synod), later at Calcuith, supposed to be in Kent. Peaceful monasteries arise in all quarters; monasteries in the strict sense, and also conventual establishments, in which the clergy dwell together, and from their religious centres radiate around and disseminate Christianity through the land. Each great church, certainly each cathedral, had its monastery, the priests of which were not merely the officiating clergy of the church, but the missionaries in all the surrounding districts. Christianity became the law of the land, the law underwent the influence of Christianity. The

^o As in all the Teutonic kingdoms, the province of the Witan, or parliament, and the synod, were by no means distinctly comprehended or defined. The great national council,

the Witan, in its sovereign capacity, passed laws on ecclesiastical subjects; the synods, at least occasionally, trench on the civil laws

native Teutonic religion, except in a few usages and superstitions, has absolutely disappeared. The heathen Danes, when they arrive, find no vestige of their old kindred faith in tribes sprung not many centuries before from the same Teutonic races. The Roman arts, which the fierce and savage Jutes and Angles had obliterated from the land, revive in another form. Besides the ecclesiastical Latin, a Teutonic literature has begun; the German bards have become Christian poets. No sooner has Anglo-Saxon Britain become one (no doubt her religious unity must have contributed, if imperceptibly, yet in a great degree to her national unity) than she takes her place among the confederation of European kingdoms.

CHAPTER V.

Conversion of the Teutonic Races beyond the Roman Empire.

WHILE the early Christianity of these islands retired before the Saxon conquerors to Wales, to the Scottish Hebrides, and to Ireland, and looked on the heathen invaders as hopeless and irreclaimable Pagans, beyond the pale of Christian charity, and from whom it was a duty, the duty of irreconcilable hatred, to withhold the Gospel, that faith was flowing back upon the continent of Europe in a gentle but almost continuous tide. In Anglo-Saxon England it was only after a century, that, on the invitation of the Northumbrian king already converted by Roman missionaries, the monks from Iona, and from some, perhaps, of the Irish monasteries, left their solitudes, and commenced their mission of love.

But already, even before the landing of Augustine in
Conversion of
Germans. England, an Irish monk has found his way to the continent, and is commencing the conversion of German tribes in a region, if within the older frontier of the Roman territory, reduced again to the possession of heathen Teutonic tribes: and from that time out of these islands go forth the chief apostles of Germany. Columban is the forerunner, by at least a century, of the holy Boniface.^a

It is difficult to conceive the motives which led forth

^a Columban lived at the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century.

these first pious wanderers from their native land. Columban, at his outset, was no missionary, urged by a passionate or determined zeal to convert Pagan nations to the Cross of Christ; nor was he a pilgrim, lured forth from his retreat by the unconquerable desire of visiting the scenes of apostolic labours, the spiritual wonders of Rome, or to do homage to the reliques of Saints or Apostles. He and his followers seemed only to seek a safe retreat in which he might shroud his solitary devotion; or, if his ascetic fame should gather around him an increasing number of disciples, form a cœnobitic establishment. They might have found, it might be supposed, retirement not less secure against secular intrusion, as wild, as silent, as holy, in the yet peaceful Ireland, or in the Scottish islands, as in the mountains of the Vosges or the valleys of the Alps.^b

But the influence of Columban, as the parent of so many important monasteries on the borders and within the frontier of Teutonic Paganism, as well as the reverence with which his holy character was invested, and which enabled him to assert the moral dignity of Christianity with such intrepidity, are events, which strongly mark the religious history of this age. The stranger monk issues from his retreat to rebuke the vices of kings, confronts the cruel Brunehaut, and such is the fearful sanctity which environs the man of God, that even her deadly hostility can venture nothing beyond his banishment.

Columban was born in Leinster, at the period when Ireland is described as a kind of Hesperian elysium of peace and piety. His early aspirations after monastic

^b Mabillon, Ann. Benedict., vol. i. p. 191.

holiness were fostered in the convent of Banchor, on the coast of Ulster. He became a proficient in the mystic piety of the day. But he was suddenly seized with the desire of foreign travel; he wrung an unwilling consent to his departure from his spiritual father, Comgal, abbot of Banchor. He just touched on, but shrunk from, the contaminated shores of Paganised Britain, and landed in Gaul. The fame of his piety reached the ears of one of the kings of the land: all that Columban requested was permission to retire into some unapproachable wilderness.

The woody mountains of the Vosges rose on the frontiers of the kingdoms of Austrasia and of Burgundy. Tribes of Pagan Suevians then occupied that part of Switzerland which bordered on those kingdoms. War and devastation had restored as solitudes to nature districts which had been reclaimed to culture and fertility by the industry of Roman colonists. It was on the site of ancient towns that hermits now found their wildernesses. Columban, with his twelve followers, first settled among the ruins of a small town called Anegratis. The woods yielded herbs and roots and the bark of trees for food, the streams water and probably fish. But the offerings of piety were not wanting; provisions were sent by those who were desirous of profiting by the prayers of these holy men. But the heart of Columban yearned for still more profound solitude. In the depths of the wild woods, about seven miles off, as he wandered with his book, he found a cave, of which the former inhabitant, a bear, gave up quiet possession to the saint—for the wild beasts, wolves as well as bears, and the Pagan Suevians, respected the man of God. Miracle as usual arose around the founder of a monastery. The fame of the piety and wonder-

His birth
 In Alsace,
 about A.D.
 590.

working powers of Columban gathered a still increasing number of votaries; the ruins of Anegratis could no longer contain the candidates for the monastic life.

About eight miles distant lay the more extensive ruins of a fortified Roman town, Luxovium,^c now overgrown with the wild forest jungle, but formerly celebrated for its warm springs. Amid the remains of splendid baths and other stately buildings, Columban determined to establish a more regular monastery. The forest around is said to have been strewn with marble statues, and magnificent vestiges of the old Pagan worship. On this wreck of heathenism rose the monastery of Luxeuil. Neophytes crowded from all parts; the nobles of the court threw off their arms, or fled from the burthensome duties of civil life to this holy retreat. A second establishment became necessary, and in a beautiful spot, watered by several streams, rose the succursal abbey of Fontaines. Columban presided as abbot over all these institutions. His delight was ever to wander alone in the woods, or to dwell for days in his lonely cave. But he still exercised strict superintendence over all the monasteries of the Rule which he had formed; he mingled in and encouraged their useful labours in husbandry, it was thought, with more than human wisdom and sagacity.

But peace was not to be found even in the lonely forests of the Vosges. After twelve years of undisturbed repose, religious disputes invaded the quiet shades of

^c "Invenitque castrum firmissimo munimine olim fuisse cultum, a supra-dicto loco distans plus minus octo millibus quem prisca tempora Luxovium appellabant: ibique aquæ calidæ cultu eximio extractæ habebantur.

Ibi imaginum lapidearum densitas vicinos saltus densabat, quas cultu miserabili rituque profano vetusta paganorum templa honorabant."—Jonas, Vit. Columb., c. 9.

Luxeuil. Columban was arraigned before a synod of Dispute with Gaulish bishops for his heterodox usage about keeping Easter, in which he adhered to the old British discipline. Columban answered with a kind of pathetic dignity, "I am not the author of this difference. I came as a stranger to this land for the sake of our common Lord and Saviour Christ. I beseech you by that common Lord who shall judge us all, to allow me to live in silence, in peace, and in charity, as I have lived for twelve years, beside the bones of my seventeen departed brethren. Let Gaul receive into her bosom all those who, if they deserve it, will be received into the kingdom of heaven."

Columban had to wage a nobler strife against the vices of the neighbouring court. The famous Queen Brunehaut and King Thierrri. Brunehaut had fled from the kingdom of the elder of her royal grandchildren, Theodebert of Austrasia, and taken refuge with the younger, Thierrri, King of Burgundy. She ruled the realm by the ascendancy of that strong and unscrupulous mind which for above forty years had raised her into a rival of that more famous Fredegonde, her rival in the number of her paramours, and in the number of murders which she had perpetrated.^d She ruled the king through his vices. Thierrri had degenerated, like the rest of the race of Clovis, from the old Teutonic virtues, and plunged headlong into Roman licence. In vain his subjects had attempted to wean him from his countless mistresses by a marriage with the daughter of the Visigothic king.

^d It was not till 613 that she met with a death horrible as her own crimes. Exposed on a camel to the derision of the camp of her enemy, King Chlotaire, she was tied to the tail of a wild horse, and literally torn to shreds.—H. Martin, p. 169. What wonder that in such days men sought refuge in the wilderness, and almost adored hermits like Columban!

Neglected, mortified, persecuted by the arts of Brunehaut, the unhappy princess returned to her home. Already Brunehaut had resisted the remonstrances of Didier, Bishop of Vienne, who had rebuked the incontinence of Thierry and his ill-usage of his wife. Didier was murdered on his road from Lyons to Vienne. The fame of Columban induced Thierry to visit his saintly retirement. Columban seized the opportunity to reproach him for his adulteries, and to persuade him that the safety of his realm depended on his having a legitimate heir. Thierry listened with awe to the man of God; he promised to act according to his wise counsels. Even Brunehaut, the murderer of bishops, dared not lay her hand on him. Brunehaut saw her power in danger. Whether she sought the interview in the vain hope of softening him by her blandishments, or whether he came of his own accord, Columban visited the queen in her palace. The stern virtue of the saint was not to be moved. Brunehaut approached him, and entreated his blessing on two illegitimate sons of Thierry. (The benediction of the saint seems to have had some connexion with their hopes of succession to the throne; to which, according to Frankish usage, legitimacy was not indispensable.) "These bastards, born in sin," replied Columban, "shall never inherit the kingdom." He passed away unmolested through the awe-struck court. Brunehaut began a petty and vexatious warfare, by cutting off the supplies from the monasteries, and stirring up jealousies with other neighbouring convents. Either to remonstrate, or to avert the royal anger, Columban again approached the court, then held at the village of Epaisses,*

* The villa Brocarica, Bourcheresse, between Chalons and Autun --H. Martin, *Histoire de la France*, ii. 160.

but he refused to enter under the roof. Thierrî ordered a royal banquet to be prepared and sent out to the saint at the door. "It is written," said Columban, "that God abhors the offerings of the wicked; his servants must not be polluted with food given by those who persecute his saints." He dashed the wine on the earth and scattered about the other viands. The affrighted king again promised amendment, but abstained not from his notorious adulteries. Columban then addressed to him a letter, in which he lashed his vices with unsparing severity, and threatened him with excommunication.^f The king could bear no more; he appealed to his nobles, he appealed to his bishops, knowing no doubt their jealousy of the stranger monk and their dislike of some of his usages. He demanded free ingress and egress for his servants into the monastery. Columban haughtily replied, "that if he dared thus to infringe the monastic rule, his kingdom would fall, and his whole race be cut off." When Thierrî himself attempted to enter the refectory, he shrunk before the intrepid demeanour and terrible language of the abbot. Yet with some shrewdness he observed, "Do not think that I will gratify your pride by making you a martyr." To a sentence of banishment the stranger monk replied, that he would not be driven from his monastery but by force. At length

Columban
banished. a man was found who did not quail before the saint. Columban was arrested, and carried to Besançon; but even there his guards, from awe, performed their duty so negligently that he escaped and returned to Luxeuil. Again he was seized, not without difficulty, and carried off amid the lamentations of his

^f Jonas describes the letter as "verberibus plenas."

faithful followers. Two or three Irish monks alone were permitted to accompany him. He was hurried in rude haste towards Nantes: at Orleans he was not allowed to enter the church, hardly permitted to visit the shrine of St. Martin at Tours; and embarked on board a vessel bound to Ireland.

During all this journey the harsh usage of the royal officers was mitigated by the wondering reverence of the people: it is described as a continued scene of miracle. The language attributed to Columban by his admiring biographer shows not only the privilege assumed by the monastic saints of that day, of dispensing with the humble tone of meekness and charity, but also the fearless equality, or rather superiority, with which a foreign monk thus addresses the kings of the land. "Why are you retiring hitherward?" said the Bishop of Tours. "Because that dog Thierra has driven me away from my brethren." To another he said, "Tell thy friend Thierra that within three years he and his children shall perish, and God will root up his whole race." In those days such prophecies concerning one of the royal families of the Franks was almost sure of fulfilment.

Columban was justified in the estimation of men, even of kings, in taking this lofty tone. The vessel in which he was embarked was cast back on the coast of Neustria. The King Clothaire II. humbly solicited the saint to hallow his kingdom by making it his residence. Columban declined the offer, and passed into Austrasia, where King Theodebert received him with the same respectful deference.

The monks from Luxeuil flocked around their beloved master; but Columban declined likewise the urgent entreaties of Theodebert to bless his kingdom by the

Journey
through
France.

Return to
France.

establishment of a monastery. He yearned for wilder solitudes. With his followers he went to Moguntiacum (Mentz), and embarked upon the Rhine. They worked their way up the stream till they reached the mouth of the Limmat, and followed that river into the lake of Zurich. From the shores of the lake they went by land to Tugium (the modern Zug). Around Zug. them were the barbarous heathen Suevians. Columban and his disciples had little of the gentle and winning perseverance of missionaries; they had been accustomed to dictate to trembling sovereigns. Their haughty and violent demeanour, which overawed those who had been brought up in Christianity, provoked the Pagans, instead of weaning them from their idolatries. A strange tale is told of a huge vat of beer, offered to the god Woden, which burst at the mere breath of Columban. St. Gall, his companion,⁵ set their temples on fire, and threw their idols into the lake. The monks were compelled to fly; and Columban left the Pagans of that district with a most unapostolic malediction, devoting their whole race to temporal misery and eternal perdition.^h They retreated to Arbon, on the lake of Constance; there, from a Christian priest, named Willimar, they heard of a ruined Roman city at the end of the lake, named Brigetium (Bregenz). At Bregenz. Brigetium Columban found a ruined church dedicated to St. Aurelia, which he rebuilt. But the chief objects of worship in the re-Paganised land were three statues of gilded brass. St. Gall preached to the people

⁵ The history of St. Gall is related in more than one form in Pertz, tom. ii. p. 1-34.

^h "Fiant nati eorum in interitum; ergo ad mediam aetatem cum per-

venerint stupor ac dementia eos apprehendant, ita ut alieno aere oppressi, ignominiam suam agnoscant conversi."

—Vita S. Galli, apud Pertz, ii. p. 7.

in their own language. He then broke their idols in pieces, and threw them into the water : part of his hearers applauded, but some departed in undisguised anger.

In this remote spot they built their monastery. St. Gall was a skilful fisherman, and supplied the brethren with fresh fish from the lake. One St. Gall. silent night, when he was fishing, he heard (it is said), from the highest peak, the voice of the Spirit of the Mountains calling on the Spirit of the Waters in the depth of the lake. "I am here," was the reply. "Arise, then, to mine aid against these strangers who have cast me from my temple; let us expel them from the land." "One of them is even now busied in my waters, but I cannot break his nets, for I am rebuked by the prevailing name, in which he is perpetually praying."¹

The human followers of the Pagan deities were not so easily controlled. After two or three years the monks found a confederacy formed against them, at the head of which was a neighbouring chieftain, the savage Cunzo.^k Columban determined to retire. He had some thoughts of attempting the conversion of the Slavi and the Veneti; but an angel, perhaps the approach of age, admonished him to seek a quiet retreat in Italy. He was honourably received by Agilulf, King of Lombardy. After some time spent in literary labours, in confutation of the Arianism which still lingered in that part of Italy, he founded the famous monastery of Bobbio.¹

¹ This story is too picturesque and striking to be omitted. It is characteristic, too, to find the divinities to which the Greeks would have attributed such sights and sounds, turned into malignant spirits. Two naked girls were bathing in a stream in which St. Gall was fishing. Of old

they would have passed for nymphs; with him they were devils in that enticing shape. Sounds which they hear on the mountains, when catching hawks, are voices of devils.

^k Cunzo's daughter is said to have been betrothed to King Thierry.

¹ I follow the early life of St. Gall

St. Gall, from real or simulated illness, remained behind. He withdrew with his boat and fishing nets to Arbon; he was accompanied by some of the Irish monks, and in that neighbourhood founded the monastery, not less celebrated, which bore his name.

Thus these Irish monks were not merely reinvigorating the decaying monastic spirit, which perhaps was languishing from the extreme severity of the rule of Cassianus chiefly followed in the monasteries of Gaul, but they were winning back districts which had been won from Roman civilisation by advancing barbarism. Monasteries replace ruined Roman cities. From them issued almost a race of saints, the founders of some of the most important establishments within or on the borders of the old Roman territory: Magnus and Theodorus, the first abbots of Kempten and of Fussen; Attalus of Bobbio; St. Romaric of Remiremont; St. Omer, St. Bertin, St. Amand, the apostles of Flanders; St. Wandrille, the founder of Fontenelle, in Normandy.^m Gradually the great establishments, founded on the rule of Columban, dropped the few peculiarities of discipline which distinguished them from the Roman Church; they retained those of their rule which differed from that of St. Benedict which was now beginning to prevail

in Pertz, from which was derived that of Walafrid Strabo. Jonas, the biographer of Columban, represents him as still persecuted by Brunehaut and Thierrî, who may indeed have excited the confederacy against him. Jonas also carries Columban back to the court of Theodebert, King of Austrasia, whom, when in the height of his power, he endeavours to persuade to take the clerical habit. "When was it heard," was the in-

dignant reply, "that a Merovingian on the throne stooped to become a clerk?" "If you become not one voluntarily," said the prophetic monk, "you will so by compulsion!" Theodebert afterwards, defeated by Brunehaut and the King of Burgundy, was forced to take orders, and then put to death. The history probably produced the prophecy.—Jonas, c. 27. Columban died about A.D. 615.

^m Michelet, Hist. de France, i. 275.

throughout western Christendom. Yet there was nothing of great importance to distinguish them from the Benedictine foundations; their rule, habits, studies (all, perhaps, but their dress) were those of western monasticism.^a

Columban and his immediate followers had hardly extended the influence of Christianity beyond the borders of the old Roman empire. But, English missionaries. important as outposts on the verge of Christendom, or even in districts which had reverted to barbarism, gradually encircling themselves with an enlarging belt of cultivation and of Christianity, they were only thus gradually and indirectly aggressive. Another century had nearly elapsed when the Apostle of Germany came forth from a different part of the British Isles. Those Saxon conquerors whom Columban, when he touched the shores of Britain, left behind as irreclaimable heathens, had now become Christians from one end of the land to the other. In their turn they were to send out their saintly and more adventurous missionaries into their native German forests. Wilfrid of York had already made some progress in the conversion of the Frisians on the lower part of the Rhine; but almost all beyond the Rhine, when Boniface undertook the conversion of Germany, was the undisputed domain of the old Teutonic idolatry.

Boniface (his proper Saxon name was Winfrid) was born near Crediton, in Devonshire. From his infancy he is said to have displayed a disposition to singular piety; and in his youth the influence of his father could not repress his inclination to the monastic life. The father, alarmed by a dangerous S. Boniface.

^a Mabillon, Hist. Ordin. Benedict., i. p. 195.

illness, yielded to the wishes of the boy who was received into a monastery at Exeter; afterwards he moved to Netley. Having completed his studies, he was ordained priest at thirty; and a confidential mission on which he was employed between a synod of the clergy and the Archbishop Berchtwald shows the estimation in which he was already held. But Boniface was eager for the more adventurous life of a missionary. His first enterprise was discouraging, and might have repressed less earnest zeal. With the permission of his superiors he embarked at London, landed on the coast of Friesland, and made his way to Utrecht. But Radbold, King of Frisia, at war with one of the Frankish kings, had commenced a fierce persecution of the Christians; everywhere he had destroyed the churches, and rebuilt the temples. Boniface found his eloquence wasted on the stubborn heart of the pagan, and returned to England.

But his spirit was impatient of repose. He determined to visit Rome, perhaps to obtain the sanction of the head of Western Christendom for new attempts to propagate the Gospel in Germany. He crossed the sea to Normandy, and with a multitude of other pilgrims journeyed through France, paying his adorations in all the more famous churches; escaped the dangers of the snowy Alps, the Lombards, who treated him with unexpected humanity, and the predatory soldiery, which were prowling about in all directions. He found himself, at length, on his knees in the church of St. Peter. He was received, on the presentation of recommendatory letters from his bishop, with condescending welcome.

The Pope, Gregory II. (our history will revert to the intermediate succession of popes; we are now in the

About
A.D. 700.

In Friesland.
About
A.D. 716.

About
A.D. 718.

In Rome,
A.D. 717-8.

eighth century), entered into all the views of Boniface, and sanctioned his passionate wish to ascertain how far the most savage tribes of Germany would receive the Gospel. Gregory bestowed upon him ample powers, but exacted an oath of allegiance to the Roman see. He recommended him to all the bishops and to all orders of Christians, above all to Charles Martel,^o who, as mayor of the palace, exercised royal authority in that part of France. He urged Charles to assist the missionary by all means in his power in the pious work of reclaiming the heathen from the state of brute-beasts.^p And Charles Martel faithfully fulfilled the wishes of the Pope. "Without the protection of the prince of the Franks," writes the grateful Boniface, "I could neither rule the people, nor defend the priests, the monks, and the handmaids of God, nor prevent pagan and idolatrous rites in Germany."^q The Pope attributes the spiritual subjugation of a hundred thousand barbarians by the holy Boniface to the aid of Charles.^r

Armed with these powers, and with a large stock of reliques, Boniface crossed the Alps and entered into Thuringia. This province was already in part Christian; but their Christianity required much correction (they were probably Arians), and the clergy were in no way disposed to that rigid celibacy now required of their order. Boniface did all in his power, but, notwithstanding the urgent addresses of the Pope himself to the Thuringians, by no means with complete success; they still resisted the monastic discipline.

Gregory II.
A.D. 715-731.

A.D. 719.

In Thuringia.

^o See the letter in which Charles takes him under his mundebund or defence.—Apud Giles, i. 37.

^p Gregor. II., Epist. iv. v. vi.

^q Bonifac., Epist. xii., apud Giles, to Daniel, Bishop of Winchester.

^r Sirmond. Concil. ii. p. 527.

When he left Thuringia he heard of the death of Radbold, the pagan king of Friesland. He immediately embarked on the Rhine, in the hope of renewing, under better auspices, his attempts on that country. For three years he laboured there with great success, as the humble assistant of the Bishop Willibrod. Again the temples fell, and the churches rose. Willibrod felt the approach of age, and desired to secure as his coadjutor, as the future successor to his bishopric, a youthful teacher of so much zeal and wisdom. The humility of Boniface struggled against the offers, the arguments, the earnest entreaties of the Prelate. He pleaded that he was not yet fifty, the canonical age of a Bishop. At length he declared that he had been employed on a special service by the Pope to propagate the Gospel in Germany; he had already delayed too long in Friesland; he dared not decline, without the direct mandate of the Pope, his more imperative and arduous duties as a missionary.

Our curiosity, and higher feelings, are vividly excited by the thought of the earliest preachers of Christianity plunging into the unknown depths of the German forests, addressing the Gospel of peace to fierce and warlike tribes, encountering the strange and perhaps appalling superstitions of ages, penetrating into hallowed groves, and standing before altars reeking with human blood.⁵ We expect the kindling adventure of romance to mingle with the quiet

⁵ Read (it is however on this subject quite vague) the counsel given to his countrymen, as to the mode of arguing with the heathen, by Daniel, Bishop of Winchester, as seen from his letters, in which he advises Boniface to keep on good terms even with the

wicked clergy of France. It is curious, that he was to contrast the fertile lands of the Christians, flowing with oil and wine, and abounding in wealth, with the cold and dreary deserts left to the pagans and their gods.—Epist. xiv. i. 48.

and steady course of Christian benevolence and self-sacrifice; at least perpetually to meet with incidents which may throw light on the old Teutonic character, the habits, manners, institutions of the various tribes. The biographers of the saints are in general barren of this kind of information; they rarely enter into details on the nature or the rites of the old religions; they speak of them in one sweeping tone of abhorrence; they condemn the gods under the vague term of idols, or adopt the Roman usage of naming them after the deities of Greece and Rome. On the miracles of their own saints they are diffuse and particular; but on the power, attributes, and worship of the heathen gods, except on a few occasions, they are almost silent. Boniface, it is said, on his first expedition among the Saxons and Hessians, baptised thousands, destroyed the heathen temples, and set up Christian churches. As a faithful servant he communicated his wonderful successes to Rome; he was summoned to the metropolis of Christianity, and, after a profession of faith in the Trinity, which would bear the searching inquisition of Rome,^t he was raised to the dignity of a bishop. On his return to Germany, Boniface found but few of his Hessian proselytes adhering to pure Christianity. They had made a wild mixture of the two creeds; they still worshipped their sacred groves and fountains; some yet offered sacrifices on their old altars. The wizards and soothsayers still maintained their influence; the trembling worshippers still acknowledged the might of their charms and the truth of their omens.

Boniface invited to Rome, 722. In Rome, 723. Ordained bishop, 723.

^t This was usual, or we might suppose that they dreaded another Ulphilas among these new German converts.

Boniface determined to strike a blow at the heart of the obstinate Paganism. There was an old and venerable oak,^a of immense size, in the grove of Geismar, hallowed for ages to the Thunderer. Attended by all his clergy, Boniface went publicly forth to fell this tree. The pagans assembled in multitudes to behold this trial of strength between their ancient gods and the God of the stranger. They awaited the issue in profound silence. Some, no doubt, expected the axe to recoil on the sacrilegious heads of the Christians. But only a few blows had been struck, when a sudden wind was heard in the groaning branches of the tree, and down it came toppling with its own weight, and split into four huge pieces. The shuddering pagans at once bowed before the superior might of Christianity. Boniface built out of the wood a chapel to St. Peter. After this churches everywhere arose; and here and there a monastery was settled. But the want of labourers was great; and Boniface sent to his native land for a supply of missionaries. A number of active and pious men flocked from England to his spiritual standard; and many devout women obeyed the impulse, and either founded or filled convents, which began to rise in the districts beyond the Rhine. The similarity of language no doubt qualified the English missionaries for their labours among the Teutonic races: Italians had been of no use.

Boniface had won a new empire to Christianity; and was placed over it as spiritual sovereign by the respectful gratitude of the Pope. He received the pall of a Metropolitan, and was empowered as primate to erect bishoprics throughout Germany. Again he visited

^a Near Fritzlar. The oak is called *robur Jovis*.

Rome, and was invested by Gregory III., the new Pope, with full powers as representative of the Apostolic see.

The Metropolitan throne was fixed on the Rhine, at Mentz. This city had formerly been a bishop's see. In the wars of Carloman, the Frank, against the Saxons, the Bishop Gerold went out to battle with his sovereign and was slain. He was succeeded by his son, Gewelib, a man of strict morals, but addicted to hawks and hounds. Gewelib cherished the sacred hereditary duty of revenging his father's death.* He discovered the man by whose hand Gerold had fallen, lured him to an amicable interview in an island on the river, and stabbed him to the heart. Neither king nor nobles thought this just exaction of blood for blood the least disqualification for a Christian bishop. But the Christianity of Boniface was superior to the dominant barbarism. The blood-stained bishop was deposed by the act of a council, and on the vacancy the Metropolitan see erected at Mentz. From his Metropolitan see of Mentz, Boniface ruled Christian Germany with a parental hand. He exercised his power of establishing bishoprics by laying the foundations of some of those wealthy and powerful sees, which long possessed so commanding an influence in Germany. On his return from his third visit to Rome he passed through Bavaria; there he found but one solitary bishopric, at Passau. He founded those of Salzburg, of Freisingen, and of Ratisbon. In Thuringia the

Boniface Metropolitan of Mentz.
A.D. 745.

* From the Life of Boniface by a presbyter of Mentz.—Pertz, p. 354. "Episcopus autem a cæde regressus, rudi populo, rudis adhuc præsul, licet ætate maturus, tamen fide . . . præficitur; non computantibus nec rege, nec cæteris optimatibus, vindictam patris crimen esse, dicentibusque 'Vicem reddidit patris morti,'"

episcopal see was fixed at Erfurt; in Hesse, at Buraberg, which was afterwards removed to Paderborn: for Franconia he founded that of Wurtzburg. Besides these churches, those of Utrecht, Cologne, Eichstadt, Tongres, Worms, Spires, Augsburg, Constance, and Coire owned their allegiance to the supremacy with which the Metropolitan of Mentz had been invested by the successor of St. Peter.^y

Boniface ruled the minds of the clergy, the people, and the kings. He held councils, and condemned heretics: one, an impostor named Adalbert, who pretended to work miracles; the other, Clement, a Scot, who held some unintelligible doctrines on Christ's descent into hell, and on predestination.^z The obsequious Frankish Sovereign of Austrasia, who claimed dominion over the whole of Christian Germany, punished the delinquents with imprisonment. Charlemagne, himself, who had risen from the post of Mayor of the Palace to that of Sovereign, was so wrought on by the pious eloquence of Boniface, that he abandoned his throne, bequeathed his son to the perilous guardianship of his brother Pepin, went to Rome, and retired into a monastery.

Boniface even opposed within his own diocese, the author of his greatness. The Pope Stephen, on his visit to Pepin, presumed to ordain a Bishop of Metz.

^y The acts of Boniface in the reformation of the clergy of France will be related in a subsequent chapter.

^z I cannot in these very obscure persons discern with some Protestant writers of Germany, even my friend M. Bunsen, sagacious prophets and resolute opponents of Papal domination which was artfully and delibe-

rately established by Boniface; a premature Luther and Calvin. Neither the jealousies nor the politic schemes belong to the time. The respect of Boniface for Rome was filial not servile. The tenets of Adalbert and Clement were doubtless misunderstood or misrepresented, but they are to me altogether indistinct and uncertain.

Boniface resisted this encroachment, and it was only at the earnest representation of Pepin, who urged the unreasonableness of such a quarrel between the heads of the Church, that the feud was allayed.^a

Resists the
Pope.

But power and dignity were not the ruling passions of Boniface. He threw off all the pomp and authority of the Primate of Germany to become again the humble apostle. He surrendered his see to Lullus, one of the Englishmen whom he had invited to Germany, and set forth, if not to seek, not to shrink from martyrdom among the savage pagans. He obtained that last glorious crown of his devoted life. In Friesland he had made numerous converts; the day was appointed on which he was to administer the rite of confirmation to a multitude of these neophytes. The morn had begun to dawn on the open country where the tents had been pitched, when they were suddenly attacked by a band of armed heathens. The converts of Boniface rose up in self-defence, but the saint discouraged their vain efforts, and exhorted them to submit in peace and joy to their heaven-appointed martyrdom. All met their doom; but their

A.D. 753.

Death of
Boniface.
A.D. 754.

^a There is something remarkable in the simplicity with which Boniface remonstrates against certain unchristian practices at Rome. He asks Pope Zacharias if it can be true that heathen usages, such as feasts at the kalends of January, phylacteries worn by the women, enchantments and divinations, are allowed at Rome. He even ventures on one occasion to make more delicate inquiries as to simoniacal practices, especially that of selling metropolitan palls. "Quod talia a te nobis referantur, quasi nos corruptores sumus canonum, et patrum rescindere traditiones quæramus, ac per hoc, quod absit, cum nostris clericis in simoniacam hæresim incidamus, accipientes et compellentes, ut hi quibus pallia tribuimus, nobis præmia largiantur."—Zachariæ Epist. ad Bonifac. Labbe, Conc. "Non oportet ut qui caput ecclesiæ estis, cæteris membris exempla contentionis præbeatis."—Vit. Bonifac. apud Pertz, vol. ii, p. 336.

assailants quarrelled about the spoil; made themselves drunk with the wine, and so fell upon each other, and revenged the Christian martyrs. The body of St. Boniface was conveyed to the monastery of Fulda.

This renowned monastery had owed its foundation to Monasteries. Boniface. These great conventual establish-
Fulda. ments were of no less importance in German history than the bishoprics. The history of Fulda illustrates the manner in which these advanced posts of Christianity and civilisation were settled in the midst of the deep Teutonic forests.

Sturmi was the son of noble Christian parents in Sturmi. Noricum; the enthusiasm of youthful piety led him to follow Boniface into Germany. He was ordained priest, and laboured successfully under the guidance of his master. He was seized with the dominant passion for the monastic state; and Boniface encouraged rather than repressed his ardour. With a few companions he entered into the forest solitude, and fixed at first at Hertzfeld. But this retirement was at once too near the frontier and exposed to danger from the pagan Saxons. Boniface urged them to strike deeper into the wilderness. Though their impulse was so different, their adventures resemble those of the backwoodsmen in America, exploring the unknown forests. They tracked in their boats along some of the rivers; but their fastidious piety, and, not perhaps altogether unworldly sagacity, could find no place which united all the requisites for a flourishing monastery; profound seclusion, salubrious and even beautiful situation, fertile soil, abundant water.^b With the tone, and,

^b "Tunc avidus locorum explorator | colles vallesque adspiciens, fontes et tor-
ubique sagaci obtutu montuosa atque | rentes atque fluvios perlustrans, perge-
plana perlustrans loca, montes quoque et | bat."—Vita S. Sturmii, Pertz, ii. 368.

in their belief, with the authority of a prophet, Boniface declared, on their report, that the chosen site would be revealed at length. Sturmi set out alone upon an ass, and with a small stock of food plunged fearlessly into the wilderness. He beguiled the way with psalms, at the same time he surveyed the country with a keen and curious observation. At night he lit a circular fire, to scare away the wild beasts, and lay down in the midst of it. His ass was one day startled by a number of wild Slavonians bathing in a stream, and the saint perceived the offensive smell which proceeded from them.^c They mocked him, probably by their gestures, but did him no harm. At length he arrived at a spot on the banks of the Fulda, where he was so delighted with the situation, the soil, the water, that having passed the whole day in exploring it, he determined that this must be the site predicted by Boniface. He returned to his companions. Boniface not merely approved of the choice, but also obtained a grant of the site, with a demesne extending four miles each way, from the pious Carloman, who, whatever his own title, gave it to God with as much facility as lands are now granted in Canada or Australia. Boniface himself went to visit the place, and watched the clearing of the forest and the preparations for building with unfailing interest. The monks of Fulda adopted the rule of St. Benedict; the multitude of candidates for admission was so great, that accommodation could not be found fast enough. Of all the gifts of Boniface, the most valuable was that

^c "Et ipse vir Dei eorum fetorem exhorruit." This seems to be meant literally, though the words which follow, "qui more Gentilium servum Dei subsannabant," might perhaps lead to another sense. If I am right in my translation, it is a curious illustration of the antipathy of races. —Apud Pertz, *ibid.*

of his body, which refused to repose anywhere but in the abbey of Fulda.

The abbots of Fulda were not perpetually employed in the peaceful and legitimate Christian Apostleship of Boniface for the conversion of Germany. At a later period they were summoned to attend Charlemagne on his Mohammedan mission for the conversion of the heathen Saxons by the sword. On his first campaign, the aged Sturmi was one of the flock of bishops, and abbots, and clergy who followed in the train of war.

England, meantime, had been still supplying the more peaceful warriors of the Cross, who endeavoured in vain by preaching the Gospel to subdue the fierce and exasperated Saxons. Willibald, the Apostle of Friesland, was a Northumbrian. Adalbert, Bishop of Utrecht, and Leofwin, who was martyred by the Saxons, with many others, came from our island. St. Ludger, though a Frisian by descent, had studied under Alcuin at York.^d In this singular manner the Anglo-Saxon invasion of England flowed back upon the continent; and Gregory the Great, by his conversion of England, gave the remote impulse to the conversion of large parts of Germany.

^d Vita S. Ludgeri, printed in Bede's works.

CHAPTER VI.

The Papacy from the time of Gregory the Great to Gregory II.

	A.D.		A.D.
Gregory the Great, died	604	Adeodatus	672
Sabinianus	604, 606	Domnus	677
Boniface III.	607	Agatho	679
Boniface IV.	608	Leo II.	682
Deus-dedit	615, 618	Benedict	684
Boniface V.	618, 625	John V.	685
Honorius I.	625, 638	Conon	686
Severinus (2 months and 4 days)	639	Sergius	687, 701
John IV.	640	John VI.	702
Theodorus I.	642	John VII.	705, 707
Martin I.	649, 655	Sisinnius	708
Eugenius I.	654	Constantine	708
Vitalianus	657	Gregory II.	716

ALL these conquests of Christianity were, in a certain sense, the conquests of the Roman See. Augustine had been a Roman missionary, and though the ancient British Church had raised up something of an intractable spirit in some of the English kingdoms, and passing to the Continent with Columban and his followers, had asserted some independence, and for a time had maintained usages which refused to conform to the Roman discipline; yet reverence for Rome penetrated with the Gospel to the remotest parts. Germany was converted to Latin Christianity. Rome was the source, the centre, the regulating authority recognised by the English apostles of the Teutons. The clergy were constantly visiting Rome as

The Teutons converted to Latin Christianity.

the religious capital of the world, to do homage to the head of Western Christendom, to visit the shrines of the apostles, the more devout to obtain reliques, the more intellectual, knowledge, letters, arts. The Pontificate of Gregory the Great had been the epoch at which had at least commenced both this great extension of Latin Christianity, and the independence of the Roman See.

Popes subordinate to the Eastern Emperors. But the impulse had been much stronger towards the subjugation of these new dominions, than towards emancipation from the secular power of the Eastern emperors. While the Papal influence was thus spreading in the West, and bishops from the remotest parts of the empire, and of regions never penetrated by the Roman arms, looked to Rome as the parent of their faith,—if not to an infallible, at least to the highest authority in Christendom—the Pope, in his relation to the Eastern empire, has sunk again into a subject. He is the pontiff of a city within a conquered province, that province arbitrarily governed by an officer of the sovereign. He is consecrated only after the permission of the Emperor, is expected to obey the imperial mandate even on religious matters, exposed to penalties for contumacy, in one case arrested, exiled, and with difficulty saved from capital punishment.

Successors of Gregory I. In the century, or but few years more, after the death of Gregory the Great, down to the accession of Gregory II.,^a a rapid succession of twenty-four popes filled the Apostolic See. Few of them stand forth out of the obscurity of the times. The growth or rather the maintenance of the papal power is to be ascribed more to the circumstances of

^a Gregory the Great died 604. Gregory II. Pope 716.

the age than to the character or ability of the popes. Many of them were of Roman, most of Italian birth; few, even if they had been greater men, ruled long enough to achieve any great acts. Two of those, whose reign was most protracted, were distinguished, the one, Honorius I., only for his errors; the other, Martin, for his misfortunes.

Sabinianus, the successor of Gregory, has the character of a hard and avaricious man. He was a native of Volterra, and had been employed as the envoy and representative of Gregory at Constantinople.^b The admirers of Gregory describe Sabinianus as a bitter enemy to the fame of his holy predecessor. Gregory's unbounded liberality to the poor, Sabinianus reproached as a prodigal waste of the treasures of the Church, a vain ostentation, a low art to obtain popularity. A dreadful famine followed the accession of the new pontiff: he sold the corn, which Gregory was wont to distribute freely, at exorbitant prices;^c and laid the fault of the parsimony, to which he said that he was compelled, on the prodigality of Gregory. But the people, some of whom are said to have perished with hunger before the eyes of the unpitying pope, could not comprehend what might have been necessary, or even wise, economy.

Sabinianus seems to have struck on a chord of popular Roman feeling, which answered more readily to his touch. The populace listened greedily to the charge, first said to have been made by Sabinianus, of the wanton destruction made by the late pope of the public buildings and other monuments of the city. Gregory

^b The Apocrisiarius was the title of the papal envoy at the Byzantine court.

^c 30 solidi a bushel

was accused as having defaced with systematic Christian iconoclasm, and demolished the ancient temples, and as having thrown down and broken to pieces the statues which still adorned the city.^d The revenge suggested by the malice of Sabinianus was the public destruction of the works of Gregory. The pious mendacity of Peter the Deacon, as it had saved the mortal remains of his master from insult, now protected his works. He assured the populace that himself had seen the Holy Ghost, in the shape of a dove, whispering into the ear of Gregory. Whatever be the truth of these old traditions, they betray the existence of two unscrupulous hostile factions, one adoring, the other bitterly persecuting the fame of Gregory; and exhibit a singular, yet not unnatural, state of feeling in the Roman populace. The old Roman attachment to their majestic edifices, and even to the stately images of their ancient gods, is struggling successfully against their Christian reverence for their pontiff, but yielding to the most

^d Platina (de Vit. Pontif.) connects these two rumours. The iconoclasm of which Gregory is accused has given rise to a long controversy. Platina indignantly rejects the charge of wantonly destroying the public edifices, and assigns very probable reasons for their decay. "Absit hæc calumnia a tanto Pontifice Romano, præsertim cui certè post Deum patria quam vita charior fuit. Multa profecto ex collapsis ædificiis exedit vetustas. Multa præterea demoliuntur homines ædificandi gratiâ, ut *quotidiè cernimus*. Impacta illa foramina, quæ tum in concavo fornicum, tum in conjuncturis marmorum, quadratorumve lapidum videntur, non minus a Romanis quam

a barbaris avellendi æris causâ crediderim. In fornicibus enim, quo levior esset moles, ollas cum numismatibus collocabant. Lapidés vero quadratos æneis clavis firmabant." The statues, he proceeds, fell of themselves, their marble or bronze pedestals being objects of plunder. The heads, the necks being the slenderest part, were knocked off in the fall. This is in answer to the accusation that Gregory caused the statues to be beheaded. I am not sure that Gregory's more religious contemporaries would have thought these charges calumnious: the period was not passed when the hatred of idolatry would predominate over the love of art.

credulous Christian superstition. Superstition triumphed the more easily over a hard and avaricious prelate; and, on the Pope's refusal to allow the sainted Gregory the quiet enjoyment of Christian peace in heaven, brought him down to punish his guilty successor, and avenge his own wrongs. Thrice Gregory appeared to rebuke Sabinianus—thrice he appeared in vain; the fourth time the spirit struck the pontiff a violent blow on the head, of which he died. So exasperated were the people against Sabinianus, that his funeral procession was conducted by a long circuit without the city, from the Lateran palace to St. Peter's, to escape the insults of the Romans. A vacancy of nearly a year ensued after the death of Sabinianus. The brief pontificate of Boniface III. is marked by the assumption of that awful title before which Christendom bowed for so many centuries, that of Universal Bishop. The pious humility of Gregory had shuddered at the usurpation of this title by the Patriarch of Constantinople. No language could express the devout abhorrence of this impious, heretical, diabolic, anti-Christian assertion of superiority. Boniface then represented the pope at the Imperial Court, and succeeded not merely in wresting this title from the rival prelate of Constantinople, but in obtaining an acknowledgment of the supremacy of St. Peter's successor.^f Neither the motive of the donor of this magnificent privilege, nor

A.D. 606.^e
Feb. 22, to
A.D. 607.
Feb. 19.

Boniface III.

^e I would observe that in many of these dates, it is that of the consecration and burial which are recorded, not the accession and death of the Pope.

^f The early authorities for this fact are Anastasius Bibliothecarius in Vit. Bonifac. IV., and Paulus Diaconus, H.st. Longobard. Schroëck (Chr.

Kirch. Gesch., xvii. 73, and xix. 488) is disposed to question the whole, to which perhaps too much importance has been given by modern controversialists. Baronius and Pagi have added, without any authority, that Phocas forbade the Patriarch of Constantinople to call himself Universal Bishop.

the donor himself, commend the gift. It was the tyrant Phocas, who hated the Patriarch of Constantinople for his humanity, in protecting, as far as he had power, the widow and the three helpless daughters of the murdered emperor Maurice from his vengeance; and this hatred of the Patriarch of Constantinople, rather than the higher respect for the Bishop of Rome, still less any mature deliberation on the justice of their respective claims, awarded the superiority to the old Rome. On the death of Phocas the Patriarch of Constantinople resumed, if he had ever abandoned, the contested title.

Even greater obscurity hangs over the decision of a synod held by Boniface at Rome, which is thought to have invested the papal see in more substantial and immediate power. Seventy-two bishops, thirty-three presbyters, and the whole assembled clergy, passed a canon that, under the penalty of anathema, no one should form a party for the succession to a bishopric; three days were to elapse before the election, and all bribery and simoniacal bargaining were strictly forbidden. No election was to be good unless made by the clergy and people, and ratified by the prince. A later and more doubtful authority subjoins, not till approved by the pope, under the solemn form, "We will and we ordain."^g

Boniface IV., a Marsian, is celebrated for the conver-

Boniface IV. Nov. 607. A.D. 608. Sept. 15. died A.D. 615. May 25. sion of the Pantheon into a Christian Church. With the sanction of the emperor, this famous temple, in which were assembled all the gods of the Roman world, was purified and dedicated to the new tutelary deities of mankind, the Virgin, and all the martyrs.

^g This sentence rests only on the late and doubtful authority of Platina, in *Vit. Pontif.*

Deusdedit and Boniface V. occupied the papal throne for ten years of peace, unbroken by any hostile collision, either with the Exarch or the Lombard kings, and even undisturbed by any important controversy.

Deusdedit.
A.D. 615,
Oct. 19,
died A.D. 618
May 25.
Boniface V.
A.D. 618-625
Oct. 25.

But the fatal connexion with the Eastern empire drove the succeeding popes into the intricacies and feuds of a new theological strife. While Mohammedanism was gathering in her might on its borders, and the stern assertors of the Divine Unity had already begun to wrest provinces from the Roman empire, the bishops in all the great sees of the East, the emperors themselves, were distracting their own minds, persecuting their subjects, and even spreading strife and bloodshed through their cities on the question of the single or the double Will in Christ. Honorius I. incurred a condemnation for heresy, his more orthodox successors suffered persecution, and one of them exile and death.

Honorius I.

It might have been supposed that Nestorianism, with its natural offspring, Eutychianism, had exhausted or worn out the contest concerning the union of the Godhead and the manhood in the Saviour. The Church had asserted the co-existence of the two natures—man with all his perfect properties—God with all his perfect attributes: it had refused to keep them in almost antagonistic separation with the Nestorian—to blend them into one with Eutyches. The Nestorian and the Monophysite had been alike driven away from the high places of the Church; though still formidable sects, they were but sects.

Controversy about the two wills in Christ.

But the Godhead and the manhood, thus each distinct and complete in itself, yet so intimately conjoined

—where began the divergence? where closed the harmony? Did the will, not merely the consentient, but absolutely identical will, and one unconflicting operation of that will, having become an active energy, perform all the works of the Redeemer, submit to and undergo his passion? or did each nature preserve its separate independence of will, and only by the concordance of these two at least theoretically conflicting wills, produce the harmonious action of the two natures? At what point did the duality terminate—the unity begin?

Sergius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, first, it might seem almost inadvertently, stirred this perplexing question. He discovered a writing of his holy predecessor, Mennas, which distinctly asserted that the Christ was actuated by but one will. He communicated it to some of the Eastern bishops, to Theodorus of Pharan, who had a high name as a theologian, and to Cyrus, then Bishop of Phasis; both bowed before the authority, and accepted the doctrine of Mennas.

The Emperor Heraclius, though he did not aspire to the character of a distinguished theologian, like his predecessor Justinian, could not, even occupied as he was with his adventurous and successful campaigns in

A.D. 626. the East, keep himself aloof from religious controversy.^h In a suspension of arms during his

war of invasion against the Lazians he encountered at Phasis the Bishop Cyrus whom he consulted on the important question of the single or double will, the single or double operation in Christ. Cyrus appealed to the Patriarch of Constantinople, who on

^h Walch has assigned the dates, adopted in the text, for the various incidents in the history of the Monothelitic controversy.—*Ketzer-Geschichte*, t. ix.

his own authority, and that of his predecessor, Mennas, decided in favour of the Monothelitic view. This doctrine had already offered itself under the captivating aspect of an intermediate term, which might conciliate the Monophysites with the Church. In Armenia, four years before, Heraclius had an interview with Paul, a follower of Severus, who, taken with the notion of one operation in Christ, was disposed to accede (with this explanation) to the Council of Chalcedon. At a later period, a more important personage, the Jacobite Patriarch, Anastasius, consented to remain, on these terms, with the Catholic Church. He was to be rewarded with the patriarchate of Antioch. Anastasius, it is said by his enemies, a man of consummate A.D. 628. craft, had overreached the unsuspecting emperor; the Jacobites mocked the simplicity of the Catholics, who, by this concession, instead of winning converts, had gone over to the doctrines of their adversaries. Monothelitism was but another form of Monophysitism.

Sergius of Constantinople addressed a letter to Honorius I. Honorius, in distinct words, declared himself a Monothelite. Yet Honorius, it is manifest, entirely misapprehended the question, and seemed not in the least to understand its subtle bearings on the controversies of the East. The unity which he asserted was not an identity, but a harmony. His main argument was, that the sinless human nature of Christ, being ignorant of that other law in the members, warring against the law of the mind, there could be no conflicting or adverse will in the God-Man.¹ But this plainer

¹ ὅθεν καὶ ἐν θέλημα ὁμολογοῦμεν τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ἐπειδὴ προδήλως ὑπὸ τῆς θεότητος προσελήφθη ἡ ἡμετέρα φύσις, οὐκ ἁμαρτία ἐν ἐκείνῃ, δηλαδὴ ἡ φύσις πρὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας κτισθεῖσα, οὐκ ἦτις μετὰ τὴν παράβασιν ἐφθάρη. — Honor. Epist., Labbe, 930. The metaphysical

and more practical conception of the question betrayed the unsuspecting Pope into words, to which the Monothelites, proud of their important partisan, as well as the stern polemic resentment of his adversaries, bound him down with inexorable rigour. Notwithstanding the charitable attempt of one of his successors, John IV., to interpret his words in this wider meaning, Honorius I. was branded by the Council of Constantinople with the name of heretic.

The whole church might seem in danger of falling into the same condemnation. All the prelates of the great sees of Rome, of Constantinople, of Alexandria (now occupied by Cyrus, formerly Bishop of Phasis) and of Antioch, had asserted the one indivisible will in Christ. In Egypt this reconciling tenet had wrought wonders. On this basis had been framed certain chapters, which the followers of Dioscorus and of Severus, all the Jacobite sects, received with eager promptitude. For once the whole people of Alexandria became one flock; almost all Egypt, Libya, and the adjacent provinces, with one voice and one spirit, obeyed the orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria.^k Sophronius alone, who during the controversy became Bishop of Jerusalem, the same Sophronius who afterwards signed the humiliating capitulation of Jerusalem to the Mohammedans, boldly asserted and elaborately defended the doctrine of the two wills. So deeply impressed was Sophronius with the vital importance of this question, that long after, when the Saracens were masters of the Holy City, he took Stephen, Bishop of Dora, to the spot which was supposed to be the Golgotha, the place of

and practical character of the two letters contrast singularly. Honorius reproves the introduction of terms not recognised by the Scriptures.
^k Sergii ad Honor. Epist. apud Concil. Const. III., Labbe, p. 921.

the Lord's crucifixion. "To that God," he said, "who on this very place was crucified for thee, at his second coming to judge the quick and the dead, thou shalt render thine account, if thou delayest or art remiss in the defence of his imperilled faith; go thou forth in my place. As thou knowest, on account of this Saracen invasion, now fallen upon us for our sins, I cannot bodily strive for the truth, and before the world proclaim, to the end of the earth, to the apostolic throne at Rome, the tenets of orthodoxy." Sophronius protested, appealed, wrote large volumes; and the religious peace which seemed descending on the afflicted East, gave place again to strife, and feud, and mutual anathema.

But in the Byzantine empire, the creed to its nicest shades and variations was an affair of state: it was fixed, or at least defined, by imperial authority. Heraclius, while he looked with miscalculating or awestruck apathy on the progress of the Mohammedan arms, could not refrain from interference with this question of metaphysic theology. In his name appeared the famous *Ecthesis*,^m or *Exposition of the Faith*, drawn in all probability by the Patriarch Sergius, but which, as professed by the emperor, his subjects were bound to receive in humble and unquestioning obedience. The *Ecthesis* declared the two wills in Christ to be a heresy, which even the impious Nestorius had not dared to promulgate. It was affixed, as the proclamation of the imperial creed, on the gates of the great church at Constantinople. The publication of the *Ecthesis* was followed, or immediately preceded, by the death of Sergius of Constantinople and that of Honorius of Rome.

A.D. 638.
Oct. 12.

^m *Ecthesis Heractii* apud Labbe, p. 200.

The Popes who succeeded Honorius amply retrieved by their resolute opposition to Monothelitism what was considered the delinquency of that prelate. On the death of Honorius, Severinus was elected to the papal throne; but the confirmation of his election was long delayed at Constantinople, and only conceded on the promise of his envoys that he would accede to the creed of Heraclius. Severinus, however, repudiated the Monothelitic doctrine. In the interval between the election and confirmation of Severinus, the plunder of the treasures of the Roman Church by the Exarch of Ravenna showed the unscrupulous and irreverent character of the Byzantine government. Maurice, the Chartulary, harangued the soldiers. While they were defrauded of their pay, the Church was reveling in wealth. The Exarch's officer occupied the Lateran palace, and sealed up all the accumulated riches which Christian emperors, patricians, consuls had bestowed for their souls' health, for the use of the poor, and the redemption of captives. The rapacious Exarch Isaac hastened to Rome. The plunder was divided, the Emperor propitiated by his share, which was transmitted to Constantinople. The more refractory of the clergy, who presumed to remonstrate, were sent into banishment.

Severinus died after a pontificate of two months and four days. He was succeeded by John IV., a Dalmatian by birth.ⁿ John not only condemned the Monothelite doctrine, but piously endeavoured to vindicate the memory of his predecessor Honorius from the imputation of heresy. Honorius had denied only the two human wills, the conflicting sinful

A.D. 640.
Aug. 2.
John IV.
consecrated
Dec. 25.

ⁿ Anastasius in vita.

will of fallen man, and the impeccable will, in the person of Christ.^o But the apology of John neither absolved the memory of Honorius before the Council of Constantinople, nor did the religious reverence of his successors, whose envoys were present at that Council, interpose in his behalf. The apology of John was addressed to the Emperor Constantine, whom it did not reach. For the death of Heraclius was followed by a rapid succession of revolutions at Constantinople. The later years of that Emperor had contrasted unfavourably with the glorious activity of his earlier administration. The conqueror of Persia seemed to look on the progress of Mohammedanism with the apathy of despair. He had deeply wounded the religious feelings of his subjects by an incestuous marriage with his niece Martina. It was the object of his dying wishes, of his last testament, that his son by Martina, Heracleonas, should share the empire with his elder brother, Constantine. The two sons of Heraclius were proclaimed co-equal Cæsars, under the sovereignty of the Empress Martina.

Death of
Heraclius.
Revolution
in Constantinople.

A.D. 641

But even Constantinople would not submit to the sway of an incestuous female. Martina was compelled to descend from the throne, and was succeeded by the feeble Constantine, whose decaying health broke down after a reign of but a hundred days. The enemies of Martina ascribed his death to poison administered by his stepmother and by Pyrrhus the Patriarch. Martina indeed again assumed the empire; but Constantine on

* "Decessor meus, docens de mysteriis incarnationi; Christi, dicebat non fuisse in eo, sicut in nobis peccatoribus, mentis et carnis contrarias voluntates; quod quidam ad proprium sensum

convertentes, divinitatis ejus et humanitatis unam eum voluntatem docuisse suspicati sunt."—Epist. Joan., Labbe or Mansi, sub ann. 641.

his death-bed had taken measures to secure the protection of the army for his children, the legitimate descendants of Heraclius. He had been assured that Heraclius had placed vast sums of money in the hands of the Patriarch to maintain the interests of Martina and her son. He, therefore, before he expired, sent a large donative to Valentinus, who commanded the army in the suburb of Chalcedon. Valentinus imperiously demanded the punishment of the guilty usurpers, of the assassins of Constantine. The citizens of Constantinople mingled with the ferocious soldiery. In the church of St. Sophia, Heraclionas was compelled to mount the pulpit, holding by the hand Constans, the elder of the sons of Constantine. With one voice the people, the soldiers, saluted Constans sole Emperor. A wild scene of pillage ensued; the barbarian soldiers, the Jews, and other lawless partisans desecrated the holy edifice by every kind of outrage. The Patriarch Pyrrhus, after depositing a protest on the high altar, fled. The Senate condemned Martina to the loss of her tongue, Heraclionas to the mutilation of his nose; these wretched victims were sent to die in exile. Constans was sole Emperor, and would brook no rival. His own brother Theodosius was compelled to incapacitate himself for sovereignty by holy orders. Yet even so the jealousy of Constans felt no security. Nothing was indelible to the imperial will at Constantinople; a successful usurper would have shaken off even that disqualification. Nearly twenty years after, Theodosius, the deacon, was assassinated by the command of his brother, whom the indignant people drove from his throne.

In the mean time religious war continued without abatement between Rome and Constantinople. The Monothelite Paul succeeded the Monothelite Pyrrhus.

The Ecthesis kept its place on the doors of the great church. But in the West, and in the whole of the African churches yet unsubdued by the Mohammedans, all Latin Christianity adhered to the doctrine of the two Wills. The monk Maximus, the indefatigable adversary of Monothelitism, travelled through the East and through Africa, denouncing the heresy of Sergius, and exciting to the rejection of the imperial Ecthesis. In Africa he held a long disputation, still extant, with the exile Pyrrhus. Theodorus I. had succeeded after the short popedom of John IV. to the pontifical throne of Rome. Theodorus rejected Monothelitism with the utmost zeal. During his pontificate, Pyrrhus of Constantinople came to Rome. Whether or not he acknowledged himself confuted by the unanswerable metaphysics of Maximus, he presented a memorial recanting all his errors on the single Will in Christ.^p The Pope Theodorus had received with courtesy from Paul, the successor of Pyrrhus, the communication of his advancement to the see of Constantinople; he had expressed some cautious doubts as to the regularity of the deposition of Pyrrhus, yet he had given his full approbation, he had expressed his joy on the elevation of Paul.^q But Paul was a Monothelite, Pyrrhus at his feet a penitent convert to orthodoxy. Pyrrhus was received with all the honours which belonged to the actual patriarch of Constantinople.

A.D. 645.

Pope Theodorus, A.D. 642, Nov. 24.

A.D. 646.

But Pyrrhus, from what motive appears not, retired

^p "Præsente cuncto clero et populo, condemnavit omnia, quæ a se vel a decessoribus suis scripta vel acta sunt adversus immaculatam fidem."—Vit. Theodor.

^q "Et quidem gavisus super hujus sumus ordinatione."—Epist. Theodori ad Episcop. Constantia. apud Labbe, sub ann.

to Ravenna, recanted his recantation, and declared himself a conscientious Monothelite.^r The indignant Pontiff

A.D. 648. was not content with the ordinary terrors of excommunication against this double renegade.

In a full assembly of the clergy of Rome, and of the neighbouring bishops, he heaped the most vehement anathemas on the head of the new Judas, and calling for the consecrated wine on the altar, poured some drops into the ink, and so signed the excommunication with the blood of Christ. Is it to be supposed that the blood of the Redeemer was revered in a less appalling sense than in later ages, or that the passion of the Pope triumphed not only over Christian moderation, but over the strongest religious awe?^s Theodorus was not satisfied with the excommunication of Pyrrhus, he excommunicated Paul also. Paul revenged himself by suppressing the religious worship of the Papal envoys at the Court, maltreating, and even causing to be scourged some of their attendants.

Martin I, the successor of Theodorus, plunged more deeply, and with more fatal consequences, into this religious strife, or rather this revolt of the Western Province against the religious supremacy of the Emperor. Constans had withdrawn the obnoxious Ecthesis; Paul the Patriarch had himself ordered it to be removed from the gates of the great Church. The Ecthesis of Heraclius was replaced by the Type of Constans. The Type spoke altogether a different language; it aspired to silence by authority this interminable dispute. It presumed not to define the Creed, further

^r He may have hoped for his reinstatement in the patriarchate by the recommendation of the Exarch, and have found that his reconciliation with

Rome stood in his way.

^s Theophanes, p. 509, ed. Bonn.; Anastas., p. 163, *ibid.*; Vit Maximi; Epist. Synodal.

than all parties were agreed, or beyond the decisions of the former councils. It stated the question with perspicuity and fairness, and positively prohibited the use of the phrase either of the single or the double Will and Energy.^t The penalties for the infringement of the Imperial decree were severe: against the ecclesiastic, deposition and deprivation; against the monk seclusion and banishment from his monastery; against the public officer, civil or military, degradation; against the private man of rank, confiscation of goods; against the common people, scourging and banishment.

Martin summoned a council in the Lateran, which was attended by 105 bishops, chiefly from Italy and the adjacent islands. After five sessions, in which the whole West repudiated Monothelism with perfect unanimity, twenty canons were framed condemning that heresy with all its authors. But Pope Martin was not content with anathematising the erroneous doctrine of the Single Will, with humbling the rival prelate of Constantinople by excommunication in full council, with declaring the edict of the deceased Emperor Heraclius, the *Ecthesis*, absolutely impious; he denounced as of equal impiety the *Type* of the reigning Emperor. Its exhortation to peace he scorned as a persuasive to unholy acquiescence in heresy; silence on such doctrines was a wicked suppression of divine truth.

Nor was Martin wanting in activity to maintain his bold position. He published the decrees of the Lateran Council throughout the West; he addressed letters to the Frankish kings, entreating them to send representatives of their churches to join a solemn spiritual embassy

The Type in Labbe or Mansi, sub ann.

to Constantinople. He despatched other missives to Britain, to Spain, and to Africa. He even appointed a Legate in the East to supersede the Monothelite patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem. His letter to Paul of Thessalonica is in a tone of condemnatory haughtiness which had hardly yet been assumed by a successor of St. Peter.^u

But to the Emperor of the East the Pope was a refractory subject and no more. In Constantinople the person of the bishop had never been invested in that sanctity which shielded it from law, or that which was law in the East, the imperial will. Even the natural reverence for the holy office had been disturbed by the perpetual feuds, the mutual anathemas and excommunications, the depositions, the degradations, the expulsions, fatal to that unhappy see: and as old Rome was now a provincial city, her bishop would not command greater respect than the prelate of the Imperial Capital.

The Exarch Olympius received orders to seize the Pope if he persisted in his contumacy to the imperial edict, and to send him prisoner to Constantinople. But Olympius found the people of Rome prepared to take up arms in defence of their bishop. He attempted to obtain his end by more peaceful means. Later writers

^u See a curious specimen of the logic of anathema. The Bishop of Thessalonica, because he refuses to join Martin in anathematising the Monothelites, is confirming all the errors of Pagans, Jews, and heretics: —“Ut per hoc non solum eos etiam quos anathematisamus, nempe ipsas hæreticorum personas, anathematisare recuses . . . sed ut etiam omnem omnium errorem Paganorum, Judæo-

rum, hæreticorum in te confirmes. Si enim omnia omnium horum dogmata condemnamus, ut contraria et inimica veritati, tu vero omnia una nobiscum voce non anathematisas quæ anathematisamus, consequens est, te horum omnium errorem confirmasse, qui a nobis sive ab ecclesiâ catholicâ anathematisatur.”—Ad Paul. Epis. Thessal. apud Labbe, sub ann. 649.

have protected the Pope by miracle from an attempted assassination,* and bowed the awestruck Exarch before the feet of Martin. But Olympius was hastily summoned from Rome to repel an invasion of Sicily by the Saracens, and died of fatigue in that island.

The new Exarch Theodorus, named Calliopas, was more resolute in the execution of his orders. He marched to Rome, and summoned the Pope to surrender to the Imperial authority. Some delay took place from the apprehensions of the Exarch, that soldiers, and means of defence, stones, and other weapons, were concealed in the Church. But Martin shrunk from bloodshed, and refused the offers of his partisans, headed by many of the clergy, to resist the Exarch. Martin had ordered his bed to be strewed before the high

altar in the Lateran. The Exarch and his troops entered the Church, the light of the candles flickered on the armour of the soldiery. Martin obeyed the summons of the Exarch to accompany him to the Lateran palace; there he was permitted to see some of the clergy. But suddenly he was hurried into a litter, the gates of Rome closed to prevent

his partisans from following him, he was carried to the harbour of Portus, embarked and landed at Messina. Thence to Avidos, on the island of Naxos, where he was first permitted the use of a bath.

The pious clergy crowded with their votive presents: the presents were seized, and the donors beaten back by the soldiery: "he who is a friend to Pope Martin is an enemy to the State." From Avidos a messenger was sent to Constantinople, to announce the arrival of the

A.D. 653.

June 15.

June 19.

July 1.

* The swordsman of Olympius was employed to stab the Pope while administering the communion to the Exarch; he was struck with blindness. —Anastas. in Vit.

heretic and rebel, the enemy and disturber of the whole Roman empire. On the 17th of September he arrived at Constantinople: he was left lying on a bed on the deck of the ship the whole day, the gaze of curious or hostile spectators. At sunset he was carried on a litter under a strong guard to Prandearia, the chief guard-house. There he was imprisoned, and forbidden to make known who he was. After ninety-three days of this imprisonment he was conveyed, on account of his weakness, upon a litter before the Senate. He was commanded to stand, but being unable, was supported by two guards. "Wretch," said the chief minister, "what wrong has the Emperor done to thee? has he deprived thee of anything, or used any violence against thee?" Martin was silent. Twenty witnesses were examined in order to connect him with some treason against the Emperor.⁷ Troilus demanded why he had not prevented, but rather consented to the rebellion of the Exarch Olympius. "How could I oppose the rebellion of Olympius, who had the whole army of Italy at his command? Did I appoint him Exarch?" The Pope was carried out to be exposed in a public place, where the Emperor could see him from a window. He was then half-stripped of his clothes, which were rent down, amid the anathemas of the people. The executioner fixed an iron collar round his neck, and led him through the city to the Prætorium, with a sword carried before him. He was then cast, first into a dungeon, where murderers were confined, then into another chamber, where he lay half-

⁷ He denied that he had sent money to the Saracens; he had only given some moderate sums to certain destitute servants of God. He repudiated the charge of having disdained the worship of the Virgin.—Ad Theodor. Epist.; Sirmond. iii. 320; Mansi sub ann.

naked and shivering with cold. The order for his execution was expected every moment. The next day the Patriarch Paul was lying on his death-bed, and besought the Emperor to show mercy to the persecuted Martin.² Martin, who hoped for speedy martyrdom, heard this with regret. On the death of Paul, Pyrrhus, who had returned from Italy, resumed the throne of Constantinople. A long examination of Martin took place on the conduct of Pyrrhus at Rome. For eighty-five days Martin languished in prison: he was at length taken away, and embarked for the inhospitable shores of Cherson. At Cherson he died. Such was the end of a Pope of the seventh century, who dared to resist the will of the Emperor. The monk Maximus and some of his followers were treated even with greater cruelty. Maximus refused to deny the two Wills in Christ; his tongue and his right hand were cut off, and so mutilated he was sent into exile.^a

A.D. 654.

A.D. 655.

A.D. 657.

While Martin was yet living, Eugenius was elected to the see of Rome. His short rule^b was followed by the longer but uneventful Pontificate of Vitalianus. The popes, warned by the fate of Martin, if they did not receive, did not condemn the Type of Constans. They allowed the question of the two Wills in Christ to slumber. Eugenius received from the new Patriarch of Constantinople, Peter, the account of his elevation, with a

Pope Eugenius I.

A.D. 657.
July 30.

^a All this curious detail is furnished by two letters of Martin himself, and a long account by one of his followers.—Apud Labbe, pp. 63-75.

^a Collatio S. Maxim. cum Theodoro, apud Labbe; Theophan. Cedrenus, Vit. Maximi.—Libellus Synod.

^b If reckoned from the banishment of Martin, 2 years, 8 months, and 24 days (654-657). If from the death of Martin, only 6 months and 23 days. But the chronology is doubtful.—Binii. Not. in Anastas. Vit. apud Labbe, 432.

declaration of faith, silent on the disputed point. During the pontificate of Vitalianus Rome was visited by the Byzantine emperor. Constans had withdrawn from the Eastern Rome for ever. He dared not confront the hatred of the people on account of the murder of his brother the Deacon Theodosius, whom not even the tonsure could protect from his jealousy.^c He was pursued by the curses of mankind; and by the avenging spectre of his brother, which constantly offered to his lips a cup of blood: "Drink, brother, drink!" Yet in his restless wanderings he at times proclaimed a nobler object, the repression of the Saracens, who now began to command the Mediterranean and threaten Sicily, and of the Lombards, who seemed about to swallow up the Byzantine Exarchate in Italy.^d It is even said that in his hatred to Constantinople, he proposed to restore the empire to old Rome.^e But he visited Rome as a plunderer, not as the restorer of her power. He was received by the Pope Vitalianus almost with religious honours. The haughty conduct of Constans in Rome, and the timid servility of Vitalianus, contrast with the meetings of the Western Cæsars, fifty years later, with the successors of St. Peter. To the Emperor, the Pope is merely the high priest of the city. To the Pope, the Emperor is his undoubted lord and master. The Emperor has all the unquestioning arrogance of the sovereign, whose word is law, and who commands without scruple the plunder of the public

A.D. 683.
July 5.

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^c According to Cedrenus, at the tonsure of Theodosius, he had received the sacrament, it should seem, as a pledge for his brother's future security. *ἔκειρε πρότερον αὐτον διὰ Παύλου πατριάρχου διάκονου, ὃς καὶ μετέδωκε τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν ἀχράντων μυστηρίων*

ἐν ἀγίῳ ποτηρίῳ.—P. 343.

^d Paulus Diacon. lib. v.

^e *βουλόμενος καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς τὴν πρεσβυτέραν Ῥώμην μετενέγκειν.*—Zonar. l. xiv. 11; Glycas. Theophanes.

edifices, sacred as well as profane; the Pope the subject, who dares not interpose to protect the property of the city, or even of the Church. Constans remained twelve days in Rome; all the ornaments of brass, besides more precious metals, were stripped from the churches, the iron roof torn from the Pantheon, now a church, and the whole sent off to Constantinople. Constans retired amid the suppressed execrations of all orders, to die a miserable death at Syracuse.

July 17.

A.D. 668.

The Byzantine government did not discourage encroachments even on the spiritual supremacy of Rome in the West. Maurus, Bishop of Ravenna, emboldened by his city having become the capital of the Exarchate, asserted and maintained his independence of the Bishop of Rome. The Archbishop of Ravenna boasted of a privilege, issued by the Emperors Heraclius and Constantine, which exempted him from all superior episcopal authority, from the authority of the Patriarch of old Rome.^f Vitalianus hurled his excommunication against Maurus. Maurus threw back his excommunication against Vitalianus. It was not till the pontificate of Leo II. that the pride of the Archbishop of Ravenna was humbled or self humiliated, and Maurus, who had been an object of superstitious veneration to the people, deposed from his sanctity. Archbishop Theodorus, involved in a violent contest with his clergy, sacrificed the independent dignity of his see to his own power, and submitted to Rome; he was rewarded with the title of saint.^g

^f "Sancimus amplius securam atque liberam ab omni superiori Episcopali conditione manere, et solum orationi vacare pro nostro imperio, et non subjacere pro quolibet modo patriarchæ

antiquæ urbis Romæ, sed manere eam αὐτοκεφάλην."—Agnelli, Vit. Pontif. Ravenn. apud Muratori, p. 148.

^g Agnelli, p. 151.

Adeodatus and Domnus, or Donus, the successors of Vitalianus, have left hardly any record of their actions to Christian history. But the summons to a general council at Constantinople was issued by the successor of Constans, Constantine the Bearded, during the pontificate of Domnus; it arrived after the accession of Agatho, a Sicilian, to the Roman pontificate.

Constantine the Bearded was seized apparently with a sudden and unexplained desire to reunite the East and the West under one creed. Monothelism may have been more unpopular in the East than outward circumstances had shown; the monks may have been of the opposite party; Constantine himself may have felt religious doubts as to the prevailing creed. It was not, however, till fourteen years after his accession that the sixth general council actually assembled at Constantinople to decide the question of Monothelism. They met in a chamber of the imperial palace. The Emperor himself presided, by twelve of his chief ministers. Of the great patriarchs were present George of Constantinople, and Macarius of Antioch. The designated envoys of Pope Agatho were the Bishops Abundantius of Paterneum, John of Portus, John of Rhegium, the sub-deacon Constantine, the presbyters Theodorus and Gregory, and the deacon John. Pope Agatho had entertained a hope of the presence of Theodorus, Archbishop of Canterbury, "the philosopher." He makes something like an ostentatious boast of the Lombard, Slavian, Frank, Gaulish, Gothic, and British bishops, subject to his authority.^b Two monks, George

^b "Sperabamus deinde de Britannia phum ad nostram humilitatem con-
Theodorum archiepiscopum et philoso- jungere; et maxime quia in meli

and Peter, represented the Patriarchs of Jerusalem and of Alexandria. The proceedings were conducted with solemn regularity. On one side were the legates of Pope Agatho, on the other Macarius of Antioch, a determined Monothelite. During the seventh sitting George, the Patriarch of Constantinople, rose and declared that, having carefully compared the passages from the fathers, cited by the Westerns and by Macarius, he had been convinced by the unanswerable arguments of the Romans: "to them I offer my adhesion, theirs is my confession and belief." The example of George was followed by the Bishops of Ephesus, Heraclea, Cyzicum, Chalcedon, the Phrygian Hierapolis, Byzia in Thrace, Mytilene, Methymna, Selymbria, Prusias, and Anastasiopolis. Macarius and his scholar, the monk Stephen, stood alone in open and contumacious resistance to the doctrine of the two wills. Macarius was degraded from his Patriarchal dignity; the monk Stephen condemned as another Eutyches or Apollinaris. The fifteenth session was enlivened by a strange episode. A monk, Polychronius, denounced as an obstinate Monothelite, challenged the council to put the doctrine to the test of a miracle. He would lay his creed on a dead body; if the dead rose not, he surrendered himself to the will of the Emperor. A body was brought into a neighbouring bath. The Emperor, the ministers, the whole council, and a wondering multitude, adjourned to this place. Polychronius presented a sealed paper, which was opened and read; it declared his creed, and that he had been commanded in a vision to hasten to Constantinople to prevent the Emperor from establishing heresy. The

gentium, tam Longobardorum, quam-
que Slavorum, necnon Francorum,
Gallorum, et Gothorum, atque Britan-
norum, plurimi confamulorum nos-
trorum esse noscuntur."—Apud Mansi
sub ann. 680.

paper was laid on the corpse; Polychronius sat whispering into its ear, and the patient assembly awaited the issue for some hours. But the obstinate dead would not come to life. An unanimous anathema (all seem to have been too serious for ridicule) condemned Polychronius as a heretic and a deceiver. The Synod returned to its chamber, and endeavoured to argue with the contumacious Polychronius, who, still inflexible, was degraded from all his functions.¹

The council proceeded with its anathemas. George of Constantinople endeavoured to save his predecessors from being denounced by name; the council rejected his motion, and one cry broke forth—Anathema against the heretic Theodorus of Pharan! Anathema against the heretic Sergius! (of Constantinople). Anathema against the heretic Cyrus! Anathema against the heretic Honorius! (of Rome). Anathema against the heretic Pyrrhus; against the heretic Paul; against Peter, Macarius, Polychronius, and a certain Apergius! At the close of the proceedings of this sixth general council, a creed was framed, distinctly asserting the two wills and the two operations in Christ; and at the close of all, amid gratulations to the Cæsar, were again recited the names of the anathematised heretics, commencing with Nestorius, ending with Sergius, Honorius of Rome, and all the more distinguished Monothelites.

The decree of the Council of Constantinople, the sixth œcumenic council, was at once a triumph and a humiliation to the see of Rome; a triumph as establishing the orthodoxy of the doctrines maintained in the West by all the Bishops of Rome excepting Honorius. The Patriarch of Constantinople had been constrained to

¹ Council. sub ann.

recant the creed of his predecessors; the whole line after Sergius had been involved in one anathema. The Emperor himself had adopted the creed of Rome. The one obstinate Patriarch, Macarius of Antioch, had been stripped of his pall, and driven, with every mark of personal insult and ignominy, from the assembly. Yet was it a humiliation, for it condemned a Bishop of Rome as an anathematised heretic. But, while the Pope made the most of his triumph, he seemed utterly to disregard the humiliation. The impeccability of the Bishop of Rome was not as yet an article of the Roman creed. The successor of Agatho (who had died during the sitting of the Council), Pope Leo II., announced to the churches of the West the universal acceptance of the Roman doctrine; to the bishops and to the King of Spain he recapitulated the names of the anathematised heretics, among the rest of Honorius, who, instead of quenching the flame of heresy, as became the apostolic authority, had fanned it by his negligence; who had permitted the immaculate rule of faith, handed down by his predecessors, to suffer defilement.^k The condemned Monothelites of the East were banished to Rome, as the place in which they were most likely to be converted from their errors; and where some of them, weary of imprisonment in the monasteries to which they were consigned, abjured their former creed. Macarius of Antioch alone resisted alike all theological arguments, and all the more worldly temptations of reinstatement in the dignity and honours of his see.

^k "Qui flammam heretici dogmatis, qui immaculatam apostolicæ traditionis regulam quam a prædecessoribus suis accepit maculari consensit."—Epist. ad Ervig. Reg. Hispan. D. Labbe, p. 1246. "Honorius Romanus" 1252.

A.D. 682,
Sept., Oct.

The names of the Popes Benedict II., of John V., a Syrian by birth, of Conon, and of Sergius, fill up the rest of the seventh century. During this period an attempt was made to remedy the inconvenience of awaiting so long the imperial confirmation of the papal election. Nearly a year elapsed before the consecration of Benedict II. An edict of Constantine, who still cultivated a close alliance with the Popes, enacted that, on the unanimous suffrage of the clergy, the people, and the soldiery (the soldiery are now assuming in the election of the Pontiff the privilege of the Prætorian Guard in the election of the Emperor), the Pope might at once proceed to his consecration. This regulation, however, demanded that rare occurrence on the election of a Bishop of Rome, unanimity. On the election of Conon, and afterwards of Sergius, strife arose, and contending competitors divided the suffrages. The Exarch of Ravenna resumed his right of interference and of final sanction before the consecration of the Pope. On the death of Conon three candidates were proposed by their conflicting partisans. The Archdeacon Paschalis, the Archpresbyter Theodorus, were supported by two rival factions; a third proposed Sergius, of a Syrian family, which had settled at Palermo in Sicily. Each of the other candidates occupied a strong position in the city, when the third party set up Sergius, and carried him in triumph to the Lateran Palace. Theodorus was compelled to surrender his claims, but Paschalis had sent large offers of money to Ravenna, and depended on the support of the Exarch. The Exarch came to Rome, declared in favour of Sergius, but exacted from him a donative at least equal to that offered by the rejected

Popes.

Benedict II.,
A.D. 683-685.John V.,
A.D. 685, 686.Conon,
A.D. 686, 687.Sergius I.,
A.D. 687.A.D. 684.
Jan. 26.Theodorus,
A.D. 687.Paschalis
anti-Pope,
A.D. 687-692.

Paschalis.^m The churches were laid under contribution to satisfy the rapacious Exarch.

Sergius rejected certain canons of the Quinisextan Council,ⁿ which assembled at the summons of the Emperor Justinian II. This Council is Quinisextan Council. the great authority for the discipline of the Greek Church. Rigid in its enactments against marriage after entering into holy orders, and severe against those who had married two wives, or wives under any taint as of widowhood, actresses, or any unlawful occupation, it nevertheless deliberately repudiated the Roman canon^o which forced such priests to give up all commerce with their wives: it asserted the permission of Scripture in favour of a married clergy, married, that is, to virgins and reputable wives, previous to taking orders. Sergius disdainfully refused his adhesion to the authority of the Council, and annulled its decrees. Justinian, like his predecessor Constans, endeavoured to treat the Pope as a refractory subject. He sent orders for his apprehension and transportation to Constantinople. But Sergius was strong, not only in the affections of the people, but of the army also. The protospatharius, the officer of the Emperor, was driven with insult from the city; the Pope was obliged to interfere in order to appease the tumult among the indignant soldiery. Ere the Emperor could revenge his insulted dignity he was himself deposed. Before his restoration Sergius had been dead several years. Even if the successors of Sergius pursued his contumacious policy, nearer objects of detestation first demanded the revenge of Justinian, who had no time to waste on a distant

Sergius died, A.D. 701. Justinian restored, 705.

^m Anastas. in Vit. Sergii.

ⁿ Called also the Council in Trullo, palace in which it was held.
 from the chamber in the imperial } o Can. iii. xiii. apud Labbe, pp 1141-1148.

priest who had only resisted his religious supremacy. But on a later occasion Justinian asserted to the utmost the imperial authority.

The eighth century opened with the pontificate of John VI. John VI., in which the papal influence displayed itself in the becoming character of protector of the peace of the city. The Pope saved the life of the Exarch Theophylact, against whom the soldiery had risen in insurrection: they were calmed by the persuasive eloquence of the Pontiff. Certain infamous persons had made charges against some of the more eminent citizens of Rome, to tempt the Exarch to plunder them of their property. By the Pope's influence they were themselves punished by a heavy fine. He compelled or persuaded the Lombard Duke of Benevento, who had made a predatory incursion into Campania, to withdraw into his own territories. The Pope redeemed all the captives which the Lombard had taken.

During the pontificate of John VII., a Greek, the John VII. Emperor Justinian II. resumed the throne of 705-707. Constantinople. The timid Pope trembled at his commands to receive the decrees of the Quinisextan A.D. 707. Council; he endeavoured to temporise, but escaped by death from the conflict. Sisinnius, a Syrian, was chosen his successor, but died twenty days after his election.

He was succeeded by Constantine, another Syrian. Constantine. At the commencement of this pontificate, Felix, the newly-elected Archbishop of Ravenna, came to Rome for his consecration. But Felix refused to sign the customary writing testifying his allegiance to the Roman see, and to renounce the independence of Ravenna. The imperial ministers at Rome

took part against him, and, in fear of their power, he tendered an ambiguous act of submission, in which he declared his repugnance to his own deed. It was said that this act, laid up in the Roman archives, was in a few days found black and shrivelled as by fire. But Felix had a more dangerous enemy than Pope Constantine. The Emperor Justinian had now glutted his vengeance on his enemies in the East; he sought to punish those who had either assisted or at least rejoiced in his fall in the more distant provinces. The inhabitants of Ravenna had incurred his wrath. A fleet, with Theodorus the patrician at its head, appeared in their haven; the city was occupied, the chief citizens seized, according to one account by treachery, transported to Constantinople, and there by the sentence of the Emperor put to death. The Archbishop was deprived of his eyes in the most cruel manner by the express orders of the Emperor. He was then banished to the Crimea.^P The terrible Justinian still aimed at reducing the West to obedience to the Quinisextan Council. He summoned Constantine before his presence in Constantinople. The Pope had the courage and wisdom to obey. His obedience conciliated the Emperor. Everywhere he was well entertained, and he was permitted to delay till the tempestuous winter season was passed. In the spring he arrived in Constantinople, where he was received by Tiberius, son of the Emperor. Justinian was himself at Nicæa; he advanced to Nicomedia to meet the Bishop of Rome. It is said by the Western writers that the Emperor knelt and kissed the feet of the Pope—an act neither consonant to Greek usage

A.D. 708.

A.D. 708.

A.D. 710, 711.

^P Anastas. in Vit.; Agnelli, Vitæ Pontif. Ravennat.

nor to the character of Justinian. But the Emperor's pride was gratified by the submission of Constantine. How far the Pope consented to the canons of the Quinisextan Council, by what arts he eluded those which were adverse to the Roman discipline, history is silent. But Constantine returned to Italy in high favour with the Emperor, and bearing the imperial confirmation of all the privileges of the Church of Rome. The wisdom of Constantine's conduct became still more manifest. During his absence John Rizocopus, the new Exarch, entered Rome, seized and put to death many of the principal clergy. The Exarch proceeded to Ravenna, where he was slain in an insurrection of the citizens.⁹ This insurrection grew to an open revolt. Ravenna and the Pentapolis threw off the imperial yoke, under the command of George, son of Giovannicius, the Emperor's secretary. On the death of Justinian and the change of the dynasty they renewed their allegiance; the blind Archbishop Felix returned from his banishment, and resumed the functions of his see.

Constantine was the last Pope who was the humble subject of the Eastern Emperor. With
A.D. 716. Gregory II. we enter on a new epoch in the history of Latin Christendom.

⁹ Anastasius—Agelli, ut supra.

CHAPTER VII.

Iconoclasm.

THE eighth century gave birth to a religious contest, in its origin, in its nature, and in its important political consequences entirely different from ^{Iconoclasm.} all those which had hitherto distracted Christendom. Iconoclasm was an attempt of the Eastern Emperor to change by his own arbitrary command the religion of his subjects. No religious revolution has ever been successful which has commenced with the government. Such revolutions have ever begun in the middle or lower orders of society, struck on some responsive chord of sympathy in the general feeling, supplied some religious want, stirred some religious energy, and shaken the inert strength of the established faith by some stronger counter emotion. Whatever the motives of the Emperor Leo the Isaurian (and on this subject, as in all the religious controversies where the writings of the unsuccessful party were carefully suppressed or perished through neglect, authentic history is almost silent), whether he was actuated by a rude aversion to what perhaps can hardly yet be called the fine arts with which Christianity was associating itself, or by a spiritual disdain and impatience of the degrading superstition into which the religion of the Gospel had so long been degenerating, the attempt was as politically unwise and unseasonable as the means employed were despotic and altogether unequal to the end. The time was passed, if

it had ever been, when an imperial edict could change, or even much affect, the actual prevailing religion of the empire. For this was no speculative article of belief, no question of high metaphysical theology, but a total change in the universal popular worship, in the spirit and in the essence, if not of the daily ritual, of countless observances and habitual practices of devotion. It swept away from almost all the churches of the Empire objects hallowed by devotion, and supposed to be endowed with miraculous agency; objects of hope and fear, of gratitude and immemorial veneration. It not merely invaded the public church, and left its naked walls without any of the old remembrancers of faith and piety; it reached the private sanctuary of prayer. No one could escape the proscription; learned or unlearned, priest or peasant, monk or soldier, clergyman or layman, man, woman, and even child, were involved in the strife. Something to which their religious attachments clung, to which their religious passions were wedded, might at any time be forcibly rent away, insulted, trampled under foot; that which had been their pride and delight could only now be furtively visited, and under the fear of detection.

Nor was it possible for this controversy to vent itself in polemic writings; to exhaust the mutual hatred which it engendered in fierce invectives, which, however they might provoke, were not necessarily followed by acts of conflict and bloodshed. Here actual, personal, furious collision of man and man, of faction and faction, of armed troops against armed troops, was inevitable. The contending parties did not assail each other with mutual anathemas, which they might despise, or excommunication and counter-excommunication, the validity of which might be questioned

Nature of the controversy.

by either party. On one side it was a sacred obligation to destroy, to mutilate, to dash to pieces, to deface the objects on which the other had so long gazed with intense devotion, and which he might think it an equally sacred obligation to defend at the sacrifice of life. It was not a controversy, it was a feud; not a polemic strife, but actual war declared by one part of Christendom against the other. It was well perhaps for Christendom that the parties were not more equally balanced; that, right or wrong, one party in that division of the Christian world, where total change would have been almost extermination, obtained a slow but complete triumph.

In all the controversies, moreover, in which the Emperors had been involved, whether they had plunged into them of their own accord, or had been compelled to take a reluctant part;—whether they embraced the orthodox or the erroneous opinions,—they had found a large faction, both of the clergy and the people, already enlisted in the cause. In this case they had to create their own faction; and though so many of the clergy, from conviction, fear, or interest, became Iconoclasts, as to form a council respectable for its numbers; though, among some part of the people, an Iconoclastic fanaticism broke out, yet it was no spontaneous movement on their part. The impulse, to all appearance, emanated directly from the emperor. It was not called forth by any general expression of aversion to the existing superstition by any body of the clergy, or by any single bold reformer: it was announced, it was enacted in that character of Supreme Head of the Empire, which was still supposed to be vested in the Cæsar, and had descended to him as part of his inheritance from his pagan predecessors. This sovereignty com-

prehended religious as well as temporal autocracy ; and of this the clergy, though they had often resisted it, and virtually, perhaps, held it to be abrogated, had never formally, publicly, or deliberately, declined the jurisdiction. It is a proof of the strong will and commanding abilities of the great Iconoclastic Emperors, that they could effect, and so long maintain, such a revolution, by their sole authority, throughout at least their eastern dominions.

And there was this irremediable weakness in the cause of Iconoclasm. It was a mere negative doctrine, a proscription of those sentiments which had full possession of the popular mind, without any strong counter-vailing religious excitement. There was none of that appeal to principles like those of the Reformation, to the Bible, to justification by faith, to the individual sense of responsibility. The senses were robbed of their habitual and cherished objects of devotion, but there was no awakening of an inner life of intense and passionate piety. The cold naked walls from whence the Scriptural histories had been effaced, the despoiled shrines, the mutilated images, could not compel the mind to a more pure and immaterial conception of God and the Saviour. It was a premature Rationalism, enforced upon an unreasoning age — an attempt to spiritualise by law and edict a generation which had been unspiritualised by centuries of materialistic devotion. Hatred of images, in the process of the strife, might become, as it did, a fanaticism—it could never become a religion. Iconoclasm might proscribe idolatry, but it had no power of kindling a purer faith.

The consequences of this new religious dissension were of the utmost political importance, both in the East and in the West. In the East, instead of consolidating

the strength of Christendom in one great confederacy against invading Mohammedanism, it dis-tracted the thoughts of men from their more pressing dangers, weakened the military energy which, under the Isaurian race of emperors, seemed likely to revive; depopularised, with at least one half of their subjects, sovereigns of such great ability as Leo and Constantine Copronymus (whose high qualities for empire pierce through the clouds which are spread over their names by hostile annalists); and finally by adding a new element of animosity to the domestic intrigues within the palace, interrupted the regular succession, and darkened the annals of the empire with new crimes.

Its conse-
quences.

But its more important results were the total disruption of the bond between the East and the West—the severance of the Italian province from the Byzantine Empire; the great accession of Power to the Papacy, which took the lead in this revolution; the introduction of the Frankish kings into the politics of Italy; and eventually the establishment of the Western Empire under Charlemagne.

Yet this question, thus prematurely agitated by the Iconoclastic emperors, and at this period of Christianity so fatally mistimed, is one of the most grave, and it should seem inevitable controversies, arising out of our religion. It must be judged by a more calm and profound philosophy than could be possible in times of actual strife between two impassioned and adverse factions. It is a conflict of two great principles, which it is difficult to reconcile. On the one hand, there can be no doubt that with ignorant and superstitious minds, the use, the reverence, the worship of images, whether in pictures or statues, invariably degenerates into

idolatry. The Church may draw fine and aërial distinctions between images as objects of reverence and as objects of adoration; as incentives to the worship of more remote and immaterial beings, or as actual indwelling deities; it may nicely define the feeling which images ought to awaken;—but the intense and indiscriminating piety of the vulgar either understands not, or utterly disregards these subtleties; it may refuse to sanction, it cannot be said not to encourage, that devotion which cannot and will not weigh and measure either its emotions or its language. Image-worship in the mass of the people, of the whole monkhood at this time, was undeniably the worship of the actual, material, present image, rather than that of the remote, formless, or spiritual power, of which it was the emblem or representative. It has continued, and still continues, to be in many parts of Christendom this gross and unspiritual adoration; it is a part of the general system of divine worship. The whole tendency of popular belief was to localise, to embody in the material thing the supernatural or divine power. The healing or miraculous influence dwelt in, and emanated from, the picture of the saint—the special, individual picture—it was contained within the relique, and flowed directly from it. These outward things were not mere occasional vehicles of the divine bounty, indifferent in themselves; they possessed an inherent, inalienable sanctity. Where the image was, there was the saint. He heard the prayer, he was carried in procession to allay the pestilence, to arrest the conflagration, to repel the enemy. He sometimes resumed the functions of life, smiled, or stretched his hand from the wall. An image of the same saint, or of the Virgin, rivalled another image in its wonder-working power, or its mild benignity.

On the other hand, is pure and spiritual Christianity—the highest Christianity to which the human mind can attain—implacably and irreconcilably hostile to the Fine Arts? Is that influence of the majestic and the beautiful awakened through the senses by form, colour, and expression, to be altogether abandoned? Can the exaltation, the purification of the human soul by Art in no way be allied with true Christian devotion? Is that aid to the realisation of the historic truths of our religion, by representations, vivid, speaking, almost living, to be utterly proscribed? Is that idealism which grows out of and nourishes reverential feelings, to rest solely on the contemplation of pure spirit, without any intermediate human, yet superhumanised, form? Because the ignorant or fraudulent monk has ascribed miraculous power to his Madonna or the image of his patron saint, and the populace have knelt before it in awe which it is impossible to distinguish from adoration, is Christianity to cast off as alien to its highest development, the divine creations of Raffaello, or of Correggio? Are we inexorably to demand the same sublime spiritualism from the more or less imaginative races or classes of mankind?

This great question lies indeed at the bottom of the antagonism between those two descriptions of believers; to a certain extent, between the religion of southern and that of northern Europe, between that of the races of Roman and some of those of Teutonic descent; between that of the inhabitants of towns or villages, and rude mountaineers; finally, between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism.

But since, in the progress of civilisation, the fine arts will no doubt obtain, if not greater influence, more general admiration, religion must either break off en-

tirely all association with these dangerous friends, and the fine arts abandon the most fertile and noblest field for their development; or their mutual relations must be amicably adjusted. A finer sense of their inherent harmony must arise; the blended feelings which they excite must poise themselves far above the vulgar superstition of idolatry, while they retain the force and intensity of devotional reverence. The causes which may be expected to work this sacred reconciliation may be the growing intelligence of mankind, greater familiarity with the written Scriptures; and, paradoxical as it may sound, but as may hereafter appear, greater perfection in the arts themselves, or a finer apprehension of that perfection in ancient as in modern art.

Doubtless, the pure, unmingled, spiritual notion of the Deity was the elementary principle of Christianity. It had repudiated all the anthropomorphic images, which to the early Jews had impersonated and embodied, if it had not to grosser minds materialised, the Godhead, and reduced God to something like an earthly sovereign, only enthroned in heaven in more dazzling pomp and magnificence. Even the localisation of the Deity in the temple or the tabernacle, a step towards materialisation, had been abrogated by the Saviour himself. Neither Samaria nor Jerusalem was to be any longer a peculiar dwelling place of the Universal Father.

Throughout the early controversy on image-worship, there was a steadfast determination to keep the Parent and Primal Deity aloof from external form. No similitude of the unseen, incomprehensible Father, was permitted for many centuries;^a even in a symbolic form,

^a "Cur tandem patrem domini Jesu | gimus, quoniam quod sit non novimus,
Christi non oculis subjicimus, et pin- | Deique natura spectanda proponi non

as in the vision of Ezekiel, which Raffaele and some of the later painters have ventured to represent. It should seem, that even if the artists had been equal to the execution, the subject would have been thought presumptuous or profane.^b

But if Christianity was thus in its language and in its primal conception so far superior in its spirituality to the religion of the Old Testament, it had itself its peculiar anthropomorphism; it had its visible, material, corporeal revelation of the Deity. God himself, according to its universal theory, had condescended to the human form.^c Christ's whole agency, his birth, his infancy, his life, and his death, had been cognisable to the senses of his human brethren in the flesh. If, from the language of the Scriptures, descriptive of all those wonderful acts of power, of mercy, and of suffering, the imagination might realise to itself his actual form, motions, demeanour, the patient majesty in death, the dignity after the resurrection, the incipient glory in the ascension, and worship that mental image as the actual incarnate Godhead, why might not that which was thus first embodied in inspired language, and thence endowed with life by the creative faculty of the mind, be fixed in colour and in stone, and so be preserved from evanescence, be so arrayed in permanent ideal being? Form and colour were but another language addressed to the eye, not to the ear. While the Saviour was on earth, the divinity within his human form demanded the in-

potest ac pingi. Quod si eum intuiti essemus ac novissemus prout filium ejus, illum quoque spectandum proponere potuissemus, ac pingere, ut et illius imaginem idolum appellares."—Greg. II. Epist. i., ad Leon. Imper. p. 14.

Christianity on the Fine Arts, vol. iii. p. 377 *et seq.*, and Didron, Iconographie Chrétienn.

^c οὐ τὴν ἀοράτου εἰκονίζω θεότητα, ἀλλ' εἰκονίζω θεοῦ τὴν δραβεῖσαν σάρκα.—Joann. Damascen., Orat. de Imag. 1.

^b See the chapter in the History of

tensest devotion, the highest worship which man could offer to God. The Saviour thus revived by the phantasy, even as he was in the flesh, might justly demand the same homage. When that image became again actual form, did the material accessories—the vehicle of stone or colour—so far prevail over the ideal conception, as to harden into an idol that which, as a mental conception, might lawfully receive man's devotions? It seemed to awaken only the same emotions, which were not merely pardonable, but in the highest degree pious, in the former case: why, then, forbidden or idolatrous in the latter? ^d

The same argument which applied to the Saviour, applied with still greater force to those merely human beings, the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament, the apostles, the saints, the martyrs, even to the Virgin herself. Why should not their histories be related by forms and colours, as well as by words? It was but presenting the same truths to the mind through another sense. If they were unduly worshipped, the error was in the hagiolatry or adoration of saints, not in the adoration of the image. Pictures were but the books of the unlearned; preachers never silent of the glory of the saints, and instructing with soundless voice the beholders, and so sanctifying the vision. "I am too poor to possess books, I have no leisure for reading: I enter the church, choked with the cares of the world,

^d This argument is urged by Gregory II. in his epistle to Germanus at great length: "Enarrent illa et per voces, et per literas, et per picturas." So Germanus: ἄπερ διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς ἀληθῆ πεπιστεύκαμεν, ταῦτα καὶ διὰ γραφικῆς μιμήσεως πρὸς βεβαιότεραν ἡμῶν πληροφορίαν συνιστάνομεν.—*Epist. ad Joann. Episc. Synad.* They

argued that this was an argument for Christ's real humanity against the Docetic sects. Their favourite authority was Basil: ἃ γὰρ ὁ λόγος τῆς ἱστορίας διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς παρίστησι, ταῦτα γραφῆ σιωπῶσα διὰ μιμήσεως δείκνυσι. So also Joann. Damasc.: ὅπερ τῆ ἀκοῆ ὁ λόγος, τοῦτο τῆ ὁράσει ἢ εἰκῶν.

the glowing colours attract my sight and delight my eyes, like a flowery meadow; and the glory of God steals imperceptibly into my soul. I gaze on the fortitude of the martyr and the crown with which he is rewarded, and the fire of holy emulation kindles within me, and I fall down and worship God through the martyr, and I receive salvation.”^e Thus argues the most eloquent defender of images, betraying in his ingenious argument the rudeness of the arts, and the uncultivated taste not of the vulgar alone. It is the brilliancy of the colours, not the truth or majesty of the design, which enthralls the sight. And, so in general, the ruder the art the more intense the superstition. The perfection of the fine arts leads rather to diminish than to promote such superstition. Not merely does the cultivation of mind required for their higher execution, as well as the admiration of them, imply an advanced state; but the idealism which is their crowning excellence, in some degree unrealises them, and creates a different and more exalted feeling. There is more direct idolatry paid to the rough and ill-shapen image, or the flat, unrelieved, and staring picture,—the former actually clothed in gaudy and tinsel ornaments, the latter with the crown of gold leaf on the head, and real or artificial flowers in the hand,—than to the noblest ideal statue, or the Holy Family with all the magic of

^e ὅτι βιβλοὶ τοῖς ἀγραμμάτοις εἰσὶν αἱ εἰκόνες, καὶ τῆς τῶν ἁγίων τιμῆς ἀσίγητοι κήρυκες, ἐν ἀήχῳ φωνῇ τοῦς ὁρῶντας διδάσκουσαι, καὶ τὴν ὄρασιν ἀγάξουσαι. οὐκ εὐπορῶ βίβλων, οὐ σχολὴν ἔγω πρὸς τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν· εἰσεμι εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ψυχῶν ἰατρεῖον, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὅσπερ ἀκάνθαις τοῖς λογισμοῖς συνπιγνόμενος, ἔλκει με πρὸς θεόν

τῆς γραφῆς τὸ ἄνθος, καὶ ὡς λειμὼν τέρπει τὴν ὄρασιν, καὶ λεληθότως ἐναφίησι τῇ ψυχῇ δόξα θεοῦ. τεθέαμαι τὴν καρτερίαν τοῦ μάρτυρος, τῶν στεφάνων τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν, καὶ ὡς πυρὶ πρὸς ξύλον ἐξάπτομαι τῇ προθυμίᾳ, καὶ πίπτων προσκυνῶ θεὸν διὰ τοῦ μάρτυρος, καὶ λαμβάνω τὴν σωτηρίαν. — Joann. Damascen. 1^a Imag. Orat. ii. p. 747.

light and shade. They are not the fine paintings which work miracles, but the coarse and smoke-darkened boards, on which the dim outline of form is hardly to be traced.^f Thus it may be said, that it was the superstition which required the images, rather than the images which formed the superstition. The Christian mind would have found some other fetiche, to which it would have attributed miraculous powers. Reliques would have been more fervently worshipped and endowed with more transcendant powers, without the adventitious good, the familiarising the mind with the historic truths of Scripture or even the legends of Christian martyrs, which at least allayed the evil of the actual idolatry. Iconoclasm left the worship of reliques, and other dubious memorials of the saints, in all their vigour; while it struck at that which, after all, was a higher kind of idolatry. It aspired not to elevate the general mind above superstition, but proscribed only one, and that not the most debasing, form.

Of the Emperors Leo the Isaurian and his son Constantine, the great Iconoclasts, the only historians are their enemies. That the founder of this dynasty was of obscure birth, from a district, or rather the borders, of the wild province of Isauria, enhances rather than detracts from the dignity of his character. Among the adventurers who from time to time rose to the throne of Byzantium, none employed less unworthy means, or were less stained with crime, than Leo. Throughout his early career the inimical historians are overawed by involuntary respect for his great military and administrative quali-

Leo the
Isaurian.
A.D. 717.

His charac-
ter.

^f I think that I had not read, certainly had no recollection of Goëthe's line-

“Wunderthätige Bilder sind meist nur schlechte Gemälde,”

quoted in Mr. Lewes' Life of Goëthe, p. 313. Edit. 1864.

ties. He had been employed on various dangerous and important services, and the jealousy of the ruling emperor, on more than one occasion, shows that he was already designated by the public voice as one capable of empire. Justinian II. abandoned him with a few troops, in an expedition against the Alani; from this difficulty he extricated himself with consummate courage and dexterity. He appears equally distinguished in valour and in craft. In the most trying situations his incomparable address is as prompt as decisive; against treacherous enemies he does not scruple to employ treachery.

The elevation of an active and enterprising soldier to the throne was imperiously demanded by the times, and hailed with general applause. The first measures of Leo were to secure the tottering empire against her most formidable enemies the Mohammedans, who were encompassing Constantinople on every side. Never had the Byzantine Empire been exposed to such peril as during the siege of Constantinople by Moslemah. Nothing but the indefatigable courage, military skill, and restless activity of Leo, aided by the new invention of the Greek fire, saved the eastern capital from falling seven centuries before its time into the hands of the Mohammedans.^g There can be no greater praise to Leo than that his superstitious subjects saw nothing less than the manifest interposition of the tutelary Virgin throughout their unexpected deliverance.

Leo had reigned for ten years, before he declared his hostility to image-worship. But his persecuting spirit had betrayed itself in the compulsory baptism of the Jews and the Montanists (probably some Manichean sect called by that ancient name) in

Leo persecutes Jews and heretics.

^g Theophanes *passim*.

Constantinople.^h The effect of these persecutions was not encouraging. The Jews secretly washed off the contamination of baptism, and instead of fasting before the Holy Communion, polluted its sanctity, if they did not annul its blessings by eating common food. The Montanists burned themselves in their houses. In an orthodox emperor, however, these acts would have passed without reprobation, if not with praise.

At the close of these ten years in the reign of Leo, Christendom was astounded by the sudden
Edict against images. proscription of its common religious usages. The edict came forth, interdicting all worship of images. Leo was immediately asserted and believed to be as hostile to the adoration of the Virgin, to the worship of saints and of reliques, as to that of images.ⁱ In the common ear the emperor's language was that of a Jew or a Mohammedan, and fables were soon current that the impulse came from those odious quarters. It was rumoured that while Leo was yet an obscure Isaurian youth named Conon, two Jews met him and promised him the empire of the world if he would grant them one request: this was, to destroy the images throughout Christendom.^j They bound him by an oath in a Christian church! After the young Conon had ascended the throne, he was called on to fulfil his solemn vow.

^h Theophanes, p. 617. Ed. Bonn.

ⁱ οὐ μόνον γὰρ περὶ τὴν σχετικὴν τῶν σεπτῶν εἰκόνων ὁ δυσσεβῆς ἐσφάλλετο προσκύνησις, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν πρεσβειῶν τῆς πανάγιου θεοτόκου, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων καὶ τὰ λείψανα αὐτῶν ὁ παμμίαιρος, ὡς οἱ διδάσκαλοι αὐτοῦ Ἀραβες, ἐβδελύττετο.—Theoph. p. 625.

^j And this was the emperor whose first religious act was the persecution

of the Jews. Neither Pope Gregory nor any of the Western writers, nor even Theophanes, the earliest Byzantine, knew anything of this story. The first version is in a very doubtful oration ascribed to John of Damascus, passes through Glycas and Constantine Manasses, till the fable attains its full growth in Zonaras and Cedrenus. Theophanes gives the story of the Sultan Yezid.

The prototype of the Christian Emperor in Iconoclasm had been the Sultan Yezid of Damascus. Yezid had been promised by a magician a reign of forty years over the Mohammedan world on the single condition of the destruction of images. God had cut off the Mohammedan in the beginning of his impiety, but Leo only followed this sacrilegious and fatal example. His adviser was said to be a certain Besor, a Syrian renegade from Christianity, deeply imbued with Mohammedan antipathies. The real motives of Leo it is impossible to conjecture. Had the rude soldier been brought up in a simpler Christianity among the mountains of his native Isauria? Had the perpetual contrast between the sterner creed and plainer worship of Mohammedanism and the paganised Christianity of his day led him to inquire whether *this was the genuine and primitive religion of the Gospel?* Had he felt that he could not deny the justice of the charges of idolatry so prodigally made against his religion by the Jews and Mohammedans, and so become anxious to relieve it from this imputation? Had he found his subjects, instead of trusting, in their imminent danger from the Mohammedan invasion, to their own arms, discipline, and courage, entirely reposing on the intercession of the Virgin and the saints and on the magic influence of crosses and pictures? Did he act as statesman, general, or zealot, he pursued his aim with inflexible resolution though not in the first instance without some caution.

For the war which the emperor declared against the images did not at first command their destruction. The first edict prohibited the A.D. 725. worship, but only the worship, of all statues and pictures which represented the Saviour, the Virgin, and the saints. The statues and those pictures which hung

upon the walls, and were not painted upon them, were to be raised to a greater height, so as not to receive pious kisses or other marks of adoration.^k

About this period an alarming volcanic eruption took place in the *Ægean*. The whole atmosphere was dark as midnight, the sea and the adjacent islands strewn with showers of ashes and of stones. A new island suddenly arose amid this awful convulsion. The emperor beheld in this terrific phenomenon the divine wrath, and attributed it to his patient acquiescence in the idolatry of his subjects. The monks, on the other hand, the implacable adversaries of the emperor and the most ardent defenders of image worship, beheld God's fearful rebuke against the sacrilegious imperial edicts.^m

The first edict was followed, at what interval it is difficult to determine, by a second of far greater severity. It commanded the total destruction of all images,ⁿ the whitewashing the walls of the churches. But if the first edict was everywhere received with the most determined aversion, the second maddened the image worshippers, the mass of mankind, including most of

^k Unfortunately, none of the earlier edicts of the Iconoclastic emperors are extant. It is doubtful, and of course obstinately disputed, whether Leo condescended to require the sanction of any council or synod, or of any number of bishops.—Walch, p. 229.

^m The chronology of these events is in the highest degree obscure. Baronius, Maimbourg, the Pagis, Spanheim, Basnage, Walch, have endeavoured to arrange them in natural and regular sequence. The commencement of the actual strife in the tenth year of Leo's reign gives one certain date, A.D. 726. The death of Pope

Gregory II. another, A.D. 731. The great difficulty is the time at which the second more severe edict followed the first. Some place it as late as 731; but it had manifestly been issued before the first epistle of Gregory. It seems to me as clear that it preceded the tumult at Constantinople, which arose from an attempt to destroy an image; for destruction does not seem to have been commanded by the earlier and milder edict.

ⁿ Anastasius adds that they were to be burned in the most public place in the different cities.—Vit. Greg. II

the clergy and all the monks, to absolute fury. In the capital the presence of the emperor did not in the least overawe the populace. An imperial officer had orders to destroy a statue of the Saviour in a part of Constantinople called Chalcoopratia. This image was renowned for its miracles. The thronging multitude, chiefly of women, saw with horror the officer mount the ladder. Thrice he struck with his impious axe the holy countenance, which had so benignly looked down upon them. Heaven interfered not, as no doubt they expected; but the women seized the ladder, threw down the officer, and beat him to death with clubs. The emperor sent an armed guard to suppress the tumult; a frightful massacre took place. But the slain were looked upon, some were afterwards worshipped, as martyrs in the holy cause. In religious insurrections that which with one party is suppression of rebellion, with the other is persecution. Leo becomes, in the orthodox histories, little better than a Saracen; the pious were punished with mutilations, scourgings, exile, confiscation; the schools of learning were closed, a magnificent library burned to the ground. This last is no doubt a fable; and the cruelties of Leo were at least told with the darkest colouring. Even his successes in war were ingeniously turned to his condemnation. The failure of the Saracens in an attack on Nicæa was, as usual, attributed to the intervention of the Virgin, not to the valiant resistance of the garrison. The Virgin was content with the death of a soldier who had dared to throw down and trample on her statue. She had appeared to him and foretold his death. The next day her prophecy was fulfilled, his brains were beat out by a stone from a mangonel. But the magnanimity of the Virgin did not therefore withdraw her tutelary protec-

tion from the city. *Nicæa* escaped, though *Leo*, besides his disrespect for images, is likewise charged with doubting the intercession of the Mother of God.

Nor did this open resistance take place in *Constantinople* alone. A formidable insurrection broke out in *Greece* and in the *Ægean* islands. A fleet was armed, a new emperor, one *Cosmas*, proclaimed, and *Constantinople* menaced by the rebels. The fleet, however, was scattered and destroyed by ships which discharged the Greek fire: the insurrection was suppressed, the leaders either fell or were executed, along with the usurper.* The monks here, and throughout the empire, the champions of this as of every other superstition, were the instigators to rebellion. Few monasteries were without some wonder-working image; the edict struck at once at their influence, their interest, their pride, their most profound religious feelings.

But the more eminent clergy were likewise at first almost unanimous in their condemnation of the emperor. *Constantine*, bishop of *Nacolia*, indeed, is branded as his adviser. Another bishop, *Theodosius*, son of *Apsimarus*, *Metropolitan* of *Ephesus*, is named as entering into the war against images. But almost for the first time the bishops of the two *Romes*, *Germanus* of *Constantinople*, and *Pope Gregory II.*, were united in one common cause. *Leo* attempted to win *Germanus* to his views, but the aged patriarch (he was now 95 years old) calmly but resolutely resisted the arguments, the promises, the menaces of the emperor.

But the conduct of *Gregory II.*, as leading to more important results, demands more rigid scrutiny. The *Byzantine* historians represent him as proceeding, at the

* *Theoph. Chronograph.*, p. 629.

first intimation of the hostility of the emperor to image worship, to an act of direct revolt, as prohibiting the payment of tribute by the Italian province.^p This was beyond the power, probably beyond the courage, of Gregory. The great results of the final separation of the West from the inefficient and inglorious sovereignty of the East might excuse or palliate, if he had foreseen them, the disloyalty of Pope Gregory to Leo. But it would be to estimate his political and religious sagacity too highly to endow him with this gift of ambitious prophecy, to suppose him anticipating the full development of Latin Christianity when it should become independent of the East. Like most ordinary minds, and, if we are to judge by his letters, Gregory's was a very ordinary mind, he was merely governed by the circumstances and passions of his time without the least foreknowledge of the result of his actions. The letter of Pope Gregory to the emperor is arrogant without Letter of Gregory II. A.D. 729. dignity, dogmatic without persuasiveness; in the stronger part of the argument far inferior, both in skill and ingenuity, to that of the aged Germanus, or the writer who guided his pen.^q The strange mistakes in the history of the Old Testament, the still stranger interpretations of the New, the loose legends which are advanced as history, give a very low opinion of the knowledge of the times. As a great public document, addressed to the whole Christian world by him who aspired to be the first ecclesiastic, we might be disposed to question its authenticity, if it were not avouched by the full evidence in its favour and its agreement with all the events of the period. After some praise of the golden promise of

^p Theophanes, followed by the later writers.

^q Compare the two letters of Ger-

manus to John of Synnada, and to Thomas of Claudiopolis.—*Conc. Nic. ii. sess. iv.*

orthodoxy, in the declaration of Leo on ascending the throne, and in his conduct up to a certain period, the Pope proceeds, "For ten years you have paid no attention to the images which you now denounce as idols, and whose total destruction and abolition you command. Not the faithful only but infidels are scandalised at your impiety. Christ has condemned those who offend one of his little ones, you fear not to offend the whole world. You say that God has forbidden the worship of things made with hands; who worships them? Why, as emperor and head of Christendom, have you not consulted the wise? The Scriptures, the fathers, the six councils, you treat with equal contempt. These are the coarse and rude arguments suited to a coarse and rude mind like yours, but they contain the truth." Gregory then enters at length into the Mosaic interdiction of idolatry. "The idols of the Gentiles only were forbidden in the commandment, not such images as the Cherubim and Seraphim, or the ornaments made by Bezaleel to the glory of God." It is impossible without irreverence to translate the argument of the Pope, from the partial vision of God to Moses described in the book of Exodus.^r What follows, if on less dangerous ground, is hardly less strange. "Where the body is, says our Lord, there will the eagles be gathered together. The body is Christ, the eagles the religious men who flew from all quarters to behold him. When they beheld him they made a picture of him. Not of him alone,

^r "Si videris me, morieris; sed ascende per foramen petrae et videbis posteriora mea." Gregory no doubt understood this in an awfully mysterious sense, but not without a materialising tendency. The whole

Godhead was revealed in Christ, "nostrarum generationum ætate in novissimis temporibus manifestum seipsum, et posteriora simul et anteriora perfecte nobis ostendit."

they made pictures of James the brother of the Lord, of Stephen, and of all the martyrs; and so having done, they disseminated them throughout the world to receive not worship but reverence." Was this ignorance in Gregory, or effrontery? He then appeals to the likeness of Christ sent to Abgarus, king of Edessa. "God the Father cannot be painted, as his form is not known. Were it known and painted, would you call that an idol?" The pope appeals to the tears of devotion which he himself has shed while gazing on the statue of St. Peter. He denies that the Catholics worship wood and stone, these are memorials only intended to awaken pious feelings.⁵ They adore them not as gods, for in them they have no hope, they only employ their intercession. "Go," he then breaks out in this contemptuous tone, "Go into a school where children are learning their letters and proclaim yourself a destroyer of images, they would all throw their tablets at your head, and you would thus be taught by these foolish ones what you refuse to learn from the wise." (It might be asked what well-instructed children now would say to a pope who mistook Hezekiah (called Uzziah) for a wicked king, his destroying the brazen serpent for an act of impiety, and who asserted that David placed the brazen serpent in the *Temple*.) "You boast that as Hezekiah after 800 years cast out the brazen serpent from the temple, so after 800 years you have cast out the idols from the churches. Hezekiah truly was your brother, as self-willed, and, like thee, daring to offer violence to the priests of God." "With the power given me by St. Peter," proceeds Gregory, "I could inflict punishment

* οὐ λατρευτικῶς ἀλλὰ σχετικῶς, "non latriâ sed habitudine." This is the invariable distinction.

upon thee, but since thou hast heaped a curse on thyself, I leave thee to endure it." The pope returns to his own edification while beholding the pictures and images in the churches. The passage is of interest, as showing the usual subjects of these paintings. "The miracles of the Lord; the Virgin Mother, with the infant Jesus on her breast, surrounded by choirs of angels; the Last Supper; the Raising of Lazarus; the miracles of giving sight to the blind; the curing the paralytic and the leper; the feeding the multitudes in the desert; the transfiguration; the crucifixion, burial, resurrection, ascension of Christ; the gift of the Holy Ghost; the sacrifice of Isaac," which seems to have been thought, doubtless as typifying the Redeemer's death, a most pathetic subject. The pope then reproaches Leo for not consulting the aged and venerable Germanus, and for listening rather to that Ephesian fool the son of Apsimarus. The wise influence of Germanus had persuaded Constantine, the son of Constans, to summon the sixth council. There the emperor had declared that he would sit, a humble hearer, to execute the decrees of the prelates, and to banish those whom they condemned. "If his father had erred from the faith he would be the first to anathematise him." So met the sixth council. "The doctrines of the Church are in the province of the bishops not of the emperor: as the prelates should abstain from affairs of state, so princes from those of the Church."† "You demand a council:—revoke your edicts, cease to destroy images, a council will not be needed." Gregory then relates the insult to the image

† "Scis sanctæ ecclesiæ dogmata non imperatorum esse, sed pontificum: idcirco ecclesiis prepositi sunt pontifices a republicæ negotiis abstinentes | et imperatores ergo similiter ab ecclesiasticis absterneant, et quæ sibi commissa sunt, capessant." This was new doctrine in the East.

of the Saviour in Constantinople. Not only those who were present at that sacrilegious scene, but even the barbarians had revenged themselves on the statues of the emperor, which had before been received in Italy with great honour. Hence the invasion of the Lombards, their occupation of Ravenna, their menaces that they would advance and seize Rome. "It is your own folly which has disabled you from defending Rome; and you would terrify us and threaten to send to Rome and break in pieces the statue of St. Peter, and carry away Pope Gregory in chains, as Constans did his predecessor Martin. Knowest thou not that the popes have been the barrier-wall between the East and the West—the mediators of peace? I will not enter into a contest. I have but to retire four-and-twenty miles into Campania, and you may as well follow the winds. The officer who persecuted Pope Martin was cut off in his sins; Martin in exile was a saint, and miracles are performed at his tomb in the Chersonese. Would that I might share the fate of Martin. But, for the statue of St. Peter, which all the kingdoms of the West esteem as a *god on earth*, the whole West would take a terrible revenge." I have but to retire and despise your threats; but I warn you that I shall be guiltless of the blood that will be shed; on your head it will fall. May God instil his fear into your heart! May I soon receive letters announcing your conversion! May the Saviour dwell in your heart, drive away those who urge you to these scandals, and restore peace to the world!"^x

^x "Quam omnia Occidentis regna, velut Deum terrestrem habent." This looks something like idolatry.

^x Gregory alludes with triumph to his conquest over the northern kings,

who are submitting to baptism from the hands of his missionary, S. Boniface. "Non viam ingredimur in extremas occidentis regiones versus illos, qui sanctum baptisma efflagitant

If Gregory expected this expostulatory and defiant epistle to work any change in Leo, he was doomed to disappointment. In a subsequent, but shorter Second letter. letter, he attempted to appal the emperor by the great names of Gregory the Wonder-worker, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory the Theologian, of Basil, and of Chrysostom, to whose authority he appealed as sanctioning the worship of images. He held up the pious examples of those obedient sons of the Church, Constantine the Great, Theodosius the Great, Valentinian the Great, and Constantine who held the sixth council. "What are our churches but things made with hands, of stone, wood, straw, clay, lime? but they are adorned with paintings of the miracles wrought by the saints, the passion of the Lord, his glorious mother, his apostles. On these pictures men spend their whole fortunes; and men and women, with newly-baptised children in their arms and grown-up youths from all parts of the world come, and, pointing out these histories, lift up their minds and hearts to God." The pope renews his earnest admonitions to the emperor to obey the prelates of the Church in all spiritual things. "You persecute us and afflict us with a worldly and carnal arm. We, unarmed and defenceless, can but send a devil to humble you, to deliver you to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, and the salvation of the spirit. Why, you ask, have not the councils *commanded* image-worship? Why have they not *commanded* us to eat and drink?" (Images, Gregory seems to have considered as necessary to the spiritual as food to the corporeal life.) "Images have been borne by bishops to councils; no religious man

Cum enim illuc episcopos misissem, | inclinarent et baptizarentur eorum
 et sanctæ ecclesiæ nostræ clericos, | principes, quod exoptent, ut eorum
 nondum adducti sunt ut capita sua | sim susceptor."

goes on a pilgrimage without an image." "Write to all the world that Gregory, the Bishop of Rome, and Germanus, Bishop of Constantinople, are in error concerning images; cast the blame on us, who have received from God the power to bind and to loose."

When Gregory addressed these letters to the Emperor Leo, the tumult in Constantinople, the first public act of rebellion against Iconoclasm, had taken place; but the aged Bishop Germanus was not yet degraded from his see. Germanus, with better temper and more skilful argument, had defended the images of the East.^y Before his death he was deposed or compelled to retire from his see. He died most probably in peace, his extreme age may well account for his death. His personal ill-treatment by the emperor is the legend of a later age to exalt him into a martyr.^z

But these two powerful prelates were not the only champions of their cause, whose writings made a strong impression on their age. It is singular that the most admired defender of images in the East, was a subject not of the emperor but of the Mohammedan sultan. John of Damascus was famed as the most learned man in the East, and it may show either the tolerance, the ignorance, or the contempt of the Mohammedans for these Christian controversies, that writings which became celebrated all over the East, should issue from one of their capital cities, Damascus.^a

The ancestors of John, according to his biographer, when Damascus fell into the hands of the Arabs, had almost alone remained faithful to Christianity. They

^y Compare his letters in Mansi, in the report of the Second Council of Nicaea.

^z Cedrenus, iv. 3.

^a Vit. Joann. Damasceni, prefixed to his works.

commanded the respect of the conquerors, and were employed in judicial offices of trust and dignity, to administer no doubt the Christian law to the Christian subjects of the sultan. His father, besides this honourable rank, had amassed great wealth; all this he devoted to the redemption of Christian slaves, on whom he bestowed their freedom. John was the reward of these pious actions. John was made a child of light immediately on his birth. This, as his biographer intimates, was an affair of some difficulty and required much courage. The father was anxious to keep his son aloof from the savage habits of war and piracy, to which the youth of Damascus were addicted, and to devote him to the pursuit of knowledge. The Saracen pirates of the sea-shore, neighbouring to Damascus, swept the Mediterranean and brought in Christian captives from all quarters. A monk named Cosmas had the misfortune to fall into the hands of these freebooters. He was set apart for death, when his executioners, Christian slaves no doubt, fell at his feet, and entreated his intercession with the Redeemer. The Saracens inquired of Cosmas who he was. He replied that he had not the dignity of a priest, he was a simple monk, and burst into tears. The father of John was standing by, and asked, not without wonder, how one already dead to the world could weep so bitterly for the loss of life? The monk answered, that he did not weep for his life, but for the treasures of knowledge which would be buried with him in the grave. He then recounted all his attainments: he was a proficient in rhetoric, logic, in the moral philosophy of Aristotle and of Plato, in natural philosophy, in arithmetic, geometry, and music, and in astronomy. From astronomy he had risen to the mysteries of theology, and was versed in all the

divinity of the Greeks. He could not but lament that he was to die without leaving an heir to his vast patrimony of science, to die an unprofitable servant who had wasted his talent. The father of John begged the life of the monk from the Saracen governor, gave him at once his freedom, placed him in his family, and confided to him the education of his son. The pupil in time exhausted all the acquirements of his teacher. The monk assured the father of John that his son surpassed himself in every branch of knowledge. Cosmas entreated to be dismissed, that he might henceforth dedicate himself to that higher philosophy, to which the youthful John had pointed his way. He retired to the desert, to the monastery of St. Saba, where he would have closed his days in peace, had he not been compelled to take on himself the Bishopric of Maiuma.

The attainments of the young John of Damascus commanded the veneration of the Saracens; he was compelled reluctantly to accept an office of still higher trust and dignity than that held by his father. As the Iconoclastic controversy became more violent, John of Damascus entered the field against the emperor. His three orations in favour of image-worship were disseminated with the utmost activity throughout Christendom.

The biographer of John brings a charge of base and treacherous revenge against the emperor. It is one of those legends of which the monkish East is so fertile, and cannot be traced, even in allusion, to any document earlier than the life of John. Leo having obtained, through his emissaries, one of John's circular epistles in his own handwriting, caused a letter to be forged, containing a proposal from John of Damascus to betray his native city to the Christians. The emperor, with specious magnanimity, sent this letter to the sultan.

The indignant Mohammedan ordered the guilty hand of John to be cut off, a mild punishment for such a treason! John entreated that the hand might be restored to him, knelt before the image of the Virgin, prayed, fell asleep, and woke with his hand as before. The miracle convinced the sultan of his innocence: he was reinstated in his place of honour. But John yearned for monastic retirement. He too withdrew to the monastery of St. Saba. There a severe abbot put his humility and his obedience to the sternest test. He was sent in the meanest and most beggarly attire to sell baskets in the market-place of Damascus, where he had been accustomed to appear in the dignity of office, and to vend this poor ware at exorbitant prices. As a penance for an act of kindness to a dying brother, he was set to clean the filth from all the cells of his brethren. An opportune vision rebuked the abbot for thus wasting the splendid talents of his inmate. John was allowed to devote himself to religious poetry, which was greatly admired, and to his theologic arguments in defence of images.

The fame of this wonder of his age rests chiefly on these writings, of which the extensive popularity attests their power over the minds of his readers. His courage in opposing the emperor, and in asserting the superior authority of the Church in all ecclesiastic affairs, considering that he was secure either in Damascus or in his monastery and a subject of the Saracenic kingdom, is by no means astonishing. The three famous orations repeat, with but slight variations, each after the other, the same arguments; some the ordinary and better arguments for the practice, expressed with greater ingenuity and elegance than by the other writers of the day, occasionally with surpassing force

Orations
of John.

and beauty, not without a liberal admixture of irrelevant and puerile matter; the same invectives against his opponents, as if by refusing to worship the images of Christ, his mother, and the saints, they refused to worship the venerable beings themselves. Pictures are great standing memorials of triumph over the devil; whoever destroys these memorials is a friend of the devil; to reprove material images is Manicheism, as betraying the hatred of matter which is the first tenet of that odious heresy. It was a kind of Docetism, too, asserting the unreality of the body of the Saviour. At the close of each oration occurs almost the same citation of authorities, not omitting the memorable one of the Hermit, who was assailed by the dæmon of uncleanness. The dæmon offered to leave the holy man at rest if he would cease to worship an image of the Virgin. The hard-pressed hermit made the rash vow, but in his distress of mind communicated his secret to a famous abbot, his spiritual adviser. "Better," said the abbot, "that you should visit every brothel in the town, than abstain from the worship of the holy image."

The third oration concludes with a copious list of miracles wrought by certain images; an argument more favourable to an incredulous adversary, as showing the wretched superstition into which the worship of images had degenerated and as tending to fix the accusation of idolatry.

From the death of Leo the Isaurian the history of Iconoclasm belongs exclusively to the East, until the Council of Frankfort interfered to regulate the worship of images in the Transalpine parts of Europe. Gregory III., the successor of Gregory II., whose pontificate filled up the remaining years of Leo's reign, inflexibly pursued the same policy as his predecessor. In the

West, all power, almost all pretension to power, excepting over Sicily and Calabria, expired with Leo;^b and this independence partly arose out of, and was immeasurably strengthened by, the faithful adherence of the West to image worship; but the revolt or alienation of Italy from the Eastern empire will occupy a later chapter in Christian history.

Leo was succeeded by his son Constantine. The name by which this emperor was known is a perpetual testimony to the hatred of a large part of his subjects. Even in his infancy he was believed to have shown a natural aversion to holy things, and in his baptism to have defiled the font. Copronymus sounded to Greek ears as a constant taunt against the filthy and sacrilegious character of Constantine.

The accession of Constantine, although he had already been acknowledged for twenty years, with his father, as joint-emperor, met formidable resistance. The contest for the throne was a strife between the two religious parties which divided the empire. During the absence of Constantine, on an expedition against the Saracens, a sudden and dangerous insurrection placed his brother-in-law, Artavasdus, on the throne. Constantinople was gained to the party of the usurper by treachery. The city was induced to submit to Artavasdus only by a rumour, industriously propagated and generally believed, of the death of Constantine. The emperor on one occasion had been in danger of surprise, and escaped by the swiftness of his horses. In the capital, as throughout Greece and the European part of the Empire, the triumph of Artavasdus was followed by the restoration of the images. Anas-

^b Leo died June, 741. Gregory III. in the same year.

tasius, the dastard Patriarch of Constantinople, as he had been the slave of Leo, now became the slave of the usurper, and worshipped images with the same zeal with which he had destroyed them. He had been the principal actor in the deception of the people by the forged letters which announced the death of Constantine. He plunged with more desperate recklessness into the party of Artavasdus. The monks, and all over whom they had influence, took up the cause of the usurper; but the mass of the people, from loyal respect for the memory of Leo, or from their confidence in the vigorous character of Constantine and attachment to the legitimate succession, from indifference or aversion to image-worship, still wavered, and submitted, rather than clamorously rejoiced in the coronation of Artavasdus. The Patriarch came forward, seized the crucifix from the altar, and swore by the Crucified that Constantine had assured him that it was but folly to worship Jesus as the Son of God; that he was a mere man, that the Virgin Mother had borne him, only as his own mother Mary had borne himself. The furious people at once proclaimed the deposition of Constantine, no doubt to the great triumph of the image-worshippers. Besor, the renegade counsellor of Leo, to whom popular animosity attributed the chief part in the destruction of the images, fell in the first conflict.

But Constantine Copronymus with the religious opinions inherited the courage, the military abilities, and the popularity with the army which had distinguished his father Leo. After some vicissitudes, a battle took place near Ancyra, fought with all the ferocity of civil and religious war. The historian expresses his horror that, among Christians, fathers should thus be engaged in the slaughter of their children,

brothers of brothers.^c Constantine followed up his victory by the siege of the capital. After an obstinate resistance, and after having suffered all the horrors of famine, Constantinople was taken. Artavasdus escaped for a short time, but was soon captured, and brought in chains before the conqueror. An unsuccessful usurper risks his life on the hazard of his enterprise. It is difficult to decide whether the practice of blinding, instead of putting to death in such cases, was a concession to Christian humanity. The other common alternative of shutting up the rival for the throne in a monastery and disqualifying him for empire by the tonsure, was not likely to occur to Constantine, nor would it have been safe, considering the general hatred of the monks to the emperor. Artavasdus was punished by the loss of his eyes; it was wanton cruelty afterwards to expose him, with his sons and principal adherents, during the races in the Hippodrome, to the contempt of the people.

Constantine was a soldier, doubtless of a fierce temper; the blinding, and mutilation of many, the beheading a few of his enemies, the abandonment of the houses of the citizens to the plunder of his troops, was the natural course of Byzantine revolution; and these cruelties have no doubt lost nothing in the dark representations of the emperor's enemies, the only historians of the times. But they suffered as rebels in arms against their sovereign, not as image-worshippers. The fate of the Patriarch Anastasius was the most extraordinary. His eyes were put out, he was led upon an ass, with his face to the tail, through the city; and after all this mutilation and insult, for which, considering his tergiversation

^c Theophanes *in loco*.

and impudent mendacity, it is difficult to feel much compassion; he was reinstated in the Patriarchal dignity. The clergy in the East had never been arrayed in the personal sanctity which, in ordinary occasions, they possessed in the West; but could Constantine have any other object in this act than A.D. 743.
the degradation of the whole order in public estimation?

For ten years Constantine refrained from any stronger measures against image-worship. The overthrow of Artavasdus no doubt threw that large party of time-servers, the worshippers of the will of the emperor, on his side. His known severity of character would impress even his more fanatical opponents with awe; many images would vanish again, as it were, of their own accord; even the monks might observe some prudence in their resistance. During these ten years Constantine had secured the frontiers of the Empire against the Saracens in the East, and the Bulgarians on the North. His throne had been strengthened by the birth of an heir. A dreadful pestilence, which, contrary to the usual course, travelled from west to east, spread from Calabria to Sicily, and throughout great part of the Empire. The popular mind, and even the government, must have been fully occupied by its ravages. The living, it is said, scarcely sufficed to bury the dead; the gardens within the city, and the vineyards without, were turned into a vast cemetery. The image-worshippers beheld in this visitation the vengeance of God against the Iconoclasts.^d

In the tenth year of Constantine rumours spread abroad of secret councils held for the total destruction

^d διὰ τὴν ἀσεβῶς γεγενημένην εἰς τὰς ἱερὰς εἰκόνας ὑπὸ τῶν κρητοῦντων κατένεξιν.—Theophaues sub ann. 738, p. 651

of images. Either the emperor must have prepared the public mind for this great change with consummate address, or reverence for images must have been less deeply rooted in the East than in the West, otherwise it can scarcely be supposed that so large a number of the clergy as appeared at the Third Council of Constantinople would have slavishly assented to the strong measures of the emperor.

Three hundred and forty-eight bishops formed this synod, which aspired to the dignity of the Seventh Œcumenic Council. Its adversaries objected the absence of all the great Patriarchs, especially of the Pope, who was present neither in person nor by his delegates. The Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem were now cut off, as it were, from Christendom; they were the subjects of an unbelieving sovereign, perhaps could not, if they had been so disposed, obey the summons of the emperor. The Bishop of Rome was, if not in actual revolt, in contumacious opposition to him, who still claimed to be his sovereign. The Patriarch of Constantinople had lost all weight. The Bishop of Ephesus, occasionally the Bishop of Perga, presided in the council.

Part of the proceedings of this assembly have been preserved in the records of the rival council, the second held at Nicæa. The passages are cited in the original words, followed by a confutation, sanctioned apparently by the Nicene bishops. The confutation is in the tone of men assured of the sympathy of their audience. It deals far less in grave argument than in contemptuous crimination. The ordinary name for the Iconoclasts is the arraigners of Christianity.* It assumes boldly that

* Χριστιανοκατήγοροι: is the term framed for the occasion.

the worship of images was the ancient, immemorial, unquestionable usage of the Church, recognised and practised by all the fathers, and sanctioned by the six General Councils: that the refusal to worship images is a new and rebellious heresy. Every quotation from the fathers which makes against images is rejected as a palpable forgery, so proved, as it is asserted, by its discordance with the universal tradition and practice of the Church.

But the Council of Constantinople had manifestly set the example of this peremptory and unargumentative dictation: it may be reasonably doubted whether it attempted a dispassionate and satisfactory answer to the better reasonings of the image-worshippers. It proscribes the lawless and blasphemous art of painting.^f The fathers of Constantinople assume, as boldly as the brethren of Nicæa their sanctity, that all images are the invention of the devil; that they are idols in the same sense as those of the heathen.^g Nor do they hesitate to impute community of sentiment with the worst heretics to their opponents. They thought that they held the image-worshippers in an inextricable dilemma. If the painters represented only the humanity of Christ, they were Nestorians; if they attempted to mingle it with the Divinity, they were Eutychians, circumscribing the infinite, and confounding the two substances.^h It

^f τὴν ἀθέμιτον τῶν ζωγράφων τέχνην βλασφημοῦσαν.

^g Faith they asserted came by hearing, and hearing from the Word of God.—P. 467.

^h They made him ἀθεωτὸν. The fathers of Nicæa were indignant at the barbarism of this word (p. 443). Their opponents might have retorted

the use of the whimsical hybrid *φαλσόγραφοι*. The most remarkable passage, as regards art, in this part of the controversy, is a description of a painting of the martyrdom of S. Euphemia, from the writings of Asterius, Bishop of Amasia. This picture, or rather series of pictures, must have been of many figures, grouped with

was impiety to represent Christ without his divinity, Arianism to undeify him, to despoil him of his godhead.

The Council of Nicæa admits the perfect unanimity of the Council of Constantinople. These 348 bishops concurred in pronouncing their anathema against all who should represent the Incarnate Word by material form or colours, who should not restrict themselves to the pure spiritual conception of the Christ, as he is seated, superior in brightness to the sun, on the right hand of the Father; against all who should confound the two natures of Christ in one human image, or who should separate the manhood from the godhead in the Second Person of the invisible Trinity; against all who should not implore the intercession of the Virgin in pure faith, as above all visible and invisible things;¹ against all who should set up the deaf and lifeless images of the saints, and who do not rather paint the living likenesses of their virtues in their own hearts. All images, whether statues or paintings, were to be forcibly removed from the churches; every one who henceforth should set up an image, if a bishop or priest, was to be degraded; if a layman, excommunicated. The one only image of the Redeemer, which might be lawfully worshipped, was in the Holy Sacrament; at the same time, therefore, that all images were to be removed, all

skill, and in the judgement of the bishop with wonderful expression; the various passions were blended with great felicity. Asterius compares it with the famous picture of Medea killing her children, which his language, somewhat vague indeed, might lead to the supposition that he had actually seen. The taste of Asterius

may be somewhat doubtful, since in one picture he describes the executioner drawing the teeth of the victim & the reality of the blood which flowed from her lips filled him with horror.—Labbe, p. 489.

¹ ὑπερέραν τε εἶναι πάσης ἰδρύτης καὶ ἀοράτου κτίσεως.

respect was to be paid to the consecrated vessels of the Church.

Was then all this host of bishops, the concordant cry of whose anathema rose to heaven (according to the fathers of Nicæa, like that of the guilty cities of the Old Testament) only subservient to the Imperial Will?^k Or had a wide-spread repugnance to images grown up in the East? Were the clergy and the monks in hostile antagonism on this vital question? It appears evident, that the old ineradicable aversion to matter, the constant dread of entangling the Deity in this debasing bondage, which has been traced throughout all the Oriental controversies, lay at the bottom of much of this tergiversation. "We all subscribe," they declared at the close of their sitting, "we are all of one mind, all of one orthodoxy, worshipping with the spirit the pure spiritual Godhead."^m They concluded with their prayers for the pious emperor, who had given peace to the Church, who had extirpated idolatry, who had triumphed over those who taught that error, and settled for ever the true doctrine. They proceed to curse by name the principal assertors of image-worship. "Anathema against the double-minded Germanus, the worshipper of wood! Anathema against George (of Cyprus), the falsifier of the traditions of the fathers! Anathema against Mansar (they called by this unchristian-sounding name the famous John of Damascus), the Saracen in heart, the traitor to the Empire; Mansar the teacher of impiety, the false interpreter of Holy Scripture!"

^k ἡ κραυγὴ αὐτῶν τοῦ ἀναθέματος σοδομικῶς καὶ γομορριχῶς πεπλήθυνται.—Labbe, p. 536.

^m πάντες νεεῶς τῇ νοεῖ θεότητι λατρεύοντες προσκυνούμεν.

CHAPTER VIII.

Second Council of Nicæa. Close of Iconoclasm.

THUS was image-worship proscribed by a council, in numbers at least of weight, in the severest and most comprehensive terms. The work of demolition was committed to the imperial officers; only with strict injunctions, not perhaps always obeyed, to respect the vessels, the priestly vestments, and other furniture of the churches, and the cross, the naked cross without any image.*

But if the emperor had overawed, or bought, or compelled the seemingly willing assent of so large a body of the eastern clergy, the formidable monks were still in obstinate implacable opposition to his will. The wretched Anastasius had died just before the opening of the council; and the emperor himself, it is said, ascended the pulpit, and proclaimed Constantine Bishop of Sylæum, œcumenic Patriarch and Bishop of Constantinople. Constantine had been a monk, and this appointment might be intended to propitiate that powerful interest, but Constantine, unlike his brethren, was an ardent Iconoclast.

The emperor was a soldier, and fierce wars with the Saracens and Bulgarians were not likely to soften a temper naturally severe and remorseless. He had committed his imperial authority in a deadly strife for the unattainable object of compelling his subjects to be

* The crucifix was of a later period.—See *Hist. of Christianity*, iii. p. 380.

purser and more spiritual worshippers of God than they were disposed to be; not suspecting that his own sanguinary persecutions were more unchristian than their superstitions. It was now fanaticism encountering fanaticism. Everywhere the monks preached resistance to the imperial decree, and enough has been seen of their turbulent and intractable conduct to make us conclude that their language at least would keep no bounds. Stephen, the great martyr of this controversy, had lived as a hermit in a cave near Sinope for thirty years. The monks in great numbers had taken refuge in the desert, where they might watch in secret over their tutelary images; and not monks alone, but a vast multitude of the devout, crowded around the cell of Stephen to hear his denunciations against the breakers of images. The emperor ordered him to be carried away from his cell, the resort of so many dangerous pilgrims, and to be shut up in a cloister at Chrysopolis. The indignation of the monks was at its height. One named Andrew hastened from his dwelling in the desert, boldly confronted the emperor in the church of St. Mammas, and sternly addressed him—"If thou art a Christian, why dost thou treat Christians with such indignity?" The emperor so far commanded his temper, as simply to order the committal of the monk to prison; he afterwards summoned him again to his presence. The mildest term that Andrew would use to address the emperor, was a second Valens, another Julian. Constantine's anger got the mastery; he commanded the monk to be scourged in the Hippodrome, and then to be strangled. The sisters of Andrew hardly saved his remains from being cast into the sea.^b

^b Theopnaster, *in loc.*

For several years either the occupation of the emperor by foreign wars, or the greater prudence of the monks, enforced by this terrible example, suspended at least their more violent collisions with the authorities.

The monk Stephen. Stephen still continued to preach in his cloister against the sin of the Iconoclasts.^c The emperor sent the Patriarch to persuade him to subscribe the decrees of the Council of Constantinople. The Patriarch's eloquence was vain. The emperor either allowed or compelled the aged monk to retire to the wild rock of Proconnesus, where, to consummate his sanctity, he took his stand upon a pillar. His followers assembled in crowds about him, and built their cells around the pillar of the saint. But the zeal of Stephen would not be confined within that narrow sphere. He returned to the city, and in bold defiance of the imperial orders denounced the Iconoclasts. He was seized, cast into prison, and there treated with unusual harshness. But even there the zeal of his followers found access. Constantine exclaimed, in a paroxysm of careless anger, "Am I or this monk the emperor of the world?" The word of the emperor was enough for some of his obsequious courtiers; they rushed, broke open the prison, dragged out the old man along the streets, with every wanton cruelty, and cast his body at last into the common grave of the public malefactors.

Persecution of the monks. The emperor took now a sterner and more desperate resolution. He determined to root out monkery itself. An old grievance was revived. The emperor and the people were enraged, or pretended to be enraged, that the monks decoyed the best soldiers from the army, especially one George Syncletus, and

^c Acta S. Stephani, in *Analectis Græcis*, p. 396.

persuaded them to turn recluses.^d The emperor compelled the patriarch not only to mount the pulpit and swear by the holy cross that he would never worship images, but immediately to break his monastic vows, to join the imperial banquet, to wear a festal garland, to eat meat, and to listen to the profane music of the harpers.

Then came a general ordinance, that the test of signing the articles of Constantinople should be enforced on all the clergy, and all the more distinguished monks.^e On their refusal the monks were driven from their cloisters, which were given up to profane and secular uses. Consecrated virgins were forced to marry; monks were compelled, each holding the hand of a woman, doubtless not of the purest character, to walk round the Hippodrome among the jeers and insults of the populace. Throughout the empire they were exposed to the lawless persecutions of the imperial officers. Their zeal or their obstinacy was chastised by scourgings, imprisonments, mutilations, and even death. The monasteries were plundered, and by no scrupulous or reverent hands; churches are said to have been despoiled of all their sacred treasures, the holy books burned, feasts and revels profaned the most hallowed sanctuaries. Multitudes fled to the neighbouring kingdoms of the less merciless Barbarians; many found refuge in the West, especially in Rome. The Prefect of Thrace was the most obsequious agent of his master's tyranny. Throughout that Theme the monks were

^d This, according to the martyrologist of Stephen, was a trick of the Emperor, with whom George had a secret understanding, to bring odium on the monks.

* τόμον συνοδικόν αὐτὰ καλέσας

ὁ ἀσεβέστατος, ἀπρτεῖ ἀρχιερεῖς τε πάντας, καὶ τῶν μοναζόντων τοὺς περιβοήτους ἐπ' ἀρέτην, ταῦτα ὑποσημάνασθαι. — Compare Concil. Nic. ii. p. 510.

forced to abandon their vows of solitude and celibacy under pain of being blinded and sent into exile. Monasteries, with all their estates and property, were confiscated. Reliques as well as images, in some cases no doubt books,^f and the whole property of the convents was pillaged or burned by the ignorant soldiery. The personal cruelties against the monks will not bear description; the prefect is said not to have left one in the whole Theme who ventured to wear the monastic habit.

In Constantinople a real or suspected conspiracy against the emperor involved some of the noblest patri- cians, and some who filled the highest offices of state, in the same persecution. Eight or nine of the more dis- tinguished were dragged, amid the shouts of the rabble, round the Hippodrome, and then put to death. The fate of two brothers, named Constantine, moved general commiseration. The prefect was scourged and deposed for not having suppressed these signs of public sym- pathy. Others were blinded, cruelly scourged, and sent into exile.^g The patriarch himself was accused of having used disrespectful language towards the emperor. Already he had been required to acquit himself of imputing Nestorianism to his master; now his accusers swore on the cross that they had heard him hold conference with one of the conspirators. Con- stantine ordered the imperial seal to be affixed on the palace of the patriarch, and sent him into banishment.

But this miserable slave of the imperial will was not

^f Some books were burned as con- taining pictures. One is mentioned in a statement made to the Council of Nicæa: ἀργυρᾶς πτύχας ἔχει, καὶ ἑκατέρωθεν ταῖς εἰκόσι πάντων τῶν

ἀγιῶν κεκόσμηται — Pictures illu- minated on a silver ground?—Conc. Nic., p. 373.

^g Theophanes, compared with state- ment before the Nicene Council.

allowed to shroud himself in obscure retirement. He had consented to the consecration of Nicetas, an eunuch of Slavonian descent, in his place. For some new offence, real or supposed, the exiled patriarch was brought back to the capital, scourged so cruelly that he could not walk, and then carried in a litter, and exposed in the great church before all the people assembled to hear the public recital of the charges made against him, and to behold his degradation. At each charge the secretary of his successor smote him on the face. He was then set up in the pulpit, and while Nicetas read the sentence of excommunication, another bishop stripped him of his metropolitan pall, and calling him by the opprobrious name Scotiopsis, face of darkness, led him backwards out of the church. The next day his head, beard, eyebrows, were shaved; in a short and sleeveless dress he was put upon an ass, and paraded through the circus (his own nephew, a hideous, deformed youth, leading the ass) while the populace jeered, shouted, spat upon him. He was then thrown down, trodden on, and in that state lay till the games were over. Some days after the emperor sent to demand a formal declaration of the orthodoxy of his own faith, and of the authority of the council. The poor wretch acknowledged both in the amplest manner; as a reward he was beheaded, while still in a state of excommunication, and his remains treated with the utmost ignominy. The historian adds, as an aggravation of the emperor's ferocity, that the patriarch had baptised two of his children.^h

This odious scene, blackened it may be by the sectarian hatred of the later annalists, all of whom abhorred Iconoclasm, has been related at length, in order

^h Theophanes p. 681.

to contrast more fully the position of the Bishop of Rome. This was the second patriarch of Constantinople who had been thus barbarously treated, and seemingly without the sympathy of the people; and now, in violation of all canonical discipline, the imperial will had raised an eunuch to the patriarchate. What wonder that pontiffs like Gregory II. and Gregory III. should think themselves justified in throwing off the yoke of such a government, and look with hope to the sovereignty of the less barbarous Barbarians of the North—Barbarians who, at least, had more reverence for the dignity of the sacerdotal character!

If the Byzantine historians, all image-worshippers, have not greatly exaggerated the cruelties of their implacable enemy Constantine Copronymus, they have assuredly not done justice to his nobler qualities, his valour, incessant activity, military skill, and general administration of the sinking empire, which he maintained unviolated by any of its formidable enemies, and with imposing armies, during a reign of thirty-five years, not including the twenty preceding during which he ruled as the colleague of his father Leo. Constantine died, during a campaign against the Bulgarians, of a fever which, in the charitable judgment of his adversaries, gave him a foretaste of the pains of hell. His dying lips ordered prayers and hymns to be offered to the Virgin, for whom he had always professed the most profound veneration, utterly inconsistent, his enemies supposed, with his hostility to her sacred images.

Character
and death of
Constantine
Copronymus.

A.D. 775.

A female had been the principal mover in the great change of Christianity from a purely spiritual worship to that paganising form of religion which grew up with such rapidity in the succeeding centuries; a female was

the restorer of images in the East, which have since, with but slight interruption, maintained their sanctity. The first, Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, was a blameless and devout woman, who used the legitimate influence of her station, munificence, and authority over her imperial son, to give that splendour, which to her piety appeared becoming, to the new religion; to communicate to the world all those excitements of symbols, reliques, and sacred memorials which she found so powerful in kindling her own devotion. The second, the Empress Irene, wife to the son and heir of Constantine Copronymus, an ambitious, intriguing, haughty princess, never lost sight of political power in the height of her religious zeal, and was at length guilty of the most atrocious crime against God and womanhood.ⁱ

Irene, during the reign of her husband Leo, surnamed the Chazar, did not openly betray her inclination to the image-worship which she had solemnly forsworn under her father-in-law Constantine. Leo was a man of feeble constitution and gentle mind, controlled by the strongest influences of religion. He endeavoured to allay the heat of the conflicting parties. His first acts gave some hopes to the image-worshippers that he was favourably disposed to the Mother of God and to the monks (these interests the monks represented as inseparable); he appointed some metropolitans from the abbots of monasteries.^k

The short reign of Leo IV. is remarkable for the attempt of the emperor to re-introduce a more popular

ⁱ The Pope Hadrian anticipated a new Constantine and a new Helena in Irene and her son.—Hadrian, Epist. apud Labbe, p. 102.

^k ἔδοξεν εὐσεβῆς εἶναι πρὸς ὀλίγον χρόνον, καὶ φίλος τῆς θεοτόκου καὶ τῶν μοναχῶν.—Theophan., p. 695.

element into the public administration—a kind of representative assembly;—and the general voice, in
A.D. 775-780. gratitude to Leo, demanded the elevation of his infant son to the rank of Augustus. The prophetic heart of the parent foresaw the danger. He was conscious of his own feeble health; to leave an unprotected infant on the throne was (according to all late precedent in the Byzantine empire) to doom him to death. Leo assembled not the senate and nobles alone, the chief officers of the army and of the court, but likewise the people of Constantinople. He explained the cause of his hesitation, confessed his fears, and demanded and received a solemn oath upon the cross, that on his death they would acknowledge no other emperor but his son. The next day he proclaimed his son Augustus: the signatures of the whole people to their oath were received and deposited, amid loud acclamations that they would lay down their lives for the emperor, on the table of the Holy Communion.

A few months matured a conspiracy. Nicephorus, the emperor's brother, was designed for the
Conspiracy repressed. throne. But again the emperor, instead of putting forth the strong and revengeful arm of despotism, appealed to the people. In a full assembly he produced the proofs of the conspiracy, and left the cause to the popular judgement. The general voice declared the conspirators guilty of a capital crime, and renewed their vows of fidelity to the infant emperor. But the gentle Leo spared his brother; some few of the conspirators were put to death, others incapacitated for future mischief by the tonsure;—thus the greatest honour, that of the priesthood, had become a punishment for crime! The moderation of Leo induced him to appoint as Patriarch of Constantinople, Paul, a

Cypriot by birth, as yet of no higher rank than a reader; a man willing to shrink and keep aloof from the controversy of the day. Leo was ill rewarded. The monkish party, watching no doubt his declining health, and knowing the secret sentiments of the empress, introduced some small images, in direct violation of the law, into the palace, and even into her private chamber. Some deeper real or suspected cause of apprehension must have existed in the mind of the emperor to make him depart from his wonted leniency. Many of the principal officers were seized and cast into prison, where one of them died, in the following reign held to be a martyr, the rest became distinguished monks. But from that time so strong was the hatred of the image-worshippers, that Leo was branded as a cruel persecutor; his death was attributed to an act of sacrilege. He was a great admirer of precious stones, and took away and wore a crown, the offering of the Emperor Heraclius to some church. The fatal circle burned into his head, which broke out into carbuncles of which he died. There was no need to invent this fable to account for the death of one so infirm as Leo; still less to suggest suspicions, on the other side, that his death was caused by poison.

Death of Leo.
A. D. 780.

Irene at once seized the government in the name of her son Constantine, who was but ten years old. An attempt was made on the part of Nicephorus, the rebel brother of Leo, to supplant the empress in the regency and in the tutelage of her son. It was suppressed; the chiefs of the faction punished by the scourge and exile, the brothers of the late emperor compelled to undergo ordination and to administer the Eucharist as a public sign of their incapacitation for secular business.

Irene
Empress

The crafty Irene dissembled for a time her design for the restoration of images. Her ambitious mind (it is not uncommon in her sex) was deeply tinged by superstition; no doubt she thought that she secured the divine blessing, or rather that of the Virgin and the saints, upon her schemes of power, by the honour which she was preparing for their images. Fanaticism and policy took counsel together within her heart. But the clergy of Constantinople were too absolutely committed, as yet, on the other side; the army revered the memory, perhaps chiefly on that account the opinions, of Constantine Copronymus. The Patriarch, an aged and peaceful man, who had sincerely wished to escape the perilous charge of the episcopate, was neither disposed nor fitted to lend himself as an active instrument in such an enterprise. He was not absolutely indisposed to the image-worshippers; and when the empress allowed the laws to fall into disuse, and connived at the quiet restoration of some images, and encouraged the monks with signs of favour, it was bruited abroad that she acted in no discordance with the bishop's secret opinion. The public mind was duly prepared by prodigies in the remoter parts of the Empire for the coming revolution.

On a sudden the Patriarch Paul disappeared. It was proclaimed that he had renounced his dignity, A.D. 783.
Tarastus
Patriarch. retreated into a cloister, and taken the habit of a monk. It cannot be known whether he had any secret understanding with the empress, but he who had been so solemnly and publicly pledged to the former emperor against the images would hardly, an old and unambitious man, take a strong part in their restoration. The empress visited his cloister and inquired the cause of his sudden retirement. From the first, said the

lowly patriarch, his mind had been ill at ease; that he had accepted a see rejected from the communion of great part of Christendom; should he die in this state of excommunication he would inevitably go to hell.^m The empress sent the chief persons of the court to hear this confession from the lips of the repentant patriarch. Paul deplored with bitter sorrow that he had concurred in the decrees against images; his mind was now awakened to truth; and he suggested, no doubt the suggestions of others, that nothing could heal the wounds of the afflicted Church but a general council to decide on image-worship. Having made this humiliating declaration he expired in peace.

On the succession to the see of Constantinople might depend the worship or the rejection of images throughout the East. Among all the clergy A.D. 784. Irene could find no one of influence, ability, and resolution equal to cope with the approaching crisis. The appointment of a monk would probably have been the signal for the rallying of the adverse party. Among her privy counsellorsⁿ was a man who in the world bore the character of profound religion, and of whose ability and ambition Irene had formed a high, and, as events proved, a just estimate. The empress assembled the people; she declared her respect for the memory of Paul; she asserted that she would not have allowed him to abandon his higher duties for monastic seclusion, but God had now withdrawn him from the scene, and it was necessary to appoint a successor of known capacity and

^m The Empress states this in the imperial letter read at the opening of the Council of Nicæa:—τὸ ἀνάθεμα ἔξω ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὃ ἀπάγει εἰς τὸ σκοτὸς τὸ

ἐξώτερον, τὸ ἠτοιμασμένον τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ.—P. 52.

ⁿ ἀσηκρητισ — the Grecised Iatinitism.

holiness. The affair had been well organised; a general acclamation demanded Tarasius; to the demand the empress assented with undisguised satisfaction. Tarasius gave a good omen of his future conduct by the address with which he seemed to decline the arduous honour, on account of the controversies which distracted the Church. In a well-acted scene the empress employed persuasion, influence, authority, to win the reluctant patriarch. Tarasius played admirably the part of humble refusal, of concession, of capitulation on his own terms. The condition of his acceptance was the summoning a council to decide the great question of image-worship, which he declared to have been decreed by the sole authority of the emperor Leo, and to that authority the Council of Constantinople had only yielded its assent. Most of the people gave, at least seemingly, their cordial concurrence in the election, though even the admirers of Tarasius admit that there was much secret murmuring, and some open clamour among the lower populace.

Tarasius immediately took measures to consolidate the whole strength of the party. Messengers were sent to Rome to obtain the presence of the pope (Hadrian) in person or by his legates. Hadrian made some show of remonstrance against the sudden promotion of a layman to so important a see, but acquiesced in it, as demanded by the emergencies of the times. The patriarchs of Alexandria and of Antioch and of Jerusalem were summoned, and certain ecclesiastics appeared as representatives of those prelates.

The Council met in Constantinople; but with the army and a large part of the populace of Constantinople image-worship had lost its power. The soldiery, attached to the memory and tenets of

Constantine Copronymus, broke into the assembly, and dispersed the affrighted monks and bishops. The empress in vain exerted herself to maintain order. No one was hurt; but it was manifest that no council of image-worshippers was safe in the capital.

Nicæa was chosen for the session of the council, no doubt on account of the reverence which attached to that city, hallowed by the sittings of Second council of Nicæa. the first great council of Christendom. Decrees issued from Nicæa would possess peculiar force and authority; this smaller city, too, could be occupied by troops, on whom the empress could depend, and in the mean time Irene managed to disband the more unruly soldiery. Thus, while the Bulgarians menaced one frontier and the Saracens another, she sacrificed the safety of the Empire, by the dissolution of her best army, to the success of her religious designs.

The council met at Nicæa. The number of ecclesiastics is variously stated from 330 to 387.

Among these were at least 130 monks or A.D. 787. abbots, besides many bishops, who had been expelled as monks from their sees, and were now restored. Tarasius took the lead as virtual, if not acknowledged, president of the assembly. The first act of the Council of Nicæa showed the degree of dispassionate fairness with which the inquiry was about to be conducted. After the imperial letters of convocation had been read, three bishops appeared, Basilius of Ancyra, Theodosius of Myra in Lycia, Theodosius of Amorrium; they humbly entreated permission to recant their errors, to be reconciled to the Catholic Church. They recited a creed framed with great care, and no doubt of pre-arranged orthodoxy, in which they repudiated the so-called Council of Constantinople, as a synod of fools and mad-

men, who had dared to violate the established discipline of the Church, and impiously reviled the holy images. They showered their anathemas on all the acts, on all the words, on all the persons engaged in that unhal-
lowed assembly.^o

The council received this humble confession of their sin and misery with undisguised joy; and Tarasius pronounced the solemn absolution. Certain other prelates were then admitted, among them the Bishops of Nicæa and Rhodes. They were received after more strict examination, and citation of ecclesiastical precedents, from which it appeared that Bishops who recanted Arianism and Nestorianism, having been re-admitted into the Church, even Iconoclasts should not be rejected from her bosom on the same terms.^p The severer monks made vigorous resistance to these acts of lenity, but were overruled at length. It was debated to what class of heretics the Iconoclasts were to be ascribed. The patriarch proposed only to confound them with the most odious of all, the Manicheans and the Montanists.^q The inexorable leader of the monkish party asserted that it was worse than the worst heresy, being absolute renegation of Christ.^r This was among the preliminary acts of a council, assembled to deliberate, examine,

^o They denounced the prelates who presided in the assembly; among the rest Basil of Pisidia, on whom they inflicted an ecclesiastical nickname. He was fitly named (*κακεμφάτως*) *τρικάκκβος*, or *τρικάκος*.

^p It is worthy of remark that they accuse the Council of Constantinople of asserting the sole authority of Scripture, the insufficiency of Tradition without it: *ὡς εἰ μὴ ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ καινῆς διαθήκης ἀσφαλῶς*

διδασχθῶμεν, οὐ ἐπόεθα ταῖς διδασκαλίαις τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων. They brand this doctrine as that of Arius, Nestorius, and other heretics.

^q The usual difficulty arose as to ordinations conferred or received by such heterodox bishops.

^r *ἢ ἀρεσις αὕτη χεῖρον παντῶν τῶν αἵρέσεων κακόν· οὐαὶ τοῖς εἰκονομάχοις, καὶ (κακῶν κακίστη) ὡς τὴν οἰκονομίαν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀνατρέπονται.*—P. 78.

discuss, and then decide this profound theological question.

The whole proceedings of the council, though conducted with orderly gravity, are marked with the same pre-determinate character, the same haughty and condemnatory tone towards the adversaries of image-worship. The fathers of Nicæa impaired a doubtful cause by the monstrous fables which they adduced, the preposterous arguments which they used, their unmeasured invectives against their antagonists. The Pope Hadrian, in his public letter, related a wild and recent legend of a vision of Constantine the Great, in which St. Paul and St. Peter appeared to him, and whom he knew to be the apostles by their resemblance to pictures of them, exhibited to him by Pope Silvester.^s It is the standing argument against the Iconoclasts: "the Jews and Samaritans reject images, therefore, all who reject them are as Jews and Samaritans."^t The ordinary appellations of the Iconoclast comprehend every black shade of heresy, impiety, atheism.

The rapidity with which the council executed its work was facilitated by the unanimity of its decisions.^u The whole assembly of bishops and monks subscribed the creed, in which, after assenting to the decrees of the first six councils, and to the anathemas against the heretics denounced therein, they passed, acting, as they declared, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, the following canon.

"With the venerable and life-giving cross shall be set up the venerable and holy images, whether in colours, in mosaic work, or any other material, within the con-

^s Labbe, Concil., p. 111.

^t *Ib.*, p. 358.

^u There were eight sittings between the 24th Sept. and 23rd Oct.—Walch. p. 560.

Decree on
Image-wor-
ship. secrated churches of God, on the sacred vessels and vest-
ments, on the walls and on tablets, on houses
and in highways. The images, that is to say,
of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ; of the immaculate
Mother of God; of the honoured angels; of all saints
and holy men. These images shall be treated as holy
memorials, worshipped, kissed, only without that pecu-
liar adoration* which is reserved for the Invisible,
Incomprehensible God." All who shall violate this, as
is asserted, immemorial tradition of the Church, and
endeavour, forcibly or by craft, to remove any images, if
ecclesiastics, are to be deposed and excommunicated, if
monks or laymen, excommunicated.

The council was not content with this formal and solemn subscription. With one voice they broke out into a long acclamation, "We all believe, we all assent, we all subscribe. This is the faith of the apostles, this is the faith of the Church, this is the faith of the orthodox, this is the faith of all the world. We, who adore the Trinity, worship images. Whoever does not the like, anathema upon him! Anathema on all who call images idols! Anathema on all who communicate with them who do not worship images! Anathema upon Theodorus, falsely called Bishop of Ephesus; against Sisinnius of Perga, against Basilius with the ill-omened name! Anathema against the new Arius Nestorius and Dioscorus, Anastasius; against Constantine and Nicetas! (the Iconoclast Patriarchs of Constantinople). Everlasting glory to the orthodox Germanus, to John of Damascus! To Gregory of Rome everlasting glory! Everlasting glory to the preachers of truth!"

Our history pauses to inquire what incidental notices

* We have no word to distinguish between *προσκύνησις* and *λατρεία*.

of the objects and the state of Christian art transpire during this controversy, more especially in the proceedings of the Council of Nicæa. There seem to have been four kinds of images against which the hostility of their adversaries was directed, and which were defended by the resolute attachment of their worshippers. I. Images, properly so called, which were thrown from their pedestals, and broken in pieces. II. Mosaic paintings, which were picked out. III. Paintings on waxen tablets on the walls, which were smoked and effaced. IV. Paintings on wood, which were burned. There were likewise carvings on the sacred vessels; and books were destroyed on account of the pictures with which they were embellished.^y

In all the images and paintings there was, as formerly observed, a reverential repugnance to attempt any representation of God the Father. The impiety of this was universally admitted; the image-worshippers protest against it in apparent sincerity, and not as exculpating themselves from any such charge by their adversaries.

The first and most sacred object of art was the Saviour, and next to the Saviour the "Mother of God." The propriety of substituting the actual human form of the Saviour for the symbolic Lamb,^z or the Good Shepherd, was now publicly and authoritatively asserted. Among the images of various forms and materials some are mentioned of silver and of gold. A certain Philastrius objected to the Holy Ghost being figured in the form of a dove.^a

^y Passim, especially address to the Emperor at the close of the Council.
—P. 580.

^z P. 123. See curious extract from

the Journeying of the Twelve Apostles; a Docetic book, and so ruled to be by the Council.

^a P. 370.

A question of the form under which angels and arch-angels should be represented could not but arise. The fitness of the human form was unhesitatingly asserted; and angels were declared to have a certain corporeity, more thin and impalpable than the grosser body of man, but still not absolute spirit. Severus objected to angels in purple robes: they should be white, no doubt as representing light.^b

The whole of the New Testament is said to have been represented; meaning, no doubt, all the main facts of the history.^c Among the subjects in the Old Testament, as early as Gregory of Nyssa, a picture is described of the sacrifice of Isaac, in which there must have been an attempt at least at strong expression.^d Chrysostom is cited for a picture on the sublime but difficult subject of the angel destroying the army of Sennacherib. Images of Moses, of Elijah, of Isaiah, and of Zechariah, are named. Pope Hadrian asserts (but there has been already ground to question his assertion), that Constantine built a church in Rome, in which was painted on one side Adam expelled from paradise, on the other, the penitent thief ascending into it. In Alexandria there was an early painting of the Saviour between the Virgin and John the Baptist.

There is nothing, or hardly anything, to induce the supposition that any one image or painting was distinguished as a work of art; as impressing the minds of its worshippers with admiration of its peculiar grace, majesty, or resemblance to actual life. Art, as art, entered not into the controversy. It was the religious feeling which gave its power to the image or painting, not the happy design, or noble execution, which

^b P. 373.^c P. 358.^d P. 360.

awakened or deepened the religious feeling. The only exception to this is the description of the picture representing the martyrdom of St. Euphemia, by Asterius Bishop of Amasia. This was painted on linen.*

Among the acclamations and the anathemas which closed the Second Council of Nicæa, echoed loud salutations and prayers for the peace and blessedness of the new Constantine and the new Helena. A few years passed, and that Constantine was blinded, if not put to death, by his unnatural mother, whom religious faction had raised into a model of Christian virtue and devotion.

A long struggle took place, when Constantine reached the age of manhood, between the mother, Irene and eager to retain her power, and the son, to Constantine her son, assume his rightful authority. All the common arts of intrigue and party manœuvre were exhausted before they came to open hostilities. The principal courtiers, and part of the army, ranged themselves in opposite factions. Irene, anticipating, it was said, her adversaries, struck the first blow, seized, scourged, shaved into ecclesiastics, and imprisoned the chief of her son's adherents. A considerable part of the troops swore solemnly that the son should not reign during the lifetime of Irene; the son was given over to her absolute power, and chastised like a refractory school-boy. The next year a division of the army revolted, and proclaimed Constantine sole Emperor. The usual fate of the scourge and the tonsure befel the leaders of Irene's faction. The Empress was confined to her palace. But her inexhaustible fertility in intrigue soon restored her power. Constantine, having suffered a shameful defeat

* εν σίνδονι.

by the Bulgarians, through her advice wreaked his vengeance on his uncles, whom he accused of aspiring to the throne; they were blinded, or mutilated by the loss of their tongues. Five years afterwards, on the very same day of the month (a less superstitious age might have beheld in this coincidence the retributive hand of God), Constantine was blinded by his mother.

These five years were years of base intrigue, treachery, outward courtesy and even the familiar intercourse of close kindred, of inward hatred, jealousy, and attempts to mine and countermine each the interest of the other. It was attributed to his mother's advice, with the design of heightening his unpopularity, that Constantine divorced himself from his wife Maria, forced her to retire into a convent, and married a woman of her bed-chamber, named Theodota. The rigid monks were furious at the weakness of the Patriarch Tarasius, who had sanctioned the reception of the divorced empress in a monastery. Plato, the most intolerant, and therefore most distinguished of them, withdrew from communion with the Patriarch. The indignant Emperor imprisoned some, and banished others of the more refractory monks to Thessalonica. This at once threw the whole powerful monastic faction into the interests of the Empress, who openly espoused their cause. The Armenian guards, who had now assumed something like the power, insolence, and versatility of the old Prætorian troops, were alienated by the severity of Constantine. Irene wound her toils with consummate skill around her ill-fated victim. There was treachery in his army, in his court, in his palace. He was bitterly afflicted by the loss of his eldest son. At length the plot was ripe; he knew it, and attempted in vain to make his escape to the East. Either fearing or pretending to fear, lest he

should regain his liberty, Irene sent to her secret emissaries around his person, and threatened to betray their treachery if they did not deliver up their master to her hands. Constantine was seized on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, conducted to the porphyry chamber, in which Irene had borne him—her first-born son. In that very chamber the crime was perpetrated. His eyes were put out, so cruelly and so incurably, as to threaten his death.^f In the East, the conduct of the unnatural mother was seen with unmitigated horror. An eclipse of the sun, accompanied with such darkness, that ships wandered from their courses, was held to be a sign of the sympathy of the heavenly orbs with the suffering Emperor—an expression of divine disapprobation. Among the few instances in the annals of mankind, in which ambition and the love of sway have quenched the maternal feeling—that strongest and purest impulse of human nature—is the crime committed against her son by the Empress Irene. But it is even more awful and humiliating that (so inextinguishable are religious passions!) a churchman of profound learning, of unimpeachable character, should, many centuries after, be so bewildered by zeal for the *orthodox* Empress, as to palliate, extenuate, as far as possible apologise for this appalling deed, in which the sounder moral sense of the old Grecian tragedy would have imagined a divine Nemesis for the accumulated guilt of generations of impious ancestors.^g

Murder of
Constantine.

A.D. 797.

^f *δεινῶς καὶ ἀνιδίως πρὸς τὸ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν.*—Theophan., p. 732.

^g The passage must be quoted:—
“Scelus planè execrandum, nisi quod multi excusant, justitiæ eam zelus ad id faciendum excitasset, quo nomine

eadem post hæc meruit commendari. At non fuit matris jussio, ut ista pateretur, sed ut teneretur,” (this is directly contrary to Theophanes and the best authorities), “nec amplius imperaret, tanquam si e manu furiosæ

So completely indeed might the Iconoclastic faction appear to be crushed, that neither during the strife between the mother and the son, though it might have some latent influence, did it give any manifest or threatening sign of its existence; and Irene A.D. 797-802. reigned in peace for five years, and was overthrown by a revolution, in which religion had no apparent concern.

The controversy slept during the reign of Nicephorus, Nicephorus emperor. A.D. 802-811. and that of Michael, surnamed Rhangabes. Michael. A.D. 811-813. The monks throughout this period seem to form an independent power (a power no doubt arising out of, and maintained by, their championship of image-worship), and to dictate to the Emperor, and even to the Church. On the other hand, among the soldiery are heard some deep but suppressed murmurs of attachment to the memory of Constantine Copronymus.

Leo the Armenian ascended the throne, for which Michael Rhangabes felt and acknowledged his incapacity. The weak Michael had courted the friendship of the monks; on his invitation, or with his acquiescence, they settled in increasing swarms

gladium auferret. Docuit Christus verbis suis summæ pietatis genus esse in hoc adversus filium esse crudelem, ipso dicente." (The cardinal here cites our Lord's words, Matt. x. 37, "He that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me.") "Quum jam olim, Dei præcepto, justæ sint armatæ manus parentum in filios, abeuntes post Deos alienos, illisque necatis, qui hoc fecerint, Moysis ore laudati, ita dicentis, Exod. xxxii. 29. Plurimum interest quo quis aliquid animo agat. Si enim regnandi cupi-

dine Irene in filium molita esset insidias, detestabilior Agrippina matre Neronis fuisset Contra vero quod ista, *religionis causâ*, amore justitiæ in filium perpetrata credantur, ab Orientalibus nonnullis, qui facti aderant, *viris sanctissimis!* eadem posthæc præconio meruit celebrari." As if any motive could be assigned but the most unscrupulous ambition; though doubtless she was throughout supported by the image-worshippers.—Baron. Ann. sub ann. DCCXCVI.

within the city. The Armenian was another of those rude soldiers, born in a less civilised part of Christendom, in which image-worship had not taken profound root. But he did not betray his repugnance to the popular religious feeling until, like his predecessor the Isaurian Leo, he had secured the north-western and eastern frontiers of the empire. Against the Bulgarians, who were actually besieging Constantinople, he began the war by a base act of treachery, an attempt to assassinate Cromnus, their victorious king, during a peaceful interview; he terminated it by a splendid victory, which for a time crushed the power of these Barbarians. He was equally successful against the Saracens. The firm and prosperous administration of Leo extorted from the exiled Patriarch of Constantinople, Nicephorus, an ample if unwilling acknowledgment. "Impious as he was, he was a wise guardian of the public interests. Firm in civil as in military affairs, superior to wealth, he chose his ministers for their worth, not their riches, and aimed at least at the rigid execution of justice."^h

But all these virtues were obscured, in the sight of the image-worshippers, by his attempt to suppress that worship. Even on his accession there was some mistrust of his opinions; the name Chameleon can scarcely apply to anything but his suspected religious versatility. The Patriarch at that time tendered him a profession of faith, which he adroitly put by till he should have despatched the more pressing duties of his station. He seemed, however, as he passed the brazen gate, to do homage to an image of the Saviour placed above it.

The enemies of Leo attribute his change to the artifices of a monk, by some strange contradiction a hater

^h Theophan. Contin., p. 30.

of images. The superstitious Leo was addicted to the consultation of self-asserted diviners; he had been designated by this monk, endowed as was supposed with the prophetic gift, for the throne. As the witch of Endor Saul, so the monk had recognised the future monarch, though shrouded in disguise. At the same time, he was threatened with immediate death if he did not follow the course of Leo the Isaurian; if he did, the empire was to remain in his family for generations.

The emperor summoned the Patriarch Nicephorus to his presence before the Senate, and proposed the insidious question, whether there were not those who denied the lawfulness of worship to images? The Patriarch was not scrupulous in his reply. He appealed to the holy Veronica, the napkin with the impression of the Saviour's face, the first sacred image not made with hands. He declared that there were images made by the apostles themselves, of the Saviour and the Mother of God; that there was actually in Rome a picture of the transfiguration, painted by the order of St. Peter; he did not forget the statue at Paneas, in Palestine.¹ Another bishop boldly admonished the emperor to attend to his proper business, the army, and not to venture to meddle with the affairs of the Church, in which he had no concern. The indignant emperor banished the two intractable prelates. Euthymius, of Sardis, who had used still more opprobrious language, was corporally punished with blows and stripes. As Irene had promoted Tarasius, so Leo raised an officer of his household, Theodotus Cassiteras, to the patriarchal throne. Image-worship was again proscribed by an imperial edict. The worshippers are

Against
image-wor-
ship.

¹ Symeon Magister in Theoph. Contin., p. 607.

said to have been ruthlessly persecuted ; and Leo, according to the phraseology of the day, is accused of showing all the blood-thirstiness, without the generosity, of the lion. Yet no violent popular tumult took place ; nor does the conspiracy which afterwards cut short the days of Leo the Armenian appear to have been connected with the strife of religious factions. He might have escaped his fate but for his scrupulous reverence for the institutions of the Church. Michael the Stammerer had risen, like Leo, to military distinction. He was guilty, or at least suspected, of traitorous designs against the emperor, thrown into prison, and condemned to immediate death. But the next day (the day appointed for his execution) was the feast of the nativity of Christ. The wife of Leo urged him not to profane that sacred season, that season of peace and good-will, by a public execution. Leo, with a sad prophetic spirit, answered that she and her children would bitterly rue the delay ; but he could not withstand her scruples and his own. Yet his mind misgave him : at midnight the emperor stole into the dungeon, to assure himself that all was safe. The prisoner was sleeping quietly ; but a slave, who had hid himself under the bed, recognised the purple sandals of the emperor. Michael instantly sent word to the other conspirators, that unless they struck the blow he would denounce them as his accomplices. The chamberlain of Leo was Michael's kinsman ; and on the dawn of the holy day, which Leo had feared to violate, the conspirators mingled with the clergy, who assembled as usual, at the third watch, to hail the birth of Christ. The emperor was famed for the finest voice in the city : he had joined in the beautiful hymn of peace, when the conspirators rushed to the attack. At first, in the fog of the morning, they mis-

took the leader of the clergy for the emperor, but fortunately he took off his cap and showed his tonsure. Leo, in the mean time, had taken refuge at the altar, seized the great cross, and with this unseemly weapon, grasped in his despair, kept his enemies at bay, till at length a gigantic soldier lifted his sword to strike. Leo reminded him of his oath of allegiance: "Tis no time to speak of oaths," replied the soldier, "but of death;" and swearing by the divine grace,^k smote off the arm of his sovereign, which fell with the heavy cross; another struck off his head. Michael was crowned with the fetters of his captivity still on his legs.

Whatever hopes the clergy, at least the image-worshippers, or the monks, might have conceived at the murder of Leo, which they scrupled not to allege as a sign of the divine disfavour towards the Iconoclasts, were disappointed on the accession of Michael the Stammerer. The new emperor was a soldier more rude than the last; he could scarcely read. His birth was ascribed to a Phrygian village, chiefly inhabited by Jews; and he was said to have been educated in a strange creed, which was neither Judaism nor Christianity. He affected a coarse humour; he did not spare the archbishop, who returned without authority, but without rebuke, from his exile, and forced an interview with the emperor. Michael received and dismissed him with civil scorn. Rumours were circulated, that even on more sacred subjects he did not repress his impious sarcasms. His whole conduct seemed tinged with a kind of Sadducising Judaism. He favoured the

^k ἔτι τε κατὰ τῆς θείας ὁμώσας χάριτος. This, as a fact, or an embellishment of the historian, is equally characteristic.—Theoph. Contin., p. 39.

Jews in the exaction of tribute (perhaps he was guilty of the sin of treating them with justice), he fasted on the Jewish Sabbath, he doubted the resurrection of the dead, and the personality of the devil, as unauthorised by the religion of Moses.^m Image-worship he treated with contemptuous impartiality. He declared that he knew nothing of these ecclesiastical quarrels; that he would maintain the laws and enforce an equal toleration. To the petitions of the patriarch for the formal restoration to his see, he offered his consent if the patriarch would bury the whole question, alike the decrees of Constantinople and of Nicæa, in oblivion; and in a great public assembly (assembled for the purpose), he proclaimed the worship of images a matter altogether indifferent. Yet Michael is charged with departing from his own lofty rule of toleration. The calamities of his reign, the danger of the capital and of the whole empire from the invasion of the apostate Thomas, the loss of Crete and of other islands to the Saracens, were ascribed to the just vengeance of God for the persecutions of his reign.

But the worst crime of which Michael was guilty, in the sight of the image-worshippers, was the parentage and education of him whom the monkish writers call the new Belshazzar, Theophilus. Michael, in his aversion to the monastic faction, entrusted the education of his son to a man of high character, John the Grammarian, whom Theophilus in after life, having employed as his chief counsellor in civil affairs, as ambassador A.D. 829. in the most difficult negotiations, advanced at length to the see of Constantinople. Theophilus was an Oriental, his enemies no doubt said, a Mohammedan

^m Theophan. Contin., p. 49.

Sultan on the throne of the Roman Empire. Even his marriage, though to one wife, had something of the supercilious condescension of the lord of a harem. The most beautiful maidens of the empire were assembled, in order that Theophilus might behold and choose his bride. Of these, Eucasia was the loveliest. Theophilus paused, and as he gazed on her beauty, in a strange moralising fit he said, with an obvious allusion to the fall, "Of how much evil hath woman been the cause!" The too ready or too devout Eucasia replied, with as evident reference to the Mother of God, "And of how much good!" Startled by her quickness and her theology, Theophilus passed on to the more gentle and modest Theodora. Eucasia retired to shroud her disappointment in a convent. The justice of Theophilus, somewhat ostentatiously displayed, was of that severe, capricious, but equitable character, which prevails where the law being part of the religion, the sovereign the hereditary head of the religion, his word is law. He was accessible to the complaints of his meanest subjects; as he passed on certain days to the church in the Blachernae, any one might personally present a petition, or demand redress. As he rode abroad, he would familiarly inquire the price of the cheapest commodities, and express his strong displeasure at what he thought exorbitant charges. One instance may show, as no doubt it did show to his subjects, the impartiality and capricious rigour of his judgements.ⁿ Petronas, the brother of the empress, had darkened by a lofty building the dwelling of a poor widow. Once she appealed

ⁿ One edict, attributed to Theophilus, may remind us of the Emperor Paul of Russia. Himself being inclined to baldness, he ordained that

all his subjects should cut their hair short: to let it flow over the shoulders incurred a heavy penalty.

to the emperor, but Petronas, secure as he supposed in his interest, disregarded the imperial command to redress the grievance. On her second complaint, this man, who had filled offices of dignity, was ignominiously, publicly, and cruelly scourged in the market-place. The haughty, rather Roman, contempt of Theophilus for commerce, appears in his commanding a vessel full of precious Syrian merchandise to be burned, though it belonged to the Empress Theodora, reproaching her with degrading the imperial dignity to the paltry gains of commerce.^o The revenues, which he had in some degree restored by economy or by better administration and increased perhaps by the despised commerce to Constantinople, he expended with Eastern magnificence. He sent a stately embassy to the caliph at Bagdad. John the Grammarian represented his sovereign, and was furnished with instructions and with presents intended to dazzle the Barbarian. Of two vessels of enormous cost, which he was to exhibit at a great feast, one was intentionally lost, that the ambassador might astonish the Saracen with his utter indifference, and produce with greater effect the second and far more splendid vase of silver, full of gold coins. A scene of gorgeous emulation took place. The caliph poured out his gold, which John affected to treat as so much dust; the caliph brought forth a hundred Christian captives, splendidly attired, and offered them to the ambassadors, who refused them till they could repay an equal number of Saracen captives. Yet all

Character of
Theophilus.

• Gibbon (as Schlosser has observed) has exaggerated the cruel punishments of Theophilus. With Schlosser, I find no authority for, "The principal ministers, for some venial offences, for some defect of equity or vigilance, a præfect, a quæstor, a captain of the guard, were banished or mutilated, or scalded with burning pitch, or burned in the Hippodrome."

this rivalship with the Hagarene, as he is contemptuously called by contemporary history, though it soon gave place to implacable hostility and uninterrupted war, would confirm with the image-worshippers the close alliance between Iconoclasm and Mohammedanism. Even in the other branch of expenditure in which Theophilus displayed his magnificence, the sumptuous buildings with which he adorned Constantinople (a palace built on the model of a Saracenic one, belonging to the caliph, in the same style, and same variety of structure and material), would display a sympathy in tastes, offensive to devout feeling.^P Though among his splendid edifices churches were not wanting, one especially, dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel, called Tricinus, from its triple apse.

A character like that of Theophilus, stern and arbitrary even in his virtues, determined in his resolutions, and void of compassion against those who offended against his justice, that is his will, was not likely, when he declared himself an Iconoclast, to conduct a religious persecution without extreme rigour. He was a man of far higher education than the former image-breaking emperors, and saw no doubt more clearly the real grounds of the controversy. Theophilus wrote poetry, if the miserable iambics with which he wished to brand the faces of some of his victims may be so called. He

^P John the Grammarian, on his return from Syria, persuaded the Emperor τὰ τοῦ Βρυίου ἀνάκτορα πρὸς τὴν τῶν Σαρακηνῶν κατασκευασθῆναι ὁμοίωσιν. ἐν τε σχήμασι καὶ ποικιλίᾳ μηδὲν ἐκείνων τὸ σύνολον παραλλάττοντα. — Theophan. Contin., p. 98. Symeon Magister assigns a different period to this palace,

which he embellishes with the Eastern luxury of παράδεισοι, and tanks of water. This, however, shows that already there was a peculiar Saracenic style of building, new to the Romans, and introduced into Constantinople. The fact is not unworthy of notice in the history of architecture.

composed church music; some of his hymns were admitted into the church service, in which the emperor himself led the choir.⁹

Theophilus could not but perceive the failure, and disdain to imitate his father's temporising policy, who endeavoured to tolerate the monks, while he discouraged image-worship.^r He avowed his determination to extirpate both at once. Leo the Armenian and Michael the Stammerer had attempted to restrict the honours paid to images; Theophilus prohibited the making new ones, and ordered that in every church they should be effaced, and the walls covered with pictures of birds and beasts. The sacred vessels, adorned with figures, were profaned by unhallowed hands, sold in the public markets, and melted for their metal. The prisons were full of painters, of monks and ecclesiastics of all orders. The monks, driven from their convents, fled to desert places; some perished of cold and hunger, some threw off the proscribed dress, yet retained the sacred character and habits; others seized the opportunity of returning to the pleasures as to the dress of the world.

Yet in the mass of the monastic faction the fanaticism of the emperor was encountered by a fanaticism of resistance, sometimes silent, sullen and stubborn, sometimes glorying in provoking the wrath of the persecutor. One whole brotherhood, that of the Abrahamites, presented themselves before the emperor. They

⁹ οὐ παρητήσατο τὸ χειρονομεῖν, leading them it should seem by the motion of his hand. The clergy appear to have made the emperor pay for the privilege of indulging his tastes. δὸς τῷ κλήρῳ αὐτῆς λίτρας ὑπὲρ τούτου χρυσοῦ ἑκατὸν.—Theophan. Contin., p. 107.

^r Theophilus caused to be constructed two organs, entirely of gold, set with precious stones; and a tree of gold, on which sate birds which sang by a mechanical contrivance, the air being conveyed by hidden pipes.—Symeon Magister, p. 627.

asserted on the evidence, as they said, of the most ancient fathers,⁸ that image-worship dated from the times of the apostles; they appealed to the pictures of the Saviour by St. Luke, and to the holy Veronica. Irritated by their obstinacy, and not likely to be convinced by such arguments, the emperor drove them with insults and severe chastisements from the city. They took refuge in a church, on an island in the Euxine, dedicated to John the Baptist *the awful*.⁹ There they are said to have suffered martyrdom. Another stubborn monk, the emperor, in a more merciful mood, sent to his learned minister, John the Grammarian. The monk, according to the historian, reduced the minister to silence: if discomfited, the Grammarian bore his defeat with equanimity, the successful controversialist was allowed to retire and wait for better times in a monastery.

There was another monk, however, named Lazarus, a distinguished painter, whom the emperor could induce by no persuasion to abandon his idolatrous art. As milder measures failed, Lazarus was cruelly scourged and imprisoned. He still persisted in exercising his forbidden skill, and hot iron plates were placed on his guilty hands. The illness of the empress saved his life; he too took refuge in the church of the Baptist, where, having recovered the use of his hands, he painted "that fearful harbinger of the Lord," and on the restoration of images, a celebrated picture of the Saviour over the gate Chalce.

Two others, Theophilus, and his brother Theodorus, for presuming to overpower the emperor in argument,

⁸ Dionysius (the pseudo Dionysius), Hierotheus, and Irenæus.

⁹ τοῦ φοβεροῦ.

and to adduce a passage in the Prophet Isaiah, not, as the emperor declared, in his copy, suffered a more cruel punishment. Their faces were branded with some wretched iambic verses, composed by the emperor; they were then banished; one died, the other survived to see the triumph of image-worship.^a

This religious war seems to have been waged by the emperor on one side, and the monks on the other, with no disturbance of the general peace of the Empire. No popular tumults demanded the interference of the government. The people, weary or indifferent, submitted in apathy to the alternate destruction and restoration of images. But for the fatal passion of Theophilus for war against the Saracens, in which, with great personal valour, but no less military incapacity, he was in general unsuccessful, he might have maintained the Empire during all the later years of his reign in wealth and prosperity.

The history of Iconoclasm has a remarkable uniformity. Another female in power, another restoration of images. After the death of Theodora
empress. Theophilus his widow Theodora administered the empire, in the name of her youthful son Michael, called afterwards, the Drunkard. Theodora, like her own mother Theoctista, had always worshipped images in private. Twice the dangerous secret had been betrayed to the emperor that the females of his own family practised this forbidden idolatry. On one occasion the children prattled about the pretty toys which their grandmother kept in a chest and took out, kissing them herself and offering them to the children's respectful

^a All the historians (monks) relate this strange story, but the passage in Isaiah favourable to image-worship, and forged by the monks, is rather suspicious; as well as twelve iambic verses tattooed on their faces.

kisses. Another time a dwarf, kept as a luffoon in the palace, surprised the empress taking the images, which he called by the same undignified name, from under her pillow, and paying them every kind of homage. The empress received a severe rebuke; the dwarf was well flogged for his impertinent curiosity. Theodora learned caution, but brooded in secret over her tutelary images.

No sooner was Theophilus dead than the monks, no doubt in the secret of Theodora's concealed attachment to images, poured into Constantinople from all quarters. At this juncture the brave Manuel, the general who had more than once retrieved the defeats of Theophilus, once had actually rescued him from the hands of the Saracens, and who had been appointed under the will of the emperor one of the guardians of the empire, fell dangerously ill. The monks beset his bed side, working at once on his hopes of recovery and his fears of death. Manuel yielded, and threw the weight of his authority into the party of the image-worshippers. Theodora had before feared to cope with the strength of the opposite faction, so long dominant and in possession of many of the more important civil and military dignities. She now ventured to send an officer of the palace to command the patriarch, John the Grammarian, either to recant his Iconoclastic opinions, or to withdraw from Constantinople. The patriarch is accused of a paltry artifice. He opened a vein in the region of the stomach, and showed himself wounded and bleeding to the people. The rumour spread that the empress had attempted to assassinate the patriarch. But the fraud was detected, exposed, acknowledged. The abashed patriarch withdrew, unpitied and despised, into the suburbs. Methodius was raised to the dignity of the

patriarchate. The worshippers of images were in triumph.

But Theodora, still tenderly attached to the memory of her husband, demanded as the price of her inestimable services in the restoration of images, absolution for the sin of his Iconoclasm and his persecution of the image-worshippers. Methodius gravely replied, that the power of the clergy to grant absolution to the living was unbounded, but of those who had died in obstinate sin, they had no authority to cancel or to mitigate the damnation. Even her own friends suspected the empress of a pious lie when she asserted, and even swore, that her husband, in the agony of death, had expressed his bitter repentance, had ascribed all the calamities of his reign to his stubborn heresy, had actually entreated her to bring him the images, had passionately kissed them, and so rendered up his spirit to the ministering angels. The clergy, out of respect to the empress and zeal for their own object, did not question too closely the death-bed penitence of Theophilus; with one consent they pronounced his pardon before God, and gave a written sentence of his absolution to the empress.

All was now easy; the fanaticism of Iconoclasm was exhausted or rebuked. A solemn festival was appointed for the restoration of images. The whole clergy of Constantinople, and all who could flock in from the neighbourhood, met in and before the palace of the archbishop, and marched in procession with crosses, torches, and incense, to the church of St. Sophia. There they were met by the empress and her infant son Michael. They made the circuit of the church, with their burning torches, paying homage to every image and picture, which had been carefully

restored, never again to be effaced till the days of later, more terrible Iconoclasts, the Ottoman Turks.

The Greek Church from that time has celebrated the anniversary of this festival with loyal fidelity.* The successors of Methodius, particularly the learned Photius, were only zealous to consummate the work of his predecessors, and images have formed part of the recognised religious worship of the Eastern world.

* Methodius was Patriarch only four years.

CHAPTER IX.

Severance of Greek and Latin Christianity.

UP to the eighth century Rome had not been absolutely dissevered from the ancient and decrepit civilisation of the old Empire. After a short period of subjection to the Ostrogothic kingdom, by the conquest of Justinian she had sunk into a provincial city of the Eastern realm. In the eighth century she suddenly, as it were, burst the bonds of her connexion with the older state of things, disjoined herself for ever from the effete and hopeless East, and placed herself at the head of the rude as yet, and dimly descried and remote, but more promising and vigorous civilisation of the West. The Byzantine Empire became a separate world, Greek Christianity a separate religion. The West, after some struggle, created its own empire; its natives formed an independent system, either of warring or of confederate nations. Latin Christianity was the life, the principle of union, of all the West; its centre, papal Rome.

Mohammedanism — which was gradually encircling and isolating the Byzantine Empire from its outlying provinces, obtaining the naval superiority in the Mediterranean, and subjecting the islands to her sway; which, with the yet unconverted Bulgarians, fully occupied all the Eastern armies, and left the Emperor without power to protect or even keep in subjection the Exarchate and the Italian dependencies—was the re-

moter cause of the emancipation of the West. The Koran thus in some degree, by breaking off all correspondence with the East, contributed to deliver the Pope from a distant and arbitrary master, and to relieve him from that harassing rivalry with which the patriarch of Constantinople constantly renewed his pretensions to equality or to superiority; and so placed him alone in undisputed dignity at the head of Western Christendom. But the immediate cause of this disruption and final severance between the East and West was the Iconoclasm of the Eastern emperors. Other signs of estrangement might seem to forebode this inevitable revolution. The line of Justinian, the conqueror of Italy, after it had been deposed and had re-assumed the Empire in the person of the younger emperor of that name, was now extinct. Adventurer after adventurer had risen to power, and this continual revolution could not but weaken the attachment, especially of foreign subjects, who might think, or chose to think, succession and hereditary descent the only strong titles to their obedience. Rome and Italy must thus ignominiously acknowledge every rude or low-born soldier whom the rabble of Constantinople, the court, or more powerful army, might elevate to the throne.

The exarchal government from the first had only been powerful to tyrannise and feeble to protect. The

Exarchs of
Ravenna.

Exarch was like the satrap of an old Eastern monarchy; and this was more and more sensibly felt throughout Italy. Without abandoning any of its imperious demands on the obedience, this rule was becoming less and less able to resist the growing power and enterprise of the Lombards, or even to preserve the peace of the Italian dependencies. The exarchate had still strength to levy tribute, and to enforce heavy tax-

ation, the produce of which was sent to Constantinople. It repaid these burthens but scantily by any of the defensive or conservative offices of government. During the pontificate of John VI., the Exarch Theophylact had only been protected from the resentment of his own soldiery by the interference of the pope. The most unambitious pontiff might wish to detach his country and his people from the falling fortunes of the Byzantine Empire. If he looked to Rome, its allegiance to the East was but of recent date, the conquest of Justinian ; if to his own position, he could not but know that the successor of St. Peter held a much higher place, both as to respect and authority, before he had sunk into a subject of Constantinople. Never till this period in the papal annals had a pope been summoned, like a meaner subject, to give an account of his spiritual proceedings in a foreign city ; nor had he been seized and hurried away, with insult and cruel ill usage, to Constantinople, and, like the unhappy Martin, left to perish in exile.

Whatever lingering loyalty, under these trying circumstances, might prevail in Italy, or in the mind of the pontiff, to the old Roman government—whatever repugnance to the yoke of Barbarians, which might seem the only alternative when they should cease to be the subjects of the Empire—these bonds of attachment were at once rudely broken when the emperor became an heresiarch ; not a speculative heresiarch on some abstract and mysterious doctrine, but the head of a heresy which struck at the root of the popular religion—of the daily worship of the people. In general estimation, an Iconoclastic Emperor almost ceased to be a Christian : his tenets were those of a Jew or a Mohammedan. In the East the emperor, from fear, from persuasion, or from conviction, obtained, at one time at

least, a formidable party in his favour, even among the clergy. But for the monks, images might have disappeared from the East. In the West, iconoclasm was met with universal aversion and hostility. The Italian mind had rivalled the Greek in the fertility with which it had fostered the growth of image-worship: it adhered to it with stronger pertinacity. The expressive symbol of the fourth century, and the suggestive picture, which was, in the time of Gregory the Great, to be the book of Scripture to the unlearned, had expanded into the fondest attachment to the images of saints and martyrs, the Virgin, and the Saviour. In this as in all the other great controversies, from good fortune, from sagacity, from sympathy with the popular feeling, its adherents would say from a higher guidance, the papacy took the popular and eventually successful side. The pope was again not the dictator, he was the representative of the religious mind of the age. One of the more recent popes, the timid John VII., a Greek by birth, might seem almost prophetically to have committed the papal see to the support of image-worship, and resistance to an iconoclastic emperor. In a chapel which he dedicated in honour of the Virgin, in the church of St. Peter, the walls were inlaid with the pictures of the holy fathers; and throughout Rome he lavishly adorned the churches with pictures and statues. Gregory II. had no doubt often worshipped in public before these works of his holy predecessor.

The character of Gregory II. does not warrant the belief that he had formed any deliberate plan of policy for the alienation of Italy from the Eastern Empire. He was actuated not by worldly but by religious passions—by zeal for images, not by any

Image wor-
ship in Italy.

John VII.

Gregory II.
A.D. 715-731.

splendid vision of the independence of Italy. For where indeed could be found the protecting, the organising, the administrative and ruling power which could replace the abrogated authority of the Empire? The papacy had not yet aspired to the attributes and functions of temporal sovereignty.

In Italy the Lombard kingdom in the north, with its kindred dukedoms of Benevento and Spoleto in the south, alone possessed the strength and vigour of settled government.^a Under the long and comparatively peaceful reign of Rotharis, it had enjoyed what appears almost fabulous prosperity: it had its code of laws. Liutprand now filled the throne, a prince of great ambition and enterprise. If the papacy had entered into a confederacy of interests with the Lombard kings, and contenting itself with spiritual power, by which it might have ruled almost uncontrolled over Barbarian monarchs, and with large ecclesiastical possessions without sovereign rights, Italy might again perhaps have been consolidated into a great kingdom. But this policy, which the papacy was too Roman to pursue with the Gothic kings, or which was repudiated as bringing a powerful temporal monarch in too close collision with the supreme pontiff, was even less likely to be adopted with the Lombards.^b Between the papal see and the Lombard sovereigns—indeed between the Lombards and the Italian clergy—there seems almost from first to last to have prevailed an implacable and inexplicable antipathy. Of all the

^a From 635 to 651. During all this period Catholic and Arian bishops presided over their separate congregations in most of the cities of Italy.—Le Beau, *Bas Empire*, lviii. 4.

^b Yet the Lombards had more than once defended the Pope against the

Exarch. — Epist. Olradi. Episcop. Mediol. ad Carol. M. de Translat. S. Augustin. Olrad says of Liutprand, that he was “protector et defensor fidelis Ecclesiarum Dei . . . Christianissimus fuit ac religionis amator.”

conquerors of Italy, these (according to more favourable historians) orderly and peaceful people are represented as the most irreclaimably savage. The taint of their original Arianism was indelible. No terms are too strong with the popes to express their detestation of the Lombards.

According to the course of events, as far as it can be traced in chronological order, Gregory remained wavering and confounded by these simultaneous but conflicting passions: his determination to resist an iconoclastic emperor, and his dread of the Lombard supremacy in Italy. Up to the tenth year of his pontificate he had been occupied by the more peaceful duties of his station. He had averted the aggressions of the Lombard dukes on the patrimony of St. Peter; he had commissioned

A.D. 719.

Boniface to preach the Gospel in Germany; he had extended his paternal care over the churches in England. No doubt, even if his more formal epistles had not yet been delivered, he had expostulated with the emperor on the first appearances of his hostility to images^c repeatedly, frequently, if not by private letters, probably by other missives.

But the fatal edict came to Italy as to one of the provinces subject to the Emperor Leo. The Exarch Scholasticus commanded it to be published in the city of Ravenna. The people broke out in instant insurrection, declared their determination to renounce their allegiance rather than permit their churches to be despoiled of their holiest ornaments, attacked the soldiery, and maintained a desperate conflict for the mastery of the city.

Iconoclastic
edict.
A.D. 727.

A.D. 727.

^c On the first intelligence of the Emperor's open iconoclasm, the Pope sent everywhere letters, "cavere se Christianos, quod orta fuisset impietas."—Vit. Greg. II.

Liutprand, the Lombard king, had been watching in eager expectation of this strife to expel the Exarch, and to add the whole Roman territory to his dominions. With a large force he sat down before Ravenna. Lombards take Ravenna. Though the garrison made a vigorous defence, Liutprand, by declaring himself a devout worshipper of images, won the populace to his party; Ravenna surrendered; the troops of Liutprand spread without resistance over the whole Pentapolis.

Gregory was alarmed, for if he hated the heretical emperor, he had no less dread and dislike of the conquering Lombard.^d The establishment of this odious sovereignty throughout Italy, which had been so long making its silent aggressions in the South, with a king of the unmeasured ambition and ability of Liutprand, was even more formidable to the pope than the effete tyranny of Constantinople.^e

Gregory first discerned, among her islands and marshes, the rising power of Venice, equally Venice. A.D. 727. jealous with himself of the extension of the Lombard power. There the exarch had taken refuge. At the instigation of Gregory a league was formed of the maritime forces of Venice, already of some importance, nominally with the exarch, really with the pope, and the whole Roman or Byzantine troops. Ravenna was retaken while Liutprand was at Pavia, Ravenna retaken. and before he could collect his army to relieve it.

Gregory was still outwardly a loyal subject of the

^d "Quia, peccato favente, Ravennatum civitas, quæ caput extat omnium, a non dicendâ gente Longobardorum cæpta est."—Greg. Epist. x.

^e The chronology is so uncertain,

that I have been constrained to follow sometimes one authority, sometimes another—Baronius, Pagi, Muratori—and so have endeavoured to trace the historical sequence of events.

emperor, but the breach was inevitable. Iconoclasm had now become fanaticism with Leo; and Gregory, whether his celebrated letters had yet been despatched or were only in preparation, was as resolute in his assertion of image-worship. Rumours spread, and were generally believed, that the Iconoclast had sent orders to seize or to murder the pope. Each successive officer who was sent to retrieve the imperial affairs was supposed to be charged with this impious mission. Leo, no doubt, would have scrupled as little as his predecessors to order the apprehension of the refractory prelate, and his transportation to Constantinople; nor if blood had been shed in resistance to his commands, would he have considered it an inexpiable crime.^f But the pope believed himself, or declared his belief, that he was menaced with secret assassination. Three persons are named—the Duke Basil, Jordan the Chartulary, and John surnamed Lurion—as meditating this crime, under the sanction first of Marinus, Duke of the city of Rome, afterwards of Paul, who was sent as Exarch to restore the imperial ascendancy. Two of these murderers were killed by the people; the third, Basil, turned monk to save his life.^g Paul the Exarch occupied Ravenna, which, with the Pentapolis, with Rome and Naples, were the only parts of Italy still in possession of the emperor, though Venice owned a doubtful allegiance. It was announced that the Exarch intended to march to Rome to depose the Pope, and at the same time measures were to be taken to destroy the images in the churches throughout Italy. The whole territory—Venice, the Pentapolis, Rome—at once rose up in

^f Comp. Muratori sub ann. | about these attempts at assassination.
 DCCXXVII. | But the letters may have been written,
^g Gregory is silent in his letters | even if not delivered, before this date.

defence of the Pope. They declared that they would not recognise the commission of Paul; the Exarch's generals began to contemplate their separate independence. They were only prevented by the prudence of Gregory from proclaiming a new emperor, and sending him against Constantinople. The crafty Lombards again joined the popular cause. Exhilaratus, Duke of Naples, said to have plotted against the pope's life, was slain with his son. Ravenna was divided between the papal and imperial factions. The Exarch fell in the tumult. The Lombards were the gainers in all these commotions; they occupied all the strong places in the Exarchate and in the Pentapolis.

A new Exarch, the last Exarch of Ravenna, Euty chius, landed at Naples. He is likewise accused of designing to send a band of assassins to Rome, to murder, not only the Pope, but also the chief nobles of the city. But for the intervention of the Pope, they would have retaliated by sending assassins to kill the Exarch. A fearful state of Christian society when such acts, if not designed, were believed to be designed by both parties!

All Rome pledged itself by a solemn oath to live and die in defence of their Pontiff^h—the protector of the images in their churches. The Lombards were equally loud in their protestations of reverence for his person. The ban of excommunication was issued against the Exarch, the odious mutilator and destroyer of those holy memorials. Euty chius at first attempted to alienate the Lombards from the papal interest, but it now suited the politic Liutprand to adhere in the closest league to the rebellious Romans. Euty chius had not offered a

^h "Qui ex scriptis nefandam viri | bardi catenâ dei constrinxerunt cuncti
(Exarchi) delositatem despicientes una | mortem pro defensione Pontificis sus-
se quasi fratres Romani atque Longo- | tinere gloriosam."—Otradi, Epist.

tempting price for his alliance. Some time after, coveting the independent dukedoms of Spoleto and Benevento, Liutprand entered into secret negotiations with the Exarch. The dukedoms by this treaty were to be the share of the Lombard king, Rome to be restored to its allegiance to the emperor. Liutprand having made

A.D. 729.

himself master of Spoleto, and thus partly gained his own ends, advanced to Rome, and encamped in the field of Nero.ⁱ The Pope, like his predecessors, went forth to overawe by his commanding sanctity this new Barbarian conqueror, who threatened the Holy City. It pleased Liutprand to be overawed; he was not too sincere in his design to restore the imperial authority in Rome. He played admirably the part of a pious son of the Church; his conduct, as doubtless he intended, contrasted no little to his advantage with that of the sacrilegious Iconoclast Leo. He cast himself

Liutprand
in Rome.

at the feet of the Pope, he put off his armour, and all his splendid dress, his girdle, his sword, his gauntlets, his royal mantle, his crown of gold, and a cross of silver, and offered them at the tomb of the Apostle. He entreated the Pope (his arguments were not likely to be ineffectual) to make peace with the Exarch. So completely did harmony appear to be restored, that the Pope and the Exarch united in suppressing an insurrection raised by a certain Petasius, who proclaimed himself emperor under the title of Tiberius III. The Exarch, with the aid of the Romans,

A.D. 730.

seized the usurper, and sent his head to Constantinople. After this the Exarch probably retired to Ravenna, and must at least have suspended all active measures for the suppression of image-worship.

ⁱ Anastasius, Vit.

Throughout these transactions the Pope appears actually if not openly an independent potentate, leaguings with the allies or the enemies of the Empire, as might suit the exigencies of the time; yet the share of Gregory II. in the revolt of Italy has been exaggerated by those who boast of this glorious precedent and example for the assertion of the ecclesiastical power, by depriving an heretical subject of his authority over part of his realm, and striking the Imperial Head with the impartial thunders of excommunication; so also by those who charge him with the sin of rebellion against heaven-constituted monarchy. If, as is said, he proceeded to the hostile measure of forbidding the Italian subjects of Leo to pay their tribute; if by a direct excommunication he either virtually or avowedly released the subjects of the Emperor from their allegiance^k (his own language in his letters by no means takes this haughty or unsubmitive tone), his object was not the emancipation of Italy, but the preservation of images, in which Gregory was as fanatically sincere as the humblest monk in his diocese.

No doubt a council was summoned and held at Rome by Gregory II., in which anathemas were launched against the destroyers of images. If, however, the emperor was by name excommunicated by the pope, this was not and could not be, as in later times with the kings and emperors of Western Europe, an absolute and total exclusion from Christian privileges and Christian rites. It was a disruption of all communion with the Bishop of Rome, and his orthodox Italian subjects.^m No doubt there was a latent assertion

^k Theophanes, iv. c. 5 (p. 621); after him by Glycas, Zonaras, Cedrenus. See likewise Anastasius. ^m Walch makes two sensible observations; first, that the revolt of Italy and the extinction of the Em-

Nov. 730.
Council at
Rome.

that the Roman church was the one true church, and that beyond that church there was no salvation; but the Patriarch of Constantinople recognised no such power in the Roman pontiff, unless himself joined in the anathema; and Anastasius, the present patriarch, was now an ardent destroyer of images.ⁿ

Leo revenged himself by severing the Transadriatic provinces, the Illyrica, from the Roman patriarchate, and by confiscating the large estates of the see of Rome in Calabria and Sicily. He appears too to have chosen this unfortunate time for an increase in the taxation of those provinces. A new census was ordered with a view to a more productive capitation tax. The discontent at these exactions would no doubt strengthen the general resistance to the measures of Leo; and perhaps Gregory's prohibition of the payment to the imperial revenue may have been but resistance to these unprecedented burthens.

Such was the relation between the see of Rome and the Eastern Empire at the death of Gregory II. His successor, Gregory III., was of Syrian birth. At the funeral of the deceased pope, the clergy and the whole people broke out into a sudden acclamation, and declared Gregory III. his successor. But he was not consecrated till the ensuing month. So far was this election from a deliberate renunciation of allegiance to the Empire, or an assertion of independence on the part of the Pope or the Roman people, that the confir-

Buried Feb.
11, 731.

Gregory III.

archate was not complete till after the death of both Gregorys; secondly, that the excommunication of the Emperor by the Pope was not an exclusion from all spiritual privileges, but merely a refusal to communicate with him.

ⁿ In the reference to the council in the letter of Pope Hadrian to Charlemagne, p. 1460, he does not mention, though he does not exclude the notion of the excommunication of the Emperor. The council was held in Nov 730 Gregory died Feb. 731.

mation of the election by the Exarch at Ravenna was dutifully awaited before the Pope assumed his authority. Nor did Gregory III. break off or suspend his direct intercourse with the seat of government. His first act was a mission to Constantinople to announce his adherence to the doctrines of his predecessor on image-worship; and though his inflexible language was not likely to conciliate the Emperor, this mission and much of the subsequent conduct of Gregory show that the separation of Italy from the Empire was, at least, even if remotely contemplated, no avowed object of the papal policy. The first message was entrusted to George the Presbyter, but its language was so sternly and haughtily condemnatory of the emperor's religious proceedings, that the trembling ambassador had hardly begun his journey when he fled back to Rome and acknowledged that he had not courage for this dangerous mission. The Pope was so indignant at this want of sacerdotal daring, that he threatened to degrade the Presbyter, and was hardly persuaded to impose a lighter penance. Once more George was ordered to set out for the court of Leo; he was arrested in Sicily, and not allowed to proceed. Gregory, finding his remonstrances vain or unheard, assumed a bolder attitude.

A.D. 732.

The council held by Gregory III. was formed with great care and solemnity. It was intended to be the declaration of defiance on the subject of images from all Italy. The archbishops of Grado and Ravenna, and ninety-three other prelates or presbyters of the apostolic see, with the deacons and the rest of the clergy, the consuls and the people of Rome, pronounced their decree that, whoever should overthrow, mutilate, profane, blaspheme the venerable images of

Nov. 1, 732.

Christ our God and Lord, of the immaculate and glorious Virgin, of the blessed apostles and saints, was banished from all communion in the body and blood of Christ, and from the unity of the Church.

This solemn edict was sent to Constantinople by Constantine, the defender of the city. Constantine also was arrested in Sicily, his letters taken away, and, after an imprisonment of a year, he was allowed to return to Rome to report the bad success of his mission. Another address was sent in the name of the people of Italy, urging their attachment to the images, and imploring the emperor to annul his fatal statute. This, with two expostulatory letters from the pope, got not beyond Sicily. The messengers were seized by Sergius, the commander of the imperial troops, confined for eight months, sent back with every indignity to Rome, and menaced with the punishment of traitors and rebels if they should venture to land again in Sicily.

In Rome Gregory III. set the example of image-worship on the most splendid scale. He had obtained six pillars of precious marble from the Exarch at Ravenna, and arranged them in order with six others of equal value. These he overlaid with the purest silver, on which, on one side, were represented the Saviour and the apostles, on the other the Mother of God with the holy virgins. In an oratory of the same church he enshrined, in honour of the Saviour and the Virgin, reliques of the apostles, the martyrs, and saints of all the world. Among his other costly offerings was an image of the Holy Mother of God, having a diadem of gold and jewels, a golden collar with pendant gems, and earrings with six jacinths. In the Church of the Virgin was another image of the Mother, with the Divine Infant in her arms, adorned with pearls of great

weight and size. Many other of the churches in Rome and in the neighbourhood were decorated with images of proportionate splendour.

The Emperor, about this time, made his last desperate effort to retrieve his fortunes in Italy, to relieve the Exarch Eutychius, who was shut up in powerless inactivity in Ravenna, and to reduce the refractory pope, and Italy to obedience. A formidable arma-
 ment was embarked on board a great fleet, Loss of Emperor's fleet.
 under the command of Manes, one of his bravest and most experienced generals. The fleet encountered a terrible storm in the Adriatic; great part of the ships was lost; and the image-worshippers on the coast of Calabria beheld their shores strewn with the wrecks of the Iconoclastic navy. Henceforth the Eastern Empire almost acquiesced in the loss of the exarchate. Eutychius maintained for a long time his perilous position in Ravenna, temporising between the pope, the
 Lombards, and the Franks. Flight of the Exarch.
 Nearly twenty years later he abandoned the seat of government, and took refuge in Naples.

Now, however, that the real power of the empire in Italy was extinguished, it might seem that nothing could resist the Lombards. Though King Liutprand and Gregory III., at least for the first eight years of Gregory's pontificate, maintained their outward amity, the Lombards, though not now Arian, were almost equally objects of secret abhorrence to the Catholic and the Roman. Italy must again become a Barbarian kingdom, the Pope the subject of a sovereign at his gates or within his city.

At this juncture the attention of Europe, of all Christendom, is centered upon the Franks. The great victory of Tours had raised Charles Martel to the rank

of the protector of the liberties of the religion of the Western world, from the all-conquering Mohammedans.

Charles Martel. A.D. 729. It was almost the first,^o unquestionably the greatest defeat which that power had suffered, from the time that it advanced beyond the borders of Arabia, and having yet found no limits to its conquests in the East, had swept westward over Africa, Spain, and Southern Gaul, and seemed destined to envelope the whole world.

The Pope was thus compelled, invited, encouraged by every circumstance to look for protection, unless he submitted to the abhorred Lombard, beyond the Alps.^p The Franks alone of Barbarian nations had from the first been converted to orthodoxy, and adhered to it with unshaken fidelity. The Franks had dutifully listened to the papal recommendation of Boniface, the Apostle of Germany, had countenanced and assisted his holy designs for the conversion of the Teutonic tribes beyond the Rhine. Already had Gregory II. opened a communication with the Franks; already, before the dissolution of the Byzantine power, had secret negotiations begun to secure their aid against the Lombards.^q Eight or nine years of doubtful peace, at least of respectful mutual understanding, had intervened; when,

* The bloody defeat of Toulouse by Count Eudes led to no result.

^p Liutprand marched across the Alps but the year before in aid of Charles Martel against the Saracens, who had again appeared in formidable force in the South of France.

^q The authority for this important fact is Anastasius in his Life of Stephen III., who, in his dispute with King Astolph., "cernens præsertim, ab imperiali potentia nullum esse

subveniendi auxilium, tunc quemadmodum prædecessores ejus beatæ memoriæ dominus Gregorius et Gregorius alter, et dominus Zacharias, beatissimi pontifices Carolo excellentissimæ memoriæ, Regi Francorum direxerunt, petentes sibi subveniri, propter impressiones ac invasiones quas et ipsi in hæc Romanorum provinciâ a nefandâ Longobardorum gente perpassi sunt." Charles Martel was not king.

almost on a sudden, the Lombards and the Pope are involved in open war, and Gregory III. throws himself boldly on the faith and loyalty of the mighty Frank. He sends the mystic keys of the Sepulchre of St. Peter and filings of his chains as gifts, which no Christian could resist; he offers the significant yet undefined title of Roman Consul. The letter of Gregory in the following year appeals in the most piteous tone to the commiseration and piety of the Barbarian. "His tears are falling day and night for the destitute state of the Church. The Lombard king and his son are ravaging by fire and sword the last remains of the property of the Church, which no longer suffices for the sustenance of the poor, or to provide lights for the daily service. They had invaded the territory of Rome and seized all his farms; his only hope was in the timely succour of the Frankish king." Gregory knew that the Lombards were negotiating with the Frank, and dexterously appeals to his pride. "The Lombards are perpetually speaking of him with contempt,—'Let him come, this Charles, with his army of Franks; if he can, let him rescue you out of our hands.' O unspeakable grief, that such sons so insulted should make no effort to defend their holy mother the Church! Not that St. Peter is unable to protect his successors, and to exact vengeance upon their oppressors; but the apostle is putting the faith of his followers to trial. Believe not the Lombard kings, that their only object is to punish their refractory subjects, the dukes of Spoleto and Benevento, whose only crime is that they will not join in the invasion and the plunder of the Roman see.

A.D. 739.

Gregory appeals to Charles Martel.

A.D. 740.

* In partibus Ravennatum.

* Fredegar. Contin. apud Bouquet, ii. 457

Send, O my most Christian son! some faithful officer, who may report to you truly the condition of affairs here; who may behold with his own eyes the persecutions we are enduring, the humiliation of the Church, the desolation of our property, the sorrow of the pilgrims who frequent our shrines. Close not your ears against our supplications, lest St. Peter close against you the gates of heaven. I conjure you by the living and true God, and by the keys of St. Peter, not to prefer the alliance of the Lombards to the love of the great apostle, but hasten, hasten to our succour, that we may say with the prophet, 'The Lord hath heard us in the day of tribulation, the God of Jacob hath protected us.'"

The letter of Gregory III. seems rather like the cry of sudden distress than part of a deliberate scheme of policy. He is in an agony of terror at the formidable invasion of the Lombards, which threatens to absorb Rome in the kingdom of Liutprand. Succour from the East is hopeless; he turns to any quarter where he may find a powerful protector, and that one protector is Charles Martel. From the Lombard king he had not much right to expect forbearance, for it is clear that he had encouraged the duke of Spoleto, the vassal, as the ambitious Liutprand asserted, of the Lombard kingdom, in rebellion against his master. Duke Thrasimund had fled for refuge to Rome; and from Rome he had gone forth, not unaided, to reconquer his dukedom. The troops of Liutprand had overrun the Roman territory; they were wasting the estates of the Church. Liutprand had severed four cities, Amelia, Orta, Polymartia, and Blera, from the Roman territory.[†] Some expressions

[†] Ab eodem rege ablatæ sunt e Ducatu Romano quatuor civitates.-- Anastasius.

in Gregory's second letter to Charles almost imply that he had entered Rome and plundered the Church of St. Peter.^a So nearly did Rome become a Lombard city. A.D. 741.

These acts of Gregory III. mark the period of transition from the old to the new political system of Europe. They proclaimed the severance of all connexion with the East. The Pope, as an independent potentate, is forming an alliance with a Transalpine sovereign for the liberation of Italy, and thus taking the lead in that total revolution in the great social system of Europe, the influence of which still survives in the relations between the Transalpine nations and Italy. The step to papal aggrandisement, though yet unpremeditated, is immense. Latin Christendom is forming into a separate realm, of which the Pope is the head. Henceforth the Pope, if not yet a temporal sovereign, is a temporal potentate. The Pope a temporal power.

Speculation may lead to no satisfactory result, but it is difficult not to speculate on the extent to which the Popes may have had more or less distinct conceptions as to the results of their own measures. Was their

^a Baronius drew this inference from the words of Gregory. Muratori contests the point, which is not very probable, and is not mentioned by Anastasius. Muratori explains the words "omnia enim lumina in honorem ipsius principis Apostolorum . . . ipsi abstulerunt. Unde et Ecclesia Sancti Petri denudata est, et in nimiam desolationem redacta," as relating to the devastation of the Church estates; "che servivano alla Luminaria d' essa Chiesa, ed al sovvenimento de' Poveri." But he has omitted the intermediate words, "et

quæ a vestris parentibus, et a vobis oblata sunt." The lights or chandeliers, the oblations of former Frankish kings or of Charles, can scarcely be explained but of the actual ornaments of the Church. St. Peter's may have been plundered without the fall of the whole of Rome. The siege of Rome is mentioned among the military exploits of Liutprand in his epitaph. Compare Gregor. Epist. ii. ad Carol. Martel. Baronius and Muratori, sub ann. DCCXLI. Gretser published the two letters in his volume of the *Epistolæ Pontificum*.

alliance with the Franks beyond the Alps, even if at first the impulse of immediate necessity, and only to gain the protection of the nearest powerful rival to the hated Lombards, confined to that narrow aim? How soon began to dawn the vision of a spiritual kingdom over the whole West—the revival of a Western Empire beyond the Alps, now that the East had abandoned or lost its authority—or at least of some form of Roman government under which the title of consul or patrician should be borne by a Transalpine sovereign thus bound to protect Rome, while the real authority should rest with the Pope? Some ambiguous expressions in Gregory's epistle sound like an offer of sovereignty to Charles Martel. He sends him the keys of the tomb of St. Peter as a symbol of allegiance, and appears to acknowledge his royal supremacy.^x The account of the solemn embassy which conveyed these supplicatory letters asserts that the Pope offered to the Frankish ruler the titles of Patrician and Consul of Rome, thus transferring, if not the sovereignty, the duty and honour of guarding the imperial city, the metropolis of Christendom, to a foreign ruler. According to another statement, he spoke not in his own name alone, but in that of the Roman people, who, having thrown off the dominion of the Eastern empire, placed themselves under the protection of his clemency.^y

Charles Martel had received the first mission of Gregory III. with magnificence, yet not without hesitation. The Lombards used every effort to avert his interference in the affairs of Italy; and some gratitude

^x "Per ipsas sacratissimas Claves Confessionis Beati Petri, quas vobis ad regnum direximus."—Greg. Epist. ii.

^y *Annales Metenses.*

was due to Liutprand, who had rendered him powerful service (according to the Lombard's epitaph, he had fought in person for the cause of Christendom against the Saracens in Aquitaine²). But Charles returned a courteous answer, sent presents to Rome, and directed Grimon, abbot of Corbey, and Sigebert, a monk of St. Denys, to proceed with the ambassadors to the imperial city.

Not the least extraordinary part of this memorable transaction is the strangely discrepant character in which Charles Martel appeared to the Pope and to the clergy of his own country. While the Pope is offering him the sovereignty of Rome, and appealing to his piety, as the champion of the Church of St. Peter, he is condemned by the ecclesiastics beyond the Alps as the sacrilegious spoiler of the property of the Church; as a wicked tyrant who bestowed bishoprics on his counts and dukes, expelled his own relative, the rightful Archbishop of Rheims, and replaced him by a prelate who had only received the tonsure. A saint of undoubted authority beheld in a vision the ally of the popes, the designated Consul of Rome, the sovereign at whose feet were laid the keys of St. Peter's sepulchre, tormented in the lowest pit of hell. So completely had this view worked into the Christian mind, that Dante, the faithful recorder of popular Catholic tradition, adopts the condemnatory legend, and confirms the authority of the saint's vision.

* The lines relating to the siege of Rome (which the poet places first) and to this fact, run thus:—

* Roma suas vires jam pridem milite multo
Obsessa expavit, deinde tremuere feroces

Usque Saraceni, quos dispulit impiger,
^{ipsos}
Cum premerent Gallos, Karolo poscente
juvari."

Note to Paul. Diacon. apud
Muratori, c. lviii.

CHAPTER X.

Hierarchy of France.

THE origin of this hostility between Charles Martel and the hierarchy of France throws us back nearly a century, to the rise of the mayors of the palace, who had now long ruled over the pageant Merovingian kings, the do-nothing kings of that race; and to the enormous accumulation of wealth, territory, and power acquired by the bishops and monasteries of France. The state of this great Church, the first partly Teutonic Church, and its influence on the coming revolution in Latin Christianity and on the papal power, must justify the digression.

A.D. 637. The kingly power of the race of Clovis expired with Dagobert I. In each of the kingdoms, when the realm was divided—above the throne, when it was one kingdom—rose the Mayor of the Palace, in whom was vested the whole kingly power. But the Franks now at least shared with the Romans the great hierarchical dignities: they were bishops, abbots. If they brought into the order secular ambition, ferocity, violence, feudal animosity, they brought also a vigour and energy of devotion, a rigour of asceticism, a sternness of monastic virtue. It was an age of saints: every city, every great monastery boasts, about this time, the tutelar patron of its church; legend is the only history; while at the same time fierce bishops surpass the fierce counts and barons in crime and bloodshed, and the holiest, most devout, most self-denying saints are ming-

ling in the furious contest or the most subtle intrigue. This Teutonising of the hierarchy was at once the consequence and the cause of the vast territorial possessions of the Church, and of the subsequent degradation and inevitable plunder of the Church. This was a new aristocracy, not as the Roman hierarchy had been, of influence and superior civilisation, but of birth, ability, ambition, mingled with ecclesiastical authority,^a and transcendant display of all which was esteemed in those times perfect and consummate Christianity. Nor were the bishops strong in their own strength alone. The peaceful passion for monachism had become a madness which seized on the most vigorous, sometimes the fiercest souls. Monasteries arose in all quarters, and gathered their tribute of wealth from all hands. The translation of the remains of St. Benedict to Fleury on the Loire was a national ovation. All ages, ranks, classes, races, crowded to the holy ceremony. Of the sons of Dagobert, Sigebert, who ruled in Austrasia, passed his life in peaceful works of piety. The only royal acts which he was permitted to perform were lavish donations to bishops and to monasteries.^b On the death of his brother, Clovis II. of Neustria,^c the widow Bathildis was raised to the regency in the name of her infant son, Clotaire III. Bathildis succeeded to some part of the authority, to none of the crimes or ambition of Brunehaut or Fredegonde. She was a Saxon captive of exquisite beauty. Erthinwold, the Neustrian mayor of the palace, sacrificing his own honourable passion to

A.D. 656.

^a It is not easy to trace this slow and gradual Teutonising of the higher clergy. The names are not sure indications of birth: Romans sometimes barbarised their names.—Guizot, *Essai* V. iii. 2 ;

Hallam, *Supplemental note*, p. 75.

^b *Vita S. Sigeberti*, apud Bouquet, ii. He founded twelve monasteries.

^c Sigebert and Clovis died about the same time, 654, 655.

his ambition, married her to the king, Clovis II. Queen Bathildis was the holiest and most devout of women: her pious munificence knew no bounds; remembering her own bondage, she set apart vast sums for the redemption of captives. Not a cathedral, not a monastery, but records the splendid donations of Queen Bathildis: not farms or manses, but forests, districts, almost provinces.^d The high-born Frankish bishop, Leodegar (the St. Leger of later worship), had been raised by the sole power of Bathildis to the great Burgundian bishopric of Autun. Legend dwells with fond pertinacity on the holiness of the saint; sterner but more veracious history cannot but detect the ambitious and turbulent head of a great faction. There was a fierce and obstinate strife for the mayoralty; France must become a theocracy; the Bishop of Autun, if not in name, in power would alone possess that dignity. His rival Ebroin, the actual mayor, entered into internecine strife with the aspiring hierarchy: none but that hierarchy has handed down

^d "La trace de ses bienfaits se retrouve dans les archives de toutes les grandes abbayes de son temps. Luxeuil et d'autres monastères de Bourgogne en reçurent de grandes sommes et des terres. Dans le voisinage de Troyes, S. Frodoard obtint un vaste terrain marécageux nommé l'Isle Germanique, d'où il fit sortir la florissante abbaye de Moustier-la-belle. Curbion ou Moutier S. Lomer reçut la grande ville de Nogaret, plusieurs talents d'or et d'argent . . . elle accorde beaucoup de présents, une grande forêt, et des pâturages du domaine royal au fondateur de Jumieges, S. Filibert . . . Clotaire, sur les conseils de Bathilde, augmente les vastes domaines de Fontenelle . . . cité

modèle où quinze cent travailleurs étaient enrolés avec neuf cent moines. Bathilde eut encore . . . sa part dans la munificence de Clovis II. et de Clotaire III. envers les monastères de Saint Denys en France, de Saint Vincent de Paris, de Fleury sur Loire, et de St. Maur de Fosses." St. Maur had the honour of possessing the bodies of St. Benedict and of St. Maur. —D. Pitra, Vie de St. Leger, p. 141. "Ainsi combla-t-elle de largesses les églises de S. Denys, et de S. Germain de Paris, de S. Médard de Soissons, de S. Pierre de Chartres, de S. Anian d'Orléans, de S. Martin de Tours."— P. 145. See, too, the donations of Dagobert II., p. 356.

the short dark annals of the time, and Ebroin has been chronicled as the most monstrously wicked of men. Under the rule of Ebroin, it was said by his authority, the Bishop of Paris was murdered for his pride; but Ebroin fell before the fiercer aggression of Leodegar, the Burgundian bishop, who was supported by all the forces of Burgundy. It was held to be a splendid effort of Christian virtue that the saint spared the life of Ebroin. He was banished to the monastery of Luxeuil (the foundation of St. Columban), compelled to give up his wife, to submit to the tonsure, and to take the irrevocable vows. Leodegar ruled supreme, and in the highest episcopal splendour, in his cathedral city of Autun. If his poetical biographer is right, he assumed even the title of mayor of the palace.* But the haughty Neustrian nobility became weary of the rule of a woman and of bishops; Bathildis surrendered her power, and retired to her convent of Chelles.

By a sudden revolution the Bishop of Autun found himself an exile in the same monastery with his fallen rival, that of Luxeuil.^f The bishop had sternly condemned the marriage of the King Childeric (Austrasia and Neustria had become again one kingdom) with his cousin-german, Bilihildis. He was accused of a conspiracy against the life of the king. Affairs again wheeled round; Childeric was murdered; Ebroin and Leodegar, reconciled by their common misfortune, if not by their common religion, set forth together from their convent, ere long to strive with still fiercer animosity for the prize of power. Ebroin, the apostate, another

* " Quippe domus major penitus, rectorque creatus
Antistes meritis suscepit jura regenda
Aulæ post regem."

MS. printed by M. Pitra, 472.

^f See the pleasing description of Luxeuil—Lucens ovile, apud Pitra.

Julian, cast off his religion, that is, his monastic vows; his free locks again flowed; he returned to the embraces of his wife.^g By common consent, Thierry III., A.D. 670. the youngest of the sons of Clovis II., brother of Clotaire and of Chilperic, who had been imprisoned in the abbey of St. Denys, if not tonsured, to incapacitate him for the throne, was brought forth to act the part of king. Ebroin aspired to and succeeded in wresting the mayoralty from Leudes, the rival set up by the Bishop of Autun.

No long time elapsed; the bishop is besieged in his cathedral city, and Autun boldly defies, under the command of her bishop, the kingly power, Ebroin ruling in the name of King Thierry III. Leodegar found it necessary to capitulate: he made his capitulation wear the appearance of lofty religious sacrifice; but he escaped not the revenge of Ebroin, who scrupled not to abuse his victory with the most atrocious barbarities against the holy person of the bishop. His eyes were pierced, his lips cloven, his tongue cut out. Two years after (he had taken refuge or had been consigned a prisoner to the abbey of Fecamp) he was cruelly put to death. He became a martyr as well as a saint in the annals of the Church—a martyr in the calm and majestic patience with which he submitted to his sufferings:—but a martyr to what Christian truth? To what but the power of the clergy, or to his own power, it is difficult to say.^h Ere long he became the most potent and

^g The poet naturally describes this enforced monachism as the unforgiven crime, which caused the insatiable vindictiveness of Ebroin:—

“*Illum propter, compulsus sum perdere
crimen,
Depulsam regno, monachalem sumere
formam,*

*Conjugis amplexus dulces et basia
liqui,
Oscula nec prolis collo suspensa tene-
bam.”—*Pitra*, p. 477.*

^h Compare (it is neither unamusing nor uninteresting) the *Vie de S. Leger*, par le R. P. Dom. J. B. Pitra, Paris, 1846. The author has ingeniously

popular saint of his prolific age; his reliques were disputed by cities, submitted to the ordeal of the divine judgement; distant churches boasted some limb of the holy martyr, his miracles were numberless, and even in the nineteenth century petitions are made for some of the wonder-working bones of St. Leger.¹

The policy by which Ebroin, the mayor of the palace, retained his power—the depression of the higher nobles, the elevation of the lower—belongs to the history of France, not to that of Christianity. What the higher nobility and some of the bishops called rebellious tyranny, his partisans held to be high and rigid justice; yet Ebroin had in his party some of the most holy bishops: saint balanced saint.^k St. Genesisius of Lyons, St. Leger, were his enemies; one his victim. In his party were St. Præjectus (St. Prie) of Auvergne, St. Reol of Rheims, St. Agilbert of Paris, St. Ouen of Rouen.^m A council of bishops sat in judgement on St.

interwoven into one all the legends of the period, with much of the patient industry and copious erudition, and with the devout feelings, the prejudices (we must pardon some little of the bitterness of later times) of his spiritual ancestors of St. Maur. M. Pitra looks back with fond reverence to the times when bishops ruled sole and supreme in their cities; when grants of counties were lavished on monasteries; when monastic admiration for monastic virtues created saints by hundreds; when miracle was almost the law, not the exception, in nature. M. Pitra believes that he believes all the supernatural stories of those times, and that with a kind of earnestness differing much from the bravado of belief avouched by some other kindred

writers. The life of St. Leger is in truth an excellent religious romance; but, even in these days, will not pass for history in the literature which still boasts the living names of Guizot, the Thierrys, C. Remusat, Ampère, and their rising scholars.

¹ See in Pitra, p. 439, the letter from the curé of Evreuil (dated Oct. 4, 1833) to the Bishop of Autun. Conceive such a letter addressed to the Bishop of Autun of the days of the republic!

^k "Mulciber in Trojam, pro Trojâ stabat
Apollo,
Æqua Venus Teucris, Pallas iniqua
fuit."

^m On one occasion, it is said, Ebroin consulted S. Ouen. "Remember Fredegonde," replied the bishop. Ebroin

Leger, at Marli, near Paris: it is difficult to believe that they were not consenting to his death.ⁿ

But Ebroin bore no charmed life: less than a charmed life in those times could not hope duration, not even to attain to good old age. Once he baffled a formidable insurrection; and with the aid of two prelates (Reol, metropolitan of Rheims, and Agilbert of Paris) cut off Martin, one of the grandsons of Pepin the Great, of Landen, who with his cousin Pepin aspired to the mayoralty at least of Austrasia. The bishops swore upon certain reliques that Martin's life should be secure, but they had withdrawn the holy witnesses, and swore on the empty case.^o These bishops, afterwards saints, at least did not protest against the death of the deluded youth. Ebroin himself perished by the blow of an assassin—perished not in this world only. A monk on the shores of the Saône, who had been blinded by Ebroin, heard a boat rowed furiously down the stream. A terrible voice thundered out, "It is Ebroin whom we are bearing to the cauldron of hell."^p

Pepin d'Heristhal, the heir of Pepin the Great of Landen (whose daughter had married the son of the famous Arnulf of Metz), rose to the mayoralty, first in one kingdom, at length in the whole of France. Under his vigorous administration France resumed her unity:

was wise, and understood at once. Fredegonde the example urged by a saint!—Gesta Francorum.

ⁿ "Et cum diu flagitantes," the Synod with Ebroin, "non valuissent elicere—ejus tunicam consciderunt a capite,"—a degradation, previous to death, performed by ecclesiastics.—Apud Bouquet.

^o "Nuntios dirigit, Ægilbertum et

Reolum Remensis urbis Episcopum, ut fide promissâ in incertum super vacuas capsas sacramenta falsa dederint. Quâ in re ille credens eos ac Lugduno-Clavato cum sodalibus ac sociis ad Erchrecum veniens, illic cum suis omnibus interfectus est."—Fredegar, Contin., apud Bouquet, ii. p. 451.

^p Adonis Chron. apud Bouquet, ii.

p. 670.

it ceased to be a theocracy. The bishops retired, it is feared not to their holier offices. Councils, which had been as frequent as diets or malls, ceased. As it ever has been, the enormous wealth and power accumulated by saints, or reputed saints, worked their inevitable consequences. They corrupted their masters, and tempted violent and unworthy men to usurp the high places of the Church. Those who boast the saints, the splendid monasteries, the noble foundations, the virtues, the continence, the wonders of the former generation, as bitterly lament the degradation, the worldliness, the vices, the drunkenness, licentiousness, marriage or concubinage of the succeeding race. It was this state of the clergy which moved the indignation and contempt of St. Boniface, and which the Pope himself hoped to constrain by the holy influence of the German missionary prelate and by the power of Charles Martel.⁹

Such then was the clergy of France, when Charles Martel, after a furious conflict, won the inheritance of his father, Pepin d'Heristhal—the mayoralty of France. Even from his birth the clergy had been adverse to Charles. He was the son of Pepin, by Alpaide, whom, in the freedom of royal polygamy, Pepin had married during the lifetime of his former wife, Plectruda. The clergy, not without ground, denied the legitimacy of Charles. Already his patrimony, the royal revenues, being exhausted by his strife for the Mayoralty, Charles had not scrupled to lay his hands on the vast, tempting, misused wealth of the hierarchy.

⁹ "Quidam affirmant (quod plurimum populo nocet) homicidas vel adulteros in ipsis sceleribus perseverantes, fieri tamen posse sacerdotes." Charles Martel.—Epist. xii., Giles, i. p. 36. Compare letter to Pope Zacharias, especially on the lives of certain deacons (Epist. xlv.), and the answer So writes Boniface at the court of of Zacharias.

Erelong, on this kingdom—of which more than one-half of the nobility were bishops or abbots, of which a very large proportion, no doubt the best cultivated and richest land, was in the hands of the monks and clergy—burst the invasion of the unbelieving Saracens. The crescent waved over Narbonne and the cities of the south; churches and monasteries were effaced from the soil. How terrible, how perilous was that invasion, one fact may witness. Autun, in the centre of Burgundy, the city of St. Leger, with all its Gaulish, Roman, Burgundian, hierarchical, monastic splendour, was captured and utterly laid waste. The hierarchy fought not themselves, though the Bishop of Sens did gallantly, and in arms, defend his city. Charles would not be content with the barren aid of their prayers: his exactions, his seizure of their possessions, which they held only through his valour, they still branded as impious and sacrilegious robberies.^f Hence the extraordinary contradiction:—while the Pope sees in Charles Martel only the conqueror of the Saracens at Poitiers, only the great transalpine power which may control the hated Lombards, the hero of Christendom, the orthodox sovereign; with the hierarchy of France Charles is a Belshazzar who has laid his unhallowed hands on the treasures of the Church, a sacrilegious tyrant doomed to everlasting perdition.

^f Compare M. Guizot's (*Essais*, xiv.) suggestions as to the mode in which Charles Martel seized and redistributed church property to his warriors.

END OF VOL. II.

HISTORY
OF
LATIN CHRISTIANITY;

INCLUDING THAT OF
THE POPES TO THE PONTIFICATE OF NICOLAS V.

By HENRY HART MILMAN, D.D.,
DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S.

IN NINE VOLUMES.—VOL. III.

FOURTH EDITION.

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HISTORY

OF

LATIN CHRISTIANITY.

BOOK IV.—*continued.*

CHAPTER XI.

Pepin, King of France.

BUT whatever might have been the result of the negotiations between the Pope and Charles Martel, they were interrupted by the death of the two contracting parties. Charles Martel and Gregory III. died within a month of each other.*

Zacharias, a Greek, succeeded to Gregory III. At his election even the form of obtaining the consent of the Exarch, as representative of the Eastern emperor, was discarded for ever. The death of Charles Martel, which weakened his power by dividing it between his sons Carloman and Pepin, left the Pope at the mercy of Liutprand. The exarchate, the Roman territory, Rome itself, was utterly defenceless against the Lombard, exasperated, as he might justly be, at this attempt to mingle up a Transalpine power in the affairs of Italy. At the time of Gregory's death there seems to have been a suspension of hostilities, attributed,

Pope Zacharias, Dec. 741.

* Baronius inclines to the damnation of Charles; at least, ascribes his death to his tardiness in not marching to the Pope's succour. How came the

Pope also to die at this critical time? Charles Martel died A.D. 741, Oct. 21 Gregory III., Nov. 27.

though with no historical authority, to the remonstrances or menaces of Charles Martel. But now the terror even of the name of Charles was withdrawn, and the Pope had no protection but in the sanctity of his office. He sent an embassy to Liutprand, who received it with courtesy and respect, granted advantageous terms of peace to the dukedom or territory of Rome, and promised to restore Ameria and the other cities which he had seized, to the Roman territory. Liutprand inexorably demanded that the Pope should abandon the cause of the rebellious Duke of Spoleto. Thrasimund was compelled to submit: he was deposed, and retired into a monastery. Liutprand appointed a more obedient vassal, his own nephew, a dangerous neighbour to Rome, to the dukedom. But Liutprand delayed the restoration of the four cities: his armies still occupied the midland regions of Italy.

The independence of Rome was on the hazard: Italy was again on the verge of becoming a Lombard kingdom. The future destinies of Europe were trembling in the balance. Had the whole of Italy, at least to the borders of Naples (Naples, and even Sicily, could easily have been wrested from the Greek empire), been consolidated under one hereditary rule, and had the Pope sunk back to his spiritual functions, Pepin and his more powerful successor, Charlemagne, might not have been invited into Italy as protectors of the liberties and religion of Rome.

The course of Lombard conquest was arrested by the personal weight and sacerdotal awe which environed the Pope. Since the time of Leo the Great, no Pontiff placed such bold reliance on his priestly character and on himself as Zacharias. Other Popes had not mingled in the active life of man with man. They had officiated

in the churches, presided in councils of ecclesiastics, issued decrees, administered their temporal affairs through their officers or legates. Zacharias seemed to delight in encountering his most dangerous enemies face to face: he was his own ambassador. Zacharias no doubt knew the character of the Lombard king. With all his ambition and warlike activity, Liutprand, if we are to believe the Lombard historian, blended the love of peace and profound piety. He was renowned for his chastity, his fervency in prayer, his liberality in almsgiving. He was illiterate, yet to be equalled with the sagest philosophers.^b The strength and the weakness of such a character were equally open to impressions from the apostolic majesty, perhaps the apostolic gentleness, of the head of Christendom.

The spiritual potentate set forth in his peaceful array, surrounded by his court of bishops, to the camp of Liutprand near Terni. He was met at Cortona by Grimoald, an officer of Liutprand's court, conducted first to Narni, afterwards with great pomp, accompanied by part of the army and by the Lombard nobility, to Terni.^c The scene of the interview was a church—that of St. Valentine; the Pope thus availing himself of the awfulness by which a religious mind like that of Liutprand would in such a place be already half prostrated before his holy antagonist. There he would listen with deeper emotion to the appalling admonitions of the pontiff on the vanity of earthly grandeur. The Lombard was reminded of the strict, it might be speedy, account which he was to give to God in whose presence he stood, of all the blood

Interview
with Liut-
prand at
Terni.
A.D. 742.

^b "Custus, pudicus, orator pervigil, eleemosynis largus, literarum quidem ignarus, sed philosophis æquandus."—Paul. Diac.

^c Anastas. in Vit. Zachariæ.

which he had shed in war. He was threatened with eternal damnation if he delayed to surrender the four cities, according to his stipulations.

The issue of such a contest could not be doubtful. Treaty of Peace. The appalled Barbarian yielded at once. He declared that he restored the four cities to St. Peter. His generous piety knew no bounds. He gave back all the estates of the Church in the Sabine country, which the Lombards had held for thirty years—Narni, Osimo, Ancona, and towns in the district of Sutri—released unransomed all the Roman prisoners taken in the war, and concluded a peace for twenty years with the Dukedom of Rome. The treaty was ratified by a solemn service, at which the Pope (the bishopric of Terni being vacant) officiated; the pious king, the officers of his court and army, attended in submissive reverence. The Pope then entertained him with a great banquet,^d and returned to Rome. The deliverer of the city from a foreign yoke was received with a religious ovation, as well deserved as one of the Triumphs of older days. The procession passed from the ancient Pantheon, now the church of St. Mary ad Martyres, to St. Peter's.

Yet beyond the immediate circle of the pontiff's magic influence, Liutprand could not resist the temptation offered by the wreck of the defenceless exarchate. Though, according to his treaty with the Pope, he respected the territory of Rome, he suddenly surprised Cesena, and announced his determination to subdue the rest of the exarchate. Ravenna already beheld the formidable conqueror before her walls. The only

^d "Ubi cum tantâ suavitate esum sumpsit, et cum tantâ hilaritate cordis, at diocret rex tantum se nunquam meminisse comessatum."—Vit. Zachar.

refuge was in the unarmed Pope. Eutychius the Exarch, the archbishop, the people of the city and of the province joined in an earnest petition for the intervention of the pontiff. Zacharias espoused their cause. He sent an embassy to Pavia to dissuade Liutprand from further aggression, and to request the restoration of Cesena. The Lombard refused to receive the ambassadors. The unbaffled Pope determined once more to try the effect of his personal presence: he set forth in state towards Pavia. The importance attached to this journey is attested by the miracles with which it was invested. A cloud, by the special interposition of St. Peter, hovered constantly over the sacred band, to shield them from the violent heats, till they pitched their tents in the evening. At some distance from Ravenna he was met by the Exarch; and, still overshadowed by the faithful cloud, which poised itself at length over one of the churches, he entered the city. He left it followed by the whole population, men and women, in tears, praying for the good pastor who had left his own flock for their protection. A new sign, like a fiery army in the heavens, marshalled him on his way towards Pavia. But he derived greater advantage from other guidance. He had sent forward some of his attendants to Imola, on the Lombard border, from whom he received intelligence of orders issued to stop him on his march. The Pope made a rapid journey and reached the Po. On the banks he was met by some of the Lombard nobles, whom the king, having in vain attempted to elude the reception of the embassy, sent to receive him with due honours. After the arrival at Pavia, a few days were passed in religious ceremonies, at which the king attended with his wonted devotion. It was St. Peter's day; a day happily chosen for the

Second inter-
view at Pavia.
A.D. 743.

august ceremony. At length Liutprand consented to admit the pontiff to an interview in his palace.

June 29.

After long and resolute resistance on the king's part, Zacharias extorted the abandonment of his ambitious designs on the exarchate, the restoration of two-thirds of the territory of Cesena.

Thus for a short time longer the wreck of the imperial dominion in Italy was preserved by the sole influence, the religious eloquence and authority, of the unarmed Bishop of Rome. But such was the power of religion in those times, that not merely did it enable the clergy to dictate their policy to armed and powerful sovereigns, to arrest Barbarian invasion, and to snatch, as it were,

Kings become monks. conquests already in their rapacious hands; in every quarter of Western Europe kings were seen abdicating their thrones, placing themselves at the feet of the Pope as humble penitents, casting off their pomp, and submitting to the privations and the discipline of monks.

It has been related that when Columban, some years before, endeavoured to persuade the Merovingian Theodebert to abandon his throne and become an ecclesiastic, the whole assembly broke out into scornful laughter.* "Was it ever heard that a Merovingian king had degraded himself into a priest?" The saint had replied, "He who disdains to become an ecclesiastic will become so against his will." The times had rapidly changed. From all parts of Western Christendom kings were coming, lowly penitents, to Rome, to lay aside the vain pomp of royalty, to assume the coarse attire, the total seclusion, and, as they hoped, the undisturbed and

* "Dicebant enim nunquam se audivisse Merovingum in regno sublimatum voluntarium clericum fuisse. *Detestantibus ergo omnibus.*"—Vit. Columbani.

heaven-winning peace of the cloister. Ceolwulf is said to have been the eighth Anglo-Saxon prince who became a monk. Now, within a few years, from the thrones of France and of Lombardy, the kings descended of their own accord, laid their temporal government down before the head of Christendom, and entreated permission to devote the rest of their lives to the spiritual state.

Carloman, the elder son of Charles Martel, had commenced his reign with vigour, ability, and success. On a sudden he cast off at once the duties and the dignity of his station,^f and surrendered to Pepin, his brother, the power and all the ambitious hopes of his family. Carloman left his country, appeared in Italy, humbly requested to be admitted into the monastic state, built a monastery on Mount Soracte, but finding that too near to Rome, retired to the more profound seclusion of Monte Casino. In that solitude the heir of Charles Martel hoped to pass the rest of his earthly days.^g

Carloman.
A.D. 747.

But Pope Zacharias beheld even a greater triumph of the faith. A Lombard king suddenly paused on the full tide of ambition and success, and from a deadly and formidable enemy of the Pope and of the Roman interest, became a peaceful monk.^h

During the year of his last interview with Pope

^f Carloman had been preceded in this course by Hunald, Duke of Aquitaine, who having treacherously lured his brother Atto from the strong city of Poitiers, blinded him, and a few days after shut himself up in a monastery in the isle of Rhé.—H. Martin, *Histoire de France*, ii. p. 301. Hunald, however, on the death of his son, twenty-five years afterwards, scandalised Christendom by returning to the world, and resuming not only his dominions, but his wife also.—Muratori, *Ann. d'Italia*, sub ann. 747.

^g Vit. Zachariæ. *Chronic. Moissiac.* apud Pertz, i. 292.

^h Pauli i. *Epist. ad Pepin. Regem.* —Muratori, *R. L. Scrip.* iii. 11. 116.

Zacharias had died Liutprand, the ablest and mightiest of the Lombard kings. Notwithstanding his pious deference for the Pope, his munificent ecclesiastical foundations in all parts of his dominions, the papal biographer attributes his death to the prayers of the Pope and the direct intervention of St. Peter.ⁱ The burthen of ingratitude need not be laid on the Pope on account of the mature death of a sovereign who had reigned for thirty years. During a dangerous illness of Liutprand, nine years before, his nephew Hildebrand had been associated with him in the kingdom. After seven months of his sole dominion Hildebrand was deposed by the unanimous suffrage of the nation, and Rachis, Duke of Friuli, was raised to the throne. The first act of Rachis was to confirm the peace of twenty years with the Pope. The truce with the exarchate expired in the fifth year of his reign. But suddenly, incensed by some unknown cause of offence, or in a fit of ambition, Rachis appeared in arms, broke into the exarchate, and invested Perugia. The indefatigable Pope delayed not his interference. Again he was his own ambassador, and appeared in the camp of the Lombard king.^k But he was not content with compelling King Rachis to break up the siege; he pressed him so strongly with his saintly arguments, perhaps with the holy example of Carloman, that in a few days the king stood before the gates of Rome with his wife and daughter, having abdicated his throne, an humble suppliant for admission into the

A.D. 743.
A.D. 713-743.
A.D. 749.
Rachis.

Rachis a
monk.

ⁱ Anastasius in Zacharia.

^k Chronic. Salernit. i. 1; apud Muratori, 1. 2. "Impensis eidem

regi plurimis muneribus, atque . . . deprecans." See also account of conversion of King Rachis.

cloister. He too retired to Monte Casino, which thus boasted of two royal recluses. His wife and daughter entered the neighbouring convent of A.D. 749. Piombaruola. Carloman will appear again, somewhat unexpectedly, on the scene of political life.

The last act in the eventful pontificate of Zacharias was the most pregnant with important results to Latin Christendom, the transference of the crown of France from the Merovingian line to the father of Charlemagne, with the sanction, it has been asserted, under the direct authority, A.D. 751. of the Pope. To the Church and to Western Europe it is difficult to estimate all the consequences of the elevation of the Carolingian dynasty. Pepin, king of France.

The Pope has been accused of assuming an unwarranted power in virtually, as it were, by his sanction of Pepin's coronation, absolving the subjects of Childeric from their allegiance; of want of stern principle in countenancing the violation of the great law of hereditary succession, and the rebellious ambition of the Mayor of the Palace, who thus degraded his lawful sovereign and usurped his throne. This is to confound the laws and usages of different ages. Hereditary succession among the Teutonic races had not yet attained that sanctity in which, in later times, it has been invested by supposed religious authority, and by the rational persuasion of its inestimable advantage. In theory it was admitted in the Roman empire; but the perpetual change of dynasty at Constantinople was not calculated to confirm the general reverence for its inviolability. Among the Lombards, as in most of the Gothic kingdoms, the nobles claimed and constantly exercised the privilege of throwing off the yoke of an unworthy prince, and advancing a more warlike or able

chieftain, usually of the royal race, to the throne. The degradation of the successor to Liutprand, the accession of Rachis, were yet fresh in the memory of man. The Teutonic sovereign was still in theory the leader of an army; when he ceased to exercise his primary functions he had almost abdicated his state. It is difficult to conceive how such a shadow of a monarch had been so long permitted to rule over an enterprising and turbulent nation like the Franks. He was more like the Lama of an old, decrepit, Asiatic theocracy than the head of a young and conquering people. He sat on a throne with long hair and a flowing beard (these were the signs of royalty, worn indiscriminately whether he was young or old), he received ambassadors, and gave the answers put into his mouth: he had no domain but one small city, whose revenues hardly maintained his scanty retinue. In the spring alone, at the opening of the Champ de Mars, the idol was drawn forth from his sanctuary and offered to the sight of the people. He was slowly conveyed in a car drawn by oxen through the ranks of his wondering subjects, and was then consigned again to his secluded state.^m For two or three generations the effete Merovingian race had acquiesced in this despicable inactivity, and made no effort to break forth from the ignominious pomp in which they slumbered away their lives.

There are no details of this signal revolution.ⁿ Pepin sent two ecclesiastics, Burchard, Bishop of Wurtzburg, and Fulrad his chaplain, to consult the Pope, but

^m "Crine profuso, barbâ submissâ . . . quocunque eundum erat, carpento ibat, bubulis rustico more agente trahebatur."—Eginhard, c. 1. Compare Michelet, Hist. de France.

hard may perhaps have exaggerated the absolute and ostentatious insignificance of the dethroned Merovingian.

ⁿ Eginhard, Ann. sub ann. 750, 751

it appears not whether to relieve his conscience or as to a judge of recognised authority. A less decided pontiff than Zacharias might think the nation justified in its weariness of that hypocrisy which assigned to a secluded, imbecile pageant the name and ensigns of royalty, while its power was possessed by his Mayor of the Palace. It was time to put an end to this poor comedy of monarchy. Even if he took a higher view of his own power, there was full precedent in that which had long been the code of hierarchical privilege, the Old Testament, for the interference of the Priest, of God's representative on earth, in the deposition of unworthy kings, in the elevation of new dynasties.^o It was indeed to usurp authority over a foreign kingdom, but what kingdom was foreign to the head of Christendom? The retirement of the deposed Childeric into a monastery made but little change in his life; he was spared the fatigue and mockery of a public exhibition. The election of Pepin at Soissons was conducted according to the old usage of the Franks, the acclamation and clash of arms of the nobles and of the people, the elevation on the buckler; but it had

A.D. 751.

March,
A.D. 752.

o "Et Zacharias Papa mandavit Pepino, ut melius esset illum regem vocari, qui potestatem haberet, quam illum, qui sine regali potestate manebat, ut non conturbaretur ordo."—Annal. Franc. apud Duchesne. Compare the Gesta Francorum, where it is more fully stated (Bouquet, p. 38). This passage is quoted in Lehuero (Histoire des Institutions Carolingiens, p. 99): "Gens Merovingorum, de quâ Franci reges sibi creare soliti erant, usque in Hildericum regem, qui jussu Stephani, Romani Pontificis,

depositus ac detonsus atque in monasterium trusus est, durâsse putatur. Quæ licet in illo finita possit videri, tamen jamdudum nullius vigoris erat, nec quicquam in se clarum præter inane regis vocabulum præferbat, nam et opes et potentia regni penes palatii præfectos, qui majores domus dicebantur et ad quos summa imperii pertinebat, tenebantur . . . Qui honor non aliis a *populo dari* consueverat, quam qui his et claritate generis et opum amplitudine cæteris eminebant."—Eginhard, Vit. Kar., iii, 1.

now a new religious character, which marked the growing power of the clergy. The bishops stood around the throne, as of equal rank with the armed nobles. The Jewish ceremony of anointing was first introduced to sanctify a king perhaps of still somewhat doubtful title. The holy oil was poured on his head by the saintly archbishop of Mentz.^p Two years after, on the visit of Pope Stephen, this ceremony was renewed by the august head of Christendom. King Childeric was shaven and dismissed into a monastery, the retreat or the prison of all weary or troublesome princes.^q

Little foresaw Pepin, little foresaw Zacharias, or his successor Stephen, the effects of the precedent which they were furnishing in the contemptuous dismissal of the poor foolish Childeric from the throne of his ancestors, and the sanction of the Pope to this it might seem almost insignificant act: that successors of Zacharias would assert that the kings of France, or rather the emperors, the successors of Charlemagne, held their crown only by the authority of the Pope; that the Pope might transfer that allegiance, to which the only title was the papal sanction, to a more loyal son of the Church.

In every respect, whether he contemplated the remote or the immediate interests of the Church or of Chris-

^p Clovis had also been *anointed* by S. Remi: "Elegi baptizari . . . et per ejusdem sacri chrismatis unctionem ordinato in regem . . . statuo." If he fails in his engagements "fiant dies ejus pauci, et principatum ejus accipiat alter."—Testament. S. Remig. ap. Flodoard. On the sacred character conferred by the holy unction, see Adlocutio duorum Episcoporum in eccles. S. Medard, A.D. 806.—Bouquet.

According to the bishops, it gave the same right as that divinely bestowed on the kings of Israel. "Ainsi, par une réciprocité ordinaire dans les affaires humaines, le sacre, en donnant un titre, a imposé une sujétion; et de cette équivoque naîtra un jour le plus grand problème du moyen âge, la guerre du sacerdoce et de l'empire."—Lehuerou, p. 330.

^q Einhard, *loc. cit.*

tianity, the Pope might hail with unmitigated satisfaction and hope the accession of Pepin. The whole race, since the alliance with Charles Martel, had been devoted to the Church and to the see of Rome. The prescient sagacity of Zacharias might discern in Astolph, the new king of the Lombards, that he inherited all the ambition without the strong religious feeling of his predecessors. Rome might speedily need a powerful Transalpine protector.

Nor could the Pope be blind to the pride, the ambition, the duty of establishing his own jurisdiction on a firmer basis beyond the Alps. In the German part of the Frankish kingdom, and in Germany itself, had now arisen a new clergy; if more devoted to the Pope, unquestionably of far higher Christian character than the degenerate hierarchy of France. They began as the humblest yet most enterprising missionaries, daily perilling their lives for the faith, and bringing gradually tribes of Barbarians within the pale of Christendom; they had become prelates of large sees, abbots of flourishing monasteries. But all this aggression on paganism, all these conquests of Christianity and civilisation in the forests and morasses of Germany, had been made by men commissioned by Rome, and in strict subserviency to her discipline. Not even the jarring discrepancy between what Boniface and his followers saw and heard of the lives of Christian prelates in Rome, the venality of the public proceedings, and all which was strange to his lofty ideal of the faith, could in the least shake their conscientious devotion to the See of St. Peter.

To judge from the reports of these holy men, the monarchy itself was not more utterly effete and depraved than the old established clergy of France, which had

boasted, in the century before, a hierarchy of saints. With due allowance for the rigidly monastic and celibate notions of Boniface and his disciples, which would induce them to condemn the marriage of the clergy as sternly as the loosest concubinage, there can be no doubt that the Frankish clergy were in general sunk low in character as in estimation.^r Boniface, well informed, doubtless, of what he might expect to find, demands authority of the Pope to punish by summary degradation the incredible profligacy, especially of the lower ecclesiastics; as well as to interdict the unchristian occupations of the soldier-bishops, who indulged all the license of the camp—drunkenness, gambling, and quarrelling; and all the ferocity of the field of battle, even bloodshed, whether that of Pagans or Christians.^s

All the energy at least, the high principle, the pure morality, all the Christianity of the time, might seem centred in these missionaries and in their followers; and this clergy at once so much more papal, and of so much

^r Archbishop Boniface, it is said, Archbishop of Mentz by papal authority (*missus S. Petri*), was set by Charles Martel over a synod, of which the object was to restore the law of God and the religion of the Church, which had gone to ruin under former kings, “*quæ in diebus præteritorum principum corruit.*”—*Epist. Boniface. Ellendorf, die Karolinger, i. p. 83.* Carloman and his brother Pepin had followed the example of their father Charles Martel in supporting with all their power these better Christian ecclesiastics; they not only befriended them in their conversion of the Pagans, but in the correction of their own clergy.

^s Bonifac. *Epist.*, with the permission to hold the Synod, and the reply of Pope Zacharias.—*Labbe, Concil., p. 1495.* He speaks of those who “*in diaconatu concubinas quatuor vel quinque vel plures noctu in lectulo habentes,*” nevertheless dared to perform their sacred offices, and were promoted to the priesthood, even to episcopacy. He proceeds: “*Et inveniuntur quidam inter eos episcopi, qui licet dicant se fornicarios vel adulteros non esse, sunt tamen ebriosi, et injuriosi, vel pugnatores; et qui pugnant in exercitu armati, et effundunt propriâ manu sanguinem hominum sive infidelium, sive Christianorum.*”

higher character, was that of the new Carlovingian kingdom, a kingdom of Germany^t rather than of Gaul. This clergy, the ancestors of Pepin, and Pepin himself, had always treated with the utmost respect and deference.^u Boniface, in truth, as Papal Legate, or under the authority of Pepin, had early assumed the power of a primate of Gaul, consecrated three archbishops, of Rouen, and Sens, and Rheims. The last see was occupied by a soldier-prelate, named Milo, archbishop at once of Rheims and of Treves, who resisted for ten years all attempts to dispossess him; at the end of that time he was killed by a wild boar.

King Pepin was himself an Austrasian, the vast estates of his family lay on the Rhine. The accession of his house Teutonised more completely, till the division among the sons of Charlemagne, the whole Frankish monarchy.

Pope Zacharias did not live to behold the fulfilment of his great designs. He died in the same year on which Pepin became king of France. The election fell on a certain presbyter, named Stephen; but the third day after, before his consecration, he was seized with a fit, and died the following day. He is not reckoned in the line of popes. Another Stephen, chosen immediately on his death, is usually called the second of that name.

A.D. 752.
March 14.

March 26.
Stephen II.
or III.

The first act of Stephen's pontificate was to guard against the threatened aggressions of the Lombards. Already had Astolph, a prince as daring but less religious than Liutprand, entered the Exarchate, and seized Ravenna. The ambassadors of the Pope were received

^t Compare Guizot, Essai iii.

^u Pope Zacharias writes to Boniface: "Quod (Carlomanus et Pepinus) tuæ

prædicationis socii et adjutores essent niterentur ex divina inspiratura."—Epist. Bonifac., 144.

with courtesy, his gifts with avidity; a hollow truce for forty years was agreed on; but in four months (the terms of the treaty, and the pretext alleged by Astolph for its violation, are equally unknown) the Lombard was again in arms. In terms of contumely and menace he demanded the instant submission of Rome, and the payment of a heavy personal tribute, a poll-tax on each citizen. Astolph now treated the ambassadors of the Pope with scorn.* A representative of the empire, which still clung to its barren rights in Italy, John the Silentiary, appeared at Rome. He was sent to Ravenna, to protest against the Lombard invasion, and to demand the restoration of the Roman territory to the republic. Astolph dismissed him with a civil but evasive answer, that he would send an ambassador to the Emperor. Stephen wrote to Constantinople, that without an army to back the imperial demands, all was lost.

Astolph, exasperated, perhaps, at the demand of an army from the East, which might reach his ears, inflexibly pursued his advantages. He approached the Roman frontier; he approached Rome. Not all the litanies, not all the solemn processions to the most revered altars of the city, in which the Pope himself, with naked feet, bore the cross, and the whole people followed with ashes on their heads, and with a wild howl of agony implored the protection of God against the blaspheming Lombards, arrested for an instant his progress. The Pope appealed to heaven, by tying a copy of the treaty, violated by Astolph, to the holy

* According to Anastasius, Astolph was required to surrender to their rightful lord all that he had usurped by his *diabolic* ambition. This is a flower of ecclesiastical rhetoric, yet showing the papal abhorrence of the Lombards.

cross.^y Yet, during the siege of Rome, Astolph was digging up the bodies of saints, not for insult, but as the most precious trophies, and carried them off as tutelar deities to Lombardy.^z

The only succour was beyond the Alps, from Pepin, the king, by papal sanction, of the Catholic Franks. Already the Pope had written to beseech the interference of the Transalpine; and now, as the danger became more imminent, he determined to leave his beloved flock, though in a feeble state of health, to encounter the perils of a journey over the Alps, and so to visit the Barbarian monarch in person. He set forth amidst the tears and lamentations of the people. He was accompanied by some ecclesiastics, by the Frankish bishop Radigond, and the Duke Anscharis, already sent by Pepin to invite him to the court of France. Miracles, now the ordinary signs of a papal progress, were said to mark his course.^a Instead of endeavouring to pass without observation through the Lombard dominions, he boldly presented himself at the gate of Pavia. He was disappointed if he expected Astolph to be overawed by his presence, as Liutprand and Rachis had been by that of his saintly predecessor; but he was safe under the protection of the ambassador of Pepin.

Stephen leaves Rome.

Oct. 14.

Novemocr.

^y "Alligans connectensque adorandæ cruci Dei nostri, pactum illud, quod nefandus Rex Longobardorum disruptit."—Anastas., in Vit. Steph. II.

^z "Ablata multa sanctorum corpora ex Romanis finibus, in Papiam . . . construxit eorum oracula." He founded a nunnery, in which he placed his own daughters.—Chronic. Salernit.

^a Compare, on the other hand, the curious story in Agnelli. Stephen

wished to plunder on his way the treasures of the church of Ravenna. The Ravennese priests (among them Leo, afterwards archbishop) designed to murder him. He escaped, taking only part of the treasures. Those who had plotted the death of the Pope were sent to Rome, and remained till most of them died. Among them, says the writer, "avus patris me fuit."—Apud Muratori.

Astolph received him not without courtesy, accepted his gifts, but paid no regard to his earnest tears and supplications; coldly rejected his exorbitant demands,—the immediate restoration of all the Lombard conquests—but respected his person, and tried only, by repeated persuasion, to divert him from his journey into France. Stephen, on leaving Pavia, anticipated any stronger measures to detain him by a rapid march to the foot of

the Alps. In November he passed the French frontier, and reached the convent of St. Maurice. There he was met by another ecclesiastic, and another noble of the highest rank, with orders to conduct him to the court. At a distance of a hundred miles

from the court appeared the Prince Charles, with some chosen nobles. Charles was thus to be early impressed with reverence for the Papal dignity. Three miles from the palace of Pontyon,^b Pepin came forth with his wife, his family, and the rest of his feudatories. As the Pope approached, the king dismounted from his horse, and prostrated himself on the ground before him. He then walked by the side of the Pope's palfrey. The Pope and the ecclesiastics broke out at once into hymns of thanksgiving, and so chanting as they went, reached the royal residence. Stephen lost no time in adverting to the object of his visit. He implored the immediate interposition of Pepin to enforce the restoration of the domain of St. Peter. So relate the Italians. According to the French chroniclers, the Pope and his clergy, with ashes on their heads, and sackcloth on their bodies, prostrated themselves as suppliants at the feet of Pepin, and would not rise till he had promised his aid against the perfidious Lombard. Pepin

^b Pontyon on the Perche, near Vitry-le-bruié.

swore at once to fulfil all the requests of the Pope; but as the winter rendered military operations impracticable, invited him to Paris, where he took up his residence in the abbey of St. Denys. Pepin and his two sons were again anointed by the Pope himself, their sovereignty thus more profoundly sanctified in the minds of their subjects. Stephen would secure the perpetuity of the dynasty under pain of interdict and excommunication. The nation was never to presume to choose a king in future ages, but of the race of Charles Martel.^c From fatigue and the severity of the climate, Stephen became dangerously ill in the monastery of St. Denys, but, after a hard struggle, recovered his health. His restoration was esteemed a miracle, wrought through the prayers of St. Denys, St. Peter, and St. Paul.

July.

Astolph, in the mean time, did not disdain the storm which was brooding beyond the Alps. He took an extraordinary measure to avert the danger. He persuaded Carloman, the brother of Pepin, who had abdicated his throne, and turned monk, to leave his monastery, to cross the Alps, and endeavour to break this close alliance between Pepin and the Pope. No wonder that the clergy should attribute the influence of Astolph over the mind of Carloman to diabolic arts, for Carloman appeared at least, whether seized by an access of reviving ambition, or incensed at Pepin's harsh treatment of his family, to enter with the utmost zeal into the cause of the Lombard. The humble slave of the Pope Zacharias presented himself in France as the resolute antagonist of Pope Stephen and of the Papal

^c "Tali omnes interdicto et excommunicationis lege constrinxit, ut nunquam de alterius lumbis legem in ævo præsumerent eligere."—Clausul. de Pippini Elect.

cause.^d But the throne of Pepin was too firmly fixed ;
 he turned a deaf and contemptuous ear to his
 brother's arguments. The Pope asserted his
 authority over the renegade monk, who had broken his
 vows ; and Carloman was imprisoned for life in a cloister
 at Vienne ; that life, however, lasted but a few days.

Pope Stephen was anxious to avert the shedding of
 blood in the impending war.^e Thrice before he collected
 his forces, once on his march to Italy, Pepin sent ambas-
 sadors to the Lombard king, who were to exhort him to
 surrender peaceably the possessions of the Church and
 of the Roman Republic. Pope Stephen tried the per-
 suasiveness of religious awe. Astolph rejected the me-
 nacing and more quiet overtures with scorn, and fell on

an advanced post of the Franks, which occu-
 pied one of the passes of the Alps, about to be
 entered by the army. He was routed by those few
 troops, and took refuge in Pavia. The King of the

Franks and Pope Stephen advanced to the
 walls of the city ; and Astolph was glad to
 purchase an ignominious peace, by pledging himself,
 on oath, to restore the territory of Rome.^f

Pepin had no sooner retired beyond the Alps with his
 hostages, than Astolph began to find causes to delay the

^d According to Anastasius, "vehe-
 mentius decertabat, sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ
 causam subvertere." It is impossible
 to conceive how Astolph could per-
 suade him to engage in this strange
 and perilous mission, and the argu-
 ments urged by Carloman on his brother
 are still more strange. Eginhard
 asserts that he came "jussu abbatis
 sui quia nec ille abbatis sui jussa con-
 temnere, nec abbas ille præceptis Regis
 Longobardorum, qui ei et hoc imperavit,

audebat resistere." Sub ann. 753.

^e "Obtestatur per omnia divina
 mysteria et futuri examinis diem ut
 pacifice sine ullâ sanguinis effusione
 propria sanctæ dei ecclesiæ et reipublicæ
 Romanorum reddat jura."—Vit Steph.

^f The Pope attributed the easy
 victory of the Franks, not to their
 valour, but to St. Peter. "Per
 manum beati Petri Dominus omni-
 potens victoriam vobis largiri dignatus
 est."—Steph. Epist. ad Pepin. p. 1632.

covenanted surrender. After a certain time he marched with his whole forces upon Rome, to which Pope Stephen had then returned, wasted the surrounding country, encamped before the Salarian Gate, and demanded the surrender of the Pope.^g The plunder, if the Papal historian is to be believed, which he chiefly coveted, was the dead bodies of the saints. These he dug up and carried away. He demanded that the Romans should give up the Pope into his hands, and on these terms only would he spare the city. Astolph declared he would not leave the Pope a foot of land.^h

November.

December.

Siege of Rome.

Stephen sent messengers in all haste by sea, for every way by land was closed to his faithful ally. His first letter reminded King Pepin how stern an ex-actor of promises was St. Peter; "that the king hazarded eternal condemnation if he did not complete the donation which he had vowed to St. Peter, and St. Peter had promised to him eternal life. If the king was not faithful to his word, the apostle had his hand-writing to the grant, which he would produce against him in the day of judgement."

Pope Stephen's first letter.

A second letter followed, more pathetic, more persuasive. "Astolph was at the gates of Rome; he threatened, if they did not yield up the Pope, to put the whole city to the sword. He had burned all the villas and the suburbs;ⁱ he had not spared the churches; the very altars were plundered and defiled; nuns violated; infants torn from their

Second letter.

^g Stephan. Epist. Gretser, 261.—
"Aperite mihi portam Salariam ut ingrediar civitatem, et tradite mihi pontificem vestrum."

^h "Nec unius palmi terræ spatium B. Petro . . . vel reipublicæ Roma-

norum reddere."—Steph. Epist. In the utmost distress, the very stones, the Pope says, might have wept at his grief and peril.—Epist. ad Pepin. Reg.

ⁱ Epist. ii. ad Pepin. Reg.

mother's breasts; the mothers polluted;—all the horrors of war were ready to break on the devoted city, which had endured a siege of fifty-five days. He conjured him, by God and his holy mother, by the angels of heaven, by the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and by the Last Day." This second letter was sent by the hands of the Abbot Warnerius, who had put on his breast-plate, and night and day kept watch for the city. (This is the first example of a warlike abbot.) With him were George, a bishop, and Count Tomaric. Stephen summed up the certain reward which Pepin might expect if he hastened to the rescue—"Victory over all the Barbarian nations, and eternal life."

But the Franks were distant, or were tardy; the danger of the Pope and the Roman people more and more imminent. Stephen was wrought to an agony of fear, and in this state took the daring—to our calmer religious sentiment, impious step—of writing a letter, as from St. Peter himself, to hasten the lingering succour:—"I, Peter the Apostle, protest, admonish, and conjure you, the Most Christian Kings, Pepin, Charles, and Carloman, with all the hierarchy, bishops, abbots, priests, and all monks; all judges, dukes, counts, and the whole people of the Franks. The Mother of God likewise adjures you, and admonishes and commands you, she as well as the thrones and dominions, and all the host of heaven, to save the beloved city of Rome from the detested Lombards. If ye hasten, I, Peter the Apostle, promise you my protection in this life and in the next, will prepare for you the most glorious mansions in heaven, and will bestow on you the everlasting joys of paradise. Make common cause with my people of Rome, and I will grant whatever ye may pray for. I conjure you not to yield up

Dec. 754—
Feb. 755.

Third from
St. Peter
himself.

this city to be lacerated and tormented by the Lombards, lest your own souls be lacerated and tormented in hell, with the devil and his pestilential angels. Of all nations under heaven, the Franks are highest in the esteem of St. Peter; to me you owe all your victories. Obey, and obey speedily, and, by my suffrage, our Lord Jesus Christ will give you in this life length of days, security, victory; in the life to come, will multiply his blessings upon you, among his saints and angels.”^k

A vain but natural curiosity would imagine the effect of this letter at the court of Pepin. Were there among his clergy or among his warrior nobles those who really thought they heard the voice of the apostle, and felt that their eternal doom depended on their instant obedience to this appeal? How far was Pepin himself governed by policy or by religious awe? How much was art, how much implicit faith wrought up to its highest pitch by terror, in the mind of the Pope, when the Pope ventured on this awful assumption of the person of the apostle? That he should hazard such a step, having had personal intercourse with Pepin, his clergy, and his nobles, shows the measure which he had taken of the power with which religion possessed their souls. He had fathomed the depths of their Christianity; and whether he himself partook in the same, to us extravagant, notions, or used them as lawful instruments to

^k Gretser, pp. 17-23. Mansi, sub ann. A.D. 755. Fleury observes of this letter: “Au reste, elle est pleine d'équivoques, comme les précédentes. L'Eglise y signifie non l'assemblée des fidèles, mais les biens temporels consacrés à Dieu: le troupeau de Jésus Christ sont les corps et non pas les âmes: les promesses temporelles de l'ancienne loi sont mêlées avec les spi-

rituelles de l'Evangile, et les motifs plus saints de la religion employés pour une affaire d'état.”—Liv. xlvii. c. 17. After all, the ground of quarrel was for the exarchate, not for the estates of the Church. If the Pope had allowed the Lombards to occupy the exarchate, they would have been loyal allies of the Pope.

terrify the Barbarians into the protection of the holy see and the advancement of her dominion, he might consider all means justified for such high purposes. If it had been likely to startle men, by this overwrought demand on their credulity, into reasoning on such subjects, it would have hindered rather than promoted his great end.

Not the least remarkable point of all is, that Christianity has now assumed the complete power, not only of the life to come, but of the present life, with all its temporal advantages. It now leagues itself with Barbarians, not to soften, to civilise, to imbue with devotion, to lead to Christian worship; but to give victory in all their ruthless wars, to confer the blessings of heaven on their schemes of ambition and conquest. The one title to eternal life is obedience to the Church—the Church no longer the community of pious and holy Christians, but the see, almost the city, of Rome. The supreme obligation of man is the protection and enlargement of her domain. By zeal in this cause, without any other moral or religious qualification, the most brutal and bloody soldier is a saint in heaven. St. Peter is become almost God, the giver of victory, the dispenser of eternal life. The time is approaching when war against infidels or enemies of the Pope will be among the most meritorious acts of a Christian.

The Franks had alarmed the Pope by the tardiness of their succour; but, their host once assembled and on its march, their rapid movements surprised Astolph.

Pepin in
Italy.
Lombards
yield.

Scarcely could he return to Pavia, when he found himself besieged in his capital. The

Lombard forces seem to have been altogether unequal to resist the Franks. Astolph yielded at once to the demands of Pepin, and actually abandoned the

whole contested territory. Ambassadors from the East were present at the conclusion of the treaty, and demanded the restitution of Ravenna and its territory to the Byzantine Empire. Pepin declared that his sole object in the war was to show his veneration for St. Peter; and he bestowed, as it seems, by the right of conquest, the whole upon the Pope.

The representatives of the Pope, who however always speak of the republic of Rome, passed through the land, receiving the homage of the authorities and the keys of the cities. The district comprehended Ravenna, Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Cesena, Sinigaglia, Iesi, Forlimpopoli, Forli with the Castle Sussibio, Montefeltro, Acerra, Monte di Lucano, Serra, San Marino, Bobbio, Urbino, Cagli, Luciola, Gubbio, Comachio, and Narni which was severed from the dukedom of Spoleto.^m

Thus the successor, as he was declared, of the fisherman of the Galilean lake, the apostle of Him whose kingdom was not of this world, became a temporal sovereign. By the gift of a foreign potentate, this large part of Italy became the kingdom of the Bishop of Rome.

King Astolph did not long survive this humiliation; he was accidentally killed when hunting. The adherents of the Pope beheld the hand of God in his death; they heap on him every appellation of scorn and hatred; the Pope has no doubt of his damna-

A.D. 756.

^m It is not quite clear how Stephen himself eluded the claims of the Greek Emperor—probably by the Emperor's heresy. In Stephen's letter of thanks for his deliverance to the King of the Franks, he desires to know what answer had been given to the Silen-

tiary, commissioned to assert the rights of his master. He reminds Pepin that he must protect the Catholic Church against pestilent wickedness (*malitia*), (no doubt the iconoclastic opinions of the Emperor), and keep her *property* secure (*omnia proprietatis suæ*).

tion.ⁿ The Lombards of Tuscany favoured the pretensions of their Duke Desiderius to the throne. In the north of Italy, Rachis, the brother of Astolph, who had retired to a monastery, appeared at the head of a powerful faction, and reclaimed the throne. Desiderius endeavoured to secure the influence of the pope. Stephen extorted, as the price of his interference, Faenza, Imola, with some other castles, and the whole duchy of Ferrara.^o Stephen no doubt felt a holy horror of the return of a monk to worldly cares, even those of a crown. This would be rank apostasy with him who was thus secularising the papacy itself.

During the later years of Stephen's pontificate, a strong faction had designated his brother Paul as successor to the see. Another party, opposed perhaps to this family transmission of the papacy, which was thus assimilating itself more and more to a temporal sovereignty, set up the claims of the Archdeacon Theophylact. On the vacancy the partisans of Paul prevailed. The brother of Stephen was raised to the throne of St. Peter. Paul has the fame of a mild and peace-loving prelate. He loved to wander at night among the hovels of the poor, and to visit the prisons, relieving misery and occasionally releasing the captives from their bondage. Yet is Paul not less involved in the ambitious designs of the advancing papacy. His first act is to announce his election to the King of the Franks, who had now the title, probably bestowed by Stephen, of Patrician of Rome. His letter does not allude to any further ratification of his

ⁿ "Divino ictu percussus est et in inferni voraginem demersus."—Epist. ad Pepin. vi. ; Gretser, 60 ; Mansi, sub ann.

^o Perhaps also Osimo, Ancona, and he even demanded Bologna.

election, made by the free choice of the clergy and people of Rome; there is no recognition whatever of supremacy.

Desiderius, till he had secured his throne in Lombardy, remained on terms of amity with the Pope; but the old irreconcilable hostility broke out again soon after the accession of Paul.

Among the causes of the weakness of the Lombard kingdom, and the easy triumph of the Franks, was the disunion of the nation. The Dukes of Spoleto and Benevento renounced their allegiance to the King of Pavia, and declared their fealty to the King of the Franks. The chastisement of their revolt gave Desiderius a pretext for war. He marched, ravaging as he went with fire and sword, through the cities of the exarchate, surprised and imprisoned the Duke of Spoleto, forced the Duke of Benevento to take refuge in Otranto, and set up another duke in his place. He then proceeded to Naples, still occupied by the Greeks, and endeavoured to negotiate a dangerous alliance with the Eastern emperor.^P On his return he passed through Rome; and when the Pope demanded the surrender of the stipulated cities—Imola, Osimo, Ancona, and Bologna—Desiderius eluded the demand by requiring the previous restitution of the Lombard hostages carried by Pepin into France; but dreading perhaps a new Frankish invasion, Desiderius gradually submitted to the fulfilment of the treaty. Disputes arose concerning certain patrimony of the Church in some of the Lombard cities, but even these were amicably adjusted. The adulation of Paul to the King of the Franks passes bounds. He is another Moses; as Moses rescued Israel

^P Gretser, p. 81; Mansi, sub ann. 758.

from the bondage of Egypt, so Pepin the Catholic Church; as Moses confounded idolatry, so Pepin heresy. The rapturous expressions of the Psalms about the Messiah are scarcely too fervent to be applied to Pepin. All his acts are under divine inspiration.⁹ The only apprehensions of Paul seemed to be on the side of the Greeks. On one occasion he writes that six Byzantine ships menaced a descent on Rome; on another he dreads an attack by sea on Ravenna. He entreats the King of the Franks to urge Desiderius to make common cause against the enemy; but he represents the hostility of the Greeks as arising not from their desire to recover

The Greek
empire.

their rights in Italy, but solely from the impious design of destroying the images, of subverting the Catholic faith and the traditions of the holy fathers. They are odious iconoclastic heretics, not the Imperial armies warring to regain their lost dominions in Italy. The Greeks have now succeeded to the appellation of "the most wicked," a term hitherto appropriated to the Lombards; but hereafter the epithet of all those who resisted the temporal or spiritual interest of the Papal See.^r

Such was the singular position of Rome and of the Roman territory. In theory they were still part of

⁹ Gretser, Epist. xvi. "Novus quippe Moses, novusque David in omnibus operibus suis effectus est Christianissimus et a Deo protectus filius et spiritalis compater Dominus Pepinus."—Epist. xxii. Thou, after God, art our defender and aider; if all the hairs of our head were tongues, we could not give you thanks equal to your deserts.—Epist. xxxvi. Throughout it is St. Peter who has anointed Pepin king; St. Peter who is the

giver of all Pepin's victories over the Barbarians; St. Peter whom he protects; St. Peter whose gratitude he has a right to command; and St. Peter is all powerful in heaven.

^r "Non ob aliud nefandissimi nos persequuntur Græci, nisi propter sanctam et orthodoxam fidem, et venerationem patrum piam traditionem, quam cupiunt destruere et conculcare."—Epist. ad Pepin.

the Roman Empire, of which the Greek emperor, had he been orthodox, would have been the acknowledged sovereign ;^s but his iconoclasm released the members of the true church from their allegiance : he was virtually or actually under excommunication. In the mean time the right of conquest, and the indefinite title of Patrician, assigned by the Pope, acting in behalf and with the consent of the Roman republic, to Pepin—a title which might be merely honorary, or might justify any authority which he might have power to exercise—gave a kind of supremacy to the King of the Franks in Rome and her domain. The Pope, tacitly at least, admitted as the representative of the Roman people, awarded this title to Pepin, which gave him a right to demand protection, while himself, by the donation of Pepin, possessed the actual property and the real power. In the Exarchate he ruled by the direct grant of Pepin, who had conquered this territory from the Lombards, they having previously dispossessed the Greeks. Popes of this time kept up the pious fiction that the donations even of sovereigns, though extending to cities and provinces, were given for holy uses, the keeping up the lights in the churches, and the maintenance of the poor.^t But who was to demand account of the uses to which these revenues were applied ? The Pope took possession as lord and master ; he received the homage of the authorities and the keys of the cities. The local or municipal institutions remained ; but the revenue, which had before been received by the Byzantine crown, be-

* The Greeks still retained Naples and the South of Italy.

^t “ Unde pro animæ vestræ salute indefessa luminarium concinnatio Dei ecclesiis permaneat, et esuries pau-

perum, egenorum, vel peregrinorum nihilominus relevetur, et ad veram saturitatem perveniant.”—Steph. II. ad Pepin. Epist.

came the revenue of the Church: of that revenue the Pope was the guardian, distributor, possessor.

The pontificate of Paul, on the whole, was a period of peace. If Desiderius, after his first expedition against the rebel Duke of Spoleto, did not maintain strictly amicable relations with the Papal See, he abstained from hostility.

But, as heretofore, the loftier the papal dignity and the greater the wealth and power of the Pope, the more it became an object of unhallowed ambition. On the death of Paul, that which two centuries later reduced the Papacy to the lowest state of degradation, the violent nomination of the Pope by the petty barons and armed nobles of the neighbouring districts, was prematurely attempted. Toto, the Duke

of Nepi, suddenly, before Paul had actually expired, entered the city with his three brothers and a strong armed force. As soon as Paul was dead, they seized a bishop and compelled him to ordain Constantine, one of the brothers, yet a layman. They then took possession of the Lateran palace, and after a hasty form of election, forced the same bishop, George of Palestrina, with two others, Eustratius of Alba and

Citonatus of Porto, to consecrate Constantine as Pope.^a The usurper retained possession of the see for more than a year, ordained and discharged all the offices of a pontiff, a period reckoned as a vacancy in the papal annals. At the end of that time two distinguished Romans, Christopher the Primi-cerius and Sergius his son, made their escape to the court of Pavia, to entreat the intervention of Desiderius. They obtained the aid of some Lombards, chiefly from

Papacy seized
by Toto.

Jan. 28, 767.

Constantine
Pope.
July 6, 767,
to Aug. 1, 768.

^a Vit. Stephan. III.

the duchy of Spoleto, and appeared in arms in the city. Toto at first made a valiant defence, but was betrayed by his own followers and slain. July 29.

Constantine, the false Pope, with his brother and a bishop named Theodorus, endeavoured to conceal themselves, but were seized by their enemies.

During the tumult part of the successful insurgents hastily elected a certain Philip, and installed him in the Lateran palace. The stronger party assembled a more legitimate body of electors, the chief July 31. Philip.

of the clergy, of the army, and of the people. The unanimous choice fell on Stephen III., who had been employed in high offices by Paul.* A. D. 768. Stephen III. Cruelties in Rome.

The scenes which followed in the city of the head of Christendom must not be concealed.^y The easy victory was terribly avenged on Constantine and his adherents. The Bishop Theodorus was the chief object of animosity. They put out his eyes, cut off his tongue, and shut him up in the dungeon of a monastery, where he was left to die of hunger and of thirst, vainly imploring a drop of water in his agony. They put out the eyes of Passianus, the brother of the usurping Pope, and shut him up in a monastery: they plundered and confiscated all their possessions. The usurper was led through the city riding on a horse with a woman's saddle, with heavy weights to his feet; then brought out, solemnly deposed (for he was yet Pope elect)^z and thrust into the monastery of Centumcellæ. Even there he was not allowed to repent in peace of his ambition. A party of his enemies first seized a tribune of his fac-

* He is called Vice Dominus.

^y Anastas., Vit. Stephan. c. I.

^z "Dum adhuc electus extitisset."—Vit. Steph. III.

tion, named Gracilis, put out his eyes, surprised the convent, treated the Pope in the same inhumane manner, and left him blind and bleeding in the street. These atrocities were not confined to the adherents of Constantine. A presbyter named Waldipert had taken a great part in the revolution, had accompanied Christopher, the leader of the deliverers, to Rome, but he had been guilty of the hasty election of Philip to the papacy. He was accused of a conspiracy to betray the city to the Duke of Spoleto. He fled to the church of the Virgin ad Martyres. Though he clung to and clasped the sacred image, he was dragged out, and plunged into one of the most noisome dungeons in the city. After a few days he was brought forth, his eyes put out, his tongue cut in so barbarous a manner that he died. Some of these might be the acts of a fierce, ungovernable, excited populace; but the clergy, in their collective and deliberate capacity, cannot be acquitted of as savage inhumanity.

The first act of Stephen was to communicate his election to the Patrician, the King of the Franks.

Aug. 1, 768. Pepin had expired before the arrival of the ambassadors. His sons sent a deputation of twelve bishops to Rome. The Pope summoned the bishops of Tuscany, of Campania, and other parts of Italy, and with the Frankish bishops formed a regular Council in the Lateran. The usurper Constantine was brought in, blind and broken in spirit, to answer for his offences. He expressed the deepest contrition,

April 12, 769. he grovelled on the earth, he implored the mercy of the priestly tribunal. His sentence was deferred. On his next examination he was asked how, being a layman, he had dared to venture on such an

impious innovation as to be consecrated at once a bishop. It is dangerous at times to embarrass adversaries with a strong argument. He replied that it was no unprecedented innovation; he alleged the Punishment of Constantine. cases of the Archbishops of Ravenna and of Naples, as promoted at once from laymen to the episcopate. The indignant clergy rose up, fell upon him, beat him cruelly with their own hands, and turned him out of the church.

All the instruments which related to the usurpation of Constantine were then burned; Stephen solemnly inaugurated; all who had received the communion from the hands of Constantine professed their profound penitence. A decree was passed interdicting, under the strongest anathema, all who should aspire to the episcopate without having passed through the inferior orders. All the ordinations of Constantine were declared null and void; the bishops were thrown April 14, 769. back to their inferior orders, and could only attain the episcopate after a new election and consecration. The laymen who had dared to receive these irregular orders fared worse: they were to wear the religious habit for their lives, being incapable of religious functions. This Lateran Council closed its proceedings by an unanimous decree in favour of image-worship, anathematising the godless Iconoclasts of the East.

These tragic scenes closed not with the extinction of the faction of Constantine: new victims suffered the dreadful punishment of blinding, some also seclusion in a monastery, the ordinary sentence of all whose lives were spared in civil conflict. But the causes of this new revolution and the conduct of the Pope are contested and obscure. All that is undoubted is that the King of the Lombards appears as the protector of the Pope;

Carloman the Frank, the son of Pepin, threatens his dethronement.^a

Desiderius, the Lombard King, presented himself before Rome with the avowed object of delivering the Pope from the tyranny of Christopher the primicerius, and his son Sergius. These men had been the leaders, with Lombard aid, in the overthrow of the usurper. Christopher and his son hastily gathered some troops, and closed the gates of the city. They were betrayed by Paul (named Afiarta), the Pope's chamberlain, seized, blinded: the elder, Christopher, died of the operation. Desiderius boasted of this service as equivalent to and annulling all the papal claims to certain rights in the cities of Lombardy. Carloman the Frank, on the other hand, espoused the cause of these oppressors, as they were called, of the Pope, who had menaced his life, in conjunction with Dodo, Carloman's ambassador. Carloman threatened to avenge their punishment by marching to Rome and dethroning the Pope. This strange state-

^a The great object of dispute, after the surrender of the exarchate, that which the popes constantly demanded, and the Lombard kings endeavoured to elude, was the full restitution of the "justitiæ" claimed by the pope within the Lombard kingdom.—Vit. Stephan. III. This term, intelligible in the forensic language of the day, is now unmeaning. Muratori defines it, "Allodiale, rendite e diritte, che appartenevano alla chiesa Romana nel regno Longobardico." But what were these allodial rights, in a kingdom of which the full sovereignty was in the Lombards? Were they estates held by the Church, as landlords, like those

in Sicily or elsewhere? or *dues* claimed at least of all Roman Christians in Italy? Sismondi's suggestion, that it means the royal cities, the property of the crown, which were administered in France by judges, seems quite inapplicable to the Lombard kingdom (Sismondi, Hist. des Français, ii. p. 281). Manzoni, in a note to his Adelchi, supposes that it was a vague term, intended to comprehend all the demands of the Church. Yet in the epistles of the several popes, the two Stephens, Paul, and Hadrian, it seems to mean something specific and definite. To me Muratori appears nearest to the truth.

ment is confirmed by a letter of Stephen himself, addressed to Bertha, the mother of the Frankish kings, and to Charlemagne.^b The biographer of Pope Stephen gives an opposite version. The hostility of Desiderius to Christopher and Sergius arose from their zeal in enforcing the papal demands on the Lombard kings. He denounces the Lombards as still the enemies of the Pope, and accuses Paul, the Pope's chamberlain, their ally, of the basest treachery.

At all events this transitory connexion between the Pope and the Lombards soon gave way to the old implacable animosity. Whatever might be the claim of Desiderius on the gratitude of Stephen, the intelligence of a proposed intimate alliance between his faithful protectors the Franks, and his irreconcilable enemies the Lombards, struck the Pope with amazement and dismay.

^b "Unde (Christophorus et Sergius, cum Dodone Carlomanni regis misso) in basilicam domni Theodori papæ, ubi sedebamus, introierunt, sicque ipsi maligni homines insidiabantur nos interficere."—Cenni, Monument, i. 267. supposed to have been written under compulsion, when Desiderius was master of the Pope and of Rome. Muratori hardly answers this by showing that it was written after the execution of Christopher and Sergius. Jaffé, p. 201. This letter is by sense

CHAPTER XII.

Charlemagne on the Throne.

THE jealousies of Carloman and Charles, the sons of Pepin, who had divided his monarchy, were for a time appeased. Bertha, their mother, seized the opportunity of strengthening and uniting her divided house by intermarriages with the family of the Lombard sovereign. Desiderius was equally desirous of this connexion with the powerful Transalpine kings. His unmarried son, Adelchis, was affianced to Gisela,^a the sister of Charlemagne; his daughter Hermingard proposed as the wife of one of the royal brothers. Both Carloman and Charles were already married; Carloman was attached to his wife Gisberta, by whom he had children. The ambition of Charles was less scrupulous; he at once divorced his wife (an obscure person, whose name has not been preserved by history), and wedded the daughter of Desiderius. In this union the Pope saw the whole policy of his predecessors threatened with destruction: their mighty protector was become the ally, the brother of their deadly enemy. Already the splendid donation of Pepin seemed wrested from his unresisting hands. Who should now interpose to prevent the Lombards from becoming masters of the Exarchate, of Rome, of Italy? The Pope lost all self-command; he gave vent to the full

^a Or Desiderata. Gisela became a nun.—Eginh., v. k. 1. xviii.

bitterness of Roman, of Papal hatred to the Lombards and to the agony of his terror, in a remonstrance so unmeasured in its language, so un-^{Letter of Pope Stephen.} papal, it might be said unchristian, in its spirit, as hardly to be equalled in the pontifical diplomacy.^b

“The devil alone could have suggested such a connexion. That the noble, the generous race of the Franks, the most ancient in the world, should ally itself with the foetid brood of the Lombards, a brood hardly reckoned human, and who have introduced the leprosy into the land.^c What could be worse than this abominable and detestable contagion? Light could not be more opposite to darkness, faith to infidelity.” The Pope does not take his firm stand on the high moral and religious ground of the French princes’ actual marriage. He reminds them of the consummate beauty of the women in their own land; that their father Pepin had been prevented by the remonstrances of the Pope from divorcing their mother; then briefly enjoins them not to dare to dismiss their present wives.^d Again he urges the evil of contaminating their blood by any foreign admixture (they had already declined an alliance with the Greek emperor), and then insists on the absolute impossibility of their maintaining their fidelity to the papal see, “that fidelity so solemnly sworn by

^b Muratori faintly hints a doubt of its authenticity; a doubt which he is too honest to assert.

^c Manzoni has pointed out with great sagacity, that in the 170th law of Rotharis there is a clause prescribing the course to be pursued with lepers; thus showing that the nation was really subject to the disease. Stephen might thus be expressing a common notion, that from the Lom-

bards, at least in Italy, “came the race of the lepers.” Thus this expression, instead of throwing suspicion, as Muratori supposes, on the letter, confirms its authenticity.—*Discorso Storico*, subjoined to the tragedy ‘*Adelchi*,’ p. 199.

^d “*Nec vestras quodammodo conjuges audeatis demittere.*” But it is the guilt of the alliance, not of the divorce, on which he dwells.

their father, so ratified on his death bed, so confirmed by their own oaths," if they should thus marry into the perfidious house of Lombardy. "The enmity of the Lombards to the papal see is implacable. Wherefore St. Peter himself solemnly adjures them, he, the Pope, the whole clergy, and people of Rome adjure them by all which is awful and commanding, by the living and true God, by the tremendous day of judgement, by all the holy mysteries, and by the most sacred body of St. Peter, that neither of the brothers presume to wed the daughter of Desiderius, or to give the lovely Gisela in wedlock to his son. But if either (which he cannot imagine) should act contrary to this adjuration, by the authority of St. Peter he is under the most terrible anathema, an alien from the kingdom of God, and condemned with the devil and his most wicked ministers and with all impious men, to be burned in the eternal fire; but he who shall obey shall be rewarded with everlasting glory."

But Pope Stephen spoke to obdurate ears. Already Charlemagne began to show that, however highly he might prize the alliance of the hierarchy, he was not its humble minister. Lofty as were his notions of religion, he would rarely sacrifice objects of worldly policy. Sovereign as yet of but one-half the dominions of his father Pepin, he had not now by the death of his brother and the dispossession of his brother's children consolidated the kingdom of the Franks into one great monarchy. It was to his advantage, in case of hostilities with his brother (already they had once broken out), to connect himself with the Lombard kingdom. He married the daughter of Desiderius; and his own irregular passions, not the dread of papal censure, dissolved, only a year after, the inhibited union.

The acts and the formal documents of the earlier Popes rarely betray traces of individual character. The pontificate of Stephen III. was short—about a year and a half. Yet in him there appears a peculiar passionate feebleness in his relation to the heads of the different Roman factions and to the King of the Lombards, no less than in his invective against the marriage of the French princes into the race of Desiderius.

His successors, Hadrian I. and Leo III., not only occupy the papal throne at one of the great A. D. 768-772, Feb. 1. epochs of its aggrandisement, but their pontificates were of much longer duration than usual. Hadrian entered on the 23rd, Leo on the 21st year of his papacy, and Hadrian at least, a Roman by birth, appears admirably fitted to cope with the exigencies of the times;—times pregnant with great events, the total and final disruption of the last links which connected the Byzantine and Western empires, the extinction of the Lombard Kingdom, the creation of the Empire of the West.

If the progress of the younger son of Pepin, Charles the Great, to almost universal empire now occupied the attention of the West, it was watched by the Pope with the profoundest interest. If Stephen III. had trembled at the matrimonial alliance which he had vainly attempted to prevent, between the King of the Franks and the daughter of Desiderius, which threatened to strengthen the closer political relations of those once hostile powers, his fears were soon allayed by the sudden disruption of that short-lived connexion. After one year of wedlock, Charles, apparently without alleging any cause, divorced Hermingard, threw back upon her father his repudiated daughter, and embittered the insult by an immediate marriage with Hildegard, a

German lady of a noble Suabian house.^e The careless indifference with which Charlemagne contracted and dissolved that solemn bond of matrimony, the sanctity if not the indissolubility of which the Church had at least begun to assert with the utmost rigour, shocked some of his more pious subjects. Adalhard, the Abbot of Corbey, could not disguise his religious indignation; so little was he versed in courtly ways, he would hold no intercourse with the unlawful wife.^f Pope Hadrian maintained a prudent silence. He was not called upon officially to take cognisance of the case; and the divorce from the Lombard Princess, the severance of those unhallowed ties with the enemy of the Church against which his predecessor had so strongly protested, might reconcile him to a looser interpretation of the law. A marriage, not merely unblessed but anathematised by the Church, might be considered at least less binding than more hallowed nuptials.

Every step which the ambition of Charles made towards dominion and power, showed, it might be hoped, a more willing and reverent, as well as a more formidable defender of the Church. At his great national assemblies, as in those of his pious father, the bishops met on equal terms with the nobles, the peaceful prelates mingled with the armed counts and dukes in the councils of Charles the Great.

Charlemagne's first Saxon war was a war of religion; it was undertaken to avenge the destruction of a church, the massacre of a saintly missionary and his Christian congregation.

^e Eginhard, i. 18.

^f Paschas. Radbert., Vit. Adalhard Abbat'is.—“Nullo negotio beatus senex persuaderi, dum adhuc esset tiro

| palatii, ut ei, quam vivente illâ, rex
| acceperat, aliquo communicaret servi
| tutis obsequio.”

Even his more questionable acts had the merit of estranging him more irrevocably from the enemies of the Pope. On the death of his brother Carloman, Charles seized the opportunity of reconsolidating the kingdom of his father Pepin. It is difficult to decide how far this usurpation offended against the justice or the usages of the age. The old Teutonic custom gave to the nobles the right of choosing their chieftain from the royal race.⁵ A large party of the Austrasian feudatories, how induced or influenced we may conjecture rather than assert, deliberately preferred a mature and able sovereign to the precarious rule of helpless and inexperienced children. Some, however, of the nobles, more strongly attached to the right of hereditary succession, more jealous of the rising power of Charles, or out of generous compassion, adhered to the claims of Carloman's children, who thus dispossessed, took refuge at the court of the Lombard Desiderius. The opportunity of revenge was too tempting for the rival king and the insulted father; he espoused their cause; but the alliance with Desiderius put the fatherless children at once out of the pale of the Papal sympathy. Desiderius thought he saw his advantage; he appealed to the justice, to the compassion, to the gratitude of the head of Christendom; he urged him to befriend the orphans, to anoint the heirs of the pious Carloman, and thus to recognise their royal title, as their papal predecessors had anointed Pepin, Carloman, and Charles.

Charlemagne
sole King
Dec. 771.

A.D. 772.

But Hadrian had too much sagacity not to discern

⁵ Eginhard may show that this was a right, claimed at least by the common sentiment of the day. Of the Merovingians he says, in the first sentence of his life of Charlemagne, "Gens . . . de qua Franci reges sibi creare siliti erant."

the rising power of Charles, and would not be betrayed by any rashly-generous emotions into measures hostile to his interests. Desiderius resented his steadfast refusal. He heard at the same time of the death of his faithful partisan in Rome, Paul Afiarta, whom the Pope had condemned to exile in Constantinople. Paul, accused of having blinded and killed the secondary Sergius, before the decease of Pope Stephen, had been put to death, not, it was declared, with the connivance of the Pope, before he could leave Italy.^h

Desiderius supposed that Charles was fully occupied in establishing his sovereignty over his brother's kingdom, and in the war against the Saxons. He collected his forces, fell on Sinigaglia, Montefeltro, Urbino, and Gubbio, and ravaged the whole country of Romagna with fire and sword. His troops besieged, stormed, and committed a frightful massacre in Blera, a town of Tuscany, and already threatened the Pope in his capital. Desiderius, at the head of his army, and accompanied by all his family, advanced towards Rome to compel an interview declined resolutely by the Pontiff.

Hadrian relied not on the awe of his personal presence, by which Popes on former occasions had subdued the hostility of Lombard kings. He sent messengers in the utmost haste to solicit, to entreat immediate succour from Charles, but he himself neglected no means for the defence of Rome. Hadrian (a new office for a Pope) superintended the military

King Desiderius.

A.D. 773.

Hadrian sends to Charlemagne.

^h The death of Paul Afiarta was attributed to the indiscreet zeal of Leo, Archbishop of Ravenna (Leo owed his archiepiscopate to Pope Stephen). It was disclaimed by Hadrian: "Animam ejus cupiens salvare, pœnitentiæ eum

submitti decreveram . . . huc Romam eum deferendum." — Vit. Hadrian. Paul Afiarta's crime was that he had pledged himself to bring the Pope, willing or unwilling, before Desiderius —Ibid.

preparations; he gathered troops from Tuscany, Campania, and every district within his power; strengthened the fortifications of Rome, transported the sacred treasures from the less defensible churches of St. Peter and St. Paul into the heart of the city; barricaded the gates of the Vatican, and having so done, reverted to his spiritual arms. He sent three Bishops, of Alba, Palestrina, Tibur, to meet the King, and to threaten him with excommunication if he dared to violate the territory of the Church. Desiderius had reached Viterbo; he was struck with awe, or with the intelligence of the preparations of Charles.

The ambassadors of the Frank arrived in Rome; on their return they passed through Pavia. Desiderius had returned to his capital; they urged him to reconciliation with the Pope. New ambassadors arrived, offering a large sum, ostensibly for his concessions to the demands of the Pope, but no doubt for the surrender of Carloman's children, whom Charles was anxious to get into his power.

Desiderius, who would not know the disproportion of his army to that of Charles, blindly resisted all accommodation. With his usual rapidity Charles, who had already assembled his forces, approached the passes of the Alps, one division that of Mont Cenis, the other that of the Mont St. Bernard. Treachery betrayed the passes,¹ in one of which, however, the hosts of Charlemagne suffered a signal defeat by the Lombards, under Adelchis, the king's son. This was no doubt the secret of the Lombard weakness. The whole of the Roman population of Lombardy looked

¹ "A suis quippe fideles callidè ei traditus fuit." — Chronic. Salernit. This chronicle shows the curious transition from the Latin inflexion to the uninflected Italian, "et dum de fatuo Karolus Sermo."

to the Pope as their head and representative; to the Franks as their deliverers. The two races had not mingled; the Lombards were but an armed aristocracy, lording it over a hostile race. A sudden famine dispersed the victorious troops of Adelchis, who still guarded the descent from Mont Cenis. Adelchis shut himself up in Verona; and Charles, encountering no enemy on the open plain, laid siege to Pavia.^k That city was, for those times, strongly fortified; it resisted for many months.

A.D. 774.
April 2.

During the siege, in the Holy Week of the next year, the King of the Franks proceeded to Rome to perform his devotions at the shrine of St. Peter, and to knit more closely his league with the Pope. Charles was already the deliverer, it might be hoped he would be the faithful protector of the Church. Excepting the cities of Verona and Pavia, he was already master of all Northern Italy. With his father Pepin, he had been honoured with the name of Patrician of Rome; by this vague adoption, which the lingering pride of Rome might still esteem an honour to a Barbarian, he was head of the Roman republic. He might become, in their hopes, the guardian, the champion of the old Roman society, while at the same time his remote residence beyond the Alps diminished the danger which was always apprehended from neighbouring barbarians.

Accordingly, the civil and ecclesiastical authorities vied in the honours which they paid to the Patrician of Rome and the dutiful son of the Church, who had so speedily obeyed the summons of his spiritual father, and had come to prostrate himself before the reliques of the Apostles. At Novi, thirty miles distant, he was met

^k A.D. 773, October. Muratori sub ann.

by the Senate and the nobles of the city, with their banners spread. For a mile before the gates the way was lined by the military and the *schools*. At the gates all the crosses and the standards of the city, as was usual on the entrance of the Exarchs the representatives of the Emperor, went out to meet the Patrician. As soon as he beheld the cross, Charles dismounted from his horse, proceeded on foot with all his officers and nobles to the Vatican, where the Pope and the clergy, on the steps of St. Peter's, stood ready to receive him; as he slowly ascended he reverently kissed the steps; at the top he was affectionately embraced by the Pope. Charles attended with profound devotion during all the ceremonies of the Holy Season; at the close he ratified the donation of his father Pepin. The diploma which contained the solemn gift was placed upon the altar of St. Peter. Yet there is much obscurity as to the extent and the tenure of this most magnificent oblation ever made to the Church. The original record has long perished; its terms are but vaguely known. It is said to have comprehended the whole of Italy, the exarchate of Ravenna, from Istria to the frontiers of Naples, including the island of Corsica. The nature of the Papal tenure and authority is still more difficult to define. Was it the absolute alienation of the whole temporal power to the Pope? In what consisted the sovereignty still claimed and exercised by Charlemagne over the whole of Italy, even over Rome itself?

Charlemagne made this donation as lord by conquest over the Lombard kingdom, and the territory of the Exarchate. For Pavia at length fell, and Desiderius took refuge in the usual asylum of de-throned kings, a monastery. His son, Adelchis, abandoned Verona, and fled to Constantinople. Thus expired

Donation of
Charlemagne.

the kingdom of the Lombards; and Charles added to his royal titles that of Lombardy. The Exarchate, by his grant, was vested, either as a kind of feud, or in absolute perpetuity, in the Pope.^m

But, notwithstanding the grant of the conqueror, the Pope did not enter into undisputed possession of this territory. An ecclesiastic, Leo, the Archbishop of Ravenna, set up a rival claim. He withheld the cities of Faenza, Forli, Forlimpopoli, Cesena, Bobbio, Comachia, Ferrara, Imola, the whole Pentapolis, Bologna, from their allegiance to the see of Rome, ejected the judges appointed by Rome, appointed others of his own authority in the whole region, and sent missives throughout the province to prevent their submission to the papal officers.ⁿ Hadrian became the scorn of his enemies, who inquired what advantage he had gained by the destruction of the Lombards. He wrote the most pressing letter to Charles, entreating him to prevent this humiliation of St. Peter and his successors. The Archbishop of Ravenna succeeded to the title which, in the language of the papal correspondence, belongs to all the adversaries of the Pope's temporal greatness, the "Most wicked of Men."^o The

^m See the passage quoted by Muratori from the anonymous Scriptor Salernitanus, sub anno 774. The Lombard dukedom of Benevento raised itself into a principality, and asserted its independence.

ⁿ Agnelli, Vit. Pontif. Ravennat.— "Troppo è credibile, che questo sagace ed ambizioso prelato s' ingegnasse di far intendere a Carlo, ch' avrebbe egualmente potuto servire a onor di Dio, e de' santi apostoli, la liberalità, ch' fosse piaciuto al re di fare alla

chiesa di Ravenna, come a quella di Roma; ch'è già non mancavano ai Romani pontifici ubertosi patrimoni in più parte d' Italia e di Sicilia," &c. &c. This ingenious conjecture of Denina (Revoluz. d' Italia, vol. i. p. 352) is but conjecture.

^o Nefandissimus. Compare Muratori, Annal. d' Italia, sub ann. 777. The epistle does not state on what the Archbishop of Ravenna rested his claim to this jurisdiction. This dispute shows still further the ambiguous

Pope asserted his right to the judicial authority, not only over the cities of the Pentapolis, but in Ravenna itself.

But the rivalry of Ravenna did not long restrain the ambition of a pontiff, secure in the protection of Charlemagne.

After some time, and some menaced interference from the East, Hadrian took possession of the Exarchate, seemingly with the power and ^{Hadrian in possession of the Exarchate.} privileges of a temporal prince. Throughout the Exarchate of Ravenna, he had "his men," who were judged by magistrates of his appointment, owed him fealty, and could not leave the land without his special permission. Nor are these only ecclesiastics subordinate to his spiritual power (that spiritual supremacy Hadrian indeed asserted to the utmost extent; Rome had a right of judicature over all churches).^p His language to Charlemagne is that of a feudal suzerain also: "as your men are not allowed to come to Rome without your permission and special letter, so my men must not be allowed to appear at the court of France without the same credentials from me." The same allegiance which the subjects of Charlemagne owed to him, was to be required from the subjects of the See of Rome to the Pope. "Let him be thus admonished, we are to remain

and undefined supremacy supposed to be conferred, even in his own day, by the donation of Charlemagne. Did the Archbishop claim in any manner to be Patrician of the Exarchate? See following note.

^p "Quanta enim auctoritas B. Petro Apostolorum principi, ejusque sacratissimæ sedi concessa est, cuiquam non ambigimus ignorari: utpote quæ de

omnibus ecclesiis fas habeat judicandi, neque cuiquam liceat de ejus judicare judicio. Quorumlibet sententias legati Pontificum, Sedes B. Petri Apostoli jus habet solvendi, per quos ad unam Petri sedem universalis ecclesiæ cura confluit, et nihil unquam a suo capite dissidet."—Epist. Hadrian. ad Carol. Magn. Cod. Carol. lxxxv., apud Bouquet, p. 579.

in the service, and under the dominion of the blessed apostle St. Peter, to the end of the world." The administration of justice was in the Pope's name; not only the ecclesiastical dues, and the rents of estates forming part of the patrimony of St. Peter, the civil revenue likewise came into his treasury. Hadrian bestows on Charlemagne, as a gift, the marbles and mosaics of the imperial palace in Ravenna, that palace apparently his own undisputed property.^a

Such was the allegiance claimed over the Exarchate and the whole territory included in the donation of Pepin and of Charlemagne, with all which the ever watchful Pope was continually adding (parts of the old Sabine territory, of Campania and of Capua) to the immediate jurisdiction of the Papacy. Throughout these territories the old Roman institutions remained under the Pope as Patrician, the Patriciate seemed tantamount to imperial authority.^r The city of Rome alone maintained, with the form, somewhat of the independence of a republic. Hadrian, with the power, assumed the magnificence of a great potentate: his expenditure in Rome, more especially, as became his character, on the religious buildings, was profuse.

^a "Tam marmora, quamque mosaicum, cæteraque exempla de eodem palatio vobis concedimus auferenda."—Epist. lxxvii. apud Gretser.

^r The Frankish monarch, afterwards the Emperor, was the *Patrician* of Rome. On the vague yet extensive authority conveyed by this title of Patrician, Muratori is the most full and satisfactory. Charlemagne, as his ancestors had been, was Patrician of Rome. Was this only an honorary title, while the civil supremacy over the city was vested in a republic (so

Pagi supposes, but according to others this notion is purely imaginary), or did the office invest him in full imperial authority? That he had a theoretic supremacy, the surrender to the successive Frankish monarchs of the keys of the city and of the sepulchre of St. Peter clearly shows. As imperial representative, or substitute, there was a Patrician of Sicily. The Lombard Dukes of Benevento obtained a grant of the *Patriciate* from Constantinople. The Pope claimed to be *Patrician* of the Exarchate. (See above.

Rome, with the increase of the Papal revenues, began to resume more of her ancient splendour.

Twice during the pontificate of Hadrian, Charlemagne again visited Rome. The first time was an act of religious homage, connected with his future political plans. He came to celebrate the baptism of his younger son Pepin by the Pope, a son for whom he destined the kingdom of Italy. The second time he came as a protector, at the summons of the Pope, to deliver him from a new and formidable enemy at the gates of Rome. Arigiso the Lombard Duke of Benevento, who had married the daughter of Desiderius, had grown in power, and around him had rallied all the adversaries of the Papal and the Frankish interests. It was a Lombard league, embracing almost all Italy—Rotgadis, Duke of Friuli, his father-in-law Stebelin Count of Treviso, the Duke of Spoleto. Arigiso had obtained the title of Patrician, with all its vague and indefinite pretensions, from Constantinople; he was in close correspondence with Adelchis, the son of the fallen Desiderius. Hadrian accused this dangerous neighbour of hostile encroachments on the patrimony of St. Peter. He entreated the invincible Charlemagne to cross the Alps to his succour. Charlemagne obeyed. He passed the Christmas at Pavia. He appeared at Rome: the Lombard shrunk from the unequal contest, and purchased peace by an annual tribute of 7000 pieces of gold. He gave his two sons as hostages for the fulfilment of the treaty.^s Hadrian, however, did not feel

^s Eginhard, Vit. Karol., x.; Annal. sub ann. 786. Compare the very strange account in the Chronic. Salernit. 9, 10, 11, of the interference of the bishops at Benevento to save Arigiso from the wrath of Charle-

magne; and the conspiracy of Paulus Diaconus, the historian, to murder Charlemagne. "How," says the Emperor, when urged to punish him, "can I cut off one who writes so elegantly?"

secure; he still suspected the designs and intrigues of the Lombard. The death of Arigiso, in the same year in which he swore allegiance to Charlemagne, did not allay the jealousies of Hadrian; for Charlemagne, in his generosity, placed the son of Arigiso, Grimoald, in the Dukedom of Benevento. Grimoald, during the life-time of Charlemagne, repaid this generosity by a faithful adoption, not only of the interests, but even the usages of the Franks. He shaved his beard, and clothed himself after the Frank fashion. In later days he became a formidable rival of Pepin, the son of Charlemagne, for the ascendancy in Italy.

While Charlemagne was yet at Rome, a more formidable rebellion began to lower. Adelchis, the son of Desiderius, was upon the seas with a considerable Greek force, supplied by order of the Byzantine Emperor, Constantine. The Huns broke into Bavaria and Friuli. Tassilo, Duke of Bavaria, whose wife Liutberga was the sister of Adelchis, meditated revolt. Charlemagne, with his wonted rapidity, appeared in Germany. Tassilo was summoned before a diet at Ingelheim. He dared not refuse to appear; was condemned to capital punishment; in mercy shut up, with his son, in a monastery. His Lombard wife suffered the same fate. The Huns were driven back; the Greek army deserted Adelchis; the son of Desiderius fled; John, the Byzantine general, was strangled in prison.

This great pontiff Hadrian, who, during about twenty-four years, had reposed, not undisturbed, but safe under the mighty protection of Charlemagne, died before the close of the eighth century. The coronation of Charlemagne, as Emperor of the West, was reserved for his successor. At that corona-

Rebellion
suppressed.
A.D. 787.

A.D. 788.

A.D. 795.
Death of
Hadrian.

tion our history will pause to take a survey of Latin Christendom, now a separate Western Empire, under one temporal, and under one spiritual sovereign. Charlemagne showed profound sorrow for the death of Hadrian. He wept for him, according to his biographer,[†] as if he had been a brother or a dear son. An epitaph declared to the world the respect and attachment of the Sovereign of the West for his spiritual father.

On the death of Hadrian,[‡] an election of unexampled rapidity, and, as it seemed, of perfect unanimity among the clergy, the nobles, and the people, raised Leo III. to the pontifical throne.[§] The first act of Leo III. was to recognise the supremacy of Charles, by sending the keys, not only of the city, with the standard of Rome, but those also of the sepulchre of St. Peter, to the Patrician. This unusual act of deference seems as if Leo anticipated the necessity of foreign protection; even the precipitancy of the election may lead to the suspicion that the unanimity was but outward. Secret causes of dissatisfaction were brooding in the minds of some of the leading men in Rome. The strong hand of Hadrian had kept down the factions which had disturbed the reign of his predecessor Stephen; now it is among the court, the family of Hadrian, even those whom he had raised to the highest offices, that there is at first sullen submission, ere long furious strife. Dark rumours spread abroad of serious charges against the Pope himself. Leo III. ruled, however, in seeming peace for three years and two months, at the close of which a frightful scene betrayed the deep and rooted animosity.

[†] Eginhard, c. xix.

[‡] Hadrian died on Christmas day.
The election was on the following day,

that of St. Stephen, A.D. 795.

[§] Ann. fil. sub ann. 796; Eginhard
Annal.

Hadrian had invested his two nephews, Paschalis and Campulus, in two great ecclesiastical offices, the Præmicerius and Sacellarius. This first example of nepotism was a dismal omen of the fatal partiality of future Popes for their kindred. These two men, or one of them, may have aspired to the Pontificate, or they hoped to place a pontiff, more under their own influence, on the throne: their dark crime implies dark motives. The Pope was

to ride in solemn pomp, on St. George's day, to the church of St. Laurence, called in Lucinâ.

These ecclesiastics formed part of the procession. One of them excused himself for some informality in his dress.⁷ On a sudden, a band of armed men sprang

from their ambush. The Pope was thrown from his horse, and an awkward attempt was

made to practise the Oriental punishment of mutilation, as yet rare in the West, to put out his eyes, and to cut out his tongue. Paschalis and Campulus, instead of defending the Pope, dragged him into a neighbouring church, and there, before the high altar, attempted to complete the imperfect mutilation, beat him cruelly, and left him weltering in his blood. From thence they took him away by night (no one seems to have interposed in his behalf), carried him to the convent of St. Erasmus, and there threw him into prison. Leo recovered his sight and his speech; and this restoration, of course, in process of time became a miracle.* His

⁷ He was sine planetâ.

- "Carnifices geminas traxerunt fronte fenestras,

Et celerem abscondunt lacerato corpore linguam.

* * * * *

Sed manus alma Patris oculis medicamina ademptis

Obtulit atque novo reparavit lumine vultum;

* * * * *

Explicat et celerem truncataque lingua loquelam."

—See the poem of Angilbert, the poet of Charlemagne's court, Pertz, ii. p. 400. The papal biographer is modest as to the miracle.

enemies had failed in their object, the disqualifying him by mutilation for the Papacy. A faithful servant rescued him, and carried him to the church of St. Peter. There, no doubt, he found temporary protectors, until the Duke of Spoleto (Winegis), a Frank, marched into Rome to his deliverance, and removed him from the guilty city to Spoleto.

Urgent letters entreated the immediate presence of the Patrician, of Charles the protector of the Papacy, in Rome. But Charles was at a distance, about to engage in quelling an insurrection of the Saxons.^a The Pope condescended, or rather was compelled by his necessities, to accept the summons to appear in person before the Transalpine monarch. Charles was holding his court and camp at Paderborn, one of the newly-erected German bishoprics. The reception of Leo was courteous and friendly, magnificent as far as circumstances might permit. The poet describes the imperial banquet; nor does he fear to shock his more austere readers by describing the Pope and the Emperor as quaffing their rich wines with convivial glee.^b

But at the same time arrived accusations of some unknown and mysterious nature against the Pope; accusations, according to the annalists, made in the name of the Roman people.^c Charles did not decline, but postponed till his arrival in Rome the judicial investigation of these charges; but he continued to treat the Pope with undiminished respect and familiarity.

The return of Leo to Rome is said to have been one long triumph. Throughout Italy he was received with

^a Eginhard, Ann. 799.

^b Angilbert, apud Pertz, ii. 401, describes, as an eye-witness, the meet-

ing of the Pope and the Emperor.

^c "Quæ a populo Romano ei obijciebantur."

the honours of the apostle. The clergy and people of Rome thronged forth to meet him, as well as the military, among whom were bands (scholars) of Franks, of Frisians, and of Saxons, either at Rome for purposes of devotion, or as a foreign body-guard of the Pope.

The journey of Charles to Rome was slow. He went to Rouen, and to Tours, to pay his adorations at the shrine of St. Martin. There his wife, Liutgarda, died, and her funeral caused further delay. He then held a great diet at Mentz; and towards the close of the following year crossed the Alps, and halted at Ravenna. At Nomentana he was met by the Pope with high honours. After he had entered Rome he was received on the steps of St. Peter's by the Pope, the bishops, and the clergy; he passed into the church, the whole assembly joining in the solemn chant of thanksgiving.

But Charles did not appear at Rome as the avowed protector and avenger of the injured Pope against those who had so barbarously violated his sacred person. He assumed the office of judge.^d At a synod held some days after, a long and difficult investigation of the charges made against Leo by his enemies proceeded, without protest from the Pope.^e Paschalis and Campulus were summoned to prove their charges. On their failure, they were condemned to death; a sentence commuted, by the merciful interposition of the Pope, to imprisonment in France. Their other noble partisans

^d The clergy, according to the biographer, refused to judge the Pope, declaring their incompetency.

^e "In quibus vel maximum vel difficillimum erat."—Eginhard, Ann.

Eginhard expressly says, "Hujus factionis fuere principes Paschalis nomenclator et Campulus Sacellarius et multi alii Romanæ urbis habitatores nobiles."—Ibid.

were condemned to decapitation. Yet this exculpation of Leo hardly satisfied the public mind. It was thought necessary that the Pope should openly, in the face of the people, in the sight of God, and holding the holy Gospels in his hands, avouch his own innocence. There was no complaint of the majesty of heaven insulted in his person, no reproof for the indignity offered to St. Peter in his successor; it was a kind of recognition of the tribunal of public opinion. The humiliation had something of the majesty of conscious blamelessness,—“I, Leo, Pontiff of the Holy Roman Church, being subject to no judgement, under no compulsion, of my own free will, in your presence, before God who reads the conscience, and his angels, and the blessed apostle Peter in whose sight we stand, declare myself not guilty of the charges made against me. I have never perpetrated, nor commanded to be perpetrated,^f the wicked deeds of which I have been accused. This I call God to witness, whose judgement we must all undergo; and this I do, bound by no law, nor wishing to impose this custom on my successors, or on my brother bishops, but that I may altogether relieve you from any unjust suspicions against myself.”^g

Dec. 23.

This solemn judgement had hardly passed when Christmas day arrived: the Christmas of the last year in the eighth century of Christ. Charles and all his sumptuous court, the nobles and people of Rome, the whole clergy of Rome, were present at the high services

^f These words positively negative the notion that the crime of which Leo was accused was adultery or unchastity, which some expressions in Alcuin's letters seem to intimate. I cannot help suspecting that the charge

was some simoniacal proceeding (spiritual adultery) by which he had thwarted the ambitious views of Hadrian's relatives.

^g Baronius gives this form as “*ex sacris ritibus Romanæ Ecclesiæ.*”

of the Nativity. The Pope himself chanted the mass, the full assembly were wrapt in profound devotion. At the close the Pope arose, advanced towards Charles, with a splendid crown in his hands, placed it upon his brow, and proclaimed him Cæsar Augustus. "God grant life and victory to the great and pacific Emperor." His words were lost in the acclamations of the soldiery, the people, and the clergy. Charles, with his son Pepin, humbly submitted to the ratification of this important act, and was anointed by the hands of the Pope.

Was this a sudden and unconcerted act of gratitude, a magnificent adulation of the Pope to the unconscious and hardly consenting Emperor? Had Leo deliberately contemplated the possible results of this assumption of authority—of this creation of a successor to the Cæsars over Latin Christendom? In what character did the Pope perform this act—as vicegerent of God on earth, as the successor of St. Peter, or as the representative of the Roman people? What rights did it convey? In what, according to the estimation of the times, consisted the Imperial supremacy? To these questions history returns but vague and doubtful answers. Charlemagne—writes Eginhard the secretary of the Emperor, the one contemporary authority—declared that holy as was the day (the Lord's nativity), if he had known the intention of the Pope he would not have entered the church.^h To treat this speech as mere hypocrisy agrees neither with the character nor the position of Charles; yet the Pope would hardly, even in the lavish excess of his gratitude, have ventured on such a step, if he had

^h Eginhard, in Vit. xx.; but Eginhard adds, "Invidiam tamen suscepti nominis Romanis Imperatoribus super hoc indignantibus, magna tulit patientiâ, vicitque eorum contumaciam magnanimitate."—Vit. Kar., xxviii.

not reason, from his long conferences with the Emperor at Paderborn and his intercourse in Rome, to suppose that it was in accordance at least with the unavowed and latent ambition of Charles. In its own day it was perhaps a more daring and violent measure than it appears in ours. A Barbarian monarch, a Teuton, was declared the successor of the Cæsars. He became the usurper of the rights of the Byzantine emperors, which, though fallen into desuetude, had never been abandoned on their part, or abrogated by any competent authority.¹ The Eastern Cæsars had not been without jealousy of the progress of the Frankish dominion. The later Greek emperors sent repeated but vain remonstrances. It was alleged that the Greek Empire having fallen to a woman, Irene, and that woman detestable as the murderess of her son, in her the Byzantine Empire had come to an end. But the enmity of the Byzantine court to Charlemagne had betrayed itself by acts of hostility. Adelchis, the heir of the Lombard kingdom, that kingdom of which Charlemagne had assumed the

¹ "Imperatores etiam Constantino-politani, Nicephorus, Michael et Leo, ultro amicitiam et societatem ejus expetentes, complures ad eum misere legatos; cum quibus tamen propter susceptum a se Imperatoris nomen et ob hoc quasi qui Imperium eis præripere vellet, valde suspectum, fœdus firmissimum statuit, ut nulla inter partes cujuslibet scandali remaneret occasio. Erat enim semper Romanis et Græcis suspecta Francorum potentia, quia ipsam Romam matrem Imperii tenebat, ubi semper Cæsares et Imperatores soliti erant sedere."—Chron. Moissiac. In the other copy of this Chronicle (apud Bouquet, p. 79), we

read, "Delati quidem sunt ad eum dicentes, quod apud Græcos nomen Imperii cessasset, et femina apud eos nomen Imperii teneret, Hirena nomine, quæ filium suum Imperatorem fraude captum oculos eruit, et nomen sibi imperii usurpavit." Compare, for a curious passage, Annal. Lauresheimenses, sub eodem anno. The chronicle of Salerno says: "Imperator quippe omnimodis non dici possit, nisi qui regnum Romanum præest, hoc est Constantinopolitanum. Reges Galliarum nunc usurparunt sibi tale nomen, nam antiquitus omnimodis sic non vocitati sunt."—c. ii.

title, still held the dignity of Roman Patrician in Constantinople.^k

The significance of this act, the coronation, the subsequent anointing, the recognition by the Roman people, was not merely an accession of vague and indefinite grandeur (which it undoubtedly was), but added to the substantive power of Charlemagne. It was the consolidation of all Western Christendom under one monarchy. By establishing this sovereignty on the basis of the old Roman empire, it could not but gain something of the stability of ancient right.^m It was the voluntary submission of the Barbarians to the title at least of Roman dominion. In Rome Charlemagne affected to be a Roman: he condescended to put off his native Frankish dress, and appeared in the long tunic and chlamys, and with Roman sandals. While the Barbarians were flattered by this their complete incorporation with the old disdainful Roman Society, the Latins, conscious that in the Franks resided the real power, still aimed at maintaining their traditionary superiority in intellectual matters—a superiority which Charlemagne might hope to emulate, not to surpass. The Pope (for Charlemagne swore at the same time to maintain all the power and privileges of the Roman Pontiff) obtained the recognition of a spiritual dominion commensurate with the secular empire of Charlemagne. The Emperor and the Pope were bound in indissoluble

^k "In Constantinopoli itaque in patriciatus ordine atque honore consecutus."—Eginhard, 774.

^m Eginhard, c. 23. But compare Lehuierou, p. 362, who attributes Charlemagne's reluctance to assume the empire, and his apparent depreciation of the importance of the title of

Cæsar, to the dominant Teutonism of his character. Lehuierou espouses the theory that the emperor was only the advocate of the Church of Rome. But this was a purely German theory utterly unknown to Pope Hadrian or Pope Leo, and to the Roman Italians.

alliance; and notwithstanding the occasional outbursts of independence, or even superiority, asserted by Charlemagne himself, he still professed and usually showed the most profound veneration for the Roman spiritual supremacy; and left to his successors and to their subjects an awful sense of subjugation, from which they were not emancipated for ages.

The Imperial title was understood, no doubt, by the senate and people of Rome, to be conferred by themselves, as representing the republic, not by the Pope, of his sole religious authority. Without their assenting acclamations, in their estimation it would not have been valid. The Pope, as one of the people, as his subject therefore, paid adoration to the Emperor.^a

But it is even more difficult to ascertain the rights which the imperial title conveyed in Rome itself, especially in one important particular. Rome became, it is clear, one of the subject cities of Charlemagne's empire. Even if the Pope had ever possessed any actual or asserted magisterial power, the events of the last year had shown that he did not govern Rome. He had no force, even for his personal security, against conspiracy or popular tumult. But the Emperor of Rome was bound to protect the Bishop of Rome: he was the conservator of the peace in this as in all the other cities of his empire, though here, as elsewhere, there was no abolition of the old Roman municipal institutions. The Senate still subsisted, the people called itself the Roman people; the shadow of a republic which had been suffered to survive throughout the Empire, and had

^a "Et summus eundem
Præsul adoravit, sicut mos debitas olim
Principibus fuit antiquis, ac nomine dempto

Patricii, quo dictus erat prius, inde vocari
Augustus meruit pius, Imperii quoque
princeps." *Poeta Saxo, sub. ann. 801.*

occasionally seemed to acquire form, if not substance, still lurked beneath the Teutonic, as in later times beneath the Papal sovereignty. The great undefined, undefinable point was the conflicting right of the Emperor, the clergy, and the people, in the election and ratification of the election to the Popedom; as well as that which was hereafter to be the source of such long and internecine strife, the boundary of the two sovereignties, the temporal and the spiritual. This was the fatal feud which for centuries distracted Latin Christendom.

It was perhaps in its vagueness that chiefly dwelt its majesty and power, both as regards the Pope who bestowed and the Frank who received the Empire. In some unknown, undefined manner, the Empire of the West flowed from the Pope; the successor of St. Peter named, or sanctioned the naming of, the successor of Augustus and of Nero. The enormous power of Charlemagne, as contrasted with that of the Pope, disguised or ennobled the bold fiction, quelled at least all present inquiry, silenced any insolent doubt. If Charlemagne acknowledged the right of the Pope to bestow the Empire by accepting it at his hands, who should presume to question the right of the Pope to define the limits of the Imperial authority thus bestowed and thus received? And Charlemagne's elevation to the Empire invested his protection of the Pope in the more sacred character of a duty belonging to his office, ratified all his grants, which were now those not only of a conqueror^o

^o All writers, even ecclesiastics, call Charlemagne's descent into Italy a conquest.—See epitaph on his Queen Hildegard at Metz.

"Cumque vir armipotens sceptris junxisset
avitis
Cycniferumque Padum, Romuleumque Ti-
brim."
Pauli Gesta Episc. Met., Pertz, I. 266.

but of a successor to all the rights of the Cæsars. On one side the Teuton became a Roman, the King of the Franks was merged in the Western Emperor; on the other, Rome created the sovereign of the West, the sovereign of Latin Christendom.

BOOK V.

CONTEMPORARY CHRONOLOGY.

POPES.		PATRIARCHS OF CONSTANTINOPLE.		EMPERORS OF THE WEST.		EMPERORS OF THE EAST.		
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	
795 Leo III.	816	784 Tarasius	806	800 Charlemagne	814	797 Irene, deposed	802	
816 Stephen III.	817	806 Nicephorus, deposed	815	814 Louis the Pious	840	802 Nicephorus	811	
817 Paschal I.	824	815 Theodotus Cassiteras	821	817 Lothair I.	855	811 Staurasius, deposed	811	
824 Eugentius II.	827	821 Antonius	832			811 Michael Rhangabes	818	
827 Valentinus		832 John VII., expelled	842	<i>Kings of Germany.</i>	<i>Kings of France.</i>	813 Leo the Armenian, murdered	820	
827 Gregory IV.	844	842 Methodius	846	840 Louis the German	875	820 Michael the Stammerer	829	
844 Sergius II.	847	846 Ignatius, deposed	857			829 Theophilus	848	
847 Leo IV.	855			850 Louis II.	875	842 Michael the Drunkard	867	
855 Benedict III.	858	857 Photius, deposed	867			867 Basil the Macedonian	886	
855 (Anastasius, anti-pope)		867 Ignatius, restored	877	875 Charles the Bald				
858 Nicolas I.	867	877 Photius, restored	886	876 Louis II.		876 Louis the Stammerer	879	
867 Hadrian II.	878	Again deposed	886			879 Louis III. and Carloman	884	
872 John VIII.	882	886 Stephen	898	884 Charles the Fat	887	888 Eudes		
882 Marinus I.	884	893 Antonius II.	895	889 Arnulf, emperor in Germany			886 Leo the Philosopher	911
884 Hadrian III.	885	895 Nicolas, deposed	906					
885 Stephen V.	891			<i>German Emperors.</i>	<i>Kings of Italy.</i>	898 Charles the Simple	923	
881 Formosus	896			900 Louis III.	912			
896 Roniface II.								
896 Stephen VI.	897			899 Louis	904			
897 Romanus				904 Berengar, restored	923			
897 Theodore II.								
898 John IX.	900							
900 Benedict IV.	903							
903 Leo V.	903							
908 Christopher	904							

BOOK V.



CHAPTER I.

Charlemagne.

THE empire of Charlemagne was almost commensurate with Latin Christendom; ^a England was the only large territory, which acknowledged the ecclesiastical supremacy of Rome, not in subjection to the Empire. Two powers held sway in Latin Christendom, the Emperor and the Pope: of these incomparably the greatest at this time was the Emperor. Charlemagne, with the appellation, assumed the full sovereignty of the Cæsars, united with the commanding vigour of a great Teutonic conqueror. Beyond the Alps he was a German sovereign, assembling in his Diet the whole nobility of the Romanised Teutonic nations, and bringing the still barbarous races by force under his yoke. In Italy he was a northern conqueror, though the ally of the Pope and of Rome. But he was likewise an Emperor attempting to organise his vast dominions with the comprehensive policy of Roman administration, though not without respect for Teutonic freedom. He was the sole legislator in ecclesiastical as well as civil affairs; the Carolinian institutions embrace the Church as well as

^a Compare limits of the empire of Charles—Eginhard, Vit. Car. xv. He includes within it the whole of Italy, from Aosta to Lower Calabria.

the State; his Council at Frankfort dictates to the West, in despite of Papal remonstrances, on the great subject of image-worship. For centuries no monarch had stood so high, so alone, so unapproachable as Charlemagne. He ruled—ruled absolutely—by that strongest absolutism, the overawed or spontaneously consentient, cordially obedient, co-operative will of all other powers. He ruled from the Baltic to the Ebro, from the British Channel to the duchy of Benevento, even to the Straits of Messina. In personal dignity, who, it must not be said rivalled, approximated in the least degree, to Charlemagne? He had added, by his personal prowess in war, and this in a warlike age, by his unwearied activity, and by what success would glorify as military skill, almost all Germany, Spain to the Ebro, the kingdom of the Lombards, to the realm of the Franks and to Christendom. Huns, Avars, Slavians, tribes of unknown name and descent, had been repelled or subdued. His one defeat, that of Roncesvalles, is only great in recent poetry.^b Every rebel, the independent German princes, like Tassilo of Bavaria, had been crushed; the obstinate Saxon, pursued to the court of the Danish King, at last became a subject and a Christian. On the Byzantine throne had sat an iconoclastic heretic, a boy, and a woman a murderess. Hadrian, during his long pontificate, had worn the Papal tiara with majesty. His successor, maimed and maltreated, had fallen to implore protection before the throne of Charlemagne; he had been obliged to clear himself of enormous crimes, to purge himself by

^b See in H. Martin, *Histoire de France*, ii. p. 373, the very curious and spirited song (from a French historic periodical), called the Chant d'Altabiçar, said to have been preserved from the ninth or tenth century among the Pyrenean mountaineers.

oath before, what seemed to all, the superior tribunal of the Emperor. The gift of the Imperial crown had been the flattering homage of a grateful subject, somewhat loftily and disdainfully received; the donations of Charlemagne to the Pope were the prodigal but spontaneous alms of a religious King to the Church which he condescended to protect—free grants, or the recognition of grants from his pious ancestors.

Nor was it on signal occasions only that Charlemagne interfered in the affairs of the Church. His all comprehending, all pervading, all compelling administration was equally and constantly felt by his ecclesiastical as by his civil subjects. The royal commissioners inspected the conduct, reported on the lives, fixed and defined the duties, settled the tenure of property and its obligations, determined and apportioned the revenues of the religious as well as of the temporal hierarchy. The formularies of the Empire are the legal and authorised rules to bishops and abbots as to nobles and knights. The ecclesiastical unity is but a subordinate branch of the temporal unity. The State, the Empire, not the Church, is during the reign of Charlemagne a supreme unresisted autocracy. Later romance has fallen below, rather than heightened, the full reality of his power and authority.

But it was only during his long indeed but transitory reign. For the power of Charlemagne was His power personal. altogether personal, and therefore unending: it belonged to the man, to the conqueror, to the legislator, to the patron of letters and art, to Charles the Great. At his death the Empire inevitably fell to pieces, only to be re-united occasionally and partially by some one great successor like Otho I., or some great house like that of Swabia. It was the first and last successful attempt to consolidate, under one vast empire,

the Teutonic and Roman races, the nations of pure German origin and those whose languages showed the predominance of the Roman descent. It had its inherent elements of anarchy and of weakness in the first principles of the Teutonic character, the independence of the separate races, the vague notions of succession, which fluctuated between elective and hereditary sovereignty with the evils of both; the Empire transmitted into feeble hands by inheritance, or elections contested by one-half the Empire; above all, in the ages immediately following Charlemagne, the separation of the Empire into independent kingdoms, which became the appanages of several sons, in general the most deadly enemies to each other. It was no longer, it could not be, a single realm united by one wide-embracing administration, but a system of hostile and conflicting states, of which the boundaries, the powers, the wealth, the resources, were in incessant change and vicissitude.

The Papacy must await its time, a time almost certain to arrive. The Papacy, too, had its own source of weakness, the want of a settled and ^{The Papacy.} authoritative elective body. It had its periods of anarchy, of menaced—it might seem, at the close of the tenth century, inevitable—dissolution. But it depended not on the sudden and accidental rise of great men to its throne. It knew no minorities, no divisions or subdivisions of its power between heirs of coequal and therefore conflicting rights. It was a succession of mature men; and the interests of the higher ranks of its subjects, of the hierarchy, even of the great ecclesiastical potentates throughout the West, were so bound up with his own, that the Pope had not to strive against sovereigns as powerful as himself. Till the times of the anti-popes the papal power, though often obscured, especially in

Rome itself, appeared to the world as one and indivisible. Its action was almost uniform; at least it had all the steadiness and inflexibility of a despotism—a despotism, if not of force, of influence, of sympathy, and of cordial concurrence among all its multifarious agencies throughout the world to its aggrandisement.

But the empire of Charlemagne, as being the great epoch in the annals of Latin Christendom, demands more full consideration. Out of his universal Empire in the West and out of his Institutes rose, to a great degree, the universal empire of the Church and the whole mediæval polity; feudalism itself. Western Europe became, as it were, one through his conquests, which gathered within its frontiers all the races of Teutonic origin (except the formidable Northmen, or Normans, who, after endangering its existence, or at least menacing the re-barbarising of many of its kingdoms, were to be the founders of kingdoms within its pale), and those conquests even encroached on some tribes of Slavian descent. It became a world within the world; on more than one side bordered by Mohammedanism, on one by the hardly less foreign Byzantine Empire. The history, therefore, of Latin Christianity must survey the character of the founder of this Empire, the extent of his dominions, his civil as well as his ecclesiastical institutes. As yet we have only traced him in his Italian conquests, as the ally and protector of the Popes. He must be seen as the sovereign and law-giver of Transalpine as well as of Cisalpine Europe.^c

Karl, according to his German appellation, was the model of a Teutonic chieftain, in his gigantic stature, enormous strength, and indefatigable activity; temperate

^c Eginhard, Vit. Car. sub fine.

in diet, and superior to the barbarous vice of drunkenness. Hunting and war were his chief occupations; and his wars were carried on with all the ferocity of encountering savage tribes. But he was likewise a Roman Emperor, not only in his vast and organising policy, he had that one vice of the old Roman civilisation which the Merovingian kings had indulged, though not perhaps with more unbounded lawlessness. The religious Emperor, in one respect, troubled not himself with the restraints of religion. The humble or grateful Church beheld meekly, and almost without remonstrance, the irregularity of domestic life, which not merely indulged in free licence, but treated the sacred rite of marriage as a covenant dissoluble at his pleasure. Once we have heard, and but once, the Church raise its authoritative, its comminatory voice, and that not to forbid the King of the Franks from wedding a second wife while his first was alive, but from marrying a Lombard princess. One pious ecclesiastic alone in his dominions, he a relative, ventured to protest aloud. Charles repudiated his first wife to marry the daughter of Desiderius; and after a year repudiated her to marry Hildegard, a Swabian lady. By Hildegard he had six children. On her death he married Fastrada, who bore him two; a nameless concubine another. On Fastrada's death he married Liutgardis, a German, who died without issue. On her decease he was content with four concubines.^d A darker suspicion, arising out of the loose character of his daughters, none of whom he allowed to marry, but carried them about with him to the camp as well as the

^d The reading is doubtful. Bouquet has *quatuor*. Pertz has followed a MS. which gives three.

court, has been insinuated, but without the least warrant from history. Under the same double character of the Teutonic and the Roman Emperor, Charlemagne introduced Roman arts and civilisation into the remoter parts of his dominions. Aix-la-Chapelle, his capital, became, in buildings and in the marble and mosaic decorations of his palace, a Roman city, in which Karl sat in the midst of his Teutonic Diet. The patron of Latin letters, the friend of Alcuin, encouraged the compilation of a grammar in the language of his Teutonic subjects. The hero of the Saxon poet's Latin hexameter panegyric collected the old bardic lays of Germany. Even Charlemagne's fierce wars bore Christianity and civilisation in their train.

The Saxon wars of Charlemagne, which added almost the whole of Germany to his dominions, were avowedly religious wars. If Boniface was the Christian, Charlemagne was the Mohammedan, Apostle of the Gospel. The declared object of his invasions, according to his biographer, was the extinction of heathenism;^e subjection to the Christian faith or extermination.^f Baptism was the sign of subjugation and fealty: the Saxons accepted or threw it off according as they were in a state of submission or of revolt. These wars were inevitable; they were but the continuance of the great strife waged for centuries from the barbarous North and East, against the civilised South and West; only that the Roman and Christian popula-

^e Some of the heathen Frisian temples appear to have contained much wealth. St. Luidger was sent out to destroy some. His followers brought back a considerable treasure, which they found in the temples. Charlemagne took two-thirds, and gave or

to the Church.—Vit. S. Luidg. apud Pertz, ii. p. 408.

^f "Eo usque perseveravit, dum aut victi Christianæ religioni subicerentur aut omnino tollerentur."—Eginhard, sub ann. 775.

tion, now invigorated by the large infusion of Teutonic blood, instead of awaiting aggression, had become the aggressor. The tide of conquest was rolling back; the subjects of the Western kingdoms, of the Western Empire, instead of waiting to see their homes overrun by hordes of fierce invaders, now boldly marched into the heart of their enemies' country, penetrated the forests, crossed the morasses, and planted their feudal courts of justice, their churches, and their monasteries in the most remote and savage regions, up to the Elbe and the shores of the Baltic.

The Saxon race now occupied the whole North of Germany, from the Baltic along the whole Eastern frontier of the Frankish kingdom. The Saxons.

The interior of the land was yet an unknown world, both as to extent and population. Vast forests, in which it was said that squirrels might range for leagues without dropping to the ground,^s broken only by wide heaths, sandy moors, and swamps, were peopled by swarms which still were thought inexhaustible. These countless hosts, which seemed but the first wave of a yet undiminished flood, might still precipitate themselves or be precipitated by the impulse of nations from the further North or East, on the old Roman empire and the advanced settlements beyond the Rhine. The Saxons were divided into three leading tribes, the Ostphalians, the Westphalians, and the Angarians; but each clan or village maintained its independence, waged war, or made peace. Each clan, according to old Teutonic usage, consisted of nobles, freemen, and slaves; but at times the whole nation met in a great armed convention. A deadly hatred had grown up between

^s Vit. S. Lebuini.

the Franks and Saxons, inevitable between two warlike and restless races, separated by a doubtful and unmarked border, on vast level plains, with no natural boundary, neither dense forests, nor a chain of mountains, nor any large river or lake.^h The Saxons were not likely, when an opportunity of plunder or even of daring adventure might offer itself, to respect the frontier of their more civilised neighbours; or the Franks to abstain from advancing their own limits wherever the land offered any advantage for a military, commercial, or even religious outpost. But it was not merely this casual hostility of two adventurous and unquiet people, encountering on a long and doubtful border—the Saxons scorned and detested the Romanised Franks, the Franks held the Saxons to be barbarians and heathens. The Saxons no doubt saw in the earlier and peaceful Christian missionaries the agents of Frankish as well as of Christian conquest. Even where their own religion hung so loosely on their minds, they could not but be suspicious of foreigners who began by undermining their national faith, and might end in endangering the national independence. They beheld with impatience and jealousy the churches and monasteries, which gradually rose near to, upon, and within their frontier; though probably the connexion of the missionaries with the Romanised Franks, rather than the religion itself, which otherwise they might have admitted with the usual indifference of barbarians, principally excited their animosity.

The first expedition of Charlemagne against the

^h "Suberant et causæ, quæ quotidie pacem conturbare poterant, termini videlicet nostri et illorum pæne ubique in plano contigui, præter pauca loca in quibus, vel silvæ majores, vel montium juga interjecta utrorumque agros certo limite disterminant, et rapinæ et incendia vicissim fieri non cessabant." — Eginhard, Vit. Carol. cvii.

Saxons before his Lombard conquest arose out of religion. Among the English missionaries who, First Saxon invasion. A.D. 772. no doubt from speaking a kindred language, were so successful among the Teutonic tribes, was St. Lebuin, a man of the most intrepid zeal. Though the oratory which he had built on the Saxon bank of the Ysell had been burned by the Saxons, he determined to confront the whole assembled nation in their great diet on the Weser. Charles was holding at the same time his Field of May at Worms: this Saxon diet might be a great national council to watch or obtain intelligence of his proceedings.ⁱ The Saxons were in the act of solemn worship and sacrifice, when Lebuin stood up in the midst, proclaimed himself the messenger of the one true God, the Creator of heaven and earth, and denounced the folly and impiety of their idolatries.^k He urged them to repentance, to belief, to baptism, and promised as their reward temporal and eternal peace. So far the Saxons seemed to have listened with decent or awe-struck reverence; but when Lebuin ceased to speak in this more peaceful tone, and declared that, if they refused to obey, God would send against them a mighty and unconquerable King who would punish their contumacy, lay waste their land with fire and sword, and make slaves of their wives and children, the proud barbarians broke out into the utmost fury; they threatened the dauntless missionary with stakes and stones: his life was saved only by the intervention of an aged chieftain. The old man insisted on the sanctity which belonged to all ambassadors, above all the ambassadors of a great God.

ⁱ May, however, was probably the usual month for the German national assemblies.

^k Vit. S. Lebuini, apud Pertz.

The acts and language of Charles showed that he warred at once against the religion and the freedom of ancient Germany. Assembling his army at ^{The Irminsul.} Worms, he crossed the Rhine, and marched upon the Eresburg, a strong fortress near the Drimel.^m Having taken this, he advanced to a kind of religious capital, either of the whole Saxon nation or at least of the more considerable tribes. It was situated near the source of the Lippe,ⁿ and contained the celebrated idol, the Irmin-Saule.^o

This may have been simply the great pillar, the trunk of a gigantic tree, consecrated by immemorial reverence, or the name may imply the war-god, or the parental-god, or demi-god of the race. This notion suits better with the simpler description of the idol in the older writers. This rude and perhaps, therefore, not less imposing idol, has been exalted into a great symbolic image, either of the national deity or of the nation, arrayed in fanciful attributes, which seem to belong to a later mythology;^p and German patriotism has delighted to recognise in this image consecrated by the Teutonic worship, that of the great Teutonic hero, Herman, the conqueror of Varus. Throughout the neighbourhood the names and places are said to bear

^m Supposed Stadbergen, in the bishopric of Paderborn.

ⁿ Eckhart (Pertz, p. 151) says distinctly that it was some way beyond the Eresburg.

^o Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 81 *et seq.*, 208 *et seq.*, "Irmânsaul, colossus, altissima columna." He quotes Rudolf of Fulda: "Truncum quoque ligni non parvæ magnitudinis in altum erectum sub divo colebant, patriâ eum linguâ Irminsul appei-

lantes, quod Latine dicitur universalis columna, quasi sustinens omnia." Yet Irmin seems to have been the name of a national god or demi-god.

^p He was clothed in armour; his feet rested on a field of flowers; in his right hand he held a banner with a rose in the centre, in his left a balance; on his buckler was a lion commanding other animals.—*Spelman*, in *Irminsul*.

frequent and manifest allusion to this great victory over Rome,—the field of victory, the stream of blood, the stream of the bones. Not far off is the field of Rome, the mountain of Arminius, the forest of Varus.⁴

But whether rude and shapeless trunk, or symbolic image of the Saxon god, or the statue of the Teutonic hero, the Irmin-Saule fell by the remorseless hands of the Christian Frank.⁵

The war of the Franks and the Saxons lasted for thirty-three years;⁶ it had all the horrors of an internecine strife between two hordes of barbarians. The armies of Charles were almost always masters of the field; but no sooner were they withdrawn than the indefatigable Saxons rose again, burst through the encroaching limits of the Empire, and often reached its more peaceful settlements. Hardly more than two years after the capture of Eresburg, and of their more sacred place, the site of the Irmin-Saule, they revenged the destruction of their great idol by burning, or attempting to burn, the church in Fritzlar, Aug. 1, 775. founded by St. Boniface. It was said to have been saved by the miraculous appearance of two angels in white garments; possibly two of the younger ecclesiastics.⁷ In their inroads they respected neither age,

⁴ The neighbourhood of Dethmold abounds with these sacred reminiscences. At the foot of the Teutberg is Wintfield, the field of victory; the Rodenbach, the stream of blood; and the Knochenbach, where the bones of the followers of Varus were found. Feldrom, the field of the Romans, is at no great distance. Rather farther off, near Pymont, Hermansberg, the mountain of Arminius and on the

banks of the Weser, Varenholz, the wood of Varus.—Stepfer., art. Arminius, in Biograph. Universelle.

⁵ Luden is indignant at the destruction of this monument of German freedom by the renegade Charlemagne.—Geschichte, iv. p. 234.

⁶ From 772 to 805.

⁷ Ann. Franc., A.D. 774. Bouquet, p. 19.

nor sex, nor order, nor sacred edifice; all was wrapped in one blaze of fire, in one deluge of blood. But their especial fury was directed against the monasteries and churches. Widekind, the hero of these earlier exploits, was no less deadly an enemy of Christianity than of the Franks. He began his career by destroying all the Christian settlements in Friesland, and restoring the whole land to heathenism.¹¹

The historians of Charlemagne denounce the perfidy of the Saxons to the most solemn engagements; but in fact there was no supreme government which had the power or could be answerable for the fulfilment of treaties. Each village had its chieftain and its freemen, independent of the rest; the tribes whose land Charles occupied, or whose forests he menaced, submitted to the yoke, but those beyond them held themselves in no way bound by such treaties.¹²

After a few years, at a great Diet at Paderborn, the whole nation seemed to obey the summons of Charles to acknowledge him as their liege lord. Multitudes were baptized; and all the more considerable tribes gave hostages for their peaceful conduct.

Yet but two years after, on the news of Charlemagne's defeat at Rorcesvalles, they appeared again in arms, with the indefatigable Widekind at

¹¹ The Saxon Campaigns, according to Boehmer, *Regesta*: 1. Taking of Eresburg, A.D. 772. 2. Charlemagne crosses the Weser, Aug. 776. 3. To the Lippe, 776. 4. Diet of Paderborn, 777. 5. Revolt of Saxons, who waste as far as the Moselle, 778. 6. Advance to the Weser, 779. 7. To the Elbe, 780. 8. Diet at Lippe Brunnen. 9. Capitulation of the Saxons, 782. 10. Great victory at Thietmar, 783.

11. Readvance to the Elbe. 12. Further campaign, 784. 13. Widekind surrenders, and is baptised, 785. There were, however, later insurrections, and later progresses of Charlemagne through the subjugated land.

* "Quæ nec rege fuit saltem sociata sub uno
Ut se militiæ pariter defenderet usu,
Sed vartis divisa modis plebs omnis
habebat
Quot pagos tot pæne duces."
Poeta Saxo., ad ann. 772, v. 24.

their head: he alone had kept aloof from the Diet at Paderborn, having taken refuge, it was said, with the King of Denmark, no doubt beyond the Elbe. Notwithstanding their baptism and the hostages, they reached the Rhine, ravaging as they went, threatened Cologne from Deutz, and were only prevented from invading France by the difficulty of crossing the river; along its right bank they burned and slaughtered from Cologne to Coblenz. This sudden outburst was followed by the most formidable revolt, put down by Charles's victories at Dethmold and near the river Hase. Throughout the war Charlemagne endeavoured to subdue the tribes as he went on by the terror of his arms; and terrible indeed were those arms! On one occasion, at Verden-on-the-Aller, he massacred 4000 brave warriors who had surrendered, in cold blood. Nor did he trust to the humanising influence of Christianity alone, but to the diffusion of Roman manners, and what might appear Roman luxury. The more submissive chieftains he tried to attach to his person by honours and by presents. The poor Saxons first became acquainted with the produce of wealthy Gaul. To some he gave farms, whence they were tempted and enabled to purchase splendid dresses, learned the use of money, the pleasures of wine.^y

His frontier gradually advanced. In his first expedition he had crossed the Drimel and the Lippe, and reached the Weser; but twelve years of alternate victory and revolt had passed before he arrived at the Elbe. In four years more, during which Widekind himself submitted to baptism, although the unquiet people still

^y "Prædia præstiterat cum rex compluribus illis
Ex quibus acciperent pretiosæ tegmina vestis,
Argentumque, dulcisque fluentia Lyæi."

renewed their revolt, he reached the sea, the limit of the Saxon territory.²

The policy of Charlemagne in the establishment of Christianity in the remote parts of Germany was perhaps wisely incongruous. Though wars of religion, they were waged entirely by the secular arm. He encouraged no martial prelate to appear at the head of his vassals, or to join in the work of bloodshed. On no point are his edicts more strong, more frequent, or more precise, than in prohibiting the clergy from bearing arms, or joining any military expedition.³ They followed in the wake of war, but did not mingle in it. A few priests only remained with the camp to perform divine service, and to offer ministrations to the soldiers. The religion, though forced upon the conquered, though baptism was the only security (a precarious security, as it often proved) which the conqueror would accept for the submission of the vanquished, yet this was part of the treaty of peace, and as a pledge of peace was fitly performed by the ministers of peace. The conquest was complete, the carnage over, before the priests were summoned to their office to baptise the multitudes, who submitted to it as the chance of war, as they would to the surrender of property or of personal freedom. For this baptism no preparation was deemed

* "Usque ad oceanum trans omnes paludes et in via loca transitum est."—Ann. Tiliac. sub ann.

† "Hortatu omnium fidelium nostrorum et maxime episcoporum et reliquorum sacerdotum consultu, servis Dei per omnia omnibus armaturam portare vel pugnare, aut in exercitum et in hostem pergere, omnino prohibemus, nisi illi tantummodo qui

propter divinum ministerium."—Caroli M. Capit. General. A.D. 769. Carloman, A.D. 742, Pepin, 744, had made similar enactments; but it appears that the restraint was unwelcome to some of the more warlike of the order. Charlemagne was supposed to detract from their dignity by prohibiting them from bearing arms.

necessary; the barbarians assented by thousands to the creed, and were immediately immersed or sprinkled with the regenerating waters. The clergy on the other hand were exposed to the fury of the insurgent people on every revolt: to hew down the crosses was the first sign that the Saxons renounced allegiance, and baptism was, according to their notion, cancelled by the renunciation of allegiance.

The subjugation of the land appeared complete before Charlemagne founded successively his great religious colonies, the eight bishoprics of Foundations of bishoprics and monasteries. Minden, Seligenstadt, Verden, Bremen,^b Munster, Hildesheim, Osnaburg, and Paderborn. These, with many richly-endowed monasteries, like Herzfeld, became the separate centres from which Christianity and civilisation spread in expanding circles. But though these were military as well as religious settlements, the ecclesiastics were the only foreigners. The more faithful and trustworthy Saxon chieftains, who gave the security of seemingly sincere conversion to Christianity, were raised into Counts; thus the profession of Christianity was the sole test of fealty. The Saxon remained a conquered, but in some respects an independent nation; it was ruled by a feudal nobility and a feudal hierarchy. The Saxons paid no tribute to the empire: Charlemagne was content with their payment of tithes to the clergy,—a part of his ecclesiastical system, which was extended throughout his Transalpine dominions. Yet even after this period another great general insurrection broke out while Charles was engaged in a war with the Avars; the churches were destroyed, dreadful ravages committed. The revolt

^b Bremen, founded July 14, 787.

arose partly from the severe avarice with which the clergy exacted their tithes, and the impatience of the rude Germans at this unusual taxation. It was not till ten thousand men had been transplanted from the banks of the Elbe into France that the contest came to an end. The gratitude of the Saxon poet, who wrote under the Emperor Arnulf, for the conversion of his ancestors to Christianity, dwells but slightly on the sanguinary means used for their conversion, and their obstinate resistance to his persuasive sword. On the day of judgement, when the Apostles render an account of the nations which they have converted, when Charlemagne is followed into heaven by the hosts of his Saxon proselytes, the poet expresses his humble hope that he may be admitted in the train.^c

Charlemagne, in Christian history, commands a more important station even than for his subjugation of Germany to the Gospel, on account of his complete organisation, if not foundation, of the high feudal hierarchy in great part of Europe. Throughout the Western Empire was, it may be said, constitutionally established this double aristocracy, ecclesiastical and civil. Everywhere the higher clergy and the nobles, and so downwards through the different gradations of society, were of the same rank, liable to many of the same duties, of equal, in some cases of co-ordinate, authority. Each district had its Bishop and its Count; the dioceses and counties were mostly of the same extent. They held for some purposes common courts, for others had separate jurisdiction, but of co-equal power.

At the summit of each social pyramid, which rose by

^c "Tum Carolum gaudens Saxonum turba sequatur,
illi perpetuæ gloria lætitiæ;
O utinam vel cunctorum sequar ultimus horum" —v. 685

the same steps from the common base, the vast servile class, which each ruled with the right of master and possessor, or that of serfs attached to the soil, which were gradually succeeding to the baser and more wretched slavery of the Roman Empire,^d stood the Sovrans, the Emperor, and the Pope. So at least it was in later times. At present Charlemagne stood alone on his unapproachable height. As monarch of the Franks, as King of Italy, still more as Emperor of the West, he was supreme, the Pope his humble grateful subject. Charlemagne, with the title, assumed the imperial power of a Theodosius or a Justinian. His legislation embraces ecclesiastical as well as civil affairs. In the general assembly, of which, with the nobles, they were constituent parts, the assent of the bishops may be expressed or implied; but the laws which fix the obligations, the revenues, even the duties of the clergy, are issued in the name of the Emperor; they are monarchical and imperial, not papal or synodical canons. Already, indeed, the principles on which the loftier pretensions of the Church were hereafter to be grounded, had crept imperceptibly in under the specious form of religious ceremonies. The very title to the Frankish monarchy, the Empire itself, had to the popular view something of a papal gift. The anointing of the Kings of France had become almost necessary for the full popular recognition of the royal title.^e The part taken by the Pope in the offer of the Empire to Charlemagne,

^d On the slow and gradual transition from slavery to serfdom and villeinage, see Mr. Hallam's supplemental note 79, and the remarkable quotation from M. Guerard.

^e The Old Testament, which had suggested and sanctioned this ceremony,

had become of equal authority with the New. The head of the Church was not merely the successor of the chief apostle. He was the high priest of the old Law, Samuel or Joas as well as St. Peter.

his coronation by the hands of the Pope in the same manner, gave a vague notion, a notion to be matured by time, that it was a Papal grant. He who could bestow could withhold; and, as it was afterwards maintained, he who could elevate could degrade; he who could crown could discrown the Emperor.

But over the Transalpine clergy, Charlemagne had not only the general authority of a Teutonic monarch and a Roman Emperor, he had likewise the same feudal sovereignty, founded on the same principles, which he had over the secular nobility.

Authority of Charlemagne. Their estates were held on the same tenure; they had been invested in them, especially in Germany, according to the old Teutonic law of conquest. Every conquered territory, or a portion of it, became the possession of the conquerors; it was a vast farm, granted out in lots, on certain conditions; the king reserved certain portions as the royal domain, others were granted to the warriors (the leudes), under the title first of allodes, which gradually became benefices.^f But bishoprics and abbacies were originally, or became, in the strictest sense benefices. The great ecclesiastics took the same oath with other vassals on a change of sovereign. They were bound, bishops, abbots and abbesses, to appear at the Herr-bann of the sovereign. Charlemagne submits them without distinction to the

^f French learning, especially that of M. Guizot, of M. Lehuierou, and of the authors of the prefaces to the valuable volumes of the 'Documents Inédits,' has exhausted every subject relating to the national and social institutions of the prefeudal and feudal times; the ranks and orders of men; the growth of the cities; their guilds and privileges; the particular tenure and obligations of land. Mr. Hallam has diligently watched, and in his supplemental notes summed up with his characteristic strong English sense and fairness, the results of all these vast and voluminous inquiries; not only those of France, but those of Belgium, England, Italy, Germany.

visitation of his officers, who are to make inquest as to their due performance of their duties as beneficiaries, the maintenance not merely of the secular buildings, but also of the churches, and the due solemnisation of the divine offices.^g The men of the church were bound to obey the summons to military service, as duly as any other liegemen, only that they marched under a lay captain. The same number were allowed to stay at home to cultivate the land. The great prelates, even in the days of Charlemagne, resisted the laws which prohibited their appearing in war at the head of their own troops, as lowering their dignity, and depriving the Church of some of its honours.^h Bishops and abbots, in return for the oath of protection from the sovereign, took an oath of fealty as counsellors and as aids to the sovereign; but the great proof of this ecclesiastical vassalage is that they were amenable to the law of treason, were deposed as guilty of violating their allegiance.ⁱ

^g "Volumus atque jubemus ut missi nostri per singulos pagos prævidere studeant omnia beneficia quæ nostri et aliorum homines habere videntur, quomodo restaurata sint post annuntiationem nostram sive destructa. Primum de ecclesiis, quomodo structæ aut destructæ sint in tectis, in maceriis, sive parietibus, sive in pavimentis, necnon in picturâ, etiam in luminariis, sive officiis. Similiter et alia beneficia, casas cum omnibus appendiciis eorum." — K. Magn. Cap. Aquense, A.D. 807; Lehuero, p. 517.

^h "Quia instigante antiquo hoste audivimus quosdam nos suspectos habere propterea quod concessimus episcopis et sacerdotibus ac reliquis Dei servis ut in hostes . . . non irent

. . . nec agitatores sanguinum fierent quod honores sacerdotum et res ecclesiarum auferre vel minuere voluissemus." — Cap. Incert. Ann.; Lehuero, 520.

ⁱ "Promitto et perdono vobis . . defensionem, quantum potero, adjuvante Domino, exhibebo . . ut vos mihi secundum Deum et secundum sæculum sic fideles adjutores et consilio et auxilio sitis sicut vestri antecessores boni meis melioribus prædecessoribus extiterunt." — Promiss. Dom. Karlomanni regis, A.D. 882; Lehuero, p. 519. Ebo, Archbishop of Rheims, was deposed as traitor to Louis the Debonnaire; Tertoldus, Bishop of Bayeux, was accused of treason against Charles the Bald. — Bouquet.

Charlemagne himself was no less prodigal than weaker kings of immunities and grants of property to churches and monasteries. With his queen Hildegard he endows the church of St. Martin, in Tours, with lands in Italy. His grants to St. Denys, to Lorch, to Fulda, to Prum, more particularly to Herzfeld, and many Italian abbeys, appear among the acts of his reign.*

Nor were these estates always obtained from the pious generosity of the king or the nobles. The stewards of the poor were sometimes the spoilers of the poor. Even under Charlemagne there are complaints against the usurpation of property by bishops and abbots, as against counts and laymen. They compelled the poor free man to sell his property, or forced him to serve in the army, and that on permanent or continual duty, and so to leave his land either without owner, with all the chances that he might not return, or to commit it to the custody of those who remained at home in quiet and seized every opportunity of entering into possession.^m No Naboth's vineyard escaped their watchful avarice.

* See the Regesta in Boehmer, *passim*. Lehucrou (p. 539) gives an instance of the enormous possessions of some of the monasteries: they were larger in the north than in the south of France (compare Thierry, *Temps Mérovingiens*). The abbey of S. Wandrille, or Fontenelle, according to its chartulary, owned, less than 150 years after its foundation (A.D. 650-788), 3974 manses (the manse contained 12 jugera, acres), besides mills and other property. Compare the lands heaped on churches and monasteries by the Merovingians, p. 221.

^m "Quod pauperes se reclamant expoliatos esse de eorum proprietate;

et hoc æqualiter supra episcopos et abbates et eorum advocatos et supra comites et eorum centenarios. . . . Dicunt etiam quod quicumque proprium suum episcopo, abbati, comiti aut judici . . . dare noluerit, occasiones quærunt super illum pauperem, quomodo eum condemnare possint, et illum semper in hostem faciant ira usque dum pauper factus, volens nolens suum proprium aut tradat aut vendat; alii vero qui traditum habent, absque ullius inquietudine domi resideant."—Kar. M. Capit. de Exped. Exercit., A.D. 811. Compare Capit. Longobard. ap. Pertz, iii. p. 192, and Lehucrou, p. 311.

In their fiefs the bishop or abbot exercised all the rights of a feudal chieftain. At first, like all seignorial privileges, their administration was limited, and with appeal to a higher court, or in the last resort, to the king. Gradually, sometimes by silent usurpation, sometimes by actual grant, they acquired power over all causes and all persons. The right of appeal, if it existed, was difficult to exercise, was curtailed, or fell into desuetude.ⁿ

Thus the hierarchy, now a feudal institution, parallel to and co-ordinate with the temporal feudal aristocracy, aspired to enjoy, and actually before long did enjoy, the dignity, the wealth, the power, of suzerain lords. Bishops and abbots had the independence and privileges of inalienable fiefs; and at the same time began either sullenly to contest, or haughtily to refuse, those payments or acknowledgments of vassalage, which sometimes weighed heavily on other lands. During the reign of Charlemagne this theory of spiritual immunity slumbered, or rather had not quickened into life. It was boldly (so rapid was its growth) announced in the strife with his son, Louis the Pious. It was then asserted by the hierarchy (become king-makers and king-deposers) that all property given to the Church, to the poor, and to the servants of God, or rather to the saints, to God himself (such were the specious phrases) was given absolutely, irrevocably, with no reserve. The king might have power over knight's fees, over those of the Church he had none whatever. Such

ⁿ Compare the luminous discussion of Lehuierou, p. 243, *et seq.* The right of basse justice was inseparable from property. The bishop or abbot was head of the family; all were in

his mundium. He afterwards acquired *moyenne*, finally *haute justice*. In the cities he became chief **magistrate** by another process.

claims were impious, sacrilegious, and implied forfeiture of eternal life. The clergy and their estates belonged to another realm, to another commonwealth; they were entirely, absolutely independent of the civil power. The clergy belonged to the Herr-bann of Christ, and of Christ alone.^o

These estates, however, thus sooner or later held by feudal tenure, and liable to feudal service, were the aristocratic possessions of the ecclesiastical aristocracy; on the whole body of the clergy Charlemagne bestowed their even more vast dowry—the legal claim to tithes.^p Already, under the Merovingians, the clergy had given significant hints that the law of Leviticus was the perpetual and unrepealed law of God.^q Pepin had commanded the payment of tithes for the celebration of peculiar litanies during a period of famine.^r Charlemagne made it a law of the Empire: he enacted it in its most strict and comprehensive form, as investing the clergy in a right to the tenth of the substance and of the labour alike of freeman and of serf.^s The collection of tithe was regulated by compulsory statutes; the

^o "Quod semel legitime consecratum est Deo, in suis militibus, et pauperibus ad usus militiæ suæ libere concedatur. Habeat igitur Rex rempublicam libere in usibus militiæ suæ ad dispensandum; habeat et Christus res ecclesiarum quasi alteram rempublicam, omnium indigentium et sibi servientium usibus. . . . Sin alias ut apostolus ait, qui aliena diripiunt, regnum non possidebunt eternum. Quanto magis qui ea quæ Dei sunt et ecclesiarum defraudantur, in quibus sacrilegia copulantur."—Vit. Walæ, apud Pertz. Wala's doctrines were not unopposed. Compare Lehuereu,

p. 538.

^p On Tithes, see Planck, ii. pp. 402 and 411.

^q Sirmond. Concil. Eccles. Gall. i. p. 543; Council of Macon, A.D. 585.

^r Peppini Regis Capitul. A.D. 764.

^s "Similiter secundum Dei mandatum præcipimus ut omnes decimam partem suis ecclesiis et sacerdotibus donent, tam nobiles quam ingenui, similiter et liti."—Capit. Paderborn A.D. 785. See also Cap. A.D. 779. It was confirmed by the Council of Frankfort, Capitul. Frankfurtense. A.D. 794.

clergy took note of all who paid or refused to pay;⁴ four, or eight, or more jurymen were summoned from each parish, as witnesses for the claims disputed;⁵ the contumacious were three times summoned; if still obstinate, excluded from the church; if they still refused to pay, they were fined over and above the whole tithe, six solidi; if further contumacious, the recusant's house was shut up; if he attempted to enter it, he was cast into prison, to await the judgement of the next plea of the crown.⁶ The tithe was due on all produce, even on animals.⁷ The tithe was usually divided into three portions—one for the maintenance of the Church, the second for the Poor, the third for the Clergy. The bishop sometimes claimed a fourth. The bishop was the arbiter of the distribution: he assigned the necessary portion for the Church, and apportioned that of the clergy.⁸ This tithe was by no means a spontaneous votive offering of the whole Christian people—it was a tax imposed by Imperial authority, enforced by Imperial power. It had caused one, if not more than one, sanguinary insurrection among the Saxons. It was submitted to in other parts of the Empire, not without strong reluctance.⁹

⁴ Capit. Aquisgran. A.D. 801.

⁵ Capitul. Longobard. A.D. 803.

⁶ Capitul. Longobard. A.D. 803, et Capitul. Hlotharii, i. 825, et Hludovici, ii. 875.

⁷ Capitul. Aquisgran. 801.

⁸ The tithe belonged to the parish church: that in which alone baptisms were performed. But there was a constant struggle to alienate them to churches founded by the great landowners on their own domain, of which churches they retained the patronage. Charlemagne himself set a bad ex-

ample in this respect, alienating the tithes to the succursal churches on his own domain.—Capitul. de Villis. Compare Lehuereu, p. 489.

⁹ Even Alcuin ventures to suggest, that if the Apostles of Christ had demanded tithes they would not have been so successful in the propagation of the Gospel:—"An Apostoli quoque ab ipso Christo edocti, et ad prædicandum mundo missi, exactiones decimarum exegissent . . . considerandum est. Scimus quia decimatio substantiæ nostræ valde bona est; et

But in return for this magnificent donation, Charle-
 magne assumed the power of legislating for
 the clergy with as full despotism as for the
 laity: in both cases there was the constitutional control
 of the concurrence of the nobles and of the higher
 ecclesiastics, strong against a feeble monarch, feeble
 against a sovereign of Charlemagne's overruling cha-
 racter. His Institutes are in the language of command
 to both branches of that great ecclesiastical militia,
 which he treated as his vassals, the secular and the
 monastic clergy.^b He seemed to have a sagacious fore-
 sight of the dangers of his feudal hierarchical system;
 the tendency still further to secularise the secular
 clergy; the inclination to independence in the regulars,
 which afterwards led to the rivalry and hostility between
 the two orders. The great Church fiefs would naturally
 be coveted by men of worldly views, seeking only their
 wealth and power, without discharging their high and
 sacred offices; they would become hereditary in certain
 families, or at least within a limited class of powerful
 claimants. Each separate benefice would be exposed
 to perpetual dilapidation by its successive holders;
 there was no efficient security against the illegal aliena-
 tion of its estates to the family, kindred, or friends of
 the incumbent:^c it might be squandered in war by a
 martial, in magnificence by a princely, in rude volup-

melius est illam amittere quam fidem
 perdere. Nos vero in fide catholicâ
 nati, nutriti, edocti, vix consentimus
 substantiam nostram pleniter decimare.
 Quanto magis tenera fides et infantilis
 animus, et avara mens." — Alcuin,
 Epist. apud Bouquet, I. v. Compare
 a note of Weissenberg (Die grossen
 Kirchen Versammlungen, vol. i. p.

178), on some curious consequences
 of enforcing the law of tithes.

^b See, on the kind of spiritual juris-
 diction exercised by former kings of
 France, Ellendorf, i. 231.

^c "Si sacerdotes plures uxores habu-
 erint:" that probably means married
 more than once.—Caput. lib. i.

tuousness by a dissolute prelate.^d Charlemagne endeavoured to bring the great monastic rule of mutual control to hallow the lives and secure the property of the clergy. The scheme of St. Augustine, that the clergy should live in common, under canonical rule, and under the immediate control and superintendence of the Bishop, had never been entirely obsolete. Charlemagne endeavoured to marshal the whole secular clergy under this severe discipline; he would have all either under canonical or monastic discipline.^e But the legislator passed his statutes in vain; rich chapters were founded, into which the secular spirit entered in other forms. The great mass of the clergy continued to lead their separate lives, under no other control than the more or less vigilant rule of the Bishop.

Charlemagne endeavoured with equal want of success to prevent the monastic establishments from growing up into separate independent republics, bound only by their own rules, and without the pale of the episcopal or even metropolitan jurisdiction. The abbots and the monks were commanded to obey in all humility the mandates of their Bishops.^f The abbot received his power within the walls of his convent from

The monasteries.

^d There are many sumptuary provisions. Bishops, abbots, abbesses, are not to keep hounds, falcons, hawks, or jugglers. Drunkenness is forbidden, as well as certain oaths.

^e "Qui ad clericatum accedunt, quod nos nominamus canonicam vitam volumus ut episcopus eorum regat vitam. Clerici—ut vel veri monachi sint vel veri canonici."—Capit. A.D. 789, 71 et 75. "Canonici . . . in domo episcopali vel etiam in monasterio . . . secundum canonicam vitam

erudiantur." A.D. 802. "*Ut omnes clerici unum de duobus eligant, aut pleniter secundum canonicam, aut secundum regularem institutionem vivere debeant.*" A.D. 805.

^f "Abbates et monachos omnimodis volumus et præcipimus, ut episcopis suis omni humilitate et obedientiâ sint subjecti, sicut canonica constitutione mandati."—Capit. Gen. A.D. 769; Hludovic. i.; Imp. Capit. Aquisgran. 825.

the hands of the Bishop; the doors of the monastery were to fly open to the Bishop; an appeal lay from the Bishop to the Metropolitan, from the Metropolitan to the Emperor.⁵ The Bishops themselves too often granted full or partial immunities, which gradually grew into absolute exemption from episcopal authority.^h In later times many of the more religious communities, to escape the tyranny and rapacity of a secular bishop, placed themselves under the protection of the King, or some powerful lord, whose tyranny in a certain time became more grinding and exacting than that of the Bishop.^l

The extent of Charlemagne's Empire may be estimated by the list of his Metropolitan Sees: Extent of empire. they were Rome, Ravenna, Milan, Friuli (Aquileia), Grado, Cologne, Mentz, Saltzburg, Treves, Sens, Besançon, Lyons, Rouen, Rheims, Arles, Vienne, Moutiers in the Tarantaise, Ivredun, Bordeaux, Tours, Bourges.^k To these Metropolitans lay the appeal in the first instance from the arbitrary power of the Bishop. This power it was the policy of Charlemagne to elevate to the utmost.^m The Capitularies enact the regular visitation of all the parishes within their diocese ^{by}

⁵ "Statutum est a domino rege et sancto synodo, ut episcopi justitias faciant in suas parrochias. Si non obedierit aliqua persona episcopo suo de *abbatibus*, presbyteris . . . *monachis* et cæteris clericis, veniant ad metropolitanum suum, et ille dijudicet causam cum suffraganeis suis Et si aliquid est quod episcopus metropolitanus non possit corrigere vel pacificare, tunc tandem veniant accusatores cum accusatu, cum literis metropolitani, ut sciamus veritatem rei." —Capitul. Frankfurt. 794.

^h Lehuierou, p. 493.

^l Baluzius, Formula 38.

^k Eginhard, c. xxxiii. The omission of Narbonne and one or two others perplexes ecclesiastical antiquarians. To these 21 archbishoprics of his realm Charlemagne in his last will bequeathed a certain legacy, two-thirds of his personal property.

^m Ellendorf (Die Karolinger) asserts that the capitularies nowhere recognise appeals to the Pope. The metropolitans and metropolitan synods were the courts of last resort, except, if should seem, the emperors'.

the Bishops, even those within peculiar jurisdiction.ⁿ Their special mission, besides preaching and confirmation and the suppression of heathen ceremonies, was to make inquisition into all incests, parricides, fratricides, adulteries, heresies, and all other offences against God. The Bishop on this visitation was received at the expense of the clergy and the people (he was forbidden to oppress the people by exacting more than was warranted by custom).^o The monasteries were subject to the same jurisdiction. The clergy made certain fixed payments, either in kind or money, as vassals to their superiors of the hierarchy ;^p the Bishops, notwithstanding the prohibition of the canons, persisted in demanding fees for the ordination of clerks. Both these are, as it were, tokens of ecclesiastical vassalage, strikingly resembling the commuted services and the payments for investiture.

The clergy were under the absolute dominion of the Bishop ; they could be deposed, expelled from communion, even punished by stripes. No priest could officiate in a diocese, or leave the diocese, without permission of the Bishop.^q

The primitive form of the election of the Bishop remained, but only the form ; the popular election had, in all higher offices, faded into a shadow. That of the clergy retained for a long time more substantive reality. It was this growing feudality

ⁿ " Similiter nostras in beneficio datas, quam et aliorum ubi reliquæ præesse videntur."—Capitular. A.D. 813.

^o Capitular. A.D. 769 and 813.

^p " Ut unum modium frumenti, et unum modium ordeï, atque unum modium vini . . . episcopi a pres-

byteris accipiant, et frisingam (a lamb) sex valentem denarios. Et si hæc non accipiant, si volunt, pro his omnibus duos solidos in denariis."—Karol. ii. Syn. apud Tolosam, A.D. 844.

^q Capitular. vi. 163. " Clerici quos increpatio non emendaverit, verberibus coerceantur."—vii. 302.

of the Church, which, if it gave not to the sovereign the absolute right of nomination, invested him with a co-ordinate power, and made it his interest if not his royal duty to assert that power. The Metropolitan, the Bishop, the Abbot, had now a double character; he was a supreme functionary in the Church, a beneficiary in the realm. The Sovereign would not and could not abandon to popular or to ecclesiastical election the nomination to these important fiefs; Charlemagne held them in his own hands, and disposed of them according to his absolute will.

Charlemagne himself usually promoted men worthy of ecclesiastical dignity; but his successors, like the older Merovingian kings, were not superior to the ordinary motives of favour, force, passion, or interest; they were constantly environed by greedy and rapacious candidates for Church preferments; helmeted warriors on a sudden became mitred prelates, needy adventurers wealthy abbots. Still was the Church degraded, enslaved, disqualified for her own office, by her power and wealth. The successors of Boniface, and his missionary clergy on the shores of the Rhine, became gradually, as they grew rich and secure, like the Merovingian hierarchy who had offended the austere virtue of Boniface. The pious and death-defying men whom Charlemagne planted in his new bishoprics and abbeys in the heart of Germany, with the opulence assumed the splendour, princely pride, secular habits, of their rival nobles. Even his son witnessed and suffered by the rapid, inevitable, melancholy change.

The parochial clergy were still appointed by the election of the clergy of the district, with the assent of the people; the Bishop nominated only in case a fit person was not found by those with

Parochial
clergy.

whom lay the ordinary election.^r Nor could he be removed unless legally convicted of some offence. Yet even in France there was probably not as yet a regular, and by no means an universal division of parishes; certainly not in the newly-conquered dominions. They were either chapels endowed, and appointed to by some wealthy prince or noble (the chaplain dwelt within the castle-walls, and officiated to the immediate retainers or surrounding vassals); or the churches were served from some cathedral or conventual establishment, where the clergy either lived together according to canonical rule, or were members of the conventual body. The Bishop alone had in general the title to the distribution of the tithes, one-third, usually, to himself and his clergy (of his clergy's necessities and his own he was the sole, not always impartial or liberal judge); one to the Fabric, the whole buildings of the See; one to the Poor. Each, however, in his narrower sphere, and according to his personal influence, the devotion or respect of his people, had his sources of wealth; the gifts and oblations, the fees, which were often prohibited but always prohibited in vain. The free gratuity became an usage, usage custom, custom right. Where spiritual life and death depended on priestly ministration, that which love and reverence might not be strong enough to lure forth would be wrung from fear. Where the holy image might be veiled, the relique withdrawn from worship, the miracle unperformed, to say nothing of the actual ritual services, the priest might exact the oblation.

^r "Et primum quidem ipsius loci presbyteri, vel cæteri clerici, idoneum sibi rectorem eligant; deinde populi qui ad eandem plebem aspiciunt, sequatur assensus. Si autem in ipsâ plebe talis inveniri non poterit, qui illud opus competenter peragere possit, tunc episcopus de suis quem idoneum judicaverit, inibi constituat."—Hludowici, ii. IMP. Convent. Ticin. A.D. 855

Whether from the higher or lower, the purer or more sordid motive, neither the land nor the tithes of the Church were the measure of the popular tribute. While, on the other hand, the alms of the clergy themselves out of their own revenues, those bestowed at their instance by the wealthy, by the princely or the vulgar robber as an atonement or commutation for his sins, the bequests made on the death-bed of the most wicked as well as the most holy, re-distributed a vast amount of that fund of riches—if not wisely, at least without stint, without cessation.

Yet, no doubt, by the deference which Charlemagne paid to the clergy, by his own somewhat ostentatious religion, by his munificent grants and donations, above all by his elevation of their character through his wise legislation, however imperfect or unenduring the success of his laws, Charlemagne raised the hierarchical power far more than he depressed it by submitting it to his equal autocracy. There was no humiliation in being, with the rest of Western Christendom, subject to Charlemagne. Even if the Church did feel some temporary obscuration of her authority, some slight limitation of her independence, conscious of her own strength, she might be her own silent prophet of her future emancipation and more than emancipation.

The Council of Frankfort displays most fully the power assumed by Charlemagne over the hierarchy as well as the lay nobility of the realm, the mingled character, the all-embracing comprehensiveness of his legislation. The assembly at Frankfort was at once a Diet or Parliament of the Realm and an ecclesiastical Council. It took cognizance alternately of matters purely ecclesiastical and of matters as clearly secular. Charlemagne was present and presided

in the Council of Frankfort.^s The canons as well as the other statutes were issued chiefly in his name. The Council was attended by a great number of bishops from every part of the Western Empire, from Italy, Germany, Gaul, Aquitaine, some (of whom Alcuin was the most distinguished, though A.D. 794. Alcuin was now chiefly resident at the court of Charlemagne) from Britain. Two bishops, named Theophylact and Stephen, appeared as legates from Pope Hadrian. The powerful Hadrian was still on the throne, in the last year of his pontificate, when Charlemagne summoned and presided over this Diet-Council.

The first object of this Council was the suppression of a new heresy, and the condemnation of its authors, certain Spanish bishops. Nestorianism, which had been a purely Oriental heresy, now appeared in a new form in the West. Two Spanish prelates, Elipand, Archbishop of Toledo, and Felix, Bishop of Urgel (whether to conciliate their Mohammedan masters,^t or trained to more than usual subtlety by communication with Arabian writers),^u had framed a new scheme, according to which, while they firmly maintained the co-equality of the Son as to his divine nature, they asserted that, as to his humanity, Christ was but the adopted Son of the Father. Hence the name of the new sect, the Adoptians. It was singular that, while the Greeks exhausted

^s "Præcipiente et *presidente* piissimo et gloriosissimo domino nostro Carolo rege."—Synod. ad Episc. Gall. et German. Labbe, 1032. Charles himself writes: "Congregationi sacerdotum auditor et *arbiter* adsedi."—Car. Magn. Epist. ad Episc. Hisp.

^t Charlemagne expresses his sympathy with the oppression of Elipand under the Gentiles: "Vestram quam

patimini inter gentes lacrymabili gemitu condoleamus oppressionem." But his language almost implies that he considers them as subjects of his Empire, as well as subjects of the Church. Urgel, near the Pyrenees, was in the dominions of Charlemagne.

^u According to Alcuin, the scheme had originated in certain writers at Cordova.—Alcuin, Epist. v. 11, 5.

the schools of rhetoric for distinctive terms applicable to the Godhead, the Western form of the heresy chose its phraseology from the Roman law. This strange theory had been embraced by a great number of proselytes.* Felix of Urgel, a subject of Charlemagne, had already been summoned before a synod at Ratisbon, at which presided Charles himself. Felix recanted his heresy, and swore never to teach it more. He was sent to Rome, imprisoned by order of Pope Hadrian, and condemned to sign and twice most solemnly to swear to his abandonment of his opinions. He resumed his bishopric, and returned to his errors; he was again prosecuted, and took refuge among the Saracens.

A.D. 752.

The doctrines of Elipand and Felix were condemned as wicked and impious with the utmost unanimity. Already Pope Hadrian, in a letter to the Bishops of Spain and Gallicia, had condemned these opinions; but the Emperor, not content with communicating the unanimous decision of the Pope and the Bishops of Italy, of those of Gaul and Germany, with certain wise and holy doctors whom he had summoned from Britain, thinks it necessary to address the condemned bishops in his own name. He enters into the theology of the question; and it must be said that both the divinity and the mild and even affectionate tone of the royal letter are much superior to that of Pope Hadrian and of the Italian bishops.^y

* S. Leidrad is said to have converted 20,000 bishops, priests, monks, laymen, men and women.—Paullin. *Epist. ad Episc. Arno.* edited by Mabillon. Compare Walch, p. 743. Leo III. *Epist.*; Alcuin, v. 11, 7;

other authorities in Walch, ix. p. 752. Walch wrote a history of the Adoptionists.

^y According to the report of the Italian bishops, a letter arrived from Elipand of Toledo while Charlemagne

But the more important act of the Council of Frankfort was the rejection of the Second Council of Nicæa, or, as it was inaccurately called, the Council of Constantinople. To this Council the East had given its assent. It had been sanctioned by Pope Hadrian, it spoke the opinions of successive pontiffs, it might be considered as the established law of Christendom. This law Charlemagne and his assembly of feudal prelates scrupled not to annul and abrogate. Image-worship in the East had gained the victory, and was endeared to the Byzantine Greeks as distinguishing them more decidedly from the iconoclastic Mohammedans (the Image-worshippers branded Iconoclasm as Mohammedanism). It had a strong hold on all the population of Southern Europe, as the land of the yet unextinguished arts, as the birth-place of the new polytheistic Christianity, but it was far less congenial to the Teutonic mind. The Franks were at war with the Saxon idolaters; and though there was no great similitude between the rude and shapeless deities of the Teutonic forests and the carved or painted saints and angels of the existing Christian worship, yet, though with the passion of most savage nations for ornament and splendour the Franks delighted in the brilliant decorations of their churches (Charlemagne laid Italy under contribution to adorn his palace); still their more profound spirituality of conception, their inclination to the vague, the mystic, the indefinite, or their unhabituated deadness to the influence of art, made them revolt from that ardent devotion to images which pre-

was seated in his palace in the midst of his clergy. It was read aloud. At its close the imperial theologian immediately rose from his throne, and from its steps addressed the meeting in a long speech, refuting all the doctrines of Elipand. When he had ended, he inquired, "What think ye of this?"—*Epist. Episcop. Ital. apud Labbe, p. 1022.*

veiled throughout the South. Such at least was the disposition of Charlemagne himself, and the author of the Carolinian Books.

Constantine Copronymus, the Iconoclast, had endeavoured to make an alliance with Pepin the Frank. A.D. 767. Pepin held a council on image-worship at Gentilly, at which the ambassadors of Copronymus appeared, it is not known for what ostensible purposes, perhaps to negotiate a matrimonial union between the courts, but no doubt with the view to detach Pepin from the support of the Italian rebels to the Eastern Empire. Of these the real head was the Pope, whose refusal of allegiance to the Emperor, and alliance with the Franks, were defended on the plea that the Emperor was an iconoclast and a heretic. Pepin probably took no great pains to understand the religious question; in that he was content to acquiesce in the judgement of the Pope; nor were the offers of Constantine sufficiently tempting to incline him to break up his Italian policy. Image-worship remained an undecided question with the Franks.

But Charlemagne and the Council of Frankfort proclaimed their deliberate judgement on a question already, it might seem, decided by a Council which aspired to be thought Œcumenic, and by the notorious sanction of more than one Pope. The canon of the Council of Frankfort overstates the decrees of Nicæa. It arraigns that synod as commanding, under the pain of anathema, the same service and adoration to be paid to the images as to the Divine Trinity. This adoration they reject with contempt, and condemn with one voice. But the brief decree of Frankfort must be considered in connexion with the deliberate and declared opinions of Charlemagne, as contained in the famous Carolinian

Books. These books speak in the name of the Emperor; Charlemagne himself boldly descends into the arena of controversy. The real authorship of these books can never be known; it is difficult not to attribute them to Alcuin, the only known writer equal to the task. It is probable indeed that the Emperor may have called more than one counsellor to his assistance in this deliberate examination of an important question, but to Christendom the books spoke in the name and with the authority of the Emperor.

Throughout the discussion, Charlemagne treads his middle path with firmness and dignity. He rejects, with uncompromising disdain, all worship of images; he will not tamper, perhaps he feels or writes as if he felt the danger of tampering, in the less pliant Latin, with those subtile distinctions of meaning which the Western Church was obliged to borrow, and without clear understanding, from the finer and more copious Greek. He rejects alike adoration, worship, reverence, veneration.^a He will not admit the kneeling before them; the burning of lights or the offering of incense;^a or the kissing of a lifeless image, though it represent the Virgin and the Child. Images are not even to be revered, as the saints, as living men, as reliques, as the Bible, as the Holy Sacrament, as the Cross, as the sacred vessels of the Church, as the Church itself.^b But, on the other hand, Charlemagne is no Iconoclast: he admits images and pictures into churches as ornaments, and, according to the definition of Gregory the Great, as keeping alive

^a Lib. ii. 21, 23; iii. 18; ii. 27; | leantur."—iv. 3; iv. 23.
ii. 30.

^b Lib. ii. 21, 24; iii. 25; ii. 30,
27; i. 28, 29; iii. 27; iv. 3, 12.
^a "Quod ante imagines luminaria | Walch, vol. xi, pp. 57, 59
conciuntur, et thymiamata ado-

the memory of pious men and of pious deeds.^c The representatives of the Pope ventured no remonstrance either against the accuracy or the conclusion of the Council. The Carolinian Books were sent to the Pope at Rome. Hadrian still ruled: he was too prudent not to dissemble the indignation which he must have felt at this usurpation of spiritual authority by the temporal power, at least by this assertion of independence in a Transalpine Council, a Council chiefly of barbarian prelates; or to betray his wounded pride at this quiet contempt of his theological arguments, which could hardly be unknown as forming part of the proceedings in the Nicene Council, yet were not even noticed by the

A. D. 795.
Hadrian died
Dec. 28, 796.

Imperial controversialist. There is no peremptory declaration of his own infallibility, no anathema against the contumacious prelates, no protest against the imperial interference. A feeble answer, still extant, testifies at once the authenticity of the Carolinian Books, the embarrassment of the Pope within the grasp of a more powerful reasoner and more learned theologian, his awe of a superior power. Nor did this controversy lead to any breach of outward amity, or seem to deaden the inward feelings of mutual respect. Hadrian writes this, his last letter, with profound deference. Charlemagne shed tears at the death of the Pontiff; and, as has been said, showed the strongest respect for his memory.

These theological questions settled before the Council of Frankfort, a singular spectacle was exhibited, as though to make an ostentatious display of the power

^c See the very curious description painted on the walls. There were of Charlemagne's own splendid palace sculptures representing all the great at Ingelheim.—Ermondus Nigellus, iv. events in profane history. "Regia namque domus late *persculpta* nitescit."

and dubious clemency of Charlemagne. Tassilo, the Duke of Bavaria, cousin to the Emperor, who had been subdued, deposed, despoiled of his territory, was introduced, humbly to acknowledge his offences against the Frankish sovereign, to entreat his forgiveness, to throw himself and all his family on the mercy of Charlemagne. The Emperor condescended to be merciful, but he kept possession of the territory. The unfortunate Tassilo and all his family ended their days in a monastery. The Council added to its canons, condemnatory of the Spanish heresy and of image-worship, a third, ratifying this degradation, spoliation, and life-long imprisonment of the Duke of Bavaria.

Of the two following canons, one regulated the sale of corn, and fixed a price beyond which it was unlawful to sell it. The other related to the circulation of the coin, and enacted that whoever should refuse the royal money, when of real silver and of full weight, if a free man, should pay a fine of fifteen shillings to the Crown; if a slave, forfeit what he offered for sale, and be publicly flogged on his naked person.

The ninth canon decreed that Peter, a Bishop, should appear, with the two or three bishops who had assisted at his consecration, or at least his Archbishop, as his compurgators, and should swear before God and the angels that he had not taken counsel concerning the death of the King, or against his kingdom, or been guilty of any act of disloyalty.^d But as the Bishop could not bring his compurgators into court, he proposed that *his man* should undergo the ordeal, the judgement of God; that himself should swear, without touching either the holy reliques or the Gospel, to his

^d This conspiracy is alluded to in Eginhard, sub ann. 792. See the note of Sirmond in Labbe, p. 1066.

own innocence; and that God would deal with *his man* according to the truth or falsehood of his oath. What the ordeal was does not appear, but *the man* passed through it unhurt; and the Bishop, by the clemency of the King, was restored to his honours.

Other canons, of a more strictly ecclesiastical character, were passed:—I. To enforce discipline in monasteries.^e II. On the residence of the clergy. III. On Ordinations, which were fixed for presbyters to the age of thirty. Virgins were not to take the vows before twenty-two. No one was to receive the slave of another; no bishop to ordain a slave without permission of his master. IV. The payment of tithe. V. For the maintenance of churches by those who held the benefices.^f VI. Against the worship of new saints without authority. VII. For the destruction of trees and groves sacred to pagan deities. VIII. Against the belief that God can be adored only in three languages; “there is no tongue in which prayer may not be offered.” The Teutonic spirit is here again manifesting itself. The last statute of the Council, at the suggestion of the Emperor, admitted the Briton Alcuin, on account of his ecclesiastical erudition, to all the honours, and to be named in the prayers of the Council.^g

Such was the Council of Frankfort, the first example of that Teutonic independence in which the clergy appear as feudal beneficiaries around the throne of their temporal liege lord, with but remote acknowledgment of their spiritual sovereign, passing acts not merely

^e No abbot was to blind or mutilate one of his monks for any crime whatever. “Nisi regulari disciplinæ subjaceant.”

men” to have purloined timber, stone, or tiles, from the churches, for his own house, he was compelled to restore them.—xxvi.

^f If any one was found “by true

^g Canon lii.

without his direct assent, but in contravention of his declared opinions. Charlemagne, not yet Emperor, is manifestly lord over the whole mind of the West. Except that he condescends to take counsel with the prelates instead of the military nobles, he asserts the same unlimited authority over ecclesiastical and civil affairs. He is too powerful for the Pope not to be his humble and loyal subject. The Pope might take refuge in the thought that the assembly at Frankfort was but a local synod, and aspired not to the dignity of an Œcumenic Council; and to local or national synods much power had always been allowed to regulate the discipline of their Churches, provided they issued no canons which infringed on the Catholic doctrines: yet these were statutes for the whole realm of Charlemagne, almost commensurate with the Western Patriarchate the actual spiritual dominion of the Roman Pontiff, with Latin Christendom. Yet, on the other hand, the hierarchy of the Church is advancing far beyond the ancient boundaries of its power; it is imperceptibly, almost unconsciously, trenching on temporal ground. The Frankfort assembly is a diet as well as a synod. The prelates appear as the King's counsellors, not only in religious matters, or on matters on the doubtful borders between religion and policy, but likewise on the affairs of the Empire—affairs belonging to the internal government of the State.

And though Charlemagne, as liege lord of the Teutonic race, as conqueror of kingdoms beyond the Teutonic borders, as sovereign of almost the whole Transalpine West, and afterwards as Emperor, stood so absolutely alone above all other powers; though the pope must be content to lurk among his vassals; yet doubtless, by his confederacy with the Pope, Charle-

magne fixed, even on more solid foundations, the papal power. The pope as well as the hierarchy was manifestly aggrandised by his policy. The Frankish alliance, the dissolution of the degrading connexion with the East, the magnificent donation, the acceptance of the Imperial crown from the Pope's hand, the visits to Rome, whether to protect the Pope from his unruly subjects or for devotion; everything tended to throw a deepening mysterious majesty around the Pope, the more imposing according to the greater distance from which it was contemplated, the more sublime from its indefinite and boundless pretensions. The Papacy had yet indeed to encounter many fierce contentions from without, and still more dangerous foes around, before it soared to the plenitude of its power and influence in the period from Gregory VII. to Innocent III. It was to sink to its lowest point of degradation in the tenth century, before it emerged again to contest the dominion of the world with the Empire, with the successors of Charlemagne, to commit the spiritual and temporal powers in a long and obstinate strife, in which for a time it was to gain the victory.

The brief epoch of renascent letters, arts, education, during the reign of Charlemagne, was as pre-
Arts and letters under Charlemagne. mature, as insulated, as transitory, as the unity of his Empire. Alcuin, whom one great writer ^h calls the intellectual prime minister of Charlemagne, with all his fame, his well-merited fame, and those whom another great writer ¹ calls the Paladins of his literary court, Clement, Angilbert, ^k all but Eginhard, were no more than the conservators and propagators

^h M. Guizot.

¹ Mr. Hallam.

^k Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons, of a much higher cast of mind, was bred under Charlemagne.

of the old traditionary learning, the Augustinian theology, the Boethian science, the grammar, the dry logic and meagre rhetoric, the Church music, the astronomy, mostly confined to the calculation of Easter, of the trivium and quadrivium. The Life of Charlemagne by Eginhard is unquestionably the best historic work which had appeared in the Latin language for centuries; but Eginhard, during his later years, in his monastery in the Odenwald, stooped to be a writer of legend.^m Perhaps the Carolinian books are the most remarkable writings of the time. It might seem as if Latin literature, as it had almost expired in its originality among the great lawyers, so it revived in jurisprudence. Even the schools which Charlemagne established, if he did not absolutely found, on a wide and general scale,ⁿ had hardly a famous teacher, and must await some time before they could have their Erigena, still later their Anselm, their Abelard, with

^m The History of the Translation of the reliques of S. Marcellinus and S. Peter Martyr,* and their miracles, is one of the most extraordinary works of this extraordinary age, written, as it was, by a statesman and counsellor of two emperors. Two clerks, servants of Abbot Eginhard and the abbot of St. Médard in Soissons, are sent to Rome to steal reliques. They make a burglarious entry by night into a tomb (such sacrilege was a capital crime), carry off the two saints, with difficulty convey the holy plunder out of Rome and through Italy (some of the party pilfering a limb or two on the way). Eginhard is not merely

the shameless receiver of these stolen treasures; there is no bound to his pious and public exultation. The saints are fully consentient, rejoice in their subduction from their inglorious repose; their restless activity reveals itself in perpetual visions, till they are settled to their mind in their chosen shrines. A hundred and fifty pages of miracles follow; wrought in all quarters, even in the imperial palace. It might almost seem surprising that there should be a blind, lame, paralytic, or dæmoniac person left in the land.

ⁿ See the schools in Hallam, ii. p. 478.

* An exorcist martyred at Rome. The martyrdom is related in a curious trochaic poem, not without spirit and vigour, ascribed also to Eginhard.—Eginhardi Opera, by M. Teulet. Soc. Hist. de France.

his antagonists and followers. What that Teutonic poetry was which Charlemagne cherished with German reverence, it is vain to inquire: whether tribal Frankish songs, or the groundwork of those national poems which, having passed through the Latin verse of the monks,^o came forth at length as the *Nibelungen* and the *Heldenbuch*.

^o See the poem *De Expeditione Attilæ*.

CHAPTER II.

Louis the Pious.

THE unity of the Empire, so favourable to the unity of Christendom, ceased not at the death of Charlemagne, it lasted during some years of the reign of his successor. But the unity of the Church, as it depended not on the personal character of the sovereign, remained undiscovered. In the contests among Charlemagne's descendants the Pope mingles with his full unbroken authority; while the strife among the military feudatories of the Empire only weakens, or exposes the weakness of the imperial power. The influence of the great Transalpine prelates, so often on different sides in the strife, aggrandises that of the Pope, whom each party was eager, at any sacrifice, to obtain as an ally. Already the Papal Legates, before the pontificate of Nicolas I., begin to appear, and to conduct themselves with arrogance which implies conscious power. The awful menace of excommunication is employed to restrain sovereign princes. The Emperor for a time still holds his supremacy. Rome is, in a certain sense, an imperial city. The Pope is not considered duly elected without the Emperor's approbation; the successor of Leo III. throws the blame of his hasty consecration on the clergy and people. But, first the separation of the Italian kingdom from the Empire, and afterwards the feebleness, or the

Jan. 28.
A.D. 814.

distance, or the pre-occupation of the Emperor, allows this usage to fall into desuetude.

Yet, during the whole of this period, and indeed much later, in the highest days of the Papacy, the limited and contested power of the Pope in Rome strongly contrasts with his boundless pretensions and vast authority in remoter regions. The Pope and the Bishop of Rome might appear distinct persons. Already that turbulence of the Roman people, which afterwards, either in obedience to, or in fierce strife with, the lawless petty sovereigns of Romagna, degraded the Papacy to its lowest state, had broken out, and was constantly breaking out, unless repressed by some strong friendly arm, or overawed by a pontiff of extraordinary vigour or sanctity. The life of the Pope, in these tumults, was not secure. While mighty monarchs in the remotest parts of Europe were trembling at his word, he was himself at the mercy of a lawless rabble. The Romans still aspired to maintain their nationality. It was rare at that time for any one but a born Roman to attain the Papacy;^a and no doubt at each promotion there would be bitter disappointment among rival prelates and conflicting interests. It was at once the strength and weakness of the Pope; it arrayed sometimes a powerful party on his side, sometimes condensed a powerful host against him. Though the Romans had been overawed by the magnificence and grandeur of Charlemagne, and had joined, it might seem, cordially in their acclamations at his assumption of the Empire (which still implied dominion over Rome), yet the Franks, the Transalpiners, were foreigners and barbarians. The Pope was constantly compelled by

^a Of nearly fifty Popes, from Hadrian to Gregory V. (a German created by Otho the Great), there appears one Tus-

can (Martin or Marinus), and three or	four of doubtful origin: every one of the
rest is described as "patriâ Romanus."	

Roman turbulence to recur to his imperial protector (among whose titles and offices was Defender of the Church of Rome); yet the presence of the Emperor, while it flattered, wounded the pride of the Romans: if it gratified one faction, embittered the hatred of the others.

Leo III. must have been among the most munificent and splendid of the Roman Pontiffs. Charlemagne had made sumptuous and imperial offerings on the altar of St. Peter. His donation seems to have endowed the Pope with enormous wealth. Long pages in Leo's Life are filled with his gifts to every church in Rome—to many in the Papal territories. Buildings were lined with marble and mosaic: there were images of gold and silver of great weight and costly workmanship (a silent but significant protest against the Council of Frankfort), priestly robes of silk and embroidery, and set with precious stones; censers and vessels of gold, columns of silver. The magnificence of the Roman churches must have rivalled or surpassed the most splendid days of the later republic, and the most ostentatious of the Cæsars.^b

Leo, like other prodigal sovereigns, may have exacted the large revenues, which he spent with such profusion, with hardness, which might be branded as avarice; and hence the Pope, who was thus gorgeously adorning the city and all his dominions with noble buildings, and decorating the churches with unexampled splendour, was still in perpetual danger from popular insurrection. Even during the reign of Charlemagne, Leo was hardly

^b Anastasius in Vit. Leo expended 1320 pounds of gold (pounds weight?) and 24,000 of silver on the churches in Rome. Thirty-five pages of this faithful chronicler of the wealth and

expenditure of the Roman See are devoted to the details. — Compare Ellendorf, *Die Karolinger und die Hierarchie ihrer Zeit*, ii. p. 65.

safe in Rome. Immediately on the death of the Emperor, the embers of the old hostility broke out again into a flame; and the Pope held his throne only through the awe of the imperial power, at the will of Charlemagne's successor, Louis the Pious.

There was a manifest conflict, during his later years, in the court, in the councils, in the mind of Charlemagne, between the King of the Franks and the Emperor of the West; between the dissociating, independent Teutonic principle, and the Roman principle of one code, one dominion, one sovereign. The Church, though Teutonic in descent, was Roman in the sentiment of unity. The great churchmen were mostly against the division of the Empire. The Empire was still one and supreme. The vigorous impulse given to the monarchical authority by its founder maintained for a few years the majesty of his son's throne. That unity

had been threatened by the proclaimed division of the realm between the sons of Charlemagne. The old Teutonic usage of equal distribution seemed doomed to prevail over the august unity of the Roman Empire. What may appear more extraordinary, the kingdom of Italy was the inferior appanage: it carried not with it the Empire, which was still to retain a certain supremacy; that was reserved for the Teutonic sovereign. It might seem as if this were but the continuation of the Lombard kingdom, which Charlemagne still held by the right of conquest. It was bestowed on Pepin; after his death intrusted to Bernhard, Pepin's illegitimate but only son. Wiser counsels prevailed. The two elder sons of Charlemagne died without issue;

Louis the third son was summoned from his kingdom of Aquitaine, and solemnly crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, as successor to the whole Empire.

Death of
Charlemagne.

A.D. 806.

April. 813.

Louis,^c—his name of Pious bespeaks the man,—thus the heir of Charlemagne, had inherited the religion of his father. But in his gentler and less resolute character that religion wrought with an abasing and enfeebling rather than ennobling influence. As King of Aquitaine Louis had been distinguished for some valour, activity, and conduct in war against the Saracens of Spain;^d but far more for his munificence to the churches and convents of his kingdom. The more rigid clergy had looked forward with eager hope to the sole dominion of the pious king; the statesmen among them had concurred in the preservation of the line of the Empire; yet Louis would himself have chosen as his example his ancestor Carloman, who retired from the world into the monastery of Monte Casino, rather than his father, the lord and conqueror of so many realms. It required the authority of Charlemagne, not unsupported, even by the most austere of the clergy, the admirers of his piety, to prevent him from turning monk.^e

Yet, on his accession, the religion of Louis might seem to display itself in its strength rather than in its weakness. The licence of his father's court shrank away from the sight of the holy sovereign. The concu-

^c Ermoldus gives the German derivation of the name Louis (Hludwig): "Nempe sonat Hluto præclarum, Wigch quoque Mars est."—Apud Pertz, ii. p. 468.

^d The panegyrist of Louis, the poet Ermondus Nigellus, asserts his vigorous administration of Aquitaine. He describes at full length the siege of Barcelona, giving probably a much larger share of glory than his due to Louis. For his general character see Thegan. c. xix. Louis understood

Greek; spoke Latin as his vernacular tongue. On the youth of Louis see the excellent work of Funck, "Ludwig der Fromme." Sir F. Palgrave highly colours the character and accomplishments of Louis. Louis the Pious renounced the Pagan (Teutonic?) poetry which he was accustomed to repeat in his youth.—Thegan. p. 19.

^e Louis was a serious man. When at the banquet the jonglers and mimes made the whole board burst out into laughter, Louis was never seen to smile.

bines of the late Emperor, even his daughters and their paramours, disappeared from the sacred precincts of the palace. Louis stood forward the reformer, not the slave of the clergy. To outward appearance, like Charlemagne, he was the Pope, or rather the Caliph of his realm. He condescended to sit in council with his bishops, but he was the ostensible head of the council; his commissioners were still bearers of unresisted commands to ecclesiastical as to temporal princes. Yet the discerning eye might detect the coming change. The ascendancy is passing from the Emperor to the bishops. It is singular, too, that the nobles almost disappear; in each transaction, temporal as well as ecclesiastical, the bishops advance into more distinct prominence, the nobles recede into obscurity. The great ecclesiastics, too, are now almost all of Teutonic race. The effete and dissolute Roman hierarchy has died away. German ambition seizes the high places in the Church; German force animates their counsels. The great prelates, Ebbo of Rheims, Agobard of Lyons, Theodolf of Orleans, are manifestly of Teutonic descent. Benedict of Aniane is the assumed name of Witiza, son of the Gothic Count of Magelone; Benedict, the most rigorous of ascetics, who stooped to the name, but thought the rule of the elder Benedict of Nursia far below monastic perfection. The bastard descendants of Charles Martel appear, two of them even now, not as kings or nobles, but as abbots or monks; compelled, perhaps, to shroud themselves from the jealousy of the legitimate race by this disqualification for temporal rule, only to exercise a more powerful influence through their sacred character.^f Adalhard, Wala, Bernarius, were the sons of

^f Funck, p. 42. He observes fur- | Hof, die Buhlen seiner Töchter, denen
ther: "Die lustigen Gesellen an Karls | Ludwig mit seiner Heiligkeit, lächer

Bernhard, an illegitimate son of Charles Martel. Adalhard, Abbot of Corvey, and Bernarius, were already monks: the Count Wala was amongst the most honoured counsellors of Charlemagne. The nomination of Louis to the sole empire had not been unopposed. Count Wala, some of the higher prelates, Theodolf of Orleans, no doubt Wala's own brothers Adalhard and Bernarius, would have preferred, and were known or suspected to have pressed upon the Emperor the young Bernhard, the son whom Charlemagne had legitimated, or might have legitimated, of the elder Pepin, rather than the monk-King of Aquitaine. Wala indeed had hastened, after the death of Charlemagne, to pay his earliest homage at Orleans to Louis. He thought it more safe, however, to shave his imperilled head, and become a monk. The whole family was proscribed. Adalhard was banished to the island of Noirmoutiers; Bernarius to Lerins; Theodrada and Gundrada the sisters, Gundrada, who alone had preserved her chastity in the licentious court of Charlemagne, were ignominiously dismissed from the court.^g

Aug. 1.

A diet at Aix-la-Chapelle was among the earliest acts of Louis the Pious. From this council commissioners were despatched throughout the empire to receive complaints and to redress all acts of oppression.^h Multitudes were found who had been unrighteously despoiled of their property or liberty by the counts or

lich war, konnten natürlich den Bibelleser und Psalmsinger nicht an die Stelle Karls wünschen." Politics make strange coalitions!

^g "Quæ inter venereos palatii ardores et juvenum venustates, etiam inter deliciarum mulcentia, et inter omnis libidinis blandimenta, sola meruit (ut

credimus) reportare pudicitia palam."—Vit. Adalh. apud Pertz, ii. p. 527. Theodrada had been married; as a widow, could only claim the secondary praise of unblemished virtue.

^h See the Constitutio, Bouquet, vi. p. 410.

other powerful nobles. The higher clergy were not exempted from this inquest, nor the monasteries. In how many stern and vindictive hearts did this inquest sow the baleful seed of dissatisfaction !

The Emperor is not only the supreme justiciary in his Gallic and German realm ; it is his unquestioned right, it is his duty, to decide between the Pope and his rebellious subjects—on the claims of Popes to their throne. Leo III. had apparently bestowed the imperial crown on Charlemagne, had re-created the Western Empire ; but he had been obliged to submit to the judicial award of Charlemagne. He is again a suppliant to Louis for aid against the Romans, and must submit to his haughty justice. Whether, as suggested, the prodigality of Leo had led to intolerable exactions—whether he had tyrannically exercised his power, or the turbulent Romans would bear no control—(these animosities must have had a deeper root than the disappointed ambition of Pope Hadrian's nephews)—a conspiracy was formed to depose Pope Leo, and to put him to death. Leo attempted to suppress the tumults with unwonted rigour : he seized and publicly executed the heads of the adverse faction.¹ The city burst out in rebellion. Rome became a scene of plunder, carnage, and conflagration. Intelligence was rapidly conveyed to the court of Louis. King Bernhard, who had been among the first to render his allegiance to his uncle at Aix-la-Chapelle, had been confirmed in the government of Italy. He was commanded to interpose, as the delegate of the Emperor. Bernhard fell ill at Rome, but sent a report by the imperial officer, the Count Gerhard, to the sovereign. With him went a humble mission

¹ A.D. 815, Eginhard, sub ann.

from the Pope, to deprecate the displeasure of that sovereign, expressed at the haste and cruelty of his executions, and to answer the charge made against him by the adverse faction. No sooner had King Bernhard withdrawn from Rome than, on the illness of Leo, a new insurrection broke out. The Romans sallied forth, plundered and burned the farms on the Pope's estates in the neighbourhood. They were only compelled to peace by the armed interference of the Duke of Spoleto.

The death of Leo, and, it should seem, the unpopular election of his successor, Stephen IV., exasperated rather than allayed the tumults. June 12, 816.

Stephen's first acts were to make the Romans swear fealty to the Emperor Louis; ^k to despatch a mission, excusing, on account of the popular tumults, his consecration without the approbation of June 22.

the Emperor, or the presence of his legates.^m In the third month of his pontificate Stephen was compelled to take refuge, or seek protection, at the feet of the Emperor, against his intractable subjects.ⁿ He was

^k Thegan., Vit. Hludovici, ii. 594.

^m "Missis interim duobus legatis, qui quasi pro suâ consecratione imperatori suggererent."—Eginhard. ann. 816.

ⁿ The poet disguises the flight of Stephen; he comes to Rheims at the invitation of Louis:—

"Tum jubet acciri Romans ab sede patrum."

The interview is described in his most florid style. He makes the Pope draw a comparison between his visit and that of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon:—

"Rex tamen ante sagax flexato poplite adorat

Terque quaterque, Del sive in honore Petri,
Suscipit hunc supplex Stephanus, manibusque sacralis
Sublevat e terrâ, basiat ora libens,
Nunc oculos, nunc ora, caput, nunc pectora, colla,
Basiat alterutri Rexque sacerque pius."—ii. 221.

All accounts agree in the festivities.

The poet says—

"Pocula denus volant, tangitque volentia Bacchus Corda."—ii. 227.

The pious king was not averse to wine. Funck erroneously ascribes Stephen's journey in the first instance to the Pope's desire of crowning the Emperor.

received in Rheims with splendid courtesy, and with his own hand crowned the Emperor. Thus the fugitive from his own city aspires to ratify the will of Charlemagne, the choice of the whole empire, the hereditary right of Louis to the throne of the Western world. In Rome the awe of Louis commanded at least some temporary cessation of the conflict, and a general amnesty. Stephen returned to Rome, accompanied by those who had been the most daring and obstinate rebels against his predecessor Leo and the Church.^o Stephen died soon after his return to Rome.

On his death Paschal I. was chosen by the impatient clergy and people, and compelled to assume the Pontificate without the Imperial sanction. But Paschal was too prudent to make common cause with the Romans in this premature assertion of their independence; he sent a deprecatory embassy across the Alps, throwing the blame on the disloyal precipitancy of the people. The Romans received a grave admonition not again to offend against the majesty of the Empire.

Louis the Pious held his plenary Court a second time at Aix-la-Chapelle. The four great acts of this Council were among the boldest and most comprehensive ever submitted to a great national assembly. The Emperor was still in theory the sole legislator: not only were the secret suggestions, but the initiatory motions in the Council, from the supreme power. It might seem, that in the three acts which regarded the hierarchy, the Emperor legislated for the Church; but it was in truth the Church legislating for

^o "Qui illic captivitate tenebantur, propter scelera et iniquitates suas quas in sanctam Ecclesiam Romanam et erga dominum Leonem Papam gesserant."—Anastas. in Vit.

herself through the Emperor. It was Teutonised Latin Christianity organising the whole trans-Alpine Church with no regard to the Western Pontiff. The vast reforms comprehended at once the whole clergy and the monasteries. It was the completion, ratification, extension of Charlemagne's scheme, a scheme by its want of success or universality still waiting its consummation. Chrodogang, Bishop of Metz, another Teuton, had, under the last Merovingians and Pepin, Church laws. aspired to bring the clergy to live together under the canonical discipline. Charlemagne had given the sanction of his authority to this plan. Now the Archbishops and Bishops are invested in autocratic power to extend, if not absolutely to enforce this rigorous mode of life on all the Priesthood.^p The sumptuary laws were universal, minute; the prohibition to bear arms; the proscription of their worldly pomp, of their belts studded with gold and precious stones; their brilliant and fine apparel; their gilded spurs. But if they are stripped of their pomp it is only to increase immeasurably their power. If the sacerdotal army is to be arrayed under more rigid order and under more absolute command, it is only that it may be more efficient. Church property is strictly inviolable. II. The monasteries (which it might have seemed the sole object of Louis, since his accession, to endow with ampler wealth)^q are submitted

^p Wala, the exiled counsellor of Charlemagne, hereafter to succeed to the influence of Benedict of Aniane, held the same ecclesiastical notions as to the rigorous subordination of monks and clergy to rule. He denounces even the court chaplains: "Quorum itaque vita neque sub regulâ est monachorum, neque sub episcopo militat canonicè, præsertim cum nulla

alia tirocinia sint ecclesiarum, quam sub his duobus ordinibus," *et seq.*— Vita Walæ, Pertz, ii. 560.

^q In the Regesta, during the first years of Louis, it is difficult to find out the public acts, among the long succession of grants to churches and monasteries.—Boehmer, Regesta. Frankfort, 1833.

to the iron rule of Benedict of Aniane. III. This hierarchy, so reformed, so reinvigorated, aspires to sever itself entirely from the state. A special Capitular asserted their full and independent rights. The election of Bishops was to be in the clergy and the commonalty; that of the abbots in the brotherhood of monks. The Crown, the nobles, surrendered or were excluded from all interposition. The right of patronage, even in nobles who built churches on their own domain, was limited to the nomination; once instituted, only the Bishop could depose or expel the priests. The whole property of the Church was under their indefeasible, irresponsible administration. The Teutonic aristocracy of the Church maintained its lofty tone. No unfree man could be admitted to holy orders; if he stole into orders, might be degraded and restored to his lord. If the Bishop would ordain a slave, he must be first emancipated before the whole Church and the people. Yet were there provisions to limit abuses as well as to increase power. The three-fold division of the Church revenues is enacted, two-thirds to the poor, one to the monks and clergy. The clergy are prohibited from receiving donations or bequests to the wrong of near relations. None were to be received into monasteries in order to obtain their property. Church treasures might on one account only be pawned—the redemption of captives. Youths of either sex were not to be persuaded to receive the tonsure or take the veil without consent of their parents. All these laws are enacted by the Emperor in council for the whole empire, almost tantamount to Latin Christendom; of approbation, ratification, confirmation by the Pope, not one word!

The Council Diet of Aix-la-Chapelle having thus legislated for the Church, contemplated the dangers

of the State. The accidental fall of a gallery had endangered the life of the Emperor; he was seriously hurt. What, the wiser men bethought them, or had long before thought, were the Emperor thus suddenly cut off, had been the fate of the Empire? They clearly foresaw the danger of the old Teutonic principle, which had been threatened even under Charlemagne—equal division among the three sons of Louis. The mother of these three sons, as well as their closer adherents, might look with profound solicitude at the rivalry of Bernhard, son of Pepin, whom some of the most powerful had in their hearts, probably in their counsels, designated as the successor of Charlemagne. The Council must not separate without regulating the succession of the Empire. His counsellors urged this upon Louis. "I love my sons with equal affection; but I must not sacrifice the unity of the Empire to my love." He laid this question before the Council,—“Is it right to delay a measure on which depends the welfare of the state?” “That,” was the universal acclamation, “which is necessary or profitable brooks no delay.” But such determination must be made with due solemnity. A fast of three days, prayer for divine grace, is ordered by the pious Emperor. After these three days the decree was promulgated. It proclaimed the great principle of primogeniture. The whole empire fell in its undivided sovereignty, at the death of Louis, to his eldest son, Lothair. Two royal appanages were assigned, with the title of King, to Pepin II., Aquitaine, the Basque Provinces, the March of Toulouse, four Countships in Septimania and Burgundy: to Louis, the third son, Bavaria, Bohemia, Carinthia, the Slavian and Avarian provinces subject to the Franks. But the younger sons were every year to pay homage

and offer gifts to the Emperor. Without his consent they could not make war or peace, send envoys to foreign lands, or contract marriage. If either died without heirs, his appanage fell back to the Empire. If he should leave more sons than one, the people were to choose one for their king, the Emperor to confirm the election. If one of the younger brothers should take arms against the Emperor, he was to be admonished; if contumacious, deposed.

This decree was fatal to Bernhard, the son, by a concubine of Pepin,^r who still held, by the Bernhard king in Italy. unrevoked grant of Charlemagne, the kingdom of Italy. He alone was not summoned, had no place, in the great council of Aix-la-Chapelle. In the decree there was a total, inauspicious, significant silence as to his name. And this was the return for the early and ready allegiance which he had sworn to Louis, his fidelity in the affairs of Rome. Bernhard had nothing left but the energy of despair. Italy, weary and indignant, seemed ready to cast off the trans-Alpine yoke. The Lombards may have aspired to restore their ruined kingdom. Two great Bishops, Anselm of Milan, Wulfhold of Cremona, and many of the nobles, tendered him their allegiance, as their independent sovereign. The cities and people as far as the Po were ready or were compelled to take the oath of fealty. Pope Paschal was believed at least not unfriendly to the ambitious views of Bernhard. He was not without powerful partisans beyond the Alps. Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, was still faithful to his cause. Wala and his brothers were at least suspected of the same treasonable inclina-

^r Funck observes that illegitimate is an unknown word; the term is usually *ex ancillâ*.

tions ; the three were placed, each in his convent, under more rigid care.

But Louis raised an overpowering force ; the Lombards were not united. The Count of Brescia, the Bishop Rathald of Verona, retired across the Alps to the Emperor. The powerful dukes of Friuli and Spoleto adhered to the Imperial cause. Bernhard had nothing left but submission. He passed the Alps, and threw himself at his uncle's feet at Châlons on the Saone.^s The mild Louis interposed to mitigate the capital sentence pronounced against the rebel and the leaders of his party at Aix-la-Chapelle. His sterner counsellors, it is said the implacable Hermingard, insisted that Bernhard should be incapacitated for future acts of ambition by the loss of his eyes. The punishment was so cruelly or unskilfully executed, that he died of exhaustion, or of a broken heart.

April 15, 818.

Some of the rebellious leaders suffered the same penalty : one died like Bernhard. The traitor Bishops, Orleans, Milan, Cremona, were shut up in monasteries. Now, too, were the three natural sons of Charlemagne, Drogo, Hugh, and Thierry, compelled to submit to the tonsure. Louis had sworn to be their guardian ; the pious Emperor forced them to perpetual holy imprisonment.

Lothair, the eldest son of Louis, now crowned, by the sole authority of Louis, King of Italy, assumed the dominion of the Peninsula. But the turbulent state of the whole country compelled him to return to Germany, and to demand succour in men and

Lothair king of Italy.

^s Funck asserts that the Empress Hermingard decoyed him over the Alps, with promise of full pardon. I do not think that his authorities bear him out.—p. 65, and note.

arms from his father. Rome was not behind the rest, as will speedily appear, in acts of violence and insubordination.

So far the son of Charlemagne had reigned in splendour, in justice, in firmness, in wisdom. He had been the legislator of the Empire, both as to its religious and temporal affairs. He had, it might seem, secured the succession in his house; he had suppressed all rebellion with a strong hand, had only yielded to mercilessness, which could not injure him in the estimation of his Teutonic subjects. On the death of his wife Hermingard his mind was shaken, if not partially disturbed; his old religious feelings came back in all their rigour; it was feared that the pious Emperor would abdicate the throne, and retire into a monastery. His counsellors, to bind him to the world, persuaded him to take a second wife. His choice was made with a singular union of the indifference of a monk and the arbitrary caprice of an Eastern sultan.^t The fairest daughters of the nobles were assembled for his inspection.^u The monarch was at once captivated by the surpassing beauty of Judith, daughter of the Bavarian Count Wippo.^x Judith was not only the most beautiful, according to the flattering testimony of bishops and abbots, she was the most highly-educated woman of the time. She played on the organ; she danced with perfect grace; she was eloquent as well as learned. The uxorious monarch yielded himself up to his blind passion.

^t "Timebatur a multis, ne regium vellet relinquere gubernaculum. Tandemque eorum voluntati satisfaciens, et undique adductas procerum filias inspiciens, Judith, filiam Wipponis," &c. —Astronomus, c. 32.

^u "Inspectis plerisque nobilium filiabus."—Eginhard, p. 332.

^x "The marriage was but four months after the death of Hermingard." —Agobard, Oper. ii. p. 65.

From this time a strange feebleness comes over the character of Louis. The third year after his marriage the great diet of the Empire is summoned to Attigny-on-the-Aisne, not to take counsel for the defence, extension, or consolidation of the Empire; not to pass ecclesiastical or civil laws, but to witness the humiliating public penance of the Emperor. His sensitive conscience had long been preying upon him; it reproached him with the barbarous blinding and death of his nephew Bernhard; the chastisement of the insurgent Bishops; the presumptuous restraint which he had imposed on the holy monks Adalhard, Wala, Bernarius; the enforced tonsure of his father's three sons.

Diet of
Attigny.
Aug. 822.

Even in his own time, this act of Louis was compared by admiring Churchmen with the memorable penance of Theodosius the Great. How great the difference between the crimes and character of the men! Theodosius, in a transport of passion, had ordered the promiscuous massacre of all the inhabitants of a flourishing city. Bernhard and his partisans had forfeited their lives according to the laws of the Franks: the Emperor had interposed, though vainly and weakly, only to mitigate the penalty. His offence against Adalhard and Wala was banishment from the court, confinement to monasteries of men who had aimed at excluding him from the Empire, whose abilities and influence he might still dread.⁷ And for these delinquencies the trembling son of Charlemagne, the lord of his Empire, stood weeping and imploring the intercession of the clergy, and endeavoured to appease the wrath of Heaven by prodigal almsgiving and the most abject acts of peni-

Penance of
Louis.

⁷ "Timebatur enim quam maximè sinistrum contra imperatorem moliretur." — Astronomus, ii. p. 618. Pertz, ii.

tence.² He supplicated the forgiveness of Adalhard and Wala, whom he had already recalled to his court, Wala, now that Benedict of Aniane was dead, speedily to assume absolute power over the mind of Louis.³ Against them it would be difficult to show how he had grievously sinned. He deplored his having compelled the sons of Charlemagne to the tonsure. If we respect the conscientious scruples which induced Louis publicly to own his offences, to seek reconciliation with his enemies, some compassion and more contempt mingle with that respect when we see him thus prostrating the imperial dignity at the feet of the hierarchy. The penance of Theodosius was the triumph of religion over the pride and cruelty of man—a noble remorse; in Louis it was the slavery of superstition: he had lost all moral discrimination as to the nature and extent of his own guilt. The slightest act of authority against monk or priest is become a crime, reconciliation with Heaven only to be obtained by propitiating their favour.

The hierarchy failed not to discover the hour of the monarch's weakness. At the autumnal Diet four great ecclesiastical councils were summoned to meet at Pentecost in the following year, to treat of affairs of religion and the abuses of the civil power. Among the crimes which it was determined to suppress was the granting of monasteries to laymen; the grants of Church property at pleasure to the vassals of the Crown, without consent of the bishops. Thus the bishops aspired to be co-legislators in the diets, sole legislators in the councils of which themselves determined the powers.

² "Eleemosynarum etiam largitione plurimarum, sed et servorum Christi orationum instantiâ, necnon et propriâ satisfactione, adeo divinitatem sibi placare curabat, quasi hæc quæ super

unumquemque legaliter decucurrerant, sua gesta fuerant crudelitate." — p. 626.

³ "Venerabatur passim secundus a Cæsare."—Vit. Walæ, p. 535.

Yet even in his prostrate humiliation before the transalpine clergy, Louis, through his son Lothair, is exercising full sovereignty over Rome. Lothair, accompanied by Wala, now at once the confidential adviser of Louis in the highest matters, had descended into Italy to command disquieted Rome into peace. He had received the crown from the obsequious Pope. Hardly, however, had Lothair recrossed the Alps when he was overtaken by hasty messengers with intelligence of new tumults.

Two men of the highest rank (Theodorus, the Primi-cerius of the Church, and Leo, the Nomenclator, who had held high functions at the coronation of Lothair) had been seized, dragged to the Lateran palace, blinded, and afterwards beheaded. The Pope was openly accused of this inhuman act.^b Two imperial commissioners, Adelung, Abbot of St. Vedast, and Humfrid, Count of Coire, were despatched with full powers to investigate the affair. At the same time came envoys from the Pope to the court of Louis.^c The imperial commissioners were baffled in their inquiry. Paschal refused to produce the murderers; he asserted that they were guilty of no crime in putting to death men themselves guilty of treason; he secured them by throwing around them a half-sacred character as servants of the Church of St. Peter.^d Himself he exculpated by a solemn expurgatorial oath, before thirty bishops, from all parti-

^b Both Leo and Theodorus had been sent as ambassadors by Paschal, one to the Emperor, the other to Lothair. —Eginhard. “Erant et qui dicerent, vel jussu vel consilio Paschalis Pontificis rem fuisse perpetrata.”—Eginhard, *Annal.* sub ann. 823. “Qua in re fama Pontificis quoque ludebatur,

dum ejus consensui totum ascriberetur.”—Astronom. p. 302.

^c John, Bishop of Silva Candida; the librarian Sergius; Quirinus subdeacon; Leo, master of the military.

^d Thegan., *Vit. Illudovic.* apud Pertz, c. 30. Eginhard sub ann.

cipation in the deed. The Emperor received with respect the exculpation of the Pope. But Paschal
 May, 824. was summoned before a higher judgement: he died immediately after the arrival of the Emperor's messengers. The Romans, though Paschal had vied with his predecessor, Leo III., in his magnificent donations to the churches of Rome, would not permit his burial in the accustomed place, nor with the usual pomp.^e

The contest for the vacant see arrayed against each other the two factions in Rome under their undisguised colours. It was a strife between a trans-Alpine and a cis-Alpine, a Teutonic and a Roman interest. The
 June, 824. patricians, the nobles of Rome, many of Lombard blood, were in the Imperialist party; the plebeians, the commons, asserted their independence, and scorned the subservience of the Popes. They were more papal than the Popes themselves. Wala, now ruling the Emperor's counsels, had remained at Rome. By his dexterous management Eugenius prevailed over his rival, Zinzinnus. Yet the presence of Lothair was demanded to overawe the city, and to maintain the
 Lothair again Imperialist Pope.^f Lothair issued his man-
 in Rome. dates in a high tone. He strongly remonstrated with the Pope against the violence and insults suffered by all who were faithful to the Emperor and friendly to the Franks. Some had been put
 Oct., Nov. to death, others made the laughing-stock of their enemies. There was a general clamour against the Roman pontiffs and against the administrators of justice. By the ignorance or indolence of the popes, by the insatiable avarice of the judges, the property of

^e Thegan.

^f "Eugenius, vincente nobilium parte, ordinatus est."--Eginhard.

many Romans had been unjustly confiscated. Lothair had determined to redress these abuses. By his supreme authority many judgements were reversed; the confiscated estates restored to their rightful owners. In other words, the Imperialist nobles obtained redress of all grievances, real or imaginary. The heads of the popular party were surrendered and sent to France. A constitution was publicly affixed on the Vatican, regulating the election of the Pope, for which no one had a suffrage but a Roman of an approved title: it thus vested the election in the nobles.^g Annual ^{Constitution} reports were to be made, both to the Pope and to the Emperor, on the administration of justice. Each of the senate or people was to declare whether he would live according to the Roman, the Lombard, or the Frankish law. On the Emperor's arrival at Rome, all the great civil authorities were to pay him feudal service. There were other provisions for the maintenance of the Papal estates, and prohibiting plunder on the vacancy of the see. As a still more peremptory assertion of the Imperial supremacy, the unrepealed statute was confirmed, that no Pope should be consecrated till his election had been ratified by the Emperor. The Emperor declared his intention of sending commissioners from time to time to watch over the administration of the laws, to receive appeals, and to remedy acts of wrong or injustice.^h

But while the Empire thus asserted its supremacy in

^g The Constitution in Sigonius, *Hist. Italica*; and in Holstenius; Labbe cum Notis Bini, p. 1541, sub ann. Bouquet.

^h "Statutum est quoque juxta antiquorum morem, ut ex latere imperatoris mitterentur, qui judicariam

potestatem exercentes justitiam omni populo facerent, et tempore quo visum foret imperatori, æqua lance penderent." — Apud Bouquet, vi. 410. The Emperor Henry II. afterwards appealed to this constitution.—Ellendorf, p. 31.

Rome, beyond the Alps it was gradually sinking into decay. The vast dominions of Charlemagne notwithstanding the decree of Aix-la-Chapelle, were severing into independent, soon to become hostile, kingdoms. The imperial power, out of which grew the unity of the whole, was losing its awful reverence. The Emperor was but one of many sovereigns, with the title, but less and less of the substance, of pre-eminent power. The royal authority itself was becoming more precarious by the rise of the great feudal aristocracy; and in the midst of, above great part of that aristocracy, the feudal clergy of France and Germany were more and more rapidly advancing in strength, wealth, and influence.

In the miserable civil wars which distracted the latter part of the reign of Louis the Pious, in the rebellions of his sons, in the degradation of the Imperial authority, the bishops and abbots not merely take a prominent part, but appear as the great arbiters, as the awarders of empire, the deposers of kings.

The jealousies of the sons of Louis by his Queen Hermingard, which broke out into open insurrection, into civil wars with the father, began with the birth of his son by the Empress Judith;¹ and became more violent and irreconcilable as that son, afterwards Charles the Bald, advanced towards adolescence. These jealousies arose out of the apprehension, that in the partition of the Empire, according to Frankish usage confirmed by Charlemagne, on the death or demise of Louis, some share, and that more than a just share, should be extorted by the dominant influence of the beautiful stepmother from the uxorious Emperor. Louis was thought to be completely ruled by his wife and

¹ Charles, born June 13, 823, at Frankfort.

her favourite, Bernhard, Duke of Septimania. Rumours, of which it is impossible to know the truth, accused Duke Bernhard not only of swaying the counsels, but of dishonouring the bed, of his master.^k The sons of Louis propagated these degrading reports, and indignantly complained that the bastard offspring of Duke Bernhard should aspire to part of their inheritance. But to Duke Bernhard the unsuspecting Louis, besides the cares of empire, entrusted the education of his son Charles. He had dismissed all his old counsellors: Abbot Elisachar, the chancellor; the chief chaplain, Hilduin; Jesse, Bishop of Amiens; and other lay officers and ministers of the court. Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, must withdraw to his diocese.^m The whole time of Louis seemed to be indolently whiled away between field-sports, hunting and fishing in the forest of Ardennes, and the most rigid and punctilious religious practices.

These melancholy scenes concern Christian history no further than as displaying the growing power of the clergy, the religion of Louis gradually quailing into abject superstition, the strange fusion and incorporation of civil and ecclesiastical affairs. But in this consists the peculiar and distinctive character of these times. The Church gives refuge to, or punishes and incapacitates, by its disqualifying vows, the victims of political animosity. The dethroned Empress is forced into a convent. Civil incapacity is not complete, at least is

^k "Thorum occupavit." — Vit. Walæ. Paschasius Radbert, the friend, partisan, and biographer of Wala, is the fierce accuser of the queen, the fury, the adulteress; and of Bernhard, the most factious monster, the defiler of matrons, the cruel beast.—Vit.

Walæ. "Fit palatium prostibulum, ubi mœchia dominatur, adulter regnat." Bernhard is even accused of a design to murder Louis and his sons. Thegan declares that these charges were all lies (p. 36): "Mentientes omnia."

^m Compare Funck, p. 102.

not absolutely binding, without ecclesiastical censure. The Pope himself appears in person : principally through his influence, Louis is abandoned by his army, and left at the mercy of his rebellious sons. The degraded monarch, recalled to his throne, will not resume his power without the removal of the ecclesiastical censure.

The first overt act of rebellion by the elder sons of Louis, chiefly Pepin (for Louis held a doubtful course, and Lothair was yet in Italy), was the refusal of the feudal army to engage in the perilous and unprofitable war in Bretagne.ⁿ Already the fond and uxorious father had awakened jealousy by assigning to the son of Judith the title of King of Alemannia.^o Pepin, King of Aquitaine, placed himself at the head of the mutinous forces. The Emperor, with a few loyal followers (who, though like the rest they refused to engage in the Breton war, yet would not abandon their sovereign), lay at Compiègne, while his sons, with the mass of the army, were encamped three leagues off at Verberie. Around Pepin had assembled the discarded ecclesiastical ministers, Elisachar, Wala, Hilduin, Jesse ; with Godfrey and Richard, and the Counts Warin, Lantbert, Matfrid, Hugo. The demands of the insurgents were stern and peremptory : the dismissal and punishment of Duke Bernhard, the degradation of the guilty Judith. Bernhard made his escape to the south, and took refuge in Barcelona ; Judith, by the Emperor's advice, retired into the convent of St. Mary of Laon. There she was seized by the adherents of her step-sons, and compelled to promise that she would use all her influence, if she had opportunity, to urge the Emperor to retire to a

ⁿ The herrban was summoned to Rennes, April 14, 830.

^o Aug. 829, at Worms.

cloister.^p Before herself was set the dreary alternative of death or of taking the veil. She pronounced the fatal vows; and, as a nun, edified by her repentance and piety the sisters of St. Radegonde at Poitiers.

To the people she was held up as a wicked April, 830. enchantress, who by her potions and by her unlawful bewitchments alone could have so swayed the soul of the pious Emperor. Lothair, the King of Italy, now joined his brothers, and approved of all their acts. Deliberations were held, in which the higher ecclesiastics Jesse, Bishop of Amiens; Hilduin, Abbot of St. Denys; Wala (by the death of his brother Adalhard now Abbot of Corbey) urged the stronger measure, the degradation of the Emperor. The sons, either from fear or respect, hesitated at this extreme course. Some of the Imperial ministers were punished; two brothers of the Empress forced to submit to the tonsure; and Heribert, brother of Duke Bernhard, blinded. In a general Diet of the Empire at Compiègne, Lothair was associated with his father in the Empire.

But the unpopularity of Louis with the Roman Gauls and with the Franks of Gaul was not shared by the German subjects of the Empire. Throughout this contest, the opposition between the Teutonic and the Gaulish Franks (the French, who now began to form a different society and a different language, with a stronger Roman character in their institutions) foreshowed the inevitable disunion which awaited the Empire of Charlemagne. In the Diet of Nimeguen the cause of the Emperor predominated so completely that

^p "Quam usque adeo intentatam per diversi generis pœnas invite adegere, ut promitteret, se, si copia daretur sum imperatore colloquendi persuasuram quatenus Imperator abjectis armis, comisque recisis monasterio sese conferret."—Astron. Vit. Ludov. A.D. 829.

Lothair would not listen to the advice of his more desperate followers to renew the war.⁹ He yielded to the gentle influence of his father, and abandoned, with but little scruple, his own adherents and those of his brothers. The Emperor and his son appeared in public as entirely reconciled. Sentence of capital condemnation was passed on all who had taken part in the proceedings at Compiègne. Jesse, Hilduin, Wala, Matfrid, and the rest were in custody; and it was the clemency of the Emperor rather than the interposition of Lothair in favour of his partisans which prorogued their punishment till the meeting of another Diet at Aix-la-Chapelle, summoned for the 2nd of February. Louis returned in triumph to pass the winter in that capital. His first act was to release his wife from her monastic prison. She returned from Aquitaine, but the scrupulous Emperor hesitated to restore her to her conjugal rights while the impeachment remained upon her honour, perhaps likewise on account of the vows which she had been compelled to take. On the solemn day of the purification of the Virgin, Judith appeared (no one answering the citation to accuse the Empress of adultery or witchery) to assert her own purity. The loyal assembly at once declared that no accuser appeared against her; an oath was tendered, and without further inquiry her own word was held sufficient to establish her spotless virtue. The gentle Louis seized the opportunity of mercy to commute the capital punishment of all the conspirators against his authority.⁷ His monkish

⁹ Funck, I think, does not make out his case of the craft of Louis: he seems to have followed rather than guided events.

⁷ Hilduin had appeared with a great

armed retinue of the vassals of the abbeys of St. Denys, St. Germain de Prés, and S. Médard.—Funck, p. 111. Jesse of Amiens was deposed by a council of bishops, headed by Ebbo

biographer rebukes his too great lenity.^s The sons of Louis, humiliated, constrained to assent to the condemnation of their partisans, withdrew, each to his separate kingdom—Pepin to Aquitaine, Louis to Bavaria, Lothair to Italy. Duke Bernhard presented himself at the court at Thionville in A.D. 831. the course of the autumn; he averred his innocence; according to the custom, defied his accusers to come forward and prove their charge in arms. The wager of battle was not accepted, and Duke Bernhard was admitted to purge himself by oath.

Hardly more than a year elapsed, and the three sons were again in arms against their father. Louis seems now to have alienated the able Duke Bernhard, and to have surrendered himself to the undisputed rule of Gombard, a monk of St. Médard in Soissons.

The whole Empire is now divided into two hostile parties: on each side are dukes and counts, bishops and abbots. The Northern Germans espouse the cause of the Emperor; the Gaulish Franks and some of the Southern Germans obey the Kings of Aquitaine and Bavaria. Among the clergy, another element of jealousy and disunion was growing to a great height. Even under the Merovingian kings, it has been seen, the nobles had endeavoured to engross the great ecclesiastical dignities. Under the Carolingians, men of the highest rank, of the noblest descent, even the younger or illegitimate branches of the royal family,

of Rheims; Hilduin imprisoned at Corbey; Wala in a castle on the lake of Geneva.

^s Astronomus, in Vit. xlv. According to Boehmer (Regesta), Lothair and Louis were present at this diet.

At this diet too appeared envoys from the Danes to implore the continuance of peace; from the Slavians, and from the Caliph of Bagdad, with splendid presents. The Empire appeared still in its strength at a distance.

had become Churchmen; but the higher these dignitaries became, and more and more on a level with the military feudatories, the more the Nobles began to consider the ecclesiastical benefices their aristocratical inheritance and patrimony. They were indignant when men of lower or of servile birth presumed to aspire to these high places, which raised them at once to a level with the most high-born and powerful. They almost aimed at making a separate caste, to whom should belong, of right, all the larger ecclesiastical as well as temporal fiefs. But abilities, piety, learning, in some instances no doubt less lofty qualifications, would at times force their way to the highest dignities. Louis, whether from policy or from a more wise and Christian appreciation of the clerical function in the Church, was considered to favour this humbler class of ecclesiastics. One of his biographers, Thegan, himself an ecclesiastical dignitary of noble birth, thus contemptuously describes the low-born clergy:—"It was the great weakness of Louis that he did not prevent that worst of usages by which the basest slaves obtained the highest dignities of the Church. He followed the fatal example of Jeroboam, 'who made of the lowest of the people priests of the high places. . . . And this thing became sin unto the house of Jeroboam, even to cut it off and to destroy it from the face of the earth.' No sooner have such men attained elevation than they throw off their meekness and humility, give loose to their passions, become quarrelsome, evil-speaking, ruling men's minds by alternate menaces and flatteries. Their first object is to raise their families from their servile condition: to some they give a good education, others they contrive to marry into noble families. No one can lead a quiet life who resents their demands and intrigues.

Low-born
clergy.

Their relatives, thus advanced, treat the older nobles with disdain, and behave with the utmost pride and insolence. The apostolic canon is obsolete, that, if a bishop has poor relations, they should receive alms like the rest of the poor, and nothing more." Thegan devoutly wishes that God would put an end to this execrable usage.^t In all this there may have been truth, but truth spoken in bitterness by the wounded pride of caste. These ecclesiastics were probably the best and the worst of the clergy. There were those who rose by the virtues of saints, by that austere and gentle piety, by that winning evangelic charity, united with distinguished abilities, which is sure of sympathy and admiration in the darkest times: and those who rose by the vices of slaves, selfishness, cunning, adulation, intrigue, by the worldly abilities which in such times so easily assume the mask of religion. Now, however, all the higher clergy, of gentle or low birth, seem to have joined the confederates against the Emperor. Ebbo of Rheims, Agobard of Lyons, Barnard of Vienne, Heribald of Auxerre, Hilduin of Beauvais, are united with Jesse of Amiens and the indefatigable Wala. Afterwards appear also, with Lothair at Compiègne, Bartholomew of Narbonne, Otgar of Mentz, Elias of Troyes, Joseph of Evreux.

At length—after many vicissitudes, hostilities, negotiations, in which Louis, under the absolute control of the ambitious Judith, seemed determined to depress his elder sons, and to advance the young Charles (he had now named him King of Aquitaine)—the armies of the

^t "Jamdudum illa pessima consuetudo erat, ut ex vilissimis servis fiant summ. Pontifices . . . et ideo omnipotens I'cus cum regibus et prin-

cipibus hanc pessimam consuetudinem amodo et deinceps eradicare et suffocare dignetur, ut amplius non fiat in populo Christiano. Amen!"

Emperor and of his rebellious sons (all three sons were now in arms) stood in array against each other on the plains of Rothfeld in Alsace, at no great distance from Strasburg. The Pope was announced as in the camp of the King of Italy. This Pope was Gregory IV., by birth a Roman. Eugenius had been succeeded by Valentinus, who died five weeks after his accession. Gregory IV. had then ascended the Papal throne, with the sanction of the King of Italy, Lothair.^u The Pope may have placed himself in this unseemly position, supporting rebellious sons against the authority of their father, either from the desire of courting the favour of Lothair, who was all-powerful in Italy; or, it may be hoped, with the more becoming purpose of interposing his mediation, and putting an end to this unnatural conflict.

But the Emperor Louis and the clergy of his party beheld in Gregory an avowed enemy. He addressed a strong letter to the Frankish hierarchy assembled at Worms. Gregory's answer was in the haughty tone of later times: it was suggested by Wala,^x now again in the camp of the foes of Louis. But the enmity of the Pope was not so dangerous as what he called his friendly mediation. He appeared suddenly in the camp of Louis. The clergy, Fulco the chief chaplain, and the bishops, had the boldness to declare that, if he came to threaten them and their Imperial master with excommunication, they would in their turn excommunicate him, and send him back to

^u "Non prius ordinatus est, quam legatus Imperatoris Romani venit et electionem populi qualis esset examinavit."—Eginhard, p. 390.

^x "Unde ei dedimus (Wala, &c.)

nonnulla SS. Patrum auctoritate formata prædecessorumque suorum conscripta, quibus nullus contradicere possit, quod ejus esset potestas, imo Dei et B. Petri apostoli, suaque aucto-

Italy.^y There were even threats that they would depose him. Even the meek Emperor received the Pope with cold courtesy, and without the usual honours. He had summoned him indeed, but rather as a vassal than as a mediator. The Pope passed several days in the Imperial camp. Other influences were likewise at work. Unaccountably, imperceptibly, the army of Louis melted away like a heap of snow. The nobles, the ecclesiastics, the troops, gradually fell off and joined his sons. Louis found himself encircled only by a few faithful followers.^z “Go ye also to my sons,” said the gentle Louis; “no one shall lose life or limb in my behalf.”^a Weeping they left him. Ever after this ignominious place was named Lügenfeld, the field of falsehood.^b

June 29.

The Emperor, Judith his Queen, and their young son Charles, were now the prisoners of Lothair. The Emperor was at first treated with some marks of respect. Judith was sent into Italy, and imprisoned in the fortress of Tortona. The boy was conveyed to the abbey of Prüm: probably on account of his youth he escaped the tonsure. The sons divided the Empire;

ritas ire, mittere ad omnes gentes pro fide Christi, et pace ecclesiarum, pro prædicatione evangelii et assertionem veritatis, et in eo esset omnis auctoritas B. Petri excellens et potestas viva, a quo oporteret universos judicari ita ut ipse a nemine judicandus esset.” —Vit. Walæ, xvi. It is curious to find the Pope, no humble Pope, needing this prompting from a Frankish monk, a higher High Churchman than the Pope. Yet I see nothing here of the false Decretals.

^y “Sed si excommunicans advenerit, excommunicatus abiret, cum aliter se

habeat antiquorum auctoritas canonum.”—Thegan.

^z Of these were four bishops, his brother Drogo of Metz, Modoin of Autun, Wilerich of Bremen, Aldric of Mons.

^a “Ite ad filios meos, nolo ut ullus propter me vitam aut membra dimittat. Illi infusi lacrymis recedebant ab eo.” —Thegan, c. xlii.

^b “Qui ab eo quod ibi gestum est perpetuâ est ignominia notatus ut vocetur campus mentitus.”—Astro- nom. Vit. Thegan calls it “campus mendacii.”

the Pope, it is said, in great sorrow, returned to Rome.^c

Lothair was a man of cruelty, but he either feared or scrupled to take the life of his father. Yet he and his noble and episcopal partisans could not but dread another reaction in favour of the gentle Emperor. A Diet was held at Compiègne. They determined to incapacitate him by civil and ecclesiastical degradation for the resumption of his royal office. They compelled

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him to perform public penance in the church of St. Médard, at Soissons. There the Emperor, the father of three kings, before the shrine which contained the reliques of St. Médard and of St. Sebastian the Martyr, laid down upon the altar his armour and his imperial attire, put on a dark mourning robe, and read the long enforced confession of his crimes. Eight weary articles were repeated by his own lips. I. He confessed himself guilty of sacrilege and homicide, as having broken the solemn oath made on a former occasion before the clergy and the people; guilty of the blood of his kinsmen, especially of Prince Bernhard (whose punishment, extorted by the nobles, had been mitigated by Louis). II. He confessed himself guilty of perjury, not only by the violation of his own oaths, but by compelling others to forswear themselves through his frequent changes in the partition of the Empire. III. He confessed himself guilty of a sin against God, by having made a military expedition during Lent, and having held a Diet on a high festival. IV. He confessed himself guilty of severe judgements against the partisans of his sons—whose lives he had spared by his merciful intervention! V. He

Penance of
Louis.

^c "Cum maximo dolore."—Astronom. Vit.

confessed himself again guilty of encouraging perjury, by permitting especially the Empress Judith to clear herself by an oath. VI. He confessed himself guilty of all the slaughter, pillage, and sacrilege committed during the civil wars. VII. He confessed himself guilty of having excited those wars by his arbitrary partitions of the Empire. VIII. And lastly, of having, by his general incapacity, brought the Empire, of which he was the guardian, to a state of total ruin. Having rehearsed this humiliating lesson, the Emperor laid the parchment on the altar, was stripped of his military belt, which was likewise placed there; and having put off his worldly dress, and assumed the garb of a penitent, was esteemed from that time incapacitated from all civil acts.

The most memorable part of this memorable transaction is, that it was arranged, conducted, accomplished in the presence and under the authority of the clergy. The permission of Lothair is slightly intimated; but the act was avowedly intended to display the strength of the ecclesiastical power, the punishment justly incurred by those who are disobedient to sacerdotal admonition.^d Thus the hierarchy assumed cognisance not over the religious delinquencies alone, but over the civil misconduct of the sovereign. They imposed an ecclesiastical penance, not solely for his asserted violation of his oaths before the altar, but for the ruin of the Empire. It is strange to see the pious sovereign, the one devout and saintly of his race, thus degraded by these haughty Churchmen, now, both high-born and low-born, concurring against him. The Pope

^d "Manifestare juxta injunctum nobis ministerium curavimus, qualis sit vigor et potestas sive ministerium sacerdotale, et quali mereatur damnari sententiâ, qui monitis sacerdotalibus obedire noluerit."—Acta Exautorationis Ludov. Pii, apud Bouquet, v. p. 243.

had ostensibly, perhaps sincerely, hoped to reconcile the conflicting parties. His mission may have been designed as one of peace, but the inevitable consequence of his appearance in the rebellious camp could not but be to the disadvantage of Louis. He seemed at least to befriend the son in his unnatural warfare against his father. Agobard, Bishop of Lyons, issued a fierce apology for the rebellious sons of Louis, filled with accusations of incontinence against the Empress Judith.^e Her beauty and the graces of her manner had even seduced the admiration of holy priests and bishops towards this Dalilah, who had dared to resume her royal dignity and conjugal rights after having taken the veil; to her he attributes all the weaknesses of the too easy monarch. In the words of the aristocratic Thegan, all the bishops were the enemies of Louis, especially those whom he had raised from a servile condition, or who were sprung from barbarous races. But there was one on whom Thegan pours out all his indignation. One was chosen, an impure and most inhuman man, to execute their cruel decrees, a man of servile origin, Ebbo, the Archbishop of Rheims. "Unheard-of words! Unheard-of deeds! They took the sword from his thigh; by the judgement of his servants he was clad in sackcloth; the prophecy of Jeremiah was fulfilled—'Slaves have ruled over us.'^f Oh, what a return for his goodness! He made thee free, noble he could not, for that an enfranchised slave cannot be. He clothed thee in purple and in pall, thou clothedst him in sackcloth; he raised thee to the highest bishopric, thou by unjust judgement hast expelled him from the throne of

* "Domina Palatii ludat | concludentibus, qui secundum formam
pueriliter, spectantibus etiam aliqui- | quam apostolus scribit de eligendis epis-
bus de ordine sacerdotali et plerisque | copis" † Lamentat, v. 8.

his ancestors. O Lord Jesus! where was thy destroying angel when these things were done?" Thegan goes on to quote Virgil, and says that the poet would want the combined powers of Homer, Virgil, and Ovid to describe the guilt of these deeds. The miseries of Louis were greater than those of Job himself. The comforters of Job were kings, those of Louis slaves.⁸

It is astonishing to find that this was the same Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, who undertook a perilous mission to the heathen Northmen, brought the Danish King to the court of Louis to receive baptism, and is celebrated by the monkish poet of the day in the most glowing strains for his saintly virtues.^h

This strange and sudden revolution, which had left the Emperor at the mercy of his son, was followed by another no less sudden and strange. No doubt the pride of many warlike nobles was insulted by this display of ecclesiastical presumption. The degradation of the Emperor was the degradation of the Empire. The character of Louis, however, could not but command the fond attachment of many. The people felt the profoundest sympathy in his fate; and even among the clergy there were those who could not but think these insults an ungracious and unchristian return for his piety to God, his tenderness to man, his respect for the ecclesiastical order.ⁱ A revulsion took place in the

⁸ "Qui beato Job insultabant Reges fuisse leguntur in libro beati Thobie; qui illum vero affligebant, legales ejus servi erant, et patrum suorum."—Thegan. Vit. Ludov. xliv.

^h Ermoldi Nigelli, Carm. iv. Ermoldus makes Louis deliver a charge to Ebbo, when setting out to convert the Normans. Munter, Geschichte der

Einführung des Christenthüms in Dänemark und Norwegen, has collected the passages about Ebbo's mission.—Page 238 *et seqq.*

ⁱ Nithard says, "Plebs autem non modica, quæ præsens erat, etiamque Lothario pro patre vim inferre volebat."—Apud Bouquet, p. 13. The Astro-
nomer says on one occasion, "Misc-

whole nation. The other sons of the Emperor, Pepin and Louis, had taken no part in this humiliation of their father, and expressed their strong commiseration of his sufferings, their reprobation of the cruelty and insult heaped upon him. The murmurs of the people were too loud to be mistaken. Leaving his father at St. Denys, Lothair fled to Burgundy. No sooner had he retired than the whole Empire seemed to assemble, in loyal emulation, around the injured Louis.

But Louis would not resume his power, and his arms, the symbol of his power, but with the consent of the Bishops. His subjects' reviving loyalty could not remove the ecclesiastical incapacitation. But bishops were not wanting among those who thronged to renew

A.D. 834.
March 1.

their allegiance.^k Louis was solemnly re-girt with his arms by the hands of some of these prelates, and, amid the universal joy of the people, the Pious resumed the Empire. So great was the burst of feeling, that, in the language of his biographer, the very elements seemed to sympathise in the deliverance of the Emperor from his unnatural son. The weather, which had been wet and tempestuous, became clear and serene. Once more the Empress Judith returned to court;^m and Louis might again enjoy his quiet hunting and fishing, and his ascetic usages, in the forest of Ardennes. Yet it was not a bloodless revolution. The

Aug. 834.

armies of Louis and Lothair encountered near Châlons. That unfortunate town was burned by the victorious Lothair, whose savage ferocity did

ratio tamen hujusce rei et talis rerum permutationis, exceptis auctoribus omnes habebat."—c. 39.

^k Among these, Otgar of Mentz, who had been present at his penance

in Soissons.

^m The empress was brought from Tortona by officious nobles, eager to merit the gratitude of the restored emperor.

not spare even females. Not content with the massacre of a son of Duke Bernhard in cold blood, his sister was dragged from her convent, shut up in a wine-cask, and thrown into the Saône.ⁿ

But the year after a pestilence made such ravages in the army of Lothair, that he was obliged to return into Italy. Before long he had to deplore the death of almost all his great Transalpine partisans, Wala, Count Hugo, Matfrid, Jesse of Amiens. During this time a Diet at Thionville had annulled the proceedings of that at Compiègne. In a solemn assembly at Metz, eight archbishops^o and thirty-five bishops condemned the acts of themselves and their rebellious brethren at that assembly. In the cathedral of Metz, seven archbishops chanted the seven prayers of reconciliation, and the Emperor was then held to be absolutely reinvested in his civil and religious supremacy. At a later Diet at Cremieux, near Lyons, Ebbo of Rheims (the chief chaplain, Fulco, the faithful adherent of Louis, who had defied the Pope in his cause, aspired to the metropolitan see) submitted to deposition.^p He was imprisoned in the abbey of Fulda. Yet Rome must be consulted before the degradation is complete, at all events before the successor is consecrated. Agobard of Lyons was condemned. The Archbishop of Vienne appeared not; he incurred sentence of deposition for his contumacy. The Archbishop of Narbonne, and other bishops, were deposed. A new division of the Empire took place at a later diet at Worms, in which Lothair received only Italy: the Transalpine dominions were divided between

A.D. 836.

Feb. 28.

June, 835.

ⁿ "More maleficorum," says Nithard. No doubt the punishment of a witch.—Apud Bouquet, p. 13.

^o Mentz, Treves, Rouen, Tours, Sens, Bourges, Arles, even Ebbo of Rheims.
^p Funck, p. 153, with authorities.

the three other sons, Pepin, Louis, and Charles; the Empress Judith secured the first step to equality in favour of her son.⁹

The few remaining years of the life of Louis were still distracted by the unallayed feuds in his family. A visit of devotion to Rome was prevented by a descent of the Normans, who had long ravaged the coasts of France. A new partition was made at Nimeguen; Charles was solemnly crowned. The Empress Judith contrived to bring about a reconciliation between Lothair and his father, to the advantage of her own son Charles,^r and a division of interests between Lothair and his brothers, Louis of Bavaria and Pepin of Aquitaine. Pepin, King of Aquitaine, died, and the claims of his children to the succession were disregarded. Judith knit still closer the alliance of the Emperor and the elder son. Yet one more partition. With the exception of Bavaria, with which Louis was obliged to be content, the Empire was divided between Lothair and the son of Judith.

The death of Louis was in harmony with his life. In a state of great weakness (an eclipse of the sun had thrown him into serious alarm, and from that day he began to fail^s), he persisted in strictly observing the forty days of Lent; the Eucharist was his only food. Almost his last words were expressive of forgiveness to his son Louis, who was in arms against him,^t and "bringing down his grey hairs in sorrow to

⁹ Carta Divisionis, Bouquet, vi. 411; compare Funck, 158, 9.

^r Astronomus, l. ii. Nithard, p. 14, lib. i.

^s Annales Francorum, Fuldenses, Bertiniani, sub ann.

^t Louis of Bavaria had not rushed into war without provocation. The Emperor had at least sanctioned the last partition, which left him a narrow kingdom, while Lothair and his younger brother shared the realm of Charlemagne.

the grave." He continued, while he had strength, to hold the crucifix, which contained a splinter of the true cross, to his breast; when his strength failed, he left that office to Drogo, Bishop of Metz, his natural brother, who, with the Archbishops of Treves and Mentz, attended his dying hours. His last words were the German, *aus, aus*. His attendants supposed that he was bidding an evil spirit, of whose presence he was conscious, *avaunt*. He then lifted up his eyes to heaven, and, with serenity approaching to a smile, expired.^u

June 20,
A.D. 840.

Christian history has dwelt at some length on the life of this monarch. His appellation, the Pious, shows what the religion was which was held in especial honour in his day, its strength and its weakness, its virtue, and what in a monarch can hardly escape the name of vice. It displays the firmer establishment of a powerful and aristocratic clergy, not merely in that part of Europe which became the French monarchy, but also in great part of trans-Rhenane Germany; the manner in which they attained and began to exercise that power; the foundation, in short, of great national Churches, in acknowledged subordination, if not always in rigid obedience, to the See of Rome, but also mingling, at times with overruling weight, in all the temporal affairs of each kingdom.

But throughout the reign of Louis the Pious, not only did the Empire assert this supremacy in ecclesiastical as in temporal affairs; Teutonic independence maintained its ground, more perhaps than its ground, on the great question of image-worship.

Image-worship in the West.

^u Louis died on an island of the Rhine, opposite to Ingelheim.

The Council of Paris enforced the solemn decree of the Council of Frankfort. The Iconoclastic Byzantine Emperor, Michael the Stammerer, entered A.D. 824. into negotiations with the Western Emperor, of which the manifest object was to compel the Pope at least to amity, and to recede from the decrees of the second Council of Nicæa asserted by his predecessors. The ambassadors of Constantinople appeared in Rome, accompanied by ambassadors from Louis. The Pope Eugenius, who owed his Popedom to the Franks, who sat on his throne only through their support, was in great embarrassment: he was obliged to elude what he dared not oppose. At no other time could a Claudius of Turin. bishop like Claudius of Turin have acted the fearless Iconoclast in an Italian city, removed all images and pictures, condemned even the cross, and lived and died, if not unassailed by angry controversialists, yet unrebuked by any commanding authority, undegraded, and in the full honours of a Bishop. Claudius was a Spaniard who acquired fame as a commentator on the Scriptures in the court of Louis at Aquitaine. Among the first acts of Louis as Emperor was the promotion of Claudius to the bishopric of Turin. The stern reformer at once began to wage war on what he deemed the superstitious of the people. Claudius went much further than the temperate decrees of the Council of Frankfort. Images were to him idols; the worship of the cross godlessness. Turin was overawed by his vigorous authority. A strong party, not the most numerous, espoused his cause. He was not unopposed. The Abbot Theodemir, of a monastery near Nismes; Dungal, a Scot, a learned theologian of Pavia, Jonas, Bishop of Orleans, denounced his doctrines. But Theodemir in-

generously confesses that most of the great Transalpine prelates thought with Claudius.* Agobard of Lyons published a famous treatise, if not in defence of Claudius, maintaining in their utmost strength the decrees of Frankfort.

But it was not on image-worship alone that Claudius of Turin advanced opinions premature and anticipative of later times. The apostolic office of St. Peter ceased with the life of St. Peter. The power of the keys passed to the whole episcopal order. The Bishop of Rome had apostolic power only in so far as he led an apostolic life.

It is difficult to suppose but that some tradition or succession to the opinions of Claudius of Turin lay concealed in the valleys of the Piedmontese Alps, to appear again after many centuries.

* Gfrörer, 111, f. 736.

CHAPTER III.

Saracens in Italy.

THE Carlovingian Empire expired with Louis the Pious. It separated, not so much into three kingdoms, as into three nations. Germany, France, and Italy, though governed each by a descendant of Charlemagne, and for a short time re-united under the sceptre of Charles the Fat, began to diverge more widely in their social institutions, in their form of government, in the manners and character of the people.

The imperial title was, in general, assumed by that one of the sons or grandsons of Louis the Pious who was master of Italy. First Lothair, and then his son, Louis II., was Emperor, King of Italy, and Sovereign of the city of Rome. The right to ratify, if not the election, the consecration of the Pope, was among the imperial privileges asserted with the greatest rigour and determination.^a At the close of the uneventful pontificate of Gregory IV.,—uneventful as far as the affairs of Rome, not uneventful to those who could discern the slow but steady advancement of hierarchical pretensions^b—the Emperor Lothair heard with indignation that the clergy and people of Rome had elected Sergius II., a Roman of noble birth, and from his youth trained in ecclesiastical

^a Annal. Bertiniani.

^b See the famous letter of Gregory IV. ad Episcopos, written, it should seem, under the influence of the Abbot Wala. See note, p. 136.

duties ; and that Sergius, contrary to the solemn treaty, had been at once consecrated, without awaiting his good pleasure.^c The Romans had expelled John, a deacon, chosen by some of the low and rustic people.^d The haughty nobles had insisted on the condemnation of the audacious usurper. Sergius interposed to save his life. Again, we see the commonalty and the nobles in fierce strife ; but the nobles, grown haughty, are less humbly imperialist. Lothair despatched immediately his son Louis with an army, and accompanied by Drogo Bishop of Metz, to punish, perhaps to degrade, the presumptuous prelate. The Franks, whose natural ferocity had not been abated by years of civil war, as if to show the resentment of the Emperor, committed frightful ravages. From the borders of the Roman territory to Bologna they advanced, wasting as they went, towards Rome. But Pope Sergius knew the strength of his position, and put forth all his religious grandeur to control the mind of the young invader. A fortunate tempest had already shaken the minds of the Franks : some of the followers of the Bishop of Metz had been struck dead by lightning, but still the army advanced with menacing haste.^e

Nine miles from the city Louis was met by the civil authorities, with banners flying and loud acclamations, the military *schools*, or bands, and the people under their various standards, chanting hymns and songs of welcome. As he came nearer, the sacred

^c Anastasius, Vit. Sergii ; Annal. Bertin, ad ann. 844.

^d "Imperito et agresti populo."—Vit. Serg.

^e "Hoc videntes horribile signum

nimis omnes timore Franci correpti sunt. Sed nullatenus mente ferocitatem deponentes, atroci voluntate ad urbem velociter properabant."—Vit. Sergii.

Louis, son
of Lothair,
in Rome.

crosses, which were usually reserved to grace the entrance of the Emperor into the city, were seen advancing towards him. Louis was seized with pious fear and joy at these unexpected honours. On the steps up to the church of St. Peter he was met and embraced by the pope. They proceeded, Louis at the right hand of the pope, to the silver-plated doors of the church, which, however, were jealously closed. Then the Pope, by the suggestion, it was said, of the Holy Ghost, addressed the king,—“Comest thou with a pure heart and mind for the welfare of the republic, and of the whole world, and of this Church? If so, I will command that the gates be opened; if otherwise never, with my consent, shalt thou enter therein.” The king protested that he came with no hostile or evil intent. At the touch of the prelate the doors flew open, the whole clergy burst out in the accordant chant, “Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.” The Frank army, in the mean

time, were not permitted to enter the city, June 15. the gates of which were strongly guarded by the militia of Rome. A few days after Louis was anointed King of Lombardy. The Franks insisted on the Pope and the patricians of Rome swearing fealty to the king. They resolutely refused to acknowledge any allegiance but to the Emperor himself.

The degraded archbishops, Ebbo of Rheims, Bartholomew of Narbonne, prayed to be restored to their sees and their honours; but Drogo of Metz, the brother and faithful adherent of Louis the Pious, was at the head of the Frankish army. The Pope would grant them the humiliating permission to communicate, but to communicate only with the common people. Drogo, Bishop of Metz, son of the glorious Emperor Charles the

Great, was appointed with the fullest powers Vicar of the Pope beyond the Alps.^f

Sergius died after a pontificate of three years. An unforeseen necessity enforced the immediate election of his successor, Leo IV.^g The im-
Jan. 27, 847.
Leo IV.
 pulse of Mohammedan invasion against the still narrowing boundaries of Christendom had by no means ceased. The Saracen fleets were masters of the Mediterranean. Sicily, with the exception of Syracuse, which made a gallant defence for some years, was in their hands.^h They had conquered Calabria, were rapidly advancing northwards, and subduing the parts of the province which still owned allegiance to the Byzantine Empire.ⁱ Rome herself beheld the Moslemin at her gates; the suburban churches of St. Peter and St. Paul were plundered; the capital of Christendom was in danger of becoming a Mohammedan city.^k The Moslemin retired on the advance of an army of Franks, according to some authorities, under the command of King Louis himself; but they retreated only to inflict a shameful defeat on the Christians, and then sate down to besiege Gaeta. The great riches of the monastery of Monte Casino escaped only by an opportune rising of the river Garigliano, attributed by the grateful monks to a miracle.^m

Saracen invasions.

^f Vit. Sergii.

^g It is observed that under Leo IV. the form of address of the papal letters is changed. With two exceptions, the name of the person addressed is placed after that of the Pope: the title Dominus is dropped.—Garnier, in Not. ad Lib. Pontiff. Planck, iii. p. 29.

^h The progress of the Saracens was aided by the feuds among the Lombard duke. The princes of Spoleto and

Benevento and Naples had been at continual war with each other. For details, see Anonym. Salernit.

ⁱ Famin (Histoire des Invasions des Sarrasins en Italie) describes the conquest of Sicily, and the first invasions of Italy, c. iv.—Annal. Met. Annal. Bertin. sub ann. 846. Baronius sub ann.

^k Famin, p. 199.

^m The abbey, however, had already

But these terrible strangers might at any time return to invest the city of St. Peter. Whether to avert the danger by his prayers, to summon the Frank Protector with more commanding voice, or to strengthen the city by his administration, a Pope appeared instantly necessary to the nobles, clergy, and people of Rome." With the utmost haste, but with reservation of the imperial rights, infringed only on account of the exigencies of

the time, Leo IV. was elected, consecrated, and assumed the functions of pope. The Romans were released from their immediate terrors by the destruction of the Saracen fleet in a tempest off Gaeta. Another legend ascribed this disaster to the insulted and plundered apostles.^o

Jan. 847.

Leo's first care was to provide for the future security of the Vatican and the church of St. Peter. He carried out the design, before entertained by Leo III., of forming a new suburb, surrounded by strong fortifications, on the right bank of the Tiber, which might at once protect the most hallowed edifice of Christendom, and receive the fugitives who might be driven from the city by hostile incursions, perhaps by civil insurrections. This part of Rome perpetuated the name of the pope, as the Leonine city.

The eight years of Leo's papacy^p were chiefly occupied

been plundered by Sicenulf, Duke of Benevento, on pretence of employing its wealth in the wars against the Saracens. The whole account is minute and curious. Anonym. Salern. apud Muratori, Script. Ital., p. 266. According to Famin, it was taken and plundered A.D. 844; yet he quotes the statement of Baronius, which implies that it was first threatened by the Saracens in 844.—Baronius sub

ann. Compare Tosti. Storia di Monte Casino, i. p. 43, &c.

ⁿ "Hoc timore et futuro casu perterriti, eum sine permissone principis consecraverant: fidem quoque illius, sive honorem, post Deum per omnia et in omnibus conservantes."—Anasias, in Vit. Leon. IV.

^o Baronius in loc.

^p Leo died A.D. 855, July 17.

in strengthening, in restoring the plundered and desecrated churches of the two apostles, and adorning Rome. The succession to Leo IV. was contested between Benedict III., who commanded the suffrages of the clergy and people, and Anastasius, who, at the head of an armed faction, seized the Lateran, stripped Benedict of his pontifical robes, and awaited the confirmation of his violent usurpation by the Imperial Legates, whose influence he thought that he had secured. But these Commissioners, after strict investigation, decided in favour of Benedict. Anastasius was expelled with disgrace from the Lateran, his rival consecrated in the presence of the Emperor's representatives. Anastasius, with unwonted mercy, was only degraded to lay communion.

Sept.
A.D. 855.

Sept. 29.

The pontificate of Benedict III. is memorable chiefly for the commencement of the long strife between Ignatius and Photius for the see of Constantinople. This strife ended in the permanent schism between the Eastern and Western Churches.

CHAPTER IV.

Nicolas I. Ignatius and Photius.

NICOLAS I., the successor of Benedict, was chosen rather by the favour of the Emperor Louis and his nobles than that of the clergy.* He has been thought worthy to share the appellation of the Great with Leo I., with Gregory I., with Hildebrand, and with Innocent III. At least three great events signalised the pontificate of Nicolas I.,—the strife of Photius with Ignatius for the archiepiscopal throne of Constantinople; the prohibition of the divorce of King Lothair from his Queen Theutberga; and the humiliation of the great prelates on the Rhine, the successful assertion of the papal supremacy even over Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims. In the first two of these momentous questions, the contest about the see of Constantinople, and that of Lothair, King of Lorraine, with his wife Theutberga, Nicolas took his stand on the great eternal principles of justice, humanity, and sound morals. These were no questions of abstruse and subtile theology nor the assertion of dubious rights. In both cases the Pope was the protector of the feeble and the oppressed, the victims of calumny and of cruelty. The Bishop of Constantinople, unjustly deposed, persecuted, exiled, treated with the worst inhumanity, implored the judgement of the head of Western Christendom. A queen.

* Prudent. Trecens. apud Pertz, i. 142. Vit. Nicolai I.

not only deserted by a weak and cruel husband, but wickedly and falsely criminated by a council of bishops, obtained a hearing at the Court of Rome: her innocence was vindicated, her accusers punished, the king himself compelled to bow before the majesty of justice, made more venerable by religion. If in both cases the language of Nicolas was haughty and imperious, it was justified to the ears of men by the goodness of his cause. The lofty supremacy which he asserted over the see of Byzantium awoke no jealousy, being exerted in behalf of a blameless and injured prelate. If he treated the royal dignity of France with contempt, it had already become contemptible in the eyes of mankind; if he annulled by his own authority the decree of a national council, composed of the most distinguished prelates of Gaul, that council had already been condemned by all who had natural sympathies with justice and with innocence. Yet, though in both cases Nicolas displayed equal ability and resolution in the cause of right, the event of the two affairs was very different. The dispute concerning the patriarchate of Constantinople ended in the estrangement, the alienation, the final schism between the East and West. It was the last time that the Pope was permitted authoritatively to interfere in the ecclesiastical affairs of the East. The excommunication of the Greek by the Latin Church was the final act of separation. In the West Nicolas established a precedent for control even over the private morals of princes. The vices of kings, especially those of France, became the stronghold of papal influence: injured queens and subjects knew to what quarter they might recur for justice or for revenge. And on this occasion the Pope brought not only the impotent king, but the powerful clergy of Lorraine, beneath his feet

The great Bishops of Cologne and of Treves were reduced to abject humiliation.

The contention for the Patriarchate of Constantinople was, strictly speaking, no religious controversy,—it was the result of political intrigue and personal animosity. Ignatius, who became the Patriarch, was of imperial descent. In the revolution which dethroned his father, Michael Rhangabe, he had taken refuge, under the cowl of a monk, from the jealousy of Leo the Armenian. The monasteries in the islands of Platos, Hyathos, and Terebinthus, were peopled by the devout followers of Ignatius. They were the refuge of all who were persecuted for the worship of images; and to Ignatius, during that reign, the monkish and anti-Iconoclastic party looked up as a protector and a model of the austere virtue.^b From these peaceful solitudes he had been summoned by the Empress Theodora, the mother and guardian of the Emperor Michael III. the Drunkard, to the patriarchal throne of Constantinople. His devout zeal led him to rebuke the Cæsar Bardas for his incestuous life. Bardas had divorced his own wife, and lived publicly with his son's widow. Ignatius openly repelled him from the communion. So long as the Empress Theodora, the sister of Bardas, protected the Patriarch, the Cæsar had no hope of vengeance; his ambition as well as his vindictiveness urged him to involve them both in common ruin. He persuaded the young Emperor no longer to endure the disgrace of female rule; and, in order to secure the full exercise of authority, counselled him to remove not only his imperious mother, and even his sisters, from the Court,

^b It must be remembered that our chief authority is Nicetas, the biographer of Ignatius, as fervent an admirer as any adoring hagiologist.

but to seclude them altogether from the world. The Patriarch was commanded to dedicate these unwilling votaries to a religious life. Ignatius appealed to the canons of the Church, which allowed no one to take the vows but of their own free will; and steadily resisted the Imperial commands. A groundless charge was soon invented of treasonable correspondence with a pretender to the Empire. Ignatius was banished to his old retreat in the island of Terebinthus. As Nov. 23, 857. no power or persuasion could induce him to resign his patriarchal dignity, he was declared to be deposed, and a new Patriarch appointed in his place.

Photius was chosen as his successor. Of illustrious birth,* having discharged all the great offices of the State with consummate ability, and risen to its very highest dignity, Photius was esteemed the most learned and accomplished man of his age. In grammar, oratory, even in physical science, in every branch of knowledge and letters, except poetry, he stood alone. His ambition was boundless as his industry and learning; and his acceptance of the Patriarchal See may show the transcendant estimation in which ecclesiastical dignity was held in the East as in the West. Photius was Dec. 25, 857. but a layman: in six successive days he passed through the inferior orders up to the Patriarchate.

The bishops, it is said, assented to the elevation of Photius on the express condition that he should treat his deposed rival with respect and generosity. But so long as Ignatius had not consented to resign his See, the tenure of the Bishopric was insecure. Ignatius and the bishops of his party suffered every kind of wanton

* The patriarch Tarasius was his great uncle; another uncle had married the sister of the Empress Theodora and of Bardas.

cruelty; their sacred persons were not revered; some were beaten and exiled to remote and inhospitable parts of the Empire. One accused of too great liberty of speech had his tongue cut out.^d The high-born and blameless Patriarch himself was seized, carried away from his splendid and peaceful monastery, loaded with chains, hurried from one desolate place to another, and at last confined in Mitylene. Rival councils met, and the two Patriarchs were alternately excommunicated by the adverse spiritual factions.

Photius was the first to determine on an appeal to Rome. The Pope, he thought, would hardly resist the acknowledgment of his superiority, with the tempting promise of the total extirpation of the hated Iconoclasts. The Emperor sent a solemn embassy, entreating that Legates might be commissioned to assist him in his holy work, and to restore the decaying discipline. On the part of Photius four bishops were sent to assure the Pope that Ignatius, oppressed by age and infirmities, had retired from the Bishopric; that in his retirement he was treated with profound respect; that Photius had been lawfully chosen to the vacant See. He added the most humble asseverations of his own conscious unworthiness, and the strong reluctance with which he had undertaken the awful function. "The clergy, the bishops, the emperor, benignant to all, cruel to me alone, without listening to my entreaties, untouched by my tears, have compelled me to bear this heavy burthen."^e

^d Photius, in a remarkable letter to the Cæsar, deprecates in the strongest terms these barbarities.—Epist. vi.

^e Photii, Epist. i. ad Nicol. Papam. It has been reprinted in a *Vie de Photius*, by the Abbé Jager, one of

those modern French works which would disdain the praise of candour and impartiality. I shall not accuse him of it. But M. Jager deserves the praise of justly appreciating the high merit of Photius, for his day most

Nicolas was no doubt better acquainted than was supposed with the state of ecclesiastical affairs in the East. He answered with caution and dignity, that his legates could only judge on the spot as to the validity of the very questionable ordination of Photius. In the presence of his legates and a lawful council Ignatius must acknowledge his resignation. Sept. 25, 860.

In his reply to the Emperor, Nicolas seized the opportunity of reclaiming the estates of the Church in Sicily, and the jurisdiction over Illyricum, Epirus, Thessaly, and other parts of Greece, which had been usurped by the Archbishop of Thessalonica. Throughout the behaviour and language of Nicolas there is no sign of admitted subjection to the Eastern emperor: even its tradition seems forgotten. He writes as a great independent religious potentate, as the head of Christendom, treating the Emperor at first with the courtesy becoming a powerful sovereign, but not as one to whom himself owed allegiance.

The legates, with this calm and guarded reply, arrived at Constantinople, to the disappointment of Photius and of the Emperor. Photius was indignant that he was not acknowledged under his title of bishop; the Emperor received the legates, not as ambassadors from a foreign power, but as insolent subjects. They were imprisoned, threatened with banishment: they yielded to these sterner or to milder means of persuasion, to direct bribery.^f Ignatius was summoned to appear before a

unusually accomplished as a scholar; and the extraordinary beauty of some of his letters, a merit very rare in Greek literature.

Anastasius (in Vit. Nicolai I.) and the Pope himself (Epist. x. ad Clerum Constantin.) assert distinctly that

they were bribed. The most extraordinary menace was, that not only they should suffer exile, but be food for vermin from their own bodies. "Longa exilia et diuturnas pediculorum comessationes." This might seem beneath the dignity of history

council in the presence of the papal legates. This council boasted that it was formed of exactly the same number of prelates as sate in the venerable assembly at Nicæa. The Patriarch's firmness for a time stayed the proceedings. He demanded who the legates were, and for what purpose they sate in Constantinople? They replied that they were the legates of Nicolas, the supreme pontiff, sent to judge his cause.^g "First," answered the intrepid Patriarch, who appeared in the garb of a simple monk, "drive out the adulterer. If ye cannot, ye are no judges." He appealed to the Pope in person. The council pronounced his deposition; and as it were, to propitiate the Pope, in their second session condemned Iconoclasm. But this was not enough. Still all means of persuasion and cruelty were used to extort the resignation of Ignatius.^h At length, it is said, while he lay senseless in his prison, his unconscious hand was forced to trace the sign of a cross on a blank paper, on which Photius superscribed a confession of his uncanonical election to the Patriarchate, which he had ruled as an usurper and a tyrant. In possession of this document,

were it not in the Pope's own letter, and so, it should seem, rests on the authority of the Legates themselves.—Also, Phot. Epist. vi. p. 286.

^g The Legates suppressed the parts of the Pope's letter which warned them to decide nothing, and read only that which related to the Iconoclasts.

^h If we are to believe the monkish writers, the cruelty of all orders even to ecclesiastics of the highest rank shows a most savage state of manners. The ingenious tortures inflicted on

Ignatius, it is said, by command of the Emperor and of Photius, are absolutely revolting. Another respectable prelate, who had been Bishop of Crete at the time of the Saracen conquest, now become Bishop of Thessalonica, ventured during an earthquake to remonstrate with the young Emperor against his profane mimicry of the religious ceremonies of the Church, he was beaten so as to knock out two of his teeth, and scourged almost to death.—Nicet. Vit. Ignat., Labbæ, p. 1218.

Plotius allowed his rival a short interval of repose.^l He was permitted to retire to a palace which had belonged to his mother. Rumours of new and more horrible persecutions meditated against him induced him to fly from the capital.^k He found means to baffle his pursuers; till an earthquake, as in the time of his great predecessor, Chrysostom, shook Constantinople with guilty dread, and seemed the voice of Heaven rebuking the unjust usage of the Patriarch. He was permitted to return to the city.

In the mean time the sentence of his deposition by the Synod of Constantinople had been communicated to the Pope, with a letter of great length from Photius.^m The Pope took at once the highest ground. He summoned a council of the Roman Church; disclaimed his weak and unauthorised legates, and in the presence of the imperial ambassador refused his consent to the deposal of Ignatius, to the elevation of Photius.

Not merely did he address two lofty and condemnatory letters to the Emperor and to Photius, but a third,

^l Photius is accused of forgery, or of conniving at the forgery of two favourable letters from the Pope. The trick was detected by the Cæsar Bardas. — Nicet. in Vit.

^k Among the cruelties and insults which Photius is charged with heaping on his rival, he is said to have given him up shamelessly to the mockery of mimes and stage-players. "Et ad illudendum mimis et scenicis inverecundè proderes." — Nicol. ad Phot. Epist. x. p. 372.

^m Part of this letter is striking and beautiful. Photius describes, with seeming sincerity, the enjoyments of his state as a layman, in the society

of his attached friends and the quiet study of letters, and his profound regret that he had abandoned those more congenial occupations. *ἔξέπεσον εἰρηνικῆς ζωῆς, ἔξέπεσον γαλήνης γλυκείας. ἔξέπεσον δὲ καὶ δόξης (εἶπερ τισὶ καὶ κοσμικῆς δόξης ἔφεσις), ἔξεπεσον τῆς φίλης ἡσυχίας, τῆς καθαρᾶς ἐκείνης καὶ ἡδίστης μετὰ τῶν πλησίον συνοουσίας, τῆς ἀλύπου, καὶ ἀδόλου, καὶ ἀνεπιπλήκτου συναποστροφῆς.* The latter part vindicates his sudden promotion from the rank of a layman to the patriarchate, by the unanswerable examples of his predecessors Nestorius and Tarasius, and that of St. Ambrose of Milan.

also, to "the faithful in the East," at the close of which he made known to the three Eastern Patriarchs his steadfast resolution to maintain the cause of Ignatius, to refuse the recognition of the usurper Photius. He called upon them to concur in the decrees of the Apostolic See.

A.D. 862.

Early in the next year a monk named Theognetus, a messenger of Ignatius, appeared in Rome with the full account of all the hard usage endured by his master. A more august council was now summoned, of which the first act was to degrade and excommunicate Zacharias, one of the papal legates, for his weakness in consenting to the deposition of Ignatius. The Pope then pronounced the unanimous sentence of

A.D. 863.

condemnation against Photius; recounting his offences, and involving under the same anathema Gregory, Bishop of Syracuse, who had presumed to consecrate the usurper of the Constantinopolitan See.^a All the acts of Photius, especially his ordinations, were declared null and void. The restoration of Ignatius was commanded even in more imperious language, and under more awful sanctions. "We, by the power committed to us by our Lord through St. Peter, restore our brother Ignatius to his former station, to his see, to his dignity as Patriarch and to all the honours of his office. Whoever, after the promulgation of this decree, shall presume to disturb him in the exercise of his office, separate from his communion, or dare to judge him anew, without the consent of the Apostolic See, if

^a Nicolas neglected no means of carrying his point. He did not disdain female influence. Besides letters to the clergy of the East, and to the senate of Constantinople, he wrote to the mother and to the wife of the Emperor to maintain the cause of Ignatius, to reject the adulterer of the see, the usurper, the neophyte Photius. —Epist. Nicol. I.

a clerk, shall share the eternal punishment of the traitor Judas; if a layman, he has incurred the malediction of Canaan: he is excommunicated, and will suffer the same fearful sentence from the eternal Judge."

Never had the power of the clergy or the supremacy of Rome been asserted so distinctly, so inflexibly. The privileges of Rome were eternal, immutable, anterior to, derived from no synod or council, but granted directly by God himself: they might be assailed, but not transferred; torn off for a time, but not plucked up by the roots. An appeal was open to Rome from all the world, from her authority lay no appeal.^o

The Emperor and Constantinople paid no regard to these terrible anathemas of the Pope. As long as he possessed the favour of the Emperor, Photius remained in undisturbed possession of his see. An angry correspondence was kept up between the Emperor and the Pope. In the Emperor's letter he seems (for his letter is only known by the Pope's reply) to have addressed the Pope as a refractory and contumacious subject. He threatens Rome itself with fire and sword. Nicolas maintains his haughty independence,^p treats these idle

^o The Emperor, it appears, had demanded that his disloyal subject, the monk Theognetus, the messenger of Ignatius to Rome, should be delivered up. "Many thousands," replies the Pope, "come to Rome every year, and place themselves devoutly under the protection of St. Peter. We have the power of summoning monks, and even clergy, from every part of the world: you, O Emperor, have no such power; you have nothing to do with monks, but humbly to entreat their prayers." Never would he surrender to a worldly sovereign a monk, who

by his profession declared his contempt for palaces, for all the honours, dignities, and gifts which kings could bestow.

^p The Emperor (or was it the insolence of the Greek scholar Photius?) had spoken of the Latin language as a barbarous Scythian jargon. The indignant Pope replies, that to censure that language is to censure its maker, God; that it was one of the languages inscribed on the Cross; that the Scythians are idolaters, and only use Latin to worship God; that some of the services even in the churches of

menaces with contempt. He significantly reminds the Emperor of the fate of Sennacherib; and tauntingly reproaches him with his dastardly submission to the Saracens. “We have not invaded Crete; we have not depopulated Sicily; we have not subdued the countless provinces of Greece; we have not burned the churches in the very suburbs of Constantinople; yet, while these pagans conquer, waste, burn with impunity, we Catholic Christians are menaced with the vain terrors of your arms. Ye release Barabbas, and put Christ to death.” Nicolas concludes with evoking the whole cause to Rome, cites the two conflicting parties, Ignatius and Photius at least by his representative, as well as the other bishops personally, to submit themselves to his tribunal. On the faithful fulfilment of these terms, he will condescend to allow the Emperor to communicate with the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, with himself specially, and his brother priest, Ignatius. In conclusion, he ominously reminds him of the fate of the Emperors, the persecutors of the Church, Nero, Diocletian, Constantius, Anastasius; the glory of those who have been its faithful friends and servants. In another letter—the strife was now dragging on its fourth year—Nicolas enjoins the Emperor to burn the blasphemous and filthy letter with which he has dared to insult the Holy See; if he refuses, the Pope will himself summon an assembly of prelates, anathematise all who favour or maintain these documents, and, to his eternal disgrace, cause the Emperor’s missive publicly to be suspended over a slow

Constantinople were in Latin. “Let the Emperor cease to call himself Emperor of the Romans, or abstain from insulting the Roman language.” It is curious to see Latin on the defensive.

fire in the sight of all the nations who reverence the throne of St. Peter.

At length Photius determined to keep no terms with his unrelenting adversary. The letters no doubt of the Emperor asserted, among other Photius. blasphemies, so called at Rome, the independence of the Byzantine See. He must now maintain that independence. All his submission, the tempting lure which he had offered, the total suppression of Iconoclasm, had been treated with scorn: he had found himself strangely mistaken in the man whom he had encountered in the papal chair; he might have supposed Nicolas, like one of his immediate predecessors, only the head of a faction in Rome, the timid vassal of the Western emperor. Nicolas, as he knew, was involved in the strife with King Lothair, on account of the repudiation of his wife.

Pope Nicolas was now the aggressor. Bardas, the protector of Photius, suspected or known to aspire to the Empire, had been cut to pieces.^a Michael ruled alone, or rather had surrendered the rule to Basil the Macedonian, soon to supplant him in the Empire. A new legation arrived at Constantinople: it demanded that Photius and Ignatius should be sent to Rome Nov. 866. for judgement. But Photius had changed with the times; his skilful flatteries had secured the protection of Michael, or he was too strong not to be protected. The fame, the accomplishments, the acknowledged eloquence,^r even the virtues of Photius had now obtained great influence with all orders.

In the year 867 he had summoned a council at Con-

^a A letter to Bardas likewise appears; it must, I think, be of earlier date: Nicolas can hardly have been ignorant of his fate six months before.

^r The young, it is said, crowded in rapture to the schools, where he still delivered his attractive lectures.

stantinople: the obsequious prelates listened to the ar-
 Synod at
 Constantinople. raignment, and joined in the counter excom-
 munication, of Pope Nicolas. Photius drew up
 eight articles inculcating in one the faith, in the rest
 the departure of the See of Rome from ancient and
 canonical discipline.^a Among the dreadful acts of
 heresy and schism which were to divide for ever the
 Churches of the East and West were:—I. The observ-
 ance of Saturday as a fast. II. The permission to eat
 milk or cheese during Lent. IV. The restriction of the
 chrism to the bishops. VI. The promotion of deacons
 at once to the episcopal dignity. VII. The consecration
 of a lamb, according to the hated Jewish usage. VIII. The
 shaving of their beards by the clergy. The fifth only
 of the articles objected by Photius, the procession
 of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, was
 an error so awful as to deserve a thousand anathemas.
 The third, condemning the enforced celibacy of the
 clergy, was alone of high moral or religious importance.
 “From this usage we see, in the West,” says Photius,
 “so many children who know not their fathers.” These,
 however, were but the pretexts for division. The cause
 lay deeper, in the total denial of the papal supremacy
 by the Greeks; their unequivocal assertion that with
 the Empire that supremacy had passed to Constanti-
 nople.^t

The decree of the council boasted the signature of the
 Emperor (obtained, it was said, in an hour of drunken-

^a These were mostly the points of difference which in his letter to Nicolas he had treated as of no importance.

^t “Cum etiam gloriantur et perhibeant quando de Romanâ urbe Imperatores Constantinopolin sunt

translati, hinc et primatum Romanæ sedis ad Constantinopolitanam ecclesiam transmigrasse, et cum dignitatibus regni etiam ecclesiæ Romanæ privilegia.”—*Epist. lxx. Nicol. I. ad Hincmar. p. 472.*

ness); of Basil the Macedonian, averred (most improbably) to have been forged; of the three Eastern Patriarchs; of the senate and the great officers; of abbots and bishops to the number of nearly one thousand.

But the episcopal messenger who was to bear to Rome this defiance of the Church of Constantinople and the counter-excommunication of the pope, had proceeded but a short way on his journey when he was stopped by the orders of the new emperor. A revolution in the palace was a revolution in the Church of Constantinople. The Drunkard was an ill-omened name for the patron of a bishop—and the drunkenness of Michael aggravated rather than excused his profane diversions. It was said to be his common amusement to mimic with low and dissolute companions the holiest rites of the Church. This unworthy monarch was hurled from his throne; another Emperor ruled in the East. Sept. 24, 867.

The first act of Basil the Macedonian was to depose Photius. Photius is said to have refused the communion to the murderer Basil. From this time a succession of changes agitated the Empire: Photius rose or fell at each successive change.^u

A hostile council was assembled; among these were ecclesiastics, appearing as representatives of the three Patriarchates now under the Moham- Council of Constantinople. medan sway, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem.^x The

^u There is a very curious account in Nicetas of two books said to have been found in the possession of Photius; one, illustrated with caricatures, of the life and acts of Ignatius; one the account of the Council of Constantinople. They were produced and trampled under foot at Rome. One,

it is said, was translated into Latin.

^x The representatives of these sees at the Council of Photius are of course impostors; those at the present real and authentic representatives. This is received as the eighth General Council by the Latin Church.

legates of the Pope, Hadrian, who had already received the ambassadors of the Emperor, condemned Photius, and approved the restoration of Ignatius, were present.

First sitting,
Oct. 5, 869. No one was permitted to take his seat till he had signed a formulary anathematising all heretics, Iconoclasts, and Photius, and also condemnatory of the late council. Those who had communicated with the usurper were received only after having done penance. Some contumacious prelates, who refused to prejudge the cause which they were assembled to consider, were ignominiously expelled from the council.⁷ All the ordinations of Photius were declared void. The crimes, the calumnies of Photius, who was dragged before the council by the Emperor's guard, were rehearsed before his face. He stood mute: his degradation was at once determined; and so fierce was the resentment, that, not content with dipping their pens in the ink with which they were to sign his condemnation, they wrote it in the Sacramental wine, as it is plainly said, in the blood of Christ.² The biographer of Ignatius bitterly deplores the lenity of the council; he does not explain what measures he wished them to adopt, but to their mistimed tenderness he ascribes all the evils of the second elevation of Photius. He interprets a terrible earthquake, which threw down many churches, and a furious tempest, as the remonstrances of Heaven against this weak leniency. Other signs on the same authority, glorified the restoration of Ignatius. By a new kind of Transubstantiation, the consecrated bread glowed like a live coal from heaven,

⁷ Yet Photius found some defenders; Euthimius, Bishop of Cæsarea, Zacharias of Chalcedon.

ειδότην ἀκήκοα διαβεβαιουμένων, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ Σωτῆρος τῷ αἵματι βάπτοντες τὸν κάλαμον.—Nicet. Vit. Ignat., p. 1231.

² ἀλλὰ τὸ φρικωδέστατον, ὡς καὶ

and the cross over the altar was agitated by a gentle motion.

Photius, in his exile, heard of this appalling earthquake. He rejoiced that he was relieved from beholding the sufferings of his people; he is strongly tempted even to suggest that it is a protest of Heaven against the injustice done to him by the council. That council, in his epistles, he treats as a violent, unjust, lawless synod; a synod of furious bacchanals, avowedly met not to judge, but to ratify his predetermined condemnation. For ten years Ignatius ruled in peace.^a On his death there was a strange reaction in favour of his proscribed, banished, persecuted rival. Photius, it is said, from his monastic retreat administered such skilful flattery to the Emperor, that by Basil's command he was reinstated in the See of Constantinople. So write his enemies. It is more likely that his transcendent learning and accomplishments,^b a strong feeling that his crimes had been exaggerated by his implacable adversaries, some lurking jealousy that Constantinople had too completely subjected herself to Rome, may have led to his second rise. A new Council, at which were present two Papal legates, ratified the elevation of Photius. The Pope himself, John VIII. (Nicolas and his successor, Hadrian II., had disappeared from the scene), acquiesced in the decision.

The Pope acknowledged the usurper, the monster of wickedness, the persecutor, the heretic, him who had

^a Even Ignatius had maintained against Rome his right to jurisdiction over the Bulgarians. He was in his turn threatened with canonical censures.—Hadrian, *Epist. ad Imperat.*, Labbe.

^b Among the most bitter and pathetic lamentations of Photius in his exile is the being deprived of his books.

dared to assert the co-equality, the supremacy of Constantinople to Rome, as the legitimate Patriarch.*

Photius fell again at the death of his new patron. Leo the Philosopher, the son of Basil, once more ignominiously expelled him from his throne. Yet, though accused of treason, Photius was acquitted, and withdrew into honoured retirement. He did not live to witness or profit by another revolution. Though the schism of

A.D. 886.

thirty years, properly speaking, expired in his person, and again a kind of approximation to Rome took place, yet the links were broken which united the two Churches. The articles of difference, from which neither would depart, had been defined and hardened into rigid dogmas. During the dark times of the Papacy which followed the disruption, even the intercourse became more and more precarious. The Popes of the next century were too busy in defending their territories or their lives to regard the affairs of the East. The darkness which gathered round both Churches shrouded them from each other's sight.

Nicolas the Great had not lived to triumph even in the first fall of Photius. In the West his success was more complete; he had the full enjoyment of conscious power exercised in a righteous cause. Not merely did he behold one of Charlemagne's successors prostrate at his feet, obliged to abandon to papal censure and to degradation even his high ecclesiastical partisans, but in

* Photius is accused of interpolating letters of Pope Leo, certainly much amplified in the Greek translations from the Latin copies, as they now exist, and there are suspicious passages, highly adulatory of Photius, and one suppression (Epist. 97). There are others so much stronger in the Greek,

that we cannot attribute them to so adroit a writer as Photius. Baronius supposes this *feminine* weakness of John VIII. to have given rise to the fable of Pope Joan! Was an act of peace and conciliation the monstrous and painful travail which revealed her sex?

succession the greatest prelates of the West, the Archbishop of Ravenna, the Archbishops of Cologne and Treves, and even Hincmar, the Archbishop of Rheims, who seemed to rule despotically over the Church and kingdom of France, were forced to bow before his vigorous supremacy.

John, Archbishop of Ravenna, is accused of immoderate ambition and avarice, of determined hostility, John, Archbishop of Ravenna. and a deep, deliberate design of emancipating his see from the domination of Rome. He had taken possession of certain estates claimed by the Roman see, deposed, excommunicated, imprisoned of his own authority all who made resistance, usurped in favour of St. Apollinaris, the tutelary saint of Ravenna, the privileges of St. Peter; treated the citations of the Pope A.D. 861. to appear before his tribunal, or before a synod at Rome, to answer for certain heretical opinions charged against him, with the utmost contempt; though excommunicated by that synod, he persisted in the same disdainful contumacy.^d He aspired, no doubt, to set up the jurisdiction of Ravenna, which he extended beyond its usual limits, as independent, if not superior to Rome. Unless as having been the imperial residence, the seat of empire, it is impossible to understand on what grounds the archbishop rested his haughty pretensions. Ecclesiastical, according to his theory, must have humbly followed the civil supremacy.

But John was a man of harsh and unpopular character. At first, indeed, he was successful in his appeal to the Emperor Louis II. for his interposition. Accompanied by two imperial officers he arrived at Rome. But

^d "Missos illius spernebat, et gloriam beati Petri Apostoli, quantum in se erat, evacuabat."—Anastas. Vit. Nicol. I.

Nicolas mildly rebuked the ambassadors of the Emperor for presuming to enter into such relations with an excommunicated person; they abandoned his defence. The archbishop, refusing to acknowledge the authority of the Pope, retired from Rome. But his own city did not espouse his cause.* At the invitation of the principal inhabitants the Pope visited Ravenna; he was received with the warmest welcome by the nobles, and with the acclamations of the people. John fled to Pavia again to implore the succour of the Emperor. As he passed along the streets the doors were closed, and the citizens shrank from the followers of the excommunicated prelate as from infected persons. From the Emperor himself he received this contemptuous message,—“Let him go and humble himself before that great Pope to whom we and the whole Church submit in obedience.” The proud prelate had no alternative but with tears to implore the mercy of his adversary; and Nicolas, having completed his humiliation by enforcing a public oath of allegiance, and of the most full and loyal obedience, on the most sacred reliques, on the cross and sandals of Christ, and on the four Gospels, condescended to receive him into communion.

Nov. 1, 862.

The terms of his reconciliation were such as to ensure the complete submission of the See of Ravenna. The archbishop was to present himself, unless prevented by illness or unavoidable necessity, once a year at Rome; to consecrate no bishop but after his election by the Duke, the clergy, and the people, and on the sanction, by letter, of the apostolic see; to allow all his bishops free access for appeal to Rome; to surrender all con-

* Agnelli, Vit. Pontific. Ravenn. apud Muratori. John was accused of tyranny over his suffragan bishops. They were not allowed “limina Apostolorum adire.”

tested property to which he could not establish his claim in the courts of law. So ended this opposition to the Papal supremacy in Italy.^f

If power and wealth could have secured independence, the extraordinary rise of the sacerdotal order throughout the Transalpine Carlo-^{Transalpine hierarchy.}vingian Empire, more especially of the great metropolitan prelates in France and on the Rhine, during the decline of that dynasty, might have been formidable to the Roman supremacy, if asserted by a timid or a feeble Pontiff. It was not the Pope alone, but all the clergy, who were a permanent undying corporation, as compared with the temporal nobility. The hierarchy had risen, and were still rising, in proportion to the decay, and partly out of the ruins, of the great temporal feudalities. That military aristocracy was exhausting itself with unexampled rapidity; it disdained to recruit itself from the lower orders; and every family which became extinct weakened the power of the temporal nobles. The civil wars, the wars

^f "Ut nullus amodo et deinceps Archiepiscopus Ravennæ ad vestra Episcopia sine voluntate vestrâ accedere temptet vel aliquam pecuniam a vobis exigere . . . vel res ecclesiæ vestræ, aut monasteria vestra, sive prædia, per quodvis ingenium diripere audeat." The metropolitan power of Ravenna was annulled. The estates of Ravenna in Sicily seem to have been seized and appropriated by Rome.—Agnelli, p. 103. Yet the ambition of the Archbishops of Ravenna was not extinguished by this discomfiture and spoliation. At the famous battle of Fontanet appeared George, Archbishop of Ravenna, with 300 horses

loaded with treasures taken, to the indignation of the clergy, from the churches. George had been consecrated at Rome, but aspired to assert the independence of Ravenna. This wealth was to purchase the Emperor Louis' favour at this critical juncture. But he chose the wrong side. He was taken, robbed of his treasures, stripped of all to a sorry nag, on which he was led before the conqueror, Charles the Bald. By Charles he was bitterly reproached for deserting his flock and appearing in the front of the battle. He was pardoned on the merciful intervention of the Empress Judith, and resumed his see.—Agnelli, p. 185.

against the Normans, not now confined to the coasts, but ravaging the inland provinces (they had sacked Paris, Ghent, Hamburg, Cologne); the libertinism of manners, which crowded the halls of the nobles with spurious descendants, often without perpetuating the legitimate descent; devotion, which threw many who might have kept up the noblest families into the Church or the cloister; the alienation of their estates, through piety or superstition, to sacred uses;—all these causes conspired to drain away the riches and the power of the nobility.

But the perpetual Church was always ready to acquire, and forbidden to alienate, and was Its perpetuity. protected, even in these wild times, at least in comparative security, by awful maledictions against believers, by miracles which seemed constantly at their command, against heathens as well as Christians. Its immortal order rested on no precarious or hereditary descent. The cathedral or the monastery might be burned, as was sometimes the case in the Norman inroads, the clergy and the monks massacred. A new generation arose immediately among the ruins, resumed their wasted estates, and repaired their shattered buildings. The metropolitan or the bishop had always an heir at hand: the transmission of his sacred property, though sometimes diverted from its proper use by hierarchical prodigality or by episcopal nepotism, descended on the whole in the right line. All these losses were more than recompensed by unchecked and unscrupulous acquisitions. The Church at times was plundered: all possessions were precarious during the long anarchy which followed the death of Louis the Pious; the persons of the priesthood were not secure. But still it renewed its strength, recovered its dilapi-

dated resources; found some latent power which brought it back to its commanding superiority. It ever retrieved its losses, revenged itself for its humiliations, and still grew on under every, it might seem, fatal change in the political atmosphere.

France and part of Germany, but especially France, had become a kind of feudal theocracy. Ecclesiastical councils almost superseded the Diets of the nation.^g Bishops and abbots, themselves nobly born, outnumbered the temporal nobles. The descendants of Charlemagne were surrounded by a tonsured, not an armed aristocracy; the greater part of the royal army was levied by the prelates of the Church. Even the royal family, ambitious of real power, were constantly intruding themselves into the more wealthy bishoprics or abbeys.

The superiority of the clergy even over the Crown was openly and distinctly asserted. Kings were not exempt from that general obedience enjoined by the Apostle.^h The clergy ruled the laity through their vices, but chiefly vices of one kind. They were the appointed, the heaven-delegated guardians of connubial morals; to them belonged all matri-

Power.

^g Nithard says, on occasion of the alliance of Charles and Louis against Lothair, "Primum quidem visum est, ut rem ad Episcopos sacerdotesque quorum aderat pars maxima, conferret, ut illorum consultu, *veluti numine divino*, harum rerum exordium atque auctoritas proderetur."—l. iv. c. i. These were purely secular matters, and this is the usual language. Compare c. iv.

^h Hincmar (De Divortio Hl. et Theut.), who not only asserted his

exercised also this power, quotes, as a sentence of Pope Gelasius, that the pontifical is higher than the royal power, because the clergy have to render an account even of kings to God. He cites the restoration of Louis the Pious as an act of episcopal authority. "Nostrâ ætate Hludovicum Augustum a regno dejectum, *post satisfactionem*, episcopalis unanimas, saniore concilio, cum populi consensu, et ecclesiæ et regno restituit."—p. 473.

monial causes; no one, not the highest in the realm, was exempt from their interference. And if their judgements had always been superior to unworthy influences, and if, in these lawless times, they had equally opposed, as some no doubt did, oppression, inhumanity, injustice, their rule might have mitigated far more the ferocious manners, and assisted in blending together the hostile orders and races. But instead of Christianising the world, themselves had become secularised. They were stern barons or haughty dukes, rather than peaceful prelates and humble teachers of the gospel. It might, indeed, seem that, at this time, the only important public affairs were the domestic relations of the Sovereign. That licence which Charlemagne indulged without check or remonstrance, was denied to his feebler descendants. Council after council met on questions of adultery, divorce, and incest.

Matrimonial causes. Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, had married successively Ethelwolf, King of England; Ethelbald, her step-son (a connexion which shocked all feeling); and Baldwin, Count of Flanders, who had carried her off and married her with her own consent.¹ Here prudence somewhat checked the moral zeal of the Church. The Pope intercedes in favour of Baldwin, lest he should revolt to the Pagan Normans. Another council, that of Toul, was called to annul the marriage of Stephen, Count of Auvergne, with the daughter of Raimond, Count of Toulouse, because a relation of his wife's had been his mistress. The Pope himself took cognisance, in a council at Rome, of the divorce of Ingeltruda from her husband, Count Boso, by whom she had been abandoned.

¹ Nicol. Pap. Epist. Carolo Calvo. 862, Nov. 23.

The matrimonial cause, however, which for many years distracted part of France, on which council after council met, and on which the great prelates of Lorraine came into direct collision with the Pope, and were reduced to complete and unpitied humiliation under his authority, was that of King Lothair and his Queen Theutberga.

This nobility, at once of race and order, which was the strength of the Carlovingian hierarchy, of nobility by birth, and of power by ecclesiastical dignity, was that which was most likely to grow up into natural independence, to resist all foreign supremacy, and, unless met with an intrepid and firm assertion of delegated divine authority, to shake off all subordination. In the struggle with Pope Nicolas the Frank clergy espoused a bad cause, one in which the moral, as well as religious sympathies of mankind were against them. When, in the character of guardians of public and private virtue, they countenanced gross immorality, the abrogation of their unjust decrees by the Pope carried with it the general sentiment. The whole affair is a monstrous tissue of indecency, cruelty, and injustice. To know the times must be known this trial, which so long occupied the clergy of the West.

Lothair II., King of Lorraine, the second son of the Emperor Lothair, had married Theutberga, the daughter of Boso, the powerful Count of Burgundy. Soon after his marriage he had dismissed her, from disinclination or a former attachment, from his court. The popular feeling had compelled him to restore her to her conjugal honours; but he would not bear the yoke. Publicly before the officers and great vassals of his court, he accused her of incest with her brother,

A.D. 860.

Hubert, Abbot of St. Maurice.^k This revolting charge was made more loathsome by minute circumstances, contradictory and impossible.^m Yet on this charge the obsequious nobility, with the consent of the clergy, put the unhappy queen upon her trial. She demanded the ordeal of hot water;ⁿ her champion passed through unhurt; and who should presume now to doubt her innocence? She was restored at least to her rank and to outward respect, but treated with such petty and harassing cruelty, that at length the weary woman made a public confession of her impossible crime. A synod of the clergy was convoked at Aix-la-Chapelle; it was attended by the Archbishops of Cologne and Treves; the Bishops of Metz, Tongres, Verdun, Melun, and

Autun. Their first decree not only released,
 Divorce. but interdicted Lothair from all connexion with his adulterous wife; the second enforced a public penance on the unhappy Theutberga.

But separation alone was not the object of Lothair. He had lived in open concubinage with Waldrada, it has been said, without sufficient proof, the sister of Gunther, Archbishop of Cologne, and niece of Theot-

^k Compare throughout, if thought fit, the treatise of Hincmar, *De Divortio Hlotharii et Theutbergæ*. The questions submitted to the archbishop are only surpassed in their offensiveness by their absurdity. Hincmar discusses them with minute obscenity, protesting that he and his fellow bishops are entirely ignorant of such matters, and only acquired their knowledge by reading.

^m Not from the high character of the abbot, whose discipline at St. Maurice was of the loosest; he lived himself with dancing girls. His

brother-in-law made him a duke.—*Epist. Benedict III.*, 857. He seems to have lived as a layman.

ⁿ In Hincmar there is a curious discussion on the ordeal. The archbishop draws a strange mystical analogy with the Deluge, in which the wicked were destroyed by water, the just saved: the fire in which Sodom was destroyed, Lot escaped. The ordeal was held to be a kind of baptism. The wiser Archbishop Agobard of Lyons wrote against the ordeal, as against some other superstitions of his time.

gand, Archbishop of Treves.^o A third council assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle. At this council, too, appeared the Archbishops of Cologne and Treves, Adventius of Metz, Franko of Tongres, Atto of Verdun, Arnulf of Toul, the Bishops of Utrecht and Strasburg. The king pleaded pre-engagement to Waldrada, and declared that he only married the daughter of Boso because her father's alliance was absolutely necessary in the perilous state of the kingdom. The canon laws against incest were read, the confession of Theutberga recited,^p the marriage declared void, and Waldrada proclaimed the lawful queen. She appeared in public in all the array and splendour of the king's wife.^q

A.D. 862.

It was at this juncture that the Pope interposed to protect the injured and blameless wife of Lothair. Theutberga herself, worn out with per-
Pope Nicolas
interferes.
 secution, had renewed her confession, and only entreated permission to retire into a convent to bewail her sins.

^o Sismondi quotes as authority for this relationship the *Annales Metenses*, "according to which," he says, "Gunther and Theotgand were excommunicated and deposed on account of their relationship to Waldrada, and the assistance they gave her." In the *Ann. Met.* Gunther is bribed to the king's party by a promise to marry his niece (*neptis*), and this niece cannot be Waldrada.—"Guntharii Episcopi neptis ad regem accersitur, *ac semel*, ut aiunt, ab eo stupratur, atque cum cachinno omnium et omnium derisione ad avunculum remittitur." This insult, moreover, to Gunther is utterly irreconcilable with his faithful adhesion to the cause of Lothair and Waldrada, and makes the affair more

inexplicable.—*Ann. Met.* apud Bouquet, p. 191. The *Annales Bertiniani* say that the king was bound to Waldrada by witchcraft, as it was said "*faventibus illi avunculo suo Liutprando et Vultaria, qui ob hoc maximè illi erant familiares.*" Liutprand here seems to have been her uncle.—Apud Bouquet, p. 79.

^p A new contradiction was now inserted into the confession of Theutberga, that she was not "*idonea conjux.*"

^q According to one letter of Pope Nicolas, she was actually married "*publico festoque nuptiarum ritu celebrato, Waldradam sibi jure matrimonii sociavit.*"—*Nicol. Pap. Epist.*, Bouquet, p. 434.

The first negotiations of the Pope were strangely baffled. His legates, one of them the same Radoaldus, Bishop of Porto, who had shown so much weakness or venality at Constantinople, was bribed by Lothair and the Lotharingian bishops. A third council at Metz, at which the

Nov. A.D. 862. Pope's legates were present, ratified all the decrees of the former synods. The legates, if they did not assent, made no opposition. With this

decree the two Archbishops, Gunther and Theotgand, were so imprudent as to proceed in person as the king's ambassadors, to Rome. They rushed blindly into the net; the net closed around them.

Archbishops of Cologne and Treves at Rome. Oct. 863. Nicolas summoned a synod, and from that synod issued a lofty edict, addressed to Hincmar of Rheims and Wanilo of Rouen. The Pope condemned, in the strongest terms, the guilt of King Lothair—if king he might be called—and Gunther and Theotgand, as the abettors and accomplices in his guilt. He annulled the acts of the synod of Metz, which was hereafter to be called no synod, but a brothel of adulterers. He excommunicated and deposed Gunther and Theotgand, and all the bishops their partisans.

The pride of the high-born prelate, Gunther, broke out into fury at this unexpected affront. He hastened to the camp of the Emperor, Louis the Elder, brother of King Lothair, to whom, on the severance of the empire of Lothair I., had fallen the kingdom of Italy, with the Imperial title. The Emperor at once espoused the cause of the German prelate, shared in his resentment, and marched with his army upon Rome.

The Pope attempted no resistance; he summoned his clergy around him; ordered a rigid fast and perpetual litanies to God, to avert the wrath of the Emperor. The lawless soldiery entered Rome; the Emperor's

guards occupied the approaches to St. Peter's; and as the clergy and people came in solemn procession, with their crosses borne before them, and chanting their sad litanies, the crosses and banners were thrown down, trampled on, and broken; the clergy, maltreated, beaten, hardly escaped with their lives. Even the great crucifix, the offering, it was believed, of the Empress Helena, which contained a portion of the true cross, was broken to pieces, and dashed into the mire. Some pious Englishmen collected the fragments with reverential care. The Pope heard that measures were in agitation to seize his person. He hastily crossed the Tiber in a boat, found his way into the church of St. Peter, and passed two days and nights without food. Heaven, in the mean time, appeared to declare in favour of the defenceless Pontiff. The man who had broken the great cross suddenly fell dead. The Emperor was seized with a fever. In the agony of his terror he sent the Empress to implore the mercy of the Pope. A female ambassador, under such circumstances, was not likely to be difficult as to the terms of reconciliation. Louis at once abandoned the cause of the bishops. Deserted by all, they retired in disgrace to France. There they still supposed themselves secure in their own power, and in the support of King Lothair. Before they left Rome they published an appeal to all Christian bishops. They complained, in the language of defiance, of the insolent injustice of the Pope. He had decoyed them to Rome; he had closed the gates on them as on robbers, ignominiously arrested them,^{*}

^{*} They describe their arrest: "Ibique obseratis ostiis, conspiratione more latrociniali facta, et ex clericis et laicis turba collecta et permixta, nos oppri-
mere inter tantos violenter studuisti . . . tuo solius arbitrio ex tyrannico furore damnare nosmet voluisti."

The Emperor
Louis in
Rome.

March, 864.

condemned them without synod or canonical examination, without accuser, without witness, without discussion, without proof, without their own confession, in the absence of other metropolitan or suffragan bishops, with no common consent, of his own will, in his tyrannical madness. "This Lord Nicolas, who calls himself Pope, accounts himself as one of the Apostles, and makes himself Emperor, has presumed, at the instigation of our enemies, to condemn us. He will find that we are determined to resist his insanity, and make him repent of his precipitancy." They cast back his anathema in disdain, and in their turn excommunicate the Pope,^s and declare that, by his arrogant self-exaltation over the whole Church, he has sequestered himself from its communion.^t They added further, that they asserted only the rights of their own order. Nicolas refused to receive this protest, upon which one of the archbishop's officers and some of his men forced their way into the church of St. Peter, beat down the guards, one of whom was killed, and laid the daring document upon the tomb believed to contain the body of St. Peter.

The archbishops retreated to their dioceses. Notwithstanding the Papal interdict, Gunther celebrated divine service in his cathedral at Cologne; the more timid Theotgand abstained from his ecclesiastical functions.

But Lothair was as dastardly as lustful. Other bishops got round him, and urged on his weak mind all the terrors of the Papal power.^u He did not scruple to

^s See this remarkable document in the *Annales Bertiniani*, A.D. 863.

^t "Contenti totius ecclesiæ communione et paternâ societate, quam tu arroganter te superexaltans despicias,

teque ab eâ clationis tumore indignum faciens sequestras."

^u This is the language of Nicolas to King Lothair: "Ita corporis tui cedere motibus consensisti, ut relaxatus

sacrifice those prelates who, in compliance with his will, had hesitated at no injustice, and had dared to confront and to defy, to commit a kind of capital treason against the sacerdotal power. He deposed Gunther, and appointed his own son,^x a youth only. Gunther was deserted on all sides; the simple and blameless Archbishop of Treves^y had bowed before the storm; the other bishops of the condemned synod of Metz hastened to make their peace with Rome; they gladly accepted the indulgence of the holy father. The Archbishop of Cologne was forbidden to approach the royal presence, avoided as a person excommunicate. He seized the treasure of his Church, and, armed with this, in all ages a powerful weapon, he hastened to Rome to unfold the iniquities of the king's proceedings against his wife.^z But Lothair had anticipated his revenge. He sent a bishop with the humblest protestations of repentance and submission to the Apostolic See. The Abbot Hubert, in the mean time, had been killed by his own retainers. Theutberga, who had lived under the guardianship of her brother, took refuge in the dominions of Charles the Bald. The alarm of Lothair increased; he suspected his uncles, Charles and Louis, of a design to seize and share his kingdom, the Pope of connivance, if not of more than connivance, in their hostile plans.

Nicolas was not content with his triumph over the

voluptatum habenis temet ipsum in lacum miseræ et in lutum fæcis pro libitu dejecisti, ut qui positus fueras ad gubernationem populorum, effectus sis ruina multorum."—Ad Lothair. Reg., Oct. 863.

^x Hugo never obtained actual possession. Some time after the see was

intrusted to the care of Hilduin, brother of Gunther, who dispensed the revenues, though the see was held to be vacant.—Ann. Bertin., p. 92.

^y "Simplicissimus ac innocentissimus vir."—Annal. Bertin.

^z "Falsa de more suo."—Ann. Bertin., p. 86.

Lothair
abandons
them.

feeble Lothair, and the daring but indiscreet bishops who had espoused his cause. He aspired to dictate to the other more powerful Carlovingian kings, to Charles and to Louis: and even Hincmar, the Arch-
Hincmar of Rheims. bishop of Rheims, the most learned, politic, and powerful ecclesiastic in France,^a must bow before his authority. He sent his legate, Arsenius, into France with letters to the sovereigns so haughty and imperious as to shock even the submissive spirit of those times.^b He rebukes them with the tone of a master, or rather openly declares that he speaks with the authority of God, from actual divine inspiration, when he reproaches them for presuming to prohibit the bishops of their realms from obeying the papal summons to a synod at Rome.^c He will not admit the excuse of Charles the Bald that the greater part of the bishops were watching day and night against the descents of the Norman pirates. He reproveth this secular occupation of the bishops. If towards these kings he preserves some show of respect, of Lothair he speaks with unmitigated contempt. His uncles had urged Lothair to go on a suppliant pilgrimage to Rome; Lothair had expressed his earnest desire to do so. The Pope sternly interdicts his journey, declaring that the holy Roman Church

^a Sismondi states boldly that Hincmar was the sole ruler of France.

^b "Nicolaus Papa Arsenium . . . cum epistolis ad Hludovicum et Carolum fratres . . . non cum Apostolicâ mansuetudine, et solitâ honorabilitate sicut Episcopi Romani consueverant Reges in suis epistolis honorare, sed cum malitiosâ interminatione."—Pagi (sub ann. 865) rebukes the author of the Ann. Bertin., even Hincmar himself, perhaps the author, whose senti-

ments at all events the book expresses, for this misrepresentation. He appeals to the more courteous letter to Charles. But the epistle to the two brothers fully bears out the charge. April 22, 865.

^c "Unde si vos fortasse aliter dicitis, nos illud dicimus, quod divinitus revelatur." He thus claims divine authority for Roman synods: "Nos consensu illorum, revelante Domino, quæ decernenda sunt decerneremus."

would not receive, but despise and reject, such men.^d He commands the king, without subterfuge or evasion, to receive back his wife; even if Theutberga should prefer the state of separation, she is to be compelled to return to her husband's bed. "But if Lothair, whom, to prevent war and bloodshed, we have still treated with some leniency, shall lift up his horn, and disobey your admonitions and ours, the affair must take its course."

The letter of the Pope to the bishops advances still higher pretensions; the object, indeed, is noble and Christian. He commands them to maintain that peace which had been sworn by the three royal brethren, to prevent the shedding of Christian blood. But he asserts the coronation of the Emperor to be a grant of the Imperial power by the Roman See. The sword was given to the Emperor by the Vicar of St. Peter, yet to be employed against infidels, not against his fellow Christians. The empire descended to Louis by hereditary right, but was confirmed by the authority of the Apostolic See.^e

The Legate "from the side" of the Pope began now to appear as a Dictator to the Northern kings. Arsenius was not the first who bore this title; but he asserted its pride and power with yet almost unprecedented vigour. The legate first appeared at Frankfort, and delivered his message to the Emperor Louis; thence he passed to the court of Lothair.^f He threatened the king with immediate excommunica-

^d "Cui interdiximus, et omnino interdiximus, ut iter talis qualis nunc est non arripiat, eo quod sancta Ecclesia Romana tales respuat et contemnat."

^e "Macheræ usum, quam primum a Petri principis Apostolorum vicario, contra infideles accepit, non cogatur

in Christi fideles convertere. . . . Regna sibi per hæreditarium jus devoluta, et sedis Apostolicæ auctoritate firmata."—Epist. ad Episcop. Gall. apud Bouquet, p. 404.

^f "Apud Gandulfi villam."—Ann. Bertin.

Papal legates.

tion if he did not dismiss the concubine Waldrada, and receive his repudiated queen. He then betook himself to Attigny, the residence of Charles the Bald. He peremptorily commanded the restoration of the Bishop Rothrad, who had been canonically, as it was asserted, deposed by Hincmar his metropolitan, and was now irregularly, without inquiry or examination, replaced by the arbitrary mandate of the
 A.D. 865. Pope.^g Hincmar murmured and obeyed; the king acquiesced in the papal decree, trembling at the menaced anathema.

From Attigny, Arsenius conducted Theutberga to the court of her husband. A solemn oath was dictated by the legate, and sworn on the Gospels by six counts and six vassals, in the name of Lothair, that he would receive Theutberga as his lawful wife, and restore her fully to her conjugal rights. Four archbishops and four bishops, besides the legate, were present at the ceremony. She was then publicly delivered to her husband, under the most awful denunciations of excommunication and condemnation to everlasting fire,^h if he did not fulfil the solemn compact. Lothair and Theutberga were then crowned King and Queen of Lorraine.

Arsenius found the papal fulminations weapons too useful and effective to be confined to royal offenders. A terrible excommunication of unusual violence was

^g The Annales Bertin. are supposed to express the sentiments of Hincmar. "Et Rothradum canonice a quinque provinciarum episcopis dejectum, et a Nicolao papâ non regulariter, sed potentialiter restitutum."—P. 89.

^h "Si in omnibus, ut superius legitur, non observaverit atque imple-

verit, non solum in præsentè vitâ sed etiam in æterno Dei terribili judicio, eum B. Petro principi Apostolorum redditurum rationem et ab ipso æternaliter in eodem judicio damnandum, et igni perpetuo concremandum."—Ann. Bertin. p. 90.

launched against certain plunderers who, some years before, had robbed him of a large sum of money, unless they made immediate restitution.ⁱ Another was issued against Ingeltruda, the wife of Count Boso, who had left her husband, and was leading a wandering and disreputable life.

Waldrada had been delivered up to Arsenius to be conducted to Rome, that she might undergo the proper penance; but Arsenius was persuaded by some powerful influence, not impossibly by bribery (for he was a man of notorious rapacity), to allow her, after she had reached Parma, to return to France.^k Two years afterwards the two excommunicated archbishops, beguiled with false hopes of restoration, were persuaded to go to Rome; though on a former journey they had been sternly repelled by the Pope. The aged Archbishop of Treves died there; Gunther of Cologne hardly escaped with his life. Nicolas persisted to the end in his resistance to the intercession of the Emperor Louis, and of many German bishops. He treated these men as open favourers of adultery; as the authors and contrivers of all this foul and revolting iniquity.^m The inexorable Pope saw one die, the other on the brink of the grave, without relaxing his unforgiving severity.

Rumours soon reached the vigilant Pontiff that the reconciliation of Lothair with his wife was but false and seeming. He was suspected of continuing secret intercourse with Waldrada; although Adventius, the

ⁱ The Ann. Bertin. mention this: "Epistolam Nicolai Papæ plenam terribilibus et a modestiâ sedis Apostolicæ hactenus inauditis maledictionibus."

^k Nicolas wrote to the bishops to treat Waldrada as an excommunicated

person, for her contumacy in refusing to go to Rome, and her suspicious intrigues against the queen.—Epist. xxviii., Bouquet, 419.

^m Compare his later letters, where he speaks of the "fœtida gesta." His usual name for Waldrada is *morua*.

Bishop of Metz, protested that all the king's conversation with Waldrada (Waldrada, now under public sentence of excommunication)ⁿ was pure,^o and that he treated his wife with the utmost respect, that he appeared with her in church, and was reported to admit her to his bed.^p But this was soon belied by an earnest supplication to the Pope from the unhappy queen to be released from her miserable marriage. She asserted the previous wedlock of Lothair with Waldrada, her own unfitness, from some secret malady, for the conjugal state. She entreated to be permitted to come to Rome, that she might communicate with the Pope. Nicolas replied in a tone of stern commiseration. He refused to receive a confession extorted manifestly by force. Even were she to die, the Church would never permit Lothair to marry the adulteress Waldrada. The guilty king, by the example of his adultery, had plunged thousands into the chaos of perdition; what wonder if he should force others to commit perjury? He positively forbade her journey to Rome, and exhorted her to endure glorious martyrdom in the cause of righteousness. The wretched Theutberga was, in the

mean time, exposed^o to every insult and contumely. Lothair had at one time accused her of adultery, and proposed that she should vindicate her honour by wager of battle. Nicolas prohibited this appeal to arms; and in a letter to Lothair himself, contempt,

Oct. 30, 867.

ⁿ Waldrada was excommunicated Feb. 2, 866.

^o Thus writes Adventius: "Et nos veriore experiētiā investigare volumus, in nullo prorsus colloquio per tactum, vel visum illā (Waldradā) fieri voluit."

^p "Theutbergam Reginam noster

Senior ad præsens ita tractare cernitur, sicut rex conjunctam sibi debet tractare reginam, videlicet ad divinum officium pariter honorificè comitantem, et in mensâ regiâ simul convivantem, atque, ut relatio innuit, conjugalibus habitibus debitum solvere hilariter prætendit."

—Apud Bouquet, p. 595.

most profound and well-deserved, mingles with his indignant expostulations. Lothair was at length driven, by the steadfast severity of the Pope, from every subterfuge. He was preparing to send his wife to Rome, to appear himself before the judgement-seat, and even to yield up his beloved Waldrada to the penitential discipline of the Church. Before his descent into Italy he endeavoured, by the intercession of his uncle, Louis the Germanic, to obtain for his son by Waldrada the promise of Alsace. For this end he still lingered in France; but Nicolas did not live to enjoy his perfect triumph; he died in November, A.D. 867—a Pontiff who, if he advanced no absolutely unexampled pretensions to supremacy in behalf of the Roman See, yet by the favourable juncture and auspicious circumstances which he seized to assert and maintain that authority, did more than all his predecessors to strengthen and confirm it. During all his conflicts in the West with the royal and with the episcopal power, the moral and religious sympathies of mankind could not but be on his side. If his language was occasionally more violent, even contemptuous, than became the moderation which, up to this time, had mitigated the papal decrees, he might plead lofty and righteous indignation: if he interfered with domestic relations, it was in defence of the innocent and defenceless, and in vindication of the sanctity of marriage: if he treated kings with scorn, it was because they had become contemptible for their weakness or their vices: if he interfered with episcopal or metropolitan jurisdiction, the inferior clergy, even bishops, would be pleased to have a remote and possibly disinterested tribunal, to which they might appeal from prelates, chosen only from aristocratic connexions, barbarians in occupation

Jan. 867.

Death of
Nicolas I.
Nov. A.D. 867.

His character.

and in ferocity:⁹ if he was inexorable to transgressors, it was to those of the highest order, prelates who had lent themselves to injustice and iniquity, and had defied his power: if he annulled councils, those councils had already been condemned for their injustice, had deserved the reproachful appellation with which they were branded by the Pope, from all who had any innate or unperverted sentiment of justice and purity. Hence the presumptuous usurpation even of divine power, so long as it was thus beneficently used, awed, confounded all, and offended few. Men took no alarm at the arrogance which befriended them against the oppressor and the tyrant.

The impression left by Nicolas I. on his times may be estimated by the words of a later writer. "Since the days of Gregory I. to our time sat no high-priest on the throne of St. Peter to be compared to Nicolas. He tamed kings and tyrants, and ruled the world like a sovereign; to holy bishops and clergy he was mild and gentle; to the wicked and unconverted a terror; so that we might truly say a new Elias arose in him."^r

But this vast moral advancement of the popedom was not all which the Roman See owes to Nicolas I.; she owes the questionable boon of the recognition of the False Decretals as the law of the Church.

Nicolas I. not only saw during his pontificate the famous False Decretals take their place in the jurisprudence of Latin Christendom; if he did not promulgate, he assumed them as authentic documents; he gave them the weight of the papal sanction; and with their aid prostrated at his feet the one great Transalpine

⁹ Giraud, *Droit Romain en France pendant le Moyen Age*, vol. i.

^r Regin. Chron. ad ann. 698. Pertz, i. 579.

prelate who could still maintain the independence of the Teutonic Church, Hincmar Archbishop of Rheims.

Up to this period the Decretals, the letters or edicts of the Bishops of Rome, according to the authorised or common collection of Dionysius, commenced with Pope Siricius, towards the close of the fourth century. To the collection of Dionysius was added that of the authentic councils, which bore the name of Isidore of Seville. On a sudden was promulgated, unannounced, without preparation, not absolutely unquestioned, but apparently overawing at once all doubt, a new Code, which to the former authentic documents added fifty-nine letters and decrees of the twenty oldest popes from Clement to Melchiades, and the donation of Constantine; and in the third part, among the decrees of the Popes and of the councils from Sylvester to Gregory II., thirty-nine false decrees, and the acts of several unauthentic councils.^s In this vast manual of sacer-

^s Nicolas of Cusa, and Turrecremata, before the Reformation, had doubted, as far as they dared to doubt. The Magdeburg centuriators, after them Blondel, exposed the fraud with unanswerable arguments. The Jesuit La Torre attempted a feeble defence: he was scourged into obscurity by Blondel. Since that time there has been hardly a murmur of defence. There is an excellent brief (Roman Catholic) summary of the whole question in Walter (Kirchen Recht, pp. 155 et seqq.). Mohler (Schriften) softens the fiction into poetry; he is too ingenious to be convincing; and wishes to convince, rather than succeeds, as it appears to me, in convincing himself. I know only from other writers what seems the masterly investigation of Knust. Gfrörer, in

his History of the Church and in a dissertation (Freiburg, 1848), displays more than his usual industry and sagacity, but I think is somewhat too narrow and partial (compare Walter, Kirchen Recht, 158) in his hypothesis, that the sole, if not the sole, the almost exclusive design of the Decretals was to lower the power of the metropolitans. Indeed, in his later and valuable work, Die Karolinger (Freiburg, 1848), he seems to me to have taken a wider range, to have summed up the whole question with more perfect mastery. Gfrörer's general failing, in my judgement, is drawing wide and peremptory conclusions from scanty and doubtful evidence: he is too much enamoured of his own very great ingenuity.

dotal Christianity the Popes appear from the first the
 Contents. parents, guardians, legislators of the faith
 throughout the world. The False Decretals
 do not merely assert the supremacy of the Popes—the
 dignity and privileges of the Bishop of Rome—they
 comprehend the whole dogmatic system and discipline
 of the Church, the whole hierarchy from the highest to
 the lowest degree, their sanctity and immunities, their
 persecutions, their disputes, their right of appeal to
 Rome. They are full and minute on Church property,
 on its usurpation and spoliation; on ordinations; on
 the sacraments, on baptism, confirmation, marriage, the
 Eucharist; on fasts and festivals; the discovery of the
 cross, the discovery of the reliques of the Apostles; on
 the chrism, holy water, consecration of churches, bless-
 ing of the fruits of the field; on the sacred vessels and
 habiliments. Personal incidents are not wanting to give
 life and reality to the fiction. The whole is composed
 with an air of profound piety and reverence; a specious
 purity, and occasionally beauty, in the moral and reli-
 gious tone. There are many axioms of seemingly
 sincere and vital religion. But for the too manifest
 design, the aggrandisement of the See of Rome and the
 aggrandisement of the whole clergy in subordination to
 the See of Rome; but for the monstrous ignorance of
 history, which betrays itself in glaring anachronisms,
 and in the utter confusion of the order of events and
 the lives of distinguished men—the former awakening
 keen and jealous suspicion, the latter making the
 detection of the spuriousness of the whole easy, clear,
 irrefragable;—the False Decretals might still have
 maintained their place in ecclesiastical history. They
 are now given up by all; not a voice is raised in their
 favour; the utmost that is done by those who cannot

suppress all regret at their explosion, is to palliate the guilt of the forger, to call in question or to weaken the influence which they had in their own day, and throughout the later history of Christianity.

The author or authors of this most audacious and elaborate of pious frauds are unknown; the date and place of its compilation are driven ^{Authorship.} into such narrow limits that they may be determined within a few years, and within a very circumscribed region. The False Decretals came not from Rome; the time of their arrival at Rome, after they were known beyond the Alps, appears almost certain. In one year Nicolas I. is apparently ignorant of their existence, the next he speaks of them with full knowledge. They contain words manifestly used at the Council of Paris, A.D. 829, consequently are of later date; they were known to the Levite Benedict of Mentz,ⁿ who composed a supplement to the collection of capitularies by Ansegise, between A.D. 840-847. The city of Mentz is designated with nearly equal certainty as the place in which, if not actually composed, they were first promulgated as the canon law of Christendom.

The state of affairs in the divided and distracted empire might seem almost to call for, almost to justify, this desperate effort to strengthen the ecclesiastical power. All the lower clergy, including some of the bishops, were groaning, just at this time, under heavy oppression. By the constitution of Charlemagne, which survived under Louis the pious, and, so long as the empire maintained its unity, asserted the independence of the Transalpine hierarchy of all but the temporal

^t Eichhorn almost alone, maintains their Roman origin.—Compare also *Luden. Geschichte*, v. p. 468, *et seqq.*

ⁿ Walter appears to think Benedict the author of the work.

sovereign, the clergy were under strict subordination to the bishop, the bishop to the metropolitan, the metropolitan only to the Emperor. Conflicting Popes, or Popes in conflict with Italian enemies, or with their own subjects, had reduced the papacy to vassalage under the empire. Conflicting kings, on the division of the realm of Charlemagne, had not yet, but were soon about to submit the empire to the Roman supremacy. All at present was anarchy. The Germans and the French were drawing asunder into separate rival nations; the sons of Louis were waging an endless, implacable strife. Almost every year, less than every decade of years, beheld a new partition of the empire; kingdoms rose and fell, took new boundaries, acknowledged new sovereigns; no government was strong enough to maintain the law; might was the only law.^x

The hierarchy, if not the whole clergy, had taken the lead in the disruption of the unity of the empire; they had abased the throne of Louis; they were for a short disastrous period now the victims of that abasement. Their wealth was their danger. They had become secular princes, they had become nobles, they had become vast landed proprietors. But during the civil wars it was not the persuasive voice, but the strong arm, which had authority; the mitre must bow before the helmet, the crosier before the sword. Not only the domains, the persons of the clergy had lost their sanctity. The persecution and oppression of the Church and the clergy had reached a height unknown in former times. Thus writes Bishop Agobard of Lyons:—"No condition of men, whether free or unfree, is so insecure in the possession of his

^x This is in no way inconsistent with the immense and steady advance of the clergy in power and wealth: it was a temporary depression, remedied, as will soon appear, from other sources of vigour and energy.

property as the priest; no one can foresee how many days he may be master of his church, of his house. Not only the estates of the Church, the churches themselves are sold." The Synod of Aix-la-Chapelle (A.D. 836) protested against the contempt into which the clergy had fallen with the ungodly laity. They wrote in bitter remonstrance to King Pepin, the son of Louis,—"There are people who boldly say, 'Where hath God ordained that the goods of which the priests claim possession are consecrated to him? The whole earth is the Lord's; has he not created it for the good of all mankind?'"^y The metropolitans alone (we have seen those of the Rhine haughty to all beneath them, basely subservient to the wickedness of their kings) stood above the tumult, themselves if not tyrants or instruments of royal tyranny, either trampling on the inferior clergy, or, at least, not protecting them from being trampled on or plundered by others.

It might occur to the most religious, that for the sake of religion; it might occur to those to whom the dignity and interest of the sacerdotal order were their religion, that some effort must be made to reinvest the clergy in their imperilled sanctity. There must be some appeal against this secular, this ecclesiastical tyranny: and whither should appeal be? It could not be to the Scriptures, to the Gospel. It must be to ancient and venerable tradition, to the unrepealed, irrevocable law of the Church; to remote and awful Rome. Rome must be proclaimed in an unusual, more emphatic manner, the eternal, immemorial court of appeal. The tradition must not rest on the comparatively recent names of Leo the Great, of Innocent the Great, of Siricius, or the

^y Mansi sub ann. 836.

right of appeal depend on the decree of the Council of Sardica. It must come down from the successors of St. Peter himself in unbroken succession. The whole clergy must have a perpetual, indefeasible sanctity of the same antiquity.

So may the idea of this, to us it seems, monstrous fiction have dawned upon its author; himself may have implicitly believed that he asserted no prerogative for Rome which Rome herself had not claimed, which he did not think to be her right. It is even now asserted, perhaps can hardly be disproved, that the False Decretals advanced no pretensions in favour of the See of Rome which had not been heard before in some vague and indefinite, but not therefore less significant, language. The boldness of the act was in the new authority in which it arrayed these pretensions. The author may have thought that in renewing the power, while he by no means lost sight of the holiness of the clergy, he was embarked in a hallowed cause. In some respects he shows skill at least as consummate as might be expected in that age. There was no great fear of detection in a fiction so advantageous to those who could alone expose it, the clergy, in an age which, for instance, received the life of St. Denys, written by the Abbot Hilduin of that monastery, and the ecclesiastical counsellor of the emperor, as identified with Dionysius the Areopagite; a legend almost of unparalleled extravagance, but which became at once accredited hagiology. The new code was enshrined, as it were, in a framework of deeply religious thought and language; it was introduced under the venerated name of Isidore of Seville (it was rumoured to have been brought from Spain by Riculf, Archbishop of Mentz); it was thus attached to the authentic work of Isidore, which had long enjoyed un-

disputed authority. Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, as the most powerful, so, perhaps, the most learned Transalpine ecclesiastic, who might at once have exposed the fiction, which he could hardly but know to be a fiction, cooperated more than any one else to establish its authority. So long as he supposed it to advance or confirm his own power, he suppressed all intrusive doubts; he discovered too late that it was a trap (a mousetrap is his own undignified word) to catch unwary metropolitans.² Hincmar was caught, beyond all hope of escape. In the appeal of Rothrad, Bishop of Soissons, against Hincmar, metropolitan of Rheims, Pope Nicolas I. at first alleges no word of the new Decretals in favour of his right of appeal; he seemingly knows no older authority than that of Innocent, Leo, Siricius, and the Council of Sardica.^a The next year not merely is he fully master of the pseudo-Isidorian documents, but he taunts Hincmar with now calling in question, when it makes against him, authority which he was ready to acknowledge in confirmation of his own power. Hincmar is forced to the humiliation of submission. Rothrad, deposed by Hincmar, deposed by the Council of Senlis, is reinstated in his see.^b

This immediate, if somewhat cautious, adoption of the fiction, unquestionably not the forgery by Pope Nicolas, appears to me less capable of charitable palliation than the original invention. It was, in truth, a strong temptation. But in Rome,

Adoption
at Rome.

² "Circumposita omnibus metropolitans muscipula."—Opp. ii, 413.

^a Compare back p. 186.

^b This fact appears to me irresistibly proved by Gfrörer in his disser-

tation. See also Die Karolinger, i. p. 479 *et seqq.* Gfrörer seems to infer that they were carried to Rome from beyond the Alps by Rothrad of Soissons.

where such documents had never been heard of, it is difficult to imagine by what arguments a man, not unlearned, could convince himself, or believe that he could convince himself, of their authenticity. Here was a long, continuous, unbroken series of letters, an accumulated mass of decrees of councils, of which the archives of Rome could show no vestige, of which the traditions of Rome were altogether silent: yet is there no holy indignation at fraud, no lofty reproof of those who dared to seat themselves in the pontifical chair and speak in the names of Pope after Pope. There is a deliberate, artful vindication of their authority. Reasons are alleged from which it is impossible to suppose that Nicolas himself believed their validity, on account of their acknowledged absence from the Roman archives. Nor did the successors of Nicolas betray any greater scruple in strengthening themselves by this welcome, and therefore only, unsuspecting aid. It is impossible to deny that, at least by citing without reserve or hesitation, the Roman pontiffs gave their deliberate sanction to this great historic fraud.^c

Nor must be overlooked, perhaps the more important result of the acceptance of the pseudo-Isidorian statutes as the universal, immemorial, irrevocable law of Christendom. It established the great principle which Nicolas I. had before announced, of the sole legislative power of the Pope.^d Every one of these papal epistles was a canon of the Church; every future bull therefore rested on the same irrefragable authority, commanded the same implicit obedience. The Papacy became a

^c Nicolai Epist. ad Episcopos Galliaë, Mansi, xv. 693.

^d Nicolai I. Epist. ad Michaellem Imperatorem, apud Labbe, sub ann. 865.

legislative as well as an administrative authority. Infallibility was the next inevitable step, if infallibility was not already in the power asserted to have been bestowed by the Lord on St. Peter, by St. Peter handed down in unbroken descent, and in a plenitude which could not be restricted or limited, to the latest of his successors.

CHAPTER V.

Hadrian II. Hincmar of Rheims.

NICOLAS was succeeded by Hadrian II., a rigid and lofty churchman, who, though his policy at first appeared doubtful,^a resolutely maintained, but not with equal judgement and success, the principles of his predecessor. Hadrian (he was now seventy-five years old) had been married before he became a priest; his wife was still living; and a tragic event, in which the son of another Prelate, Arsenius, the late legate in France, was involved, might suggest to the popular mind that the more absolutely the higher clergy were secluded from all domestic ties the better.

Though the daughter of Hadrian was betrothed to another, she was carried off and married by Eleutherius, the son of Arsenius. Arsenius, implicated no doubt in the affair, fled with all his treasures to the court of the Emperor Louis. These treasures he placed in the hands of the Empress Ingelberga, probably to secure the imperial protection for his son. He died suddenly, and so great was the hatred against him, that he was said to have been carried off while conversing freely with devils;^b at all events, he died without the sacrament, and of his eternal damnation no one had any doubt. Hadrian sent a mission to the

^a Vit. Hadriani, c. 15.

^b "Ut dicebatur, cum dæmonibus confabulans, sine communione abivit in suum locum."—Ann. Bertin., p. 99.

Emperor to demand that Eleutherius should be judged by the Roman law for the abduction of his daughter Eleutherius in revenge, or despairing of the issue, murdered both his wife and her mother, the wife of the Pope.^c By the Emperor's command he suffered the penalty of his crimes.

Oct. 12.
A.D. 863.

Hadrian, whether softened by these domestic calamities, appeared at first to take a milder course than Pope Nicolas in the affair of Lothair. He sent back, indeed, Theutberga, who had arrived at Rome to implore the dissolution of the marriage on the plea of her own personal infirmity: but, at the intercession of the Emperor Louis, he took off the ban of excommunication from Waldrada, and restored her to the communion of the Church.

By this lenity he might seem to lure King Lothair to the last act of submission. The King of Lorraine arrived in Italy. The Pope seemed to yield to the influence of Louis and the Empress Ingelberga; at least he accepted the munificent presents of the king.

A.D. 868.
Feb. 12.

From Monte Casino, where they first met, Lothair followed the Pope to Rome. There, instead of being received as a king, and as one reconciled with the See of Rome, when he entered the church all was silent and vacant; not one of the clergy appeared: he retired to a neighbouring chamber, which was not even swept for his reception. The next day was Sunday, and he hoped to hear the mass chanted

Lothair at
Rome.
A.D. 869.
July 1-11.

* Hincmari Ann. "Stephaniam uxorem ipsius pontificis et ejus filiam, quam sibi rapuit, interfecit." Anastasius the Librarian (not the biographer of the popes), the brother of Arsenius,

was concerned, as was supposed, in this horrible business. The excommunication, already issued against him, was confirmed and repeated by Hadrian.

before him. The Pope refused him this honour. He dined, however, the next day with the Pope, and an interchange of presents took place.^d

At length Hadrian consented to admit him to the communion. Towards the close of the holy office, holding the body and blood of Christ in his hands, the Pope thus addressed the king: "If thou avouchest thyself innocent of the crime of adultery, for which thou hast been excommunicated by the Lord Nicolas, and art resolved never again to have unlawful intercourse with the harlot Waldrada, draw near in faith, and receive this sacrament for the remission of thy sins. But if thou thinkest in thy heart to return to wallow in adultery, beware of receiving it, lest thou provoke the terrible judgement of God." The king shuddered, but did not draw back. Under a like adjuration, that they were not consentient to the guilt of the king with Waldrada, he administered the rite to the attendants on Lothair. Even Gunther, the contumacious Archbishop of Cologne, having drained to the dregs the cup of humiliation, was admitted to lay communion.^e

What was the terror of Western Christendom when it became known that every one of these men had perished before the end of the year! A pestilence, so common among northern armies in Italy, especially at Rome, broke out. But a few, and those only, it is said, who had avoided that fatal communion, survived. Lothair himself was seized with the fever at Lucca, with difficulty reached Placentia, and there expired.

Pope Hadrian seized the occasion of the contest for

^d The Ann. Bertin. and Ann. Met. do not quite agree in the arrangement of these events. This scene is placed by the former at Monte Casino, sub ann. 839.

^e This is the most probable time for the reconciliation of Gunther.

the kingdom of Lothair to advance still more daring and unprecedented pretensions. But the world was not yet ripe for this broad and naked assertion of secular power by the Pope, his claim to interfere in the disposal of kingdoms. Directly he left the strong ground of moral and religious authority, from which his predecessor Nicolas had commanded the world, he encountered insurmountable resistance. With all that remained of just and generous sympathy on their side Popes might intermeddle in the domestic relations of kings; they were not permitted as yet to touch the question of royal succession or inheritance. The royal and the episcopal power had quailed before Nicolas; the fulminations of Hadrian were treated with contempt or indifference: and Hincmar of Rheims in this quarrel with Hadrian regained that independence and ascendancy which had been obscured by his temporary submission to Nicolas.

Hadrian interferes in the disposal of Lothair's kingdom.

Charles the Bald his uncle, the son of Louis the Pious and the Empress Judith, seized at once the vacant dominions of Lothair, though the undoubted inheritance of the Emperor Louis II., as brother to the childless deceased sovereign. Charles was crowned at Metz; he rested his claim on the election of the people, and on his coronation by the bishops of the realm.^f The friendship of Louis the Emperor and King of Italy, then engaged in a successful war against the Saracens of Bari, was of greater importance to the Pope than that of Charles, now gathering almost the whole of the Transalpine empire under his sway. He espoused the claims of Louis with headlong ardour. The Emperor, he wrote significantly to the elder uncle

It is seized by Charles the Bald. June 28, 870.

^f Hadriani Epist. ad Ludovic. German. apud Bouquet, p. 442.

Louis the Germanic, was warring, not like some other kings, against Christians, but against the sons of Belial, the enemies of the Christian faith; and he warned Louis against aggression on dominions which were not his own. "The hand of the Apostolic See will be strong on the side of this most pious Emperor; and the great Dispenser of battles, through the intercession of the chief of the apostles, will ensure triumph."^g

In a letter to the nobles of the kingdom of Lorraine, June 28, 870. Hadrian threatened with excommunication all who, disregarding the mandates of the Apostolic See, should oppose the claims of his ally the Emperor. To the nobles of Charles's kingdom he declared, that any one who should assist in his diabolic usurpation, would fall under anathema, and be given up to the companionship of the devil. He summoned the bishops, on their allegiance to the Apostolic See, to dissuade Charles from his ambitious designs. By concurring in such detestable deeds they were preparing him for hell.^h To Charles himself he wrote two letters; one before the invasion, reprehending him for refusing to receive the papal legates; the second after it, threatening him with interdict, and accusing him of perjury for violating, as he said, the treaty of Verdun.

Hincmar had been specially summoned to break off all communion with King Charles, if he did not abandon his cause. Hincmar's answer shows that the doctrine of Wala, as to the inviolability of ecclesiastical fiefs, was not respected by such kings: "Should I do so, I

^g See the account of this campaign, and one for the imprisonment of the Emperor by the Duke of Benevento, in Erchempert, c. 34, 35; Pertz, iii

252.

^h "Et illi tam de'estabilia faciendo . . . gehennam paratis."—Hadrian, ad Episcop. Gall. *ibid.*

should soon have to chant by myself in my choir, stripped of all my possessions and vassals.”ⁱ

But the king, the nobles, and the bishops pursued their course—the king of ambition, the rest of obsequious obedience—without regarding the denunciations of Hadrian. Hincmar, the Archbishop of Rheims, threw his preponderating weight into the scale in favour of the independence and consolidation of France and its absolute severance from the kingdom of Italy, which now seemed associated with the Empire. He wrote a grave, solemn, and argumentative remonstrance to the Pope. He refused to withdraw, as commanded by Hadrian, from the court of Charles. He embodied in his own language that of Charles and his partisans.^k “You,” said the king and nobles to the bishops, “contribute your prayers only against the Normans and other invaders; if you would have the support of our army as we of your prayers, demand of the Apostolic father, that, as he cannot be both king and bishop, and as his predecessors ruled the Church, which is their own, not the state, which is the king’s, he impose not on us a distant king, who cannot defend us against the sudden and frequent attacks of the pagans, nor command us Franks to be slaves. His ancestors laid not their yoke on our ancestors, nor will we bear it, for it is written in the Scriptures, that we should fight for our liberty and our inheritance to the death.”^m The only enemy or rival whom Charles feared was his brother, Louis the Germanic; but a share in the spoil averted his enmity. Notwithstanding the interdict of

ⁱ “Quoniam, si ex sententiâ vestrâ haberem potestatem.”—Hincm. *Oper.* ii. 697.

agerem, ad altare meæ ecclesiæ cantare possem, de rebus autem et facultatibus et hominibus nullam amplius

^k Hincmar. *Oper.* ii. p. 689.

^m P. 695.

the Pope, and the claims of the Emperor, the Kings of France and Germany quietly divided the dominions of their nephew. This strife was hardly over when Hadrian interposed in another affair, relating to the family of Charles the Bald; in revenge, it might be, for the contempt of his former mandates. Now he asserted his supremacy even over parental authority, though recognised and confirmed by the ecclesiastical dignitaries of the realm. It is a lawless and cruel history, showing at once the barbarous state of the times, the ambition and inhumanity too prevalent even among the clergy.

Carloman was the fourth and youngest son of Charles the Bald. The Church had already become a provision for the younger sons of kings, who, besides this, supposed that they were propitiating Heaven by the consecration of some of their family to the service of God. Charles the Bald made two such offerings. Lothair, who was lame, was forced to become a monk, and as Abbot of Moutier St. Jean and of St. Germain d'Auxerre, maintained the decency of his station till his death. But Carloman was less suited for the cloister. Though Abbot of St. Médard, in Soissons, he was permitted to

A.D. 866. indulge his warlike inclinations in a campaign against the Normans, with Solomon, King of Brittany. Carloman gained no great glory in this expedition, but imbibed a passion for a restless and adventurous life, unbecoming a monk. Yet abbacies were heaped upon him;ⁿ when suddenly he was arrested on a charge of conspiring against his father, stripped of all his benefices, and thrown into prison at Senlis. During the same year he was released from prison; but

ⁿ "Plurimorum monasteriorum pater reputatus."—Ann. Bertin.

immediately fled into the Belgic country, raised a band of desperate robbers, and committed frightful ravages over the whole district. The king had no forces at hand to repress these outrages; he had recourse to the bishops, who, as Carloman had received deacon's orders, were urged to interpose their authority. The bandit's companions were excommunicated, and condemned, if they should be taken, to death. Carloman himself, having deceived his father by the promise of surrender, appeared again at the head of his robbers in Lorraine, ravaged the country around Toul, and crossed the mountains (the Vosges) into Burgundy. The bishops were preparing to take the extreme measure of degradation against the apostate ecclesiastic and unnatural son. To their amazement, Carloman having made a secret appeal to the Pope, letters from Hadrian appeared, espousing the cause of the robber and rebel in terms of unprecedented vehemence. Resentment for the disobedience of Charles, in the seizure of Lothair's dominions, was almost the avowed cause of this extraordinary step. "Not only, O king, hast thou usurped the realm of others, but, surpassing the wild beasts in cruelty, thou hast not in thy rage respected thine own entrails, thy son Carloman. Like the ostrich, as we read in the holy book of Job, thou hast hardened thine heart to thy son, as though he were not thy son. Thou hast not only deprived him of his father's favour, and of all his benefices, but thou hast banished him from thy kingdom, and, what is more impious, endeavoured to procure his excommunication. But Carloman has appealed to the Apostolic See, and by the Apostolic authority we command thee to refrain from thy cruelty, and exhort thee, not, contrary to the apostle's admonition, to provoke thy children to wrath. Restore him

July 13, 871.

then to thy favour; receive him as thy son with parental affection; reinstate him in his honours and his benefices, at least, till our legates arrive, who, by their authority, with due respect to the honour of both, may dispose and order all things. Heap not sin on sin; forswear thy usurpations, and thy avarice; and showing how thou hast profited by correction, seek with thy whole heart the pardon of the Church; strive to the end lest thou perish everlastingly. The term of thy crimes will be that of our rebuke, and by God's assistance thou wilt reach the end of thy guilt and of thy punishment."

Hadrian at the same time addressed the nobles of France and Lorraine to forbid them to take up arms against Carloman; and the bishops, prohibiting his excommunication. But the clergy of France made common cause with the king, above all Hincmar of Rheims, himself involved in inevitable strife with the Pope. If the king had a rebellious son and subject, supported by the Pope, Hincmar had a contumacious nephew and suffragan, who appealed to the Pope and defied the authority of his uncle and metropolitan. How far common interests had led to any secret understanding between these two rebels against the royal and archiepiscopal authority is not clear; but

Hincmar
of Laon.

Hincmar, Bishop of Laon, alone of the Frankish clergy, refused to subscribe to the act of degradation against Carloman. Hincmar of Laon must be made to pass rapidly over the scene. This turbulent nephew of Archbishop Hincmar, who bore the same name, had been advanced by misjudging nepotism in early youth to the See of Laon.^o His first acts were

^o Hincmar bitterly reproaches his nephew: "Videlicet quia statim ut a paternæ nido educationis factus Episcopus evolasti."—P. 598.

acts of rebellion and contumacy against the metropolitan authority of his uncle. He had come into collision on an affair of property with the temporal power, and given offence to King Charles the Bald. He was summoned before a secular tribunal, deprived of a rich abbey; even the revenues of his see were sequestered. The nepotism of the elder Hincmar woke again, and entered into alliance with his lofty Churchmanship. He rebuked the unhallowed conduct of the king, who had presumed to lay his profane hands on a bishop, and to adjudge property claimed by the Church. He quoted against the king the irrefragable authority of passages from the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals.^p Hincmar of Laon, after an apology not too humble, was reinstated in his abbey and in the possession of his see.

In the same year came another outbreak of turbulence from Hincmar of Laon, the forcible seizure of a fief to which he laid claim, and the expulsion of Nortman, a noble, by his armed men. The king took up his noble's cause; the Bishop was forced to take refuge before the altar of his church. From thence he actually laid his whole diocese under an interdict: no rite of religion was to be performed in the closed and silent churches. The elder Hincmar put forth his metropolitan power, and annulled the interdict.^q The clergy, aghast, knew not whom to obey, for Hincmar of Laon had appealed to Rome: in Rome he had probably long kept up secret intelligence. He turned his own theologic weapons against his uncle; with passages from the false Decretals he limited and

New charges
against Hincmar
of Laon

^p Passages from the letters of Popes Lucius and Stephanus. The document, pp. 316, 333.—Hincmar, Op. ii. p. 323.

against Hincmar of Laon contain 55 capitula, or charges, occupying above 200 folio pages in his works, from 377 to 593.

^q The charges of Hincmar of Rheims

defied the metropolitan power. The quarrel becomes more fierce and obstinate. Council after council meet, at Pistes (866), at Gondeville (868), at Attigny; they meet in vain. Hincmar of Rheims labours in prolix writings to assert the plenitude of metropolitan authority; he has found out that the new Decretals are not so absolutely above doubt, yet he dares not boldly to deny their authenticity. Hincmar of Laon asserts the unqualified supremacy of the Pope. Hincmar of Rheims asserts that the statutes of councils are of higher authority than the decrees of Popes; the Pope's Decretals owe their power to the authority of councils. Hincmar of Laon displays firmness worthy of a better cause; the bishops declare against him, and pronounce the interdict unlawful; the king accuses him of a breach of his oath of allegiance. He appeals to Rome; he exhibits letters of Pope Hadrian, summoning him to Rome. Already the Pope had entered into the con-
Interference of Pope Hadrian. March 25, 871. test; he had commanded the excommunication, without hearing or inquiry, of Nortman, the claimant and possessor of the disputed fief; he had reproved both the king and the archbishop for daring to forbid the Bishop of Laon to leave the realm and go to Rome. Hincmar of Laon fled to his city of Laon.

Hincmar of Rheims now, in the name of the king, addressed an expostulation to Pope Hadrian; it was strong at once, and not undignified: "You have compelled me by your indecent letters, alike disparaging to the royal authority and unbecoming Apostolic moderation, and filled with outrage and insult, to reply in no very friendly tone. It is time that you should know that, although subject to human passions, I am a man, framed in the image of God, holding through the grace of God the royal dignity by descent from my ancestors;

and, what is far greater, a Christian, an orthodox Catholic Christian, instructed from my youth in sacred and profane laws and letters.^r You have neither legally nor regularly accused me of any public crime before the bishops, still less convicted me. Yet you have dared to call me a perjurer, a tyrant, a traitor, an usurper of the estates of the Church.”^s He afterwards asserts that the Kings of France are not the Vicegerents of the bishops, but the lords of the realm; and appeals to former precedents that none of his royal ancestors had been addressed in such terms by the predecessors of the Pope. This letter, however, takes no notice of the most flagrant invasion of the royal rights, the unjustifiable interference of the Pope in favour of the rebel Carloman, which must have been still pending, or at least not determined; it dwells entirely on the affair of Hincmar, Bishop of Laon. This affair, being a revolt, as it were, against the Metropolitan power of the Archbishop of Rheims, seems put forward by that prelate, as though the crime of his own kinsman and the rebellion against spiritual authority were the more heinous offence.

Hadrian had doubtless the sagacity to perceive his error. The correspondence between the king and the Pope became on both sides more amicable.^t Carloman

^r On the literary cultivation of Charles the Bald, compare Sir F. Palgrave's *Hist. of Normandy and England*, p. 273, and note, p. 729.

^s The close of the letter is the most remarkable part. Throughout Hincmar appeals only to the ancient accredited decretals of Leo, Celestine, Gelasius, and to the African Councils. He closes with these words: “We are not ignorant that whatever is written from the Apostolic See according to

the sacred Scriptures, the preaching of the ancients, and the authority of councils, is to be held and obeyed: whatever beyond that has been compiled or forged is not only to be rejected but refuted also.” “Quod sicut a quoquam fuerit compilatum sive confictum non solum respuendum sed et redarguendum esse cognovimus.”—vol. ii. v. 716.

^t “Quasi tumores et læsiones vestras palpares sensimus, has oleo conso-

was abandoned, and to a tragic fate.^u Unable to withstand the power levied against him by his father, A.D. 871. he again surrendered, was again imprisoned at Senlis. Two years afterwards he was brought to trial before the bishops, and degraded from his clerical orders. His partisans, however, and Carloman, no doubt, himself, rather rejoiced in this degradation, which opened again the path of secular ambition. He might aspire, if not to the throne, to a share in the dominions of his father. The bishops had, perhaps, by this time perceived that this division of the royal dominions at the death of each successive monarch was the inherent weakness of the crown, and, dreading a contest for the throne in the distracted state of the kingdom, attacked on every side by the pagan Normans, determined to secure the peace of the Church and kingdom. Carloman was again put upon his trial, and condemned to death. This punishment was commuted for one more barbarous. His eyes were put out, and he was shut up in the Abbey of Corbey. His partisans contrived to carry him off, and conveyed him to the court of Louis of Germany, who named him Abbot of Esternach. He did not long survive his cruel treatment.

If the king triumphed over his rebellious son, so did Hincmar of Rheims over his rebellious nephew. Nor was the Archbishop's nephew more mercifully treated than the King's son. Hincmar of Laon suffered the same fate; he too was condemned, and suffered the

lationis per dulcissimum melos caritatis, et sanctæ dilectionis unguentum fovere, lenire, et ad sanitatem perducere optamus."—Hadrian, Epist. ad Car. Calv. Labbe, p. 937.

^u See the Acts of the Synod of Doucy, Labbe, p. 1539, 1544. He

was accused by the king as a perjured traitor and disturber of the public peace; by Hincmar, as contumacious against his metropolitan. Hincmar reserved to the Pope only the right of appeal given by the Council of Sardica. —Compare Pianck, iii. p. 183.

loss of his eyes like Carloman. The two rebels against royal and metropolitan authority were thus joined in the same barbarous punishment. Both these events, however, took place after the death of Hadrian, during the rule of his successor. The death of Hadrian may have emboldened the clergy of France to take the affair into their own hands, and so to achieve their full victory.

Nicolas I. and Hadrian II. thus, with different success, imperiously dictating to sovereigns, ruling, or attempting to rule, the higher clergy in foreign countries with a despotic sway, mingling in the political revolutions of Europe, awarding crowns, and adjudging kingly inheritances, might seem the immediate ancestors of Gregory VII., of Innocent III., of Boniface VIII. But the papacy had to undergo a period of gloom and degradation, even of guilt, before it emerged again to its height of power

CHAPTER VI.

John VIII. The Saracens. The Dukes of Lower Italy.

THE pontificate of John VIII. is the turning point in this gradual, but rapid and almost total, ^{A.D. 872.} change. Among its causes were the extinction of the imperial branch of the Carolingian race, and the frequent transference of the empire from one line of sovereigns to another; with the growth of the formidable dukes and counts in Italy, which overshadowed the papal power, and reduced the Pope himself to the slave or the victim of one of the contending factions. The Pope was elected, deposed, imprisoned, murdered. In the wild turbulence of the times not merely the reverence but the sanctity of his character disappeared. He sank to the common level of mortals; and the head of Christendom was as fierce and licentious as the petty princes who surrounded him, out of whose stock he sprang, and whose habits he did not break off when raised to the papal throne.

John VIII., however, still stood on the vantage ground occupied by Nicolas I. and Hadrian II. He was a Roman by birth. He signalled his pontificate by an act even more imposing than those of his predecessors, the nomination to the empire, which his language represented rather as a grant from the papal authority than as a hereditary dignity; it was a direct gift from heaven, conveyed at the will of the Pope. Already there appear indications of a French and Ger-

man interest contending for the papal influence, which grows into more and more decided faction, till the Carolingian empire is united, soon to be dissolved for ever, in the person of Charles the Fat. John VIII. adopted the dangerous policy of a partial adherence to France. The Emperor Louis, the son of Lothair, had died without male issue. Charles the Bald was never wanting in boldness and activity to advance his claims, just or unjust, to an increase of dominion. He marched hastily into Italy; his nobles crowded to his standard. Of the two sons of Louis of Germany the elder attempted in vain to arrest, or was bribed to permit, his passage of the Alps. The Pope hastened to bestow the imperial crown on Charles. An Emperor with a title so questionable was not disposed to be scrupulous as to the author of the gift. "We have elected," writes John VIII., "and approved, with the consent of our brothers the other bishops, of the ministers of the holy Roman Church, and of the senate and people of Rome, the King Charles, Emperor of the West." In his letters to the bishops and counts of Bavaria, whom he forbids to espouse the cause of their king in the assertion of his rightful title to the empire, or to invade the territories of Charles, the Pope describes the march of Charles as almost miraculous, and intimates throughout that he was invited by the Church, in which resided the divine power of bestowing the empire.^a No later Pope held more unmeasured language:—"How do we discharge our functions as vicegerents of Christ in his Church, if we do not strive for Christ against the insolence of

Aug. 876.

Dec. 17, 875.

^a "Sibi divinitus . . . collatum."—Epist. cccxvii.

princes?"^b He speaks of "our son Louis, your glorious king, if he be a son who has always been disobedient to our holy predecessors, if glorious who has waged unhallowed wars against Christians; 'bella gerens nullos habitura triumphos:' if a king, who cannot govern himself."^c The Bavarian bishops are threatened with instant excommunication if they refuse to concur with the legates of John in preventing the war by mild or by threatening means. Another letter to the bishops who adhered to the title of Louis is still more violent; he treats them as Iscariots, as followers of the fratricide Cain. "They murmur not against Charles, but against God, the giver of crowns."^d But the historians are almost unanimous as to the price which Charles was compelled to pay for his imperial crown. He bought the Pope, he bought the senators of Rome; he bought, if we might venture to take the words to the letter, St. Peter himself.^e

The imperial reign of Charles the Bald was short and inglorious. His brother and rival, Louis of Germany, died during the next year, but left his kingdoms and his title to the Empire to his three sons. War broke out; Charles suffered a disgraceful defeat on the Rhine by Louis of Saxony. After his second descent into Italy, where Pope John

^b "Ubi est quæsumus, quod vicem Christi in ecclesiâ fungimur, si pro Christo contra insolentiam principum . . ."—Apud Labbe, sub ann. The whole letter is remarkable.

^c Epist. cccxviii.

^d "Neque enim contra Carolum est murmur vestrum, sed contra Dominum cujus est regnum, e cui voluerit ipse dabo illud."—Ibid.

^e Annal. Bertin. ad ann. 876. "Beato Petro multa et pretiosa munera offerens in Imperatorem unctus et coronatus est. . . Imperatoris nomen a præsule sedis Apostolicæ Johanne, ingenti pretio emerat."—Ann. Met. 877. "Omnem senatum populi Romani, more Jugurthino corruptit, sibi que sociavit."—Ann. Fulden.

met him at Pavia, he was in danger of being cut off in his retreat by the forces of Carloman, King of Bavaria. He died on the road, in a small hamlet in the Alps. As his physician was a Jew, it was generally believed that he was poisoned; though the Jews, educated in the Arabian universities of Spain, were no doubt more advanced in medical science than any others in Europe. Oct. 6, 877.

John VIII., even before the death of Charles the Bald, might repent of having yielded to the temptation of bestowing the imperial crown on an obsequious but remote sovereign, who could so ill discharge his office of Protector of the Roman See. Danger from the Saracens. But where could he have looked for a more powerful protector against the formidable enemies which were environing the capital of Christendom on every side, the Saracens, and the no less dangerous Christian petty princes of Italy? The whole pontificate of John VIII. was a long, if at times interrupted, agony of apprehension lest Rome should fall into the hands of the unbeliever. The reign of the late Emperor Louis had been almost a continual warfare against the Mohammedans, who had now obtained a firm footing in Southern Italy. He had successfully repelled their progress, but at the death of Louis Rome was again in danger of becoming a Mohammedan city. The Pope wrote letter after letter in the most urgent and feeling language to Charles the Bald soon after he had invested him with the empire.^f "If all the trees in the forest," such is the style of the Pope, "were turned into tongues, they could not describe the ravages of these impious pagans; the devout people of God is destroyed

^f Ad Carol. Calv. Imper. apud Bouquet, I. 471.

by a continual slaughter: he who escapes the fire and the sword is carried as a captive into exile. Cities, castles, and villages are utterly wasted, and without an inhabitant. The bishops are wandering about in beggary, or fly to Rome as the only place of refuge." The well-known story, whether false or true, by the belief which it obtained, shows the deadly hatred between the Christians and the Moslemin, and the horrors of the war. Salerno was besieged by the Saracens (this was at an earlier period, about the accession of John VIII.): the gallant defence of the city by Count Guaifer probably retarded at that time their career of conquest. The Saracen general, or king as he is called, is said to have violated a number of Christian nuns on the altar in the church of St. Fortunatus. While in this act of cruelty and guilt to one of them he was crushed by a huge beam, which fell or was skilfully detached from the wall. The maiden escaped unhurt.⁵ The usual appellation of the Saracens by the Pope is Hagarenes, sons of fornication and wrath. In a passage in a later letter to Count Boso, the Pope describes the Saracens as an army of locusts, turning the whole land into a wilderness: extensive regions were so desolate as to be inhabited only by wild beasts.^h The most terrible intelligence of all is that an armament of three hundred ships, fifteen of which carried cavalry, was in preparation to attack and conquer Rome. "Consider," says the Pope, "what a vast and unparalleled¹ evil this would be; the loss of that city would be the ruin of the world, the peril of Christianity itself." In another pressing letter to Charles the Bald he says, "All Campania is a desert; the Hagarenes have crossed the Tiber, and are

⁵ Anonym. Salern.

^h *e. g.* Epist. xxxviii.

¹ Incomparable

wasting the suburban district; they destroy all churches and shrines: massacre the monks and clergy.”^k Somewhat later he alludes to the starvation of Rome; some of the senate were in danger of perishing with hunger.^m All this time, bitterly complains the Pope, the Christians, instead of flying to the relief of the Roman see, were engaged in unnatural wars against each other; wars in which John forgets his own concern.

Yet, if possible, even more formidable than the infidels were the petty Christian princes of Italy. “The canker-worm eats what the locust has left.”^{Nov. 16, 876.} These appear to have been the inferior nobles, The nobles in the Roman territory. the marquises (marchiones) in the neighbourhood of Rome. The more powerful princes seized likewise every opportunity of confusion to enrich themselves or to enlarge their dominions. “Those,” writes Pope John to the Emperor, “who are not unknown to you, trample down all our rights in the Roman territory, seize all that the Saracens have spared; so that there is not a single herd of cattle in all our domain, nor a single human being to commiserate or lament the desolation.”ⁿ In many parts of Italy had gradually arisen independent dukedoms: and none of these appear to have felt any religious respect for the Pope, some not for Christianity. They were ready on every occasion to assail and plunder the city itself: for which they were sometimes punished, when the imperial power was strong; more often they defied its impotence. A Transalpine Emperor was too distant to maintain awe for any long time. In the South were the old Lombard Dukes of Benevento and Spoleto, the Duke

^k He entreats the Empress Richildis to influence her husband to protect him, his whole realm is confined within the walls of the city.—Epist. xxx.

^m Epist. xlv.

ⁿ Epist. xxx.

of Naples, who owned a kind of remote fealty to the Eastern Empire, the Princes of Capua, Salerno, and Amalfi. On the vacancy after the death of Pope Nicolas, Lambert of Spoleto had occupied and pillaged Rome,^o respecting neither monastery nor church, and carrying off a great number of young females of the highest rank.^p Adalgis, the Duke of Benevento, had dared to seize in that city the sacred person of the Emperor Louis.^q The Emperor had fled with his wife and a few soldiers to a lofty tower, in which he was besieged, and glad to accept terms of capitulation.^r He was only permitted to leave the city after he had taken a solemn oath to Adalgis—an oath in which his wife, his daughter, and all his attendants were compelled to join—that he would neither in his own person nor by any other revenge this act of insolent rebellion. No sooner, however, had Louis reached Ravenna in safety than he sent to the Pope to absolve him from his oath. Hadrian II., then Pope, began to assert that dangerous privilege of absolution from solemn and recorded oaths.^s The two Lamberts of Spoleto were

^o The cause of this insurrection was the rapacity of the Empress Ingelberga and the cruelty of the French soldiery with her.—Anastas, in Vit. Hadrian.

^p At a later period, as appears by a letter of Pope John VIII., the same Lambert had demanded the chief of the Roman nobility to be surrendered to him as hostages.—Ann. Bertin.; Ann. Fuldens. sub ann. 871; Muratori, Ann. d'Italia, *ibid.*

^q Erchempert assigns two reasons why God permitted this humiliation of Louis: because he had insulted Pope Nicolas, and spared two Saracen kings, whom he might have put to

death as Saul did Agag.—Apud Pertz, p. 253.

^r The popular verses current at the time show the profound impression made by this act of treason against the imperial majesty. It is a curious transition specimen of Italo-Latin:—

“Audite omnes fines terræ, horrore cum
tristitia,
Quale scelus fuit factum Benevento
Civitas,
Lhudovicum comprehenderunt sancto pio
Augusto.”

The descent of the Saracens in great force was thought a providential visitation for the crime of the Beneventans.

^s Liutprand.—Regino, lib. ii.

accused of conniving at, if not consenting to, this daring exploit.

The Duke of Naples, the Greek Emperor's subject, acted altogether as an independent prince. Sergius, who had succeeded his father in the Neapolitan dukedom, was accused of secret and friendly intelligence with the Saracens; of supplying their piratical fleets with provisions, and thus purchasing security for his own dominions by sacrificing the rest of Southern Italy. His uncle, Athanasius, Bishop of Naples (the high families of Italy now, as well as of the Franks aspired to ecclesiastical dignities), had, at the commencement of his reign, reprov'd him for this alliance with the Unbeliever. Sergius, once imprisoned, afterwards drove his uncle, the bishop, into exile. After the death of the Emperor Louis, during the reign of Charles the Bald, the Pope, John VIII, was more earnestly desirous of breaking this unhallowed league between the so-called Christian and the Saracen. He tried in vain anathema and excommunication. At length he appeared in person at the head of an army with the two Lamberts, Dukes of Spoleto, who had received orders from the Emperor, Charles the Bald, to assist him.^t Guaifer, Prince of Salerno; Palear, Prefect of Amalfi; and Docibilis, Duke of Gaeta, were also on too friendly terms with the Saracens.^u In a conflict between the two armies,

^t Erchempert. Muratori, Ann. d'Italia, A.D. 877.

^u By the assistance of Erchempert we trace the rise and progress of this race of lawless, independent princes. The busiest and not least lawless were the Bishops (in general of the ruling family) Landulf of Capua and Athanasius of Naples. Of these, Landulf,

one of the four sons of Lando, Prince of Capua, became Bishop of Capua. Erchempert insinuates against him the worst vices—and he hated monks!—P. 251. Yet John consented to his episcopate. "Pandenulfus Landenulfum germanum suum *conjugatum* clericum fecit episcopum, mittensque Romam Johanni Papæ episcopum fieri

twenty-two Neapolitans were taken and beheaded, as under the papal anathema, with the sanction of the

Pope.* A second Athanasius, the brother of Duke Sergius, had succeeded to his uncle as Bishop of Naples. He was a man of lawless

and unmeasured ambition, but with specious cunning sacrificed, as it seemed, all the ties of kindred and of blood to the cause of the Pope and of Christianity. He organised a formidable party in Naples, seized and imprisoned his brother the duke, and sent him blinded to Rome, where he died shortly after in misery and disgrace.^y The Bishop then took possession of the vacant dukedom; the civil and ecclesiastical offices met in his person, as they had at Capua in the Bishop Landulf. The Pope, John VIII., highly approved of this usurpation, commended Athanasius because he had over-

thrown the new Holofernes, and had not spared his own flesh and blood. The Pope betrayed his inward triumph that a churchman had thus assumed the secular authority: he wrote to the people of Naples confirming the title of Athanasius, and declared that divine inspiration must have guided them in the wise choice of such a ruler.^z

But the bishop-duke did not scruple to return to the unhallowed policy of his brother. He entered into a new league with the Saracens, gave them quarters, and,

exposit, a quo et exauditus eat."—
Ib. 255. Athanasius is briefly described: "Episcopus et magister militum."

* "Octavo die anathematis xxii. Neapolites milites apprehensos decolari fecit: sic enim monuerat Papa."—
Erchempert, 39.

^y The fifth letter of John seems to

have been addressed to Athanasius soon after his promotion to the bishopric. He there threatens Sergius with an irrevocable anathema (non dissolvendum).—Labbe, Concil. ix. p. 5. "Et Romam mittitur suffossis oculis."—
Erchempert.

^z Ad pop. Napolit. Compare also Epist. xlv.

actually uniting his troops with theirs, defeated the forces of Benevento, Capua, and Salerno, and opened a free passage for their incursions A.D. 877. to the gates of Rome. It was this danger which caused so much alarm to Pope John, and called forth such loud and urgent clamours for aid from the 'Transalpine powers.^a The united troops of the Christian bishop and the Saracens devastated the whole region, plundering convents and churches, desolating "towns, villages cities, hills, mountains, and islands." Even the famous and holy monasteries of St. Benedict and St. Vincent did not escape.^b

All hopes of succour from the Emperor, Charles the Bald, had been frustrated by his retreat from Lombardy and his death. The Pope, who had gone to meet him at Vercelli, and had held a council at Ravenna, returned only to submit to an ignominious tribute to the Saracens. In vain he launched his anathemas: while they struck with terror remoter parts of Christendom, they were treated with contempt by these lawless chieftains.^c

The imperial crown was again vacant, and claimed by the conflicting houses of France and Germany.^d But

^a John hoped to obtain assistance from the Greek Emperor Basil, against his *subject*, as well as against the Saracens. The Greek fleet was in those seas; he begged him to send ten large vessels (*achelandra*) for the protection of Rome.—*Epist.* xlvi. This is urged to excuse the weakness of John in consenting to the patriarchate of Photius.—See above, page 170.

^b Joan. *Epist.* lxvi. lxvii. In one of the expeditions of Pandenulfus, one of the princes of Capua, who joined

the Neapolitans and Saracens, the monk, the writer of the history of the Lombard Princes, was taken, stripped of all he had, and carried away captive.

^c *Epist.* xlv. Docibilis, Duke of Gaeta, had surrendered a fortress, on which, it was said, depended the safety of Rome.

^d From the battle of Fontanet and the treaty of Verdun took place the final separation between France and Germany. Charles the Bald took his

Carloman, son of Louis of Germany, had been acknowledged as King of Italy. Probably as partisans of the German, and to compel the Pope to abandon the interest of the French line, to which he adhered with unshaken fidelity, Lambert, Duke of Spoleto, that anti-

Christ, as the Pope described him,^e with his April 28, 878.

adulterous sister, Richildis, and his accomplice, the treacherous Adelbert, Count of Tuscany, at the head of an irresistible force, entered Rome, seized and confined the Pope, and endeavoured to starve him into concession, and compelled the clergy and the Romans to take an oath of allegiance to Carloman as King of Italy. For thirty days the religious services were interrupted; not a single lamp burned on the altars.^f

No sooner had they retired than the Pope caused all the sacred treasures to be conveyed from St. Peter's to the Lateran, covered the altar of St. Peter with sackcloth, closed the doors, and refused to permit the pilgrims from distant lands to approach the shrine. He then fled to Ostia, and embarked for France.

When he reached the shores of Provence, John VIII. felt himself in another world. Instead of turbulent and lawless enemies (such were the Counts and Dukes

oath in Roman, Louis in German. The Roman and the Teutonic had begun their antagonism.—See Palgrave, p. 66.

^e Epist. lx. There are two letters to Lambert (lxii. and lxiii.), from the latter of which he appears to have treated the Pope with great disrespect, and to have assumed some control over the Legations (Ann. Fulden. sub ann.; see also lxxxii.). The Pope disguises this, and accuses Lambert himself of aspiring to the empire. He

had before charged him with a design of permanently occupying the territory of St. Peter and the Holy City; of having sent an embassy to Sorrento to conclude an alliance with the Saracens, and to invite a reinforcement of their troops.—Epist. ad Concil. Trec. xc.

^f The clearest description of this is in letters to the Archbishop of Ravenna, to Count Berengarius, the Empress Ingelberga, and to Louis the Stammerer.—lxxxiv. vii.

of Italy), whose rapacity or animosity paid no respect to sacred things, and treated the Pope like an ordinary mortal, the whole kingdom of France might seem to throw itself humbly at his feet. He was received at Arles by Boso, Duke of Lombardy, master, likewise shortly to become King, of Provence,⁸ and whose ambition aspired to the Empire. Boso, after having poisoned his first wife, had married, it was said by force, Ermengard,^h the daughter of the Emperor, Louis II. Wherever the Pontiff went he was received with the highest honours. He summoned a council to be held at Troyes. Louis the Stammerer, King of France; the three kings, the sons of Louis of Germany, were cited to appear. Louis alone obeyed the mandate.

John VIII.
in France.

May 11, 878.

August.
Council of
Troyes.

No Pope was more prodigal of excommunication than John VIII. Of his letters, above 300, it is remarkable how large a proportion threaten, inflict, or at least allude to this last exercise of sacerdotal power.ⁱ The Council of Troyes opened with the recital and confirmation of the papal anathema against Adelbert of Tuscany and Lambert of Spoleto. The anathema was ratified with one voice by the assembled bishops, and commanded to be published in all their churches, and in those of their suffragans. Formosus, Bishop of Porto, the Apostle of the Bulgarians, afterwards Pope, the

⁸ On the advancement of Boso to the throne of Provence, see Bouché, *Hist. de Provence*, pp. 738, 769; Palgrave, note 744. The Pope's first act was to erect Arles into a metropolitan see, and to grant the pallium to the Bishop, Rostagne; afterwards he appointed him Legate, with full powers.—*Epist. xc. et seq.*

^h Ermengard was the last of the line of Lothair, the eldest son of Louis the Pious.—*Epist.* cxvii.

ⁱ The wiser Nicolas had warned bishops against too frequent use of this precious weapon: "Non temere ad excommunicationes procedant . . . ne auctoritas episcopalis vilescat."—Labbe, viii. 562.

head, it seems, of the German faction, was involved with all his accomplices in one sentence of excommunication, degraded, and anathematised. The obsequious episcopal senate echoed each anathema with perfect concord. Another broad and sweeping excommunication comprehended all persons who should in any way usurp the property of the Church; they were excluded from the communion of the faithful, and, if they persisted in not making restitution, deprived of Christian burial. The Pope did not scruple, of his own authority and that of the council, to make an addition to the fundamental laws of the Transalpine realm. He found the Teutonic code imperfect, as containing no statute against sacrilege; he caused to be inserted that in the Justinian code, mitigating the fine from five pounds of pure gold to thirty pounds of tried silver. In return for this humble resignation of his authority, Sept. 7, 878. John VIII. condescended to crown Louis the Stammerer King of France; his queen was excluded from that honour on account of some irregularity in her marriage. He rendered, moreover, to Louis the service of excommunicating some of his enemies, especially Bernhard, Marquis of Languedoc. The execution of this act was confided to another Bernhard, of Provence, who was to be rewarded out of the confiscation. Nothing was too lofty to defy, nothing too mean to escape, the fulminations of John. He will soon appear anathematising the three great Archbishops of Italy — of Milan, Ravenna, and Naples: ^k he launched an excommunication, addressed to all Christians, against some thieves who had stolen his horses, and a silver cup

^k Epist. cxxviii. Milan, May 1, 879; cclxxviii., Ravenna; cclxx., Naples.

belonging to St. Peter, when John was on his way to Troyes.^m

The indefatigable Pope returned over the Alps by the Mont Cenis, to Turin and Pavia; but of all whom he had so commandingly exhorted, and so earnestly implored to march for his protection against the Saracens, and no doubt against his Italian enemies, none obeyed but Duke Boso of Provence.ⁿ For this extraordinary mark of fidelity, the Pope showed extraordinary gratitude; he declared Boso, as Duke of Lombardy, his adopted son. Since the son of Louis the Stammerer, Carloman, was married to the daughter of Duke Boso, the Pope was thus bound in closer alliance with the house of France. The ambition of Count Boso aspired, after the death of Carloman, King of Italy, to the Empire. The death of Louis the Stammerer, and the intrigues concerning the succession to the throne of France, thwarted in one way the policy of the pontiff; in another, seemed to encourage his ambition, at least to strengthen, rather than mitigate, his animosity to the German Carolingians. He wrote to Charles the Fat,^o the King of Swabia, hereafter to be Emperor, to warn him, under peril of excommunication, against any invasion on the dominions of Boso, his adopted son.^p This was to close the gates of Italy against the Germans, to keep them beyond the Alps. If it had been the policy of John to erect a firm, hereditary kingdom in the north of Italy, in alliance with,

A.D. 879.

^m Epist. xcvii. In the Council of Troyes, which closed Sept. 878, the episcopal dignity was asserted by a decree that all the public authorities should pay the bishop the respect due to his rank—not sit in his presence till leave was granted; and this asser-

tion was likewise guarded by excommunication.—Labbe, Concil. p. 314.

ⁿ John, Epist. cxix.; Labbe, p. 89.

^o Charles the Fat was the eldest of the three sons of Louis the Germanic.

^p Epist. ccxi. *et seqq.*

and as a protector of the papacy against the Saracen and the lawless southern dukes, his object might, perhaps, justify this usurpation of authority. But his sole design was to obtain a kingdom for his adopted son. He attempted to summon a council at Pavia, as obsequious as that which had met at Troyes.⁴ In tone, partly of persuasion, partly of menace, he cited Anspert, Archbishop of Milan; Berengar, Duke of Friuli, and the Bishops of Parma, Placentia, Reggio, and Modena. Four times was Anspert summoned, twice at least

excommunicated, and threatened with the utmost power of the Roman See.⁷ By this excommunication of Anspert he would establish his despotic authority over the Bishops of Lombardy. But Anspert and the Italian Prelates and Counts paid not the least respect to the papal summons or the papal excommunication: they neither appeared at Pavia, nor, in obedience to a later summons, at Rome.⁸ In Provence the adopted son of the Pope met with better success among the clergy. A synod of ecclesiastics met at a place called Montaille, in the territory of Vienne, and assumed the right of founding a new kingdom, of disregarding the rights of the sons of

Louis the Stammerer, and of investing Boso with the title of King of Provence and of Arles. The influence of the Pope had no doubt great weight with the Bishops of this Council. Boso is said to have paved the way for his elevation by the promise

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⁴ Epist. cxxvi. cxxviii.

⁷ The Pope afterwards invested the Bishop of Pavia, in legatine authority, with full power of excommunication; he interfered in the appointment of Anspert's successor, degraded a bishop

consecrated by Anspert, and named another in his place. To the death of Anspert, John considered him under the sentence of excommunication.

⁸ Epist. clxxxii. clxxxiii.

of wealthy abbeys to be attached, by royal and papal authority, to the Episcopal Sees.[†] The Council consisted of the Archbishops of Vienne and Lyons, of the Tarantaise, and of Aix, with seventeen suffragan Bishops. Of their sole authority, though with some tacit consent of the nobles, compelled by the necessity of providing for the security of their churches, and acting at least with the implied assertion of divine commission,[‡] they elect the King, but do not define the boundaries or extent of his kingdom. In their address they strongly impress on Boso his royal duties, especially regard for the honour of God, the protection of the Catholic faith, the exaltation of the Church. Boso received the gift with profound humility; he acknowledged that he received the crown from their good-will alone, and promised the fullest obedience to God's inspired priests.[§] Thus Councils had become Diets or Parliaments, awarded and carved out kingdoms. The nobles of Provence make neither protest nor remonstrance.

Pope John in the mean time was compelled to crown the Emperor, Charles the Fat. Charles had marched with a preponderating force into Italy; John had met him at Ravenna, reluctant but obedient.[¶] Though Charles was of the German line, the Pope yielded, yet he yielded with haughty condescension. "We have called you by the authority of our letters, for the advantage and exaltation of the Church, to the Imperial Sovereignty." The Pope enjoins him before his arrival in Rome to send some of his chief officers to ratify, in

[†] Labbe, Concil. Arles signs as *Episcopus*; but he had already received the *pallium* from John.—*Epist. xcii. et seqq.*

[‡] "Nostrī Dei, per suffragia sanctorum . . . Christo præduce."

[§] Apud Labbe, Concil. ix. p. 333.

[¶] Aug. 879, Hincmar Annal.

his name, all the privileges of the Roman See. He acknowledges the Emperor's power of making ordinances concerning the territory of St. Peter, which he is bound to protect against the Saracens and evil-minded Christians: "The Church must suffer no diminution, but rather be augmented in her rights and possessions."^a

Charles the Fat, crowned Emperor,^a by degrees became master of the whole dominions of Charlemagne. For a few years the Empire of the West displayed its ancient unity. The kingdom of Arles stood alone in precarious independence. But though he received at Rome the Imperial Crown, the Emperor could afford no efficient protection against the Mohammedans. The Pope, who was founding kingdoms beyond the Alps, who was again interfering in the ecclesiastical quarrels of Constantinople, alternately absolving and excommunicating the Patriarch Photius, confirming or annulling the so-called general Council of Constantinople, was trembling within the walls of Rome at the invasion of the Saracens, and in vain heaping interdict on interdict, not merely on the secular princes, but against an ecclesiastic, a more dangerous enemy.

Athanasius, the Duke-Bishop of Naples, still maintained in secret his unholy alliance with the enemies of the Cross.^b The Pope visited Naples,^c in order to persuade him to join the other Dukes in a general defensive league against the common enemy of Christendom. He offered large sums of money, which Athanasius

^a Epist. ccxvi. ccxvii.

^b Coronation of Charles, Christmas 880, or early in 881. See Muratori, *sub ann.*; Jaffé, Feb., March, 881. The western empire of Charles was properly only from 884 to 887.

^b Athanasius stood by no means alone. See the excommunication of the people of Amalfi for the same cause.—Epist. ccxxv. and ccxlii.

^c Epist. ccxxvii.

received with unscrupulous avidity, and pledged himself to break off his wicked alliance. But the perfidious Prelate not merely kept up his amicable relations with the Saracens, he punctually received his share of the booty made during their ravages.^d The Pope, in the most solemn manner, pronounced the sentence of excommunication; he declared Athanasius suspended from his office, and cut off from the communion of the Church.^e It was not till a year after that Athanasius yielded, or pretended to yield, to the terrors of the sentence. He sent a deacon to Rome to assure the Pope that he had abandoned his infidel allies. But the mistrustful Pope demanded, before he would grant the absolution which he sought, some more convincing evidence of his sincerity. He required that Athanasius should commit himself with his old allies, by an act of signal perfidiousness and cruelty; that he should seize the chief of the Mohammedans, send them to Rome, and massacre the rest in the presence of the Legates. By this *Christian* act, demanded by the head of Christendom, he was to obtain re-admission to the Christian Church, and the right to officiate as a Christian Bishop.^f It is almost impossible to trace the intricate labyrinth of intrigue, treachery, crime, war, which filled the later years of this Duke-Bishop. Nothing was done without an oath; and no oath influenced for a day his policy or his actions. His great object was to make himself master of Capua, an object seemingly attainable through the deadly feuds of the various descendants of the

^d Epist. cclxvii.

^e Epist. cclxx.

^f "Atque si presentibus his nostris, Marino videlicet reverendissimo episcopo et sanctæ sedis nostræ arcario, et

Sicone egregio viro, majores Saracorum quantos melius potes, quos nominatim quærimus, cum aliis omnibus caperes, et, aliis omnibus jugulatis, eos nobis direxeris."- Epist. ccxciv. 882

Ducal house, whom Lando, the Bishop, had committed in interminable strife. They, in their revenge, as each party obtained or lost the mastery at each turn, made or degraded a Bishop. The Saracens in the mean time, courted by all parties, impartially plundered all, made or broke alliances with the same facility as the Christians,^g while the poor monks, even of St. Benedict's own foundation, lived in perpetual fear of spoliation. The last days of John VIII. were occupied in writing more and more urgent letters for aid to Charles the Fat, in warfare, or in providing means of war against his Saracen and Christian foes, or in dealing excommunications on all sides; yet facing with gallant resolution the foes of his person and his power.

This violent Pope is said (but by one writer only)^h to

A.D. 882. have come to a violent end: his brains were
Dec. 15. beaten out with a mallet by some enemy,

covetous of his wealth and ambitious of the papal crown. That he had enemies who would not have scrupled at such a crime, rests on his own acknowledgement, and these were men of high rank and official dignity. In the early years of his pontificate, Gregory the Nomenclator, and George his son-in-law, are accused

April 19, 876. of having for eight years, that is almost during the whole pontificate of John, committed the most enormous crimes, and aimed at seizing the papacy. The actual crime which called for the terrible sentence of anathema against these men was a conspiracy either to murder the Pope and his faithful adherents,ⁱ or to introduce the Saracens into the city.^k They had been cited

^g "Saraceni invitati ab omnibus, omnia diruunt, omnia consumunt."

^h Ann. Fuldeas. Contin.

ⁱ "Summum Romanæ urbis pontificium, conjurantibus sibi dudum suis

complicibus factiose præripere affectavit."—Epist. cccxix.

^k "Donec aut nos cum fidelibus ecclesiæ Dei potuissent perimere, aut Saracenos, quos jam per suos fami-

to answer this charge; and, after much suspicious delay, had seized a large portion of the treasures of the Church, passed the gate of St. Pancrazia with false keys, and left it open to the marauding Saracens, who might have surprised Rome. It is the most remarkable part of the affair that Formosus, Bishop of Porto, called the Apostle of the Bulgarians, and afterwards Pope, is involved as an accomplice in these dark charges, and named in the same sentence of excommunication. Yet the specific offences urged against Formosus are of a totally different kind—disobedience to the Roman See, and an attempt to raise Bulgaria into a new province independent of the Pope. From early times the Bishop of Rome in his person had been less an object of awe and less secure in Rome than in any part of his spiritual dominions; but this conspiracy anticipated the coming darkness of the next century. Either the Pope grounded on a false and wicked invention, or, at the best, on an unwarranted suspicion, this most terrible accusation; or there were persons of the highest rank in the service of the Pope, so blinded with faction, so infatuated with crime (for, according to the Pope, they were men of the most rapacious and licentious habits), on whom their allegiance to the Pope hung so loosely as not to make them shudder at shedding the blood of the successor of St. Peter, or at surrendering the metropolis of Christendom to the unbeliever.

Almost the first act of Marinus,^m the successor of

liarissimos æquè Saracenos invitaverant, in Romanam urbem ad perditionem omnium intrmittere valuisent.”—Ibid. The letter which relates this conspiracy and the excommunication is addressed to the bishops of Gaul and Germany; and it is remark-

able that it dwells strongly on the conspiracy being an act of treason, not to the Church only, but “contra salutem reipublicæ et regni dilecti filii nostri, Caroli, serenissimi principis.”

^m Marinus, or Martinus II., 882, died May or June 884.

John VIII., was the absolution of Formosus, his release from his oath not to enter Rome,ⁿ and his reconciliation with the Holy See. The decided partisanship of this measure declares the triumph of the German faction, and makes it more probable that the vacancy was caused by violent means. The enforced acknowledgement of Charles the Fat, as the master of the whole Carlovingian empire, by John VIII., would not necessarily combine the factions arrayed against each other during years of fierce animosity. It was a German Emperor who again ruled the world, and his supporters would seize the opportunity of more than triumph, of revenge. The short pontificate of Marinus was followed by the still shorter rule of Hadrian III., which lasted but fourteen months. That of Stephen V., though not of longer duration, witnessed events of far more importance to the papacy, to Italy, and to Christendom.

Pope Ma-
rinus.
Dec. 882.

A.D. 884.
A.D. 885.

On the death of Charles the Fat, the ill-cemented edifice of the Carlovingian empire, the discordant materials of which had reunited, not by natural affinity, but almost by the force of accident, dissolved again, and for ever. The legitimate race of Charlemagne expired in the person of his unworthy descendant, whose name, derived from mere physical bulk, contrasted with the mental greatness, the commanding qualities of military, administrative, and even intellectual superiority, which had blended with the name of the first Charles the appellation of the Great.

A.D. 887.

ⁿ Formosus had sworn (at Troyes, Sept. 14, 878) never to enter Rome, or to resume his episcopal dignity. "Formosus enim nequam angustatus jurejurando promisit, ut Romuleam

urbem nunquam ingrederetur, ad reconciliationem sui honoris nunquam accederet, suumque episcopatum nunquam reciperet."—Auxilii Trec. apud Mabillon, *Analect. Vet.* p. 51.

CHAPTER VII.

Anarchy of the Empire and of the Papacy.

AT the expiration of the Carlovingian dynasty the question between the conflicting claims of the Transalpine sovereigns to the Empire was for a short time in abeyance. Italy aspired to name her own king, and to assume that the Empire belonged of right to the King of Italy. But there was no one of her dukes, either of Lombard or Italian descent, so pre-eminent in power and influence as to command the unanimous assent: no Pope on the throne of Rome who could seize this glorious opportunity of securing the independence of Italy. Pope had been following Pope in rapid succession; and the feuds in Italy and in Rome, though the main cause of their animosity, the Imperial title, might seem removed, raged with unallayed ferocity. Guido, Duke of Spoleto, and Berengar, Duke of Friuli, were put forward as competitors for the empire by their respective partisans in the South and in the North. At first Berengar and Guido agreed amicably to share the spoil. Guido hoped to obtain the Transalpine, Berengar the Cisalpine dominions.^a But Guido had formed some wild hopes of succeeding peaceably to the French dominions of Charles the Fat. He entered, it is said, into an amicable arrangement with Berengar; and while his antagonist was strengthening his interest in

Berengar and Guido assume the crown of Italy.

^a Liutprand, apud Pertz, p. 256.

Italy, crossed the Alps on his adventurous quest after the crown of Burgundy. He returned with the shame of having been scorned and foiled in this enterprise, and with the just imputation, which probably affected him much more, of having broken faith with Berengar, and so weakened the claims which he hastened to resume upon the kingdom of Italy. The dukes and counts of Italy were divided. Those of Spoleto, Camerina, Tuscany, joined the banner of Guido; the Lombards were generally on the side of Berengar. The bishops did not stand aloof from the war; they appeared in arms on either side. Yet the general feeling was still so strong against the unseemliness of Christian prelates mingling in battle, that the poetical panegyrist of Berengar, out of respect for the sacred ministry, refuses to record their names.^b Two bloody battles were fought, one in the Brescian territory, one near the Trebia. In the last Guido won the victory, and took possession of Pavia, with great part of Lombardy. An assembly of bishops in Pavia assumed the right of electing Guido to the kingdom of Italy.^c After the death of Popes Hadrian III. and Stephen V. Marinus, Hadrian III. had ruled rather more than one obscure year.^d The Pope Stephen V. had been chosen during the lifetime of Charles the Fat, in the presence of the Imperial ambassador; yet the last

^b Apud Muratori, t. ii. p. 1. Throughout this poem Berengar is an Italian; Wido (Guido), a Gaul (Gallicus ductor); Arnulf, a German: he is the "Ductor Barbarus." The national distinctions and national animosities are growing more marked and strong.

^c See in Muratori the decrees of this Council. There is a remarkable

popular provision. The commonalty (plebeii homines) were to be governed by their law. All illegal exaction or oppression was prohibited. Such injuries were to be redressed by the count; on his neglect or refusal, by the bishop, who, for this end, was to use his power of excommunication.—Art. vii. p. 415.

^d May, 884; Aug., Sept., 885.

Carlovingian resisted the assumption of the full Papal power without his special consent. Stephen V. was crowned by Formosus, Bishop of Porto.^e Feb. 21, 891. Stephen had espoused the cause of Guido with ardour. The King of Italy came to Rome, and was crowned as Emperor by the Pope.^f The death of Stephen, and the election of Formosus Sept. 891. Formosus. to the Papacy, changed the aspect of affairs, and betrayed the hostilities still rankling at Rome. By the election of Formosus was violated the ordinary canonical rule against the translation of bishops from one see to another (Formosus was Bishop of Porto), which was still held in some respect. There were yet stronger objections to the election of a bishop who had been excommunicated by a former Pontiff, excommunicated as an accomplice in a conspiracy to murder the Pope. The excommunicated Formosus had been compelled to take an oath never to resume his episcopal functions, never to return to Rome, and never to presume but to lay communion. The successor of John had granted absolution from these penalties—from this oath. This election must have been a bold and desperate measure of an unscrupulous faction.^g Nor was Formosus chosen without a fierce and violent struggle.^h The suffrages of a party among the clergy and people had already fallen upon Sergius. He was actually at the altar preparing for the solemn ceremony of inauguration, when he was torn away by the Sept. 891. Inauguration of Formosus. stronger faction. Formosus, chosen, as his partisans

* *Invectiv. pro Formoso, apud Anastas.*

^f *Annal. Fuldens. sub ann.*

^g *Liutprand, sub ann. 891.*

^h "Stephano quoque Papa, Adriani filio, viam universæ terræ ingresso,

adunati sunt episcopi proceresque tui, clerici quoque et populus cunctaque vulgi manus, et venerunt in sedem Portuensem infra urbem sitam, cui Formosus præerat, papam eum acclamantes."—*Auxil. Trec. apud Mabill.*

declared, for his superior learning and knowledge of the Scripture, was then invested in the Papal dignity. Sergius fled to Tuscany, which adhered to the cause of Guido, or an Italian Emperor. Formosus and his faction may have preferred the common Papal policy, which dreaded the dangerous neighbourhood, it might be the despotic power, of an Italian Emperor, and, as churchmen, thought the pontifical power more secure under the protection of a remote Transalpine Emperor. Personal hostility to Guido may have allied itself with this feeling; yet was Formosus compelled to send the

Imperial diadem to Lambert, the son of Guido.ⁱ
Feb. 27, 892.

Already the Formosans were in correspondence with Arnulf, whom Germany at least had then acknowledged as the heir, though illegitimate, of the Carolingian house,—the sole heir of that famous race. Already Arnulf had claimed and exercised a kind of imperial supremacy. His authority ratified the election of King Bosso to the throne of Arles (or Provence). He had threatened to descend on Italy at the first assumption of the kingly title by Berengar; but Berengar, eager for his revenge against Guido, now joined in the invitation of the Transalpine sovereign.^k

Arnulf crossed the Alps at the head of a powerful army. He was received in Verona by Berengar, and one terrible example of German ferocity prostrated Italy at his feet in shuddering consternation. Bergamo dared to offer resistance; he hung the Count in full armour and with all the ornaments of his rank

Arnulf in
Italy.
A.D. 894.

and one terrible example of German ferocity prostrated Italy at his feet in shuddering consternation. Bergamo dared to offer resistance; he hung the Count in full armour and with all the ornaments of his rank

ⁱ Jaffé adopts this chronology seemingly on strong grounds. But I cannot help suspecting that this is an anticipation of the act of submission from Formosus, after the retreat of

Arnulf.

^k Document in Muratori, 893 Annal. Fuldens. Arnulf is summoned "ad Italicum regnum et res S. Petri a malis Christianis eruendum."

before the gates, and gave the town up to pillage.^m In the language of the day, it made the ears of all who heard tingle. Milan and Pavia opened their gates. Guido fled to his territory of Spoleto. Even the powerful princes, the Marquis of Tuscany among the rest, were unable to stand before the terrors of the German arms. Their presumption in claiming certain feudal rights was resented by Arnulf. They were compelled to swear allegiance to Arnulf, as King of Italy; the claims of Berengar were dismissed with silent contempt.ⁿ But Italy, as usual, revenged herself by her climate on the northern army. Sickness broke out, and Arnulf turned back to the Alps. No sooner was he withdrawn than the party of Guido, now strengthened by many other Italian princes, who had been offended by the pride of the Barbarian Arnulf, rose up and threw off the yoke. Guido had died,^o but his son Lambert, already his colleague, assumed alone the kingdom of Italy and the Imperial crown. Even Pope Formosus was obliged to affect an ill-assumed concord with the Italian Lambert.^p

But the next year^q appeared again the invincible

^m The siege is described in the poem concerning Berengar. Neither the churches, nor the sacred virgins, nor the priests, whose hands were wont to be kissed after the celebration of the mass, were respected :

‘Ecce verenda prius nullo sub honore
tenentur

Atria, nam scissis pereunt velamina vittis
Virginis, impulsusque sacer fugit ipse
minister,

Quorundam stringunt ambas quæ vincula
palmas,

Oscula quæ solitæ sacris sentire litatis.’
—iii. p. 397.

ⁿ Anonym. Salernit. I follow Muratori in the sequence and date

of these events.

^o The prayers of the clergy, according to Berengar’s panegyrist, had hastened Guido’s death.—iii. p. 399.

^p “De ipso Lamberto, patris se curam habere, filiique carissimi loco eum diligere, atque inviolabilem cum eo concordiam se velle servare.”—Flodoard Hist. Rem.

^q During this year Arnulf had shown himself a faithful son of the Church, at the Council of Tribur, in which he had confirmed the power and privileges of the clergy, and recognised the supremacy of Rome.

Arnulf. Italy quailed before him. Arnulf treated the claims of Berengar and Lambert with impartial contempt. Every city and castle hastened to tender submission. Though Italy's best allies, disease and pestilence, had already begun again to weaken the German army, and gathering movements in the north under Berengar threatened to cut off the retreat to the Alps, Arnulf reached the gates of Rome at the earnest supplication of Formosus, now the captive of his subjects.* For there the faction adverse to the Pope Formosus had gained the mastery. They had the boldness, and imagined that they had strength to resist. Preparations

Sept. 895.
Arnulf again
in Italy.
In Rome.

were made for defence. Arnulf moved with his whole army to the siege of the imperial city, to the release of the Pope. A trivial accident betrayed Rome into his hands. A hare startled by the noise ran towards the city, followed by a hooting multitude. The Romans mistook this for a general assault, were seized with a panic, and many threw themselves over the walls. The Leonine quarter was easily taken; the whole city submitted to the conqueror. The first act of the ally and deliverer of the Pope was

April, 896.
Coronation of
Arnulf by
Formosus.

publicly to behead the chiefs of the opposite faction. The first act of the grateful Formosus was the coronation of Arnulf as emperor. He declared null, as extorted by compulsion, the inauguration of Lambert. The next day the people were summoned to take the oath of allegiance to the Emperor. The oath was in these words: "I swear by these holy mysteries, that, saving my honour, my law, and the fidelity I owe to my Lord the Pope Formosus, I both

* Liutprand, i. 8. "A Romanis vehementer afflictabatur."—Herman Contract. in Chronica

am and will be faithful all my life to the Emperor Arnulf; that I will never assist Lambert the son of Ageltruda, nor Ageltruda herself, nor be accessory to the surrender of the city to either of them, or to their followers."

Arnulf ventured to remain in Rome no more than fifteen days. He left Farold, one of his great vassals, as governor and protector of the city. He marched towards Spoleto, where Ageltruda, the widow of Guido, had taken refuge. As he approached that city, he was seized with a paralytic disorder, attributed to poison administered to him by a servant of Ageltruda. Already was this crime in Italy the suspected cause of every sudden death or dangerous malady. He hastened almost as a fugitive to Germany. Though of the German party, Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona, sees the hand of God in this shameful flight of Arnulf. The Italian hatred of the German breaks through even party feeling. "Not merely did Arnulf assume all the glory of his victories to himself, instead of referring them to God, but the conduct of his troops demanded the divine vengeance. Priests were led about in chains; nuns violated; even the churches were no asyla; the soldiers held their profane orgies, performed their shameless acts, sang their ribald songs, indulged in the open prostitution of women, within the consecrated walls."

Before Arnulf had crossed the Alps, the Pope Formosus had died; all Italy had risen. The two factions of Berengar and Lambert were equally hostile to the Germans. Arnulf governor in Rome seems to have exercised no influence in the election of the Pope, which was carried at once by the opposite party. The choice fell on Boniface VII. The new pontiff laboured under the

Death of
Formosus,
May 23, 896.

Boniface VII.

imputation of having been twice deposed for his profligate and scandalous life, first from the subdiaconate, afterwards from the priesthood. Boniface died of the gout fifteen days after his elevation. The Italian party hastened to the election of Stephen VI. June 6, 896.
Stephen VI. Probably the German governor had withdrawn before Stephen and his faction proceeded to wreak their vengeance on the lifeless remains of Formosus.⁵ Fierce political animosity took the form of ecclesiastical solemnity. The body was disinterred, dressed in the papal habiliments, and, before a council assembled for the purpose, addressed in these words: "Wherefore wert thou, being Bishop of Porto, tempted by ambition to usurp the Catholic see of Rome?" The deacon who had been assigned as counsel for the dead maintained a prudent silence. The sacred vestments were then stripped from the body, three of the fingers cut off, the body cast into the Tiber. All who had been ordained by Formosus were re-ordained by Stephen. Such, however, were the vicissitudes of popular feeling in Rome, that some years after a miracle was said to have asserted the innocence of Formosus. His body was found by fishermen in the Tiber, and carried back for burial in the church of St. Peter. As the coffin passed, all the images in the church reverentially bowed their heads.[†]

The pontificate of Stephen soon came to an end. A new revolution revenged the disinterment of the insulted prelate. And now the fierceness of political, rather than religious faction, had utterly destroyed all

⁵ Liutprand attributes the violation of the tomb of Formosus to Sergius, his former rival; he must be corrected by the acts of the Council of Rome under John IX.—Labbe, p. 502.
[†] "Hoc namque a religiosissimis Romanis persæpe audivi. — Liutprand.

reverence for the sacred person of the Pope. Stephen was thrown into prison by his enemies, and strangled.^u The convenient charge of usurpation, always brought against the Popes whom their adversaries dethroned or put to death, may have reconciled their minds to the impious deed, but it is difficult to discover in what respect the title of Pope Stephen VI. was defective.

Pope now succeeded Pope with such rapidity as to awaken the inevitable suspicion, either that those were chosen who were likely to make a speedy vacancy; or they received but a fatal gift in the pontificate of Rome. Romanus and Theodorus II. survived their promotion each only a few months.^x The latter, by his restoration of Formosus to the rights of Christian burial, and by his reversal of the acts of Stephen VI., may be presumed to have belonged to that faction. The next election was contested with all the strength and violence of the adverse parties. John IX. was successful; his competitor, Sergius, according to some accounts formerly the discomfited competitor of Formosus, and his bitter and implacable enemy, fled to the powerful protection of the Marquis of Tuscany.^y

^u See Flodoard, and the epitaph on Stephen, found in the time of Alexander III. After stating that "reputet Formosi spurca superbi crimina," it says—

"Captus et a sede pulsus ad ima fuit
Carceris interea vinculis constrictus, et uno
Strangulatus nervo exiit et hominem."

^x A.D. 897, Romanus, July, Nov.

"Quatuor hauri plenos tractans in culmine
mensea," *Flodoard.*

Theodorus II., Nov. Dec. Flodoard says that he sate only twenty days. Some months must have slipped out. Theodorus had time to reverse the decrees of Stephen, and solemnly to

reinter Formosus. Theodorus seems to have aimed at reconciling the parties.

"Hic populum docuit connectere vincula
^{pacis}
Atque sacerdotes concordi junxit ho-
nore." *Flodoard.*

^y In the strange confusion which prevails throughout this period, it is doubtful whether this election of Sergius and his flight to the court of Tuscany did take place on two occasions, or whether the first is not an anticipation of the event which now took place.

"Pellitur urbe pater, pervadit sacra
Joannes,
Romuleosque greges dissipat ipse lupus.

John IX. was not content with the replacement of the remains of Formosus in the sacred quiet of the tomb. He determined to crush the opposing party by the decree of a Council. This Council—for the dominant assembly was always a Council (that of which the decrees were to be revoked was degraded to a synod)—annulled at once the unprecedented judgment passed on a dead body; it excused those who were present at that synod, as acting under compulsion, and severely condemned all who should use such violence against the clergy. It declared that the translation of Formosus from another see, though justified by necessity in his case, was not to be drawn into a precedent. The orders which he had bestowed were confirmed, the ordinations condemned. It sentenced the decrees of that synod to be burned. But though John IX. was thus avowedly of the party of Formosus, he found it expedient to submit to the Italian Emperor. The title of Lambert was fully recognised at Rome: the coronation of the Barbarian Arnulf² rejected with scorn. The secret of this apostasy was the utter extinction of the German party. Arnulf, by his flight, had become contemptible to the whole of Italy; and he was known to be dying of a slow disease. The Council endeavoured to secure the more peaceful election and consecration of the Popes. The people were to demand, the bishops and clergy to elect, and immediately to consecrate in the presence of the Imperial Legates. No oaths or promises were to be

So writes the hostile author of the Epitaphium Sergii apud Pagi. The more friendly Flodoard—

¹ *Joannes subit hic qui fulsit in ordine bonus*

Pellitur electus patriâ quo Sergius urbe, Romulidumque gregum quidam traduntur abacti."

² Jaffé must be right in reading Arnulfi for Berengarii. *Regesta*, p. 304.

extorted from a new Pope, except those sanctioned by ancient custom. Another canon prohibited the strange practice, which nevertheless long defied all authority of law, the right of plundering the Pope's palace immediately on his decease.

Nor did Pope John IX. lose the opportunity of condemning his rival Sergius, by the authority of a Council. He was excommunicated, with several other priests and inferior clergy, as accessory to the insults against the body of Formosus. Sergius laughed to scorn the thunders of his rival, so long as he was under the protection of the powerful House of Tuscany.

With John IX. closed the ninth century of Christianity; the tenth, in Italy at least, the iron age, had already darkened upon Rome; the Pontificate had been won by crime and vacated by murder.

Died July,
A.D. 901.

CHAPTER VIII.

Conversion of Bulgaria.

YET in remoter regions, even during the ninth century,

Christianity was gathering in nations of converts. One man, indeed, who is deeply involved in the fierce contests, loaded with the heaviest charges of guilt, struck by the condemning thunderbolts of the Church, and after a short period of hard-won power as Pope, dragged from his grave, insulted, then restored and canonised; the Pope Formosus, thus at once a leading actor and the victim in these fatal feuds, is described, by a poetical panegyrist, as the Apostle of the Bulgarians, the destroyer of their temples, as having endured many perils in order to subdue them to the faith.^a The perils of Formosus as a missionary are the embellishments of the poet.^b Formosus went into Bulgaria as a legate from Pope Nicolas, some time after the conversion of the King, in order to complete the Christianisation of the people, and to correct the errors which they had learned from their first teachers, the Greeks.

The name of the Bulgarians, a race, next to the Huns, the most terrible and most hateful to the invaded

^a " Præsul hic egregius Formosus laudibus alter
Evehitur, castus, parcus sibi, largus egenis,
Bulgaris genti fidel qui semina sparsit,
Delubra destruxit, populum caelestibus armis
Instruxit, tolerans discrimina plurima."

Flodoard, apud Mabillon, Sect. iii. Benedict

^b Anastasius in Vit. Formosi.

Europeans was known in the West as early as the reign of Theodoric the Ostrogoth.^c Their Asiatic residence had been on the shores of the Volga; it is disputed whether the river took its name from the people, or the people from the river. In Europe, either mingled with, or bordering upon the Slavonians, they spread over a large tract of territory, from the shores of the Palus Mæotis and the Euxine, along the course of the Lower Danube. While the Teutonic tribes had gradually yielded to the mild yoke of Christianity (the fierce Northmen alone, who poured forth in their piratical vessels from the lakes and the havens on the Baltic and the German Ocean, still remaining heathen), for three centuries no impression seems to have been made on the Bulgarians or the Slavonians, who occupied the north-eastern frontier of the Empire. They were still rude, warlike, and chiefly pastoral tribes, inaccessible alike to the civilisation and the religion of Rome. The Eastern Empire had neither a Charlemagne, to compel by force of arms, nor zealous monkish missionaries, like those of Germany, to penetrate the vast plains and spreading morasses of the rebarbarised province on either side of the Danube; to found abbacies and bishoprics, to cultivate the soil, and reclaim the people.

The first establishment of Christianity in Bulgaria took place in the ninth century. There is a strange uniformity in the instruments employed in the conversion of barbarous Princes, and through the Princes of their barbarous subjects. A

The Bulgarians.

First conversion.

^c Eunod. Panegyric, in the sixth century. Pope John VIII., with the total ignorance of history not uncommon, asserts that the Bulgarians

had been under the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff since the time of Pope Damasus.—Epist. lxxviii.

female of rank and influence, a zealous monk, some fearful national calamity; no sooner do these three agencies coincide, than the heathen land opens itself to Christianity.^d

The sister of Bogoris, the King of Bulgaria, had fallen in her childhood into the hands of the A.D. 863, 864. Greek Emperor; she had been a captive for thirty-eight years, and had been educated at Constantinople in the Christian faith. A monk, Theodosius Cupharas, had been long a bond slave in Bulgaria. During certain negotiations to avert war between the Empress Theodora and the Bulgarian King, an exchange was proposed of the captive Princess for the learned monk. If the monk had made any impression on the Barbarian Monarch, the gentle importunity of his sister still more favourably disposed him to the cause of Christ. A pestilence ravaged Bulgaria; and with that facility with which all polytheists try the powers of conflicting deities, Bogoris did not scruple to adore the God of his sister. The plague was stayed; the King acknowledged the might and the goodness of the Christian's God, but feared to encounter the more bigoted and obstinate Paganism of his subjects. He chose a singular method to undermine their prejudice. There were two monks from Constantinople, sons of Leo of Thessalonica, distinguished for holiness, zeal, and learning; Cyril (his proper name was Constantine) was familiar with the Greek, Latin, Slavonian, Armenian, and Khazarian languages. The other, Methodius, was a monk, whose skill in painting had excited the wonder of the Barbarians. By the intelligible preaching of this wonderful art, King Bogoris hoped to familiarise

^d Theophanes, Chronograph.

men's minds with the tenets of the Gospel.^e But he knew his people; images of terror alone would touch their savage hearts. By his advice, A.D. 863, 864. Methodius painted the Last Judgement; he represented the punishment of the damned with all the horrors his imagination could suggest, or his pencil execute. The King shuddered at the awful spectacle by which he had thought to alarm others: he earnestly solicited Theodora for a priest to unite him to those sons of the Church who could alone hope for escape from that horrible destiny. The image-worshipping Empress, delighted at once with the progress of Christianity, and this testimony to the power of painting, lost no time in despatching a Bishop on this important mission. But the nobles of Bulgaria, and the mass of the people, were unmoved by the terrors which agitated the inmost soul of the King. The ceremony of the royal baptism could only be ventured under the veil of darkness; and no sooner had the secret transpired than a formidable insurrection broke out in favour of the national gods. The rebels invested the palace, threatened the King with death, and were prepared to raise a new sovereign to the throne.^f But the faith of Bogoris was firm; he marched out to meet his revolted subjects with the cross upon his breast, and with only forty-eight attendants. At the sight of the courageous monarch, a sudden panic seized the insurgents; they fled on all sides. The King's vengeance showed no great progress in Christian humanity; he put to death all the rebellious nobles, with their families, not sparing an infant. To the lower orders his clemency granted a general amnesty.

^e Cedren. Hist. l. 2, p. 152. Symeon Logothet. apud Theophan. Contin. p. 664. Zonaras.

^f Nicol. I. Respons. xvii.

Constantine, who is better known under his name of Cyril, who had been long employed in the conversion of the Khazars, on the north shore of the Euxine, was now sent by the Empress Theodora to complete the conversion of the people. Cyril spent some time in the country, and then passed on to the spiritual conquest of Moravia.

But the King of Bulgaria, either from the ardent interest which his new religion had awakened in his mind, or with political objects, aspired to enter into relations with Western Christendom. The fame of the Pope, and his acknowledged supremacy in the West, as well as his claim to be the successor of St. Peter, the vicar of Christ throughout the world, had reached the fervent proselyte. The brother of the King appeared in Rome to request the advice of the Pope on matters which perplexed the yet uninstructed faith of the barbarous nation. The contempt and hatred of the Bulgarians for the Greeks may have led them to suspect the purity of faith derived from that quarter. The quarrel for the See of Constantinople between Ignatius and Photius was at its height: and this suspicion may have been deepened by the well-timed or accidental visits of Latin missionaries. Hence the Bulgarians may have determined to have their Christianity from the highest authority.

The 106 questions submitted to the Pope by the King of Bulgaria, embrace every point of ecclesiastical discipline, of ceremonial observance, and of manners.

The Pope was Nicolas I., a prelate, whose name might well have spread into the remotest regions, with all the awfulness which belonged to a supreme pontiff. Nicolas replied to these questions in a tone mild, Christian, and parental, except towards apostates to

heathenism. His answers tend in general with wise discretion to mitigate the ferocity of a savage nation.⁸

The King of Bulgaria is gently reminded that he has adopted the worship of a more merciful God; that the careless and Eastern prodigality with which he was accustomed to sacrifice human life was inconsistent with his new faith. The conscience of Bogoris was haunted by compunction for the massacre of his nobles. The Pope censures the cruelty, which involved the innocent children in the crime of their fathers; yet the massacre, as executed from zeal towards God, might be atoned for by penance. Nicolas should perhaps not be harshly judged for this leniency towards a past and irrevocable act of barbarity, perpetrated under such circumstances. Apostates from the faith, who refuse to listen to the admonitions of their spiritual fathers, are to receive no toleration from the government,^h but those without the Church God alone will judge. The simple people had inquired whether it was lawful to pray for their fathers who had died in unbelief; the Pope sternly prohibits this vain mark of filial affection. He could not, even if he would, mitigate the damnation of their fathers without weakening one of the most effective arguments for their conversion. But no violence was to be used against those who continued to worship idols, only all communion was to be avoided with them. The power which Nicolas demanded for the clergy was, in some degree, no doubt intended to soften the barbarity of the people.¹ The laws were to take their course against all

¶ "Veruntamen absit a mentibus vestris, ut tam impiè jam judicetis, qui tam pium Deum et dominum agnovistis; præsertim cum magis oporteat ut, sicut hæcenus ad mortem facile quosque pertraxistis, ita deinceps non

ad mortem, sed ad vitam quos potestis nihilominus perducatis."—No. xxv., Labbe, Concil., p. 527.

^h xviii. xlii.

¹ Awe of the priesthood was a first element of their Christianity. A Greek,

ordinary crimes; but even the adulterer, the murderer, the parricide, if he could reach the asylum of the Church, was under the protection of the Bishop, and to be judged by his milder judgement. Torture for the purpose of obtaining evidence is strongly prohibited.^k

The Pope did not attempt to extinguish the passion for war in a people like the Bulgarians, even if he had any sense of its incongruity with the Gospel. They were to go to battle no longer under their old national ensign, the horse-tail, but under the banner of the Cross. On the question whether they were to refrain from going out to battle on holy days, he is guarded, and allows large discretion for cases of necessity. Instead of observing fortunate days and hours before they went to war, and using enchantments, sports, plays,^m songs, and auguries, they were to go to the Church, to make offerings, to confess to the priests, and to perform such acts of charity as opening the prisons, emancipating slaves, and almsgiving to the poor. They had a stern but, no doubt for discipline very effective usage, that before battle some tried warrior inspected the arms and the horse of each soldier; where they were found neglected or unfit for use, he put the offender to death. The Pope ingeniously suggests that greater attention should be paid to the spiritual preparation of the soldier.ⁿ

pretending to be a priest, had profanely baptised many Bulgarians. The king, having detected him *by the inspiration of God*, had ordered him to have his nose and ears cut off, to be severely scourged, and expelled the kingdom. The Pope reproves the inhumanity of this punishment, and admits all the baptisms as valid.—No. lxxxvi. viii.

^k No. xiv. xv. No. lxxxvi.

^m What were these joci? war dances, or ludicrous exhibitions of dwarfs and buffoons, such as delight savages? The Pope afterwards, in condescension to the weakness of their faith, permits such amusements, except during Lent.—No. xlvi. No. xxxiii. iv.

ⁿ Nicolas quotes Ps. xxxiii. 17, and

On the ancient superstitions and manners of these barbarians these questions are less particular than will satisfy the curious inquirer. The king was accustomed to eat alone, not even his wife might sit down in his presence.^o The Pope gently persuades to a more sociable and humble demeanour, alleging the example of the Son of God, who condescended to eat with his disciples. The warlike people were accustomed to administer their oaths on a sword driven into the earth as the most sacred symbol. The Pope commands them to substitute the Holy Gospels.

Polygamy he strictly forbids; whoever, according to the ancient usages of the people, had two wives, was to confine himself to the first.^p Marriage within the prohibited degrees is interdicted, and spiritual consanguinity is declared to be equally close with that of blood: intermarriage with a godfather or his offspring is as incestuous as with an actual parent or kindred. The Pope delights in condemning some minute and superstitious usages enjoined by the Greeks in the marriage ceremonial and in the observance of Lent; his rule is of course that of the Roman Church. Nicolas sums up the whole with a solemn warning against the errors of the Greeks and Armenians, and earnestly persuades adherence to the one immaculate Church, that of Rome.^q

Prov. xxi. 31. "The horse is prepared against the day of battle, but safety is of the Lord."

^o No. xliii.

^p There was a singular question, whether after conversion they were bound to wear breeches (femoralia). The Pope answers that religion has nothing to do with their ordinary

dress; and extricates himself by giving the question a spiritual turn.—lix.

^q A more memorable question is what they are to do with certain profane books which they had taken from the Saracens (where and at what period does not appear). The reply of the Pope is in the true spirit of Amrou, "Let them be burned."—No. ciii.

The allegiance of the Bulgarian Church to the Patriarch of Constantinople or to the successor of St. Peter was an object of contest during several centuries. Each could adduce evidence of voluntary submission on the part of the Bulgarians, the Greek the commencement, the Latin the completion, of the conversion. The Popes rested their claim not solely on their universal supremacy, but on that of the Archbishop of Thessalonica, to whose jurisdiction the province belonged, and who, as an Illyrian Metropolitan, was asserted to be under ancient subordination to Rome. The strife endured through the papacy of Nicolas and Hadrian II. Many angry and some expostulatory letters appear among those of John VIII. to Paul Bishop of Thessalonica: and during his own papacy Formosus steadily urged the work of conversion. The King Michael (such was the baptismal name of the Barbarian Bogoris after the Emperor of the East) must have been perplexed to hear that he had only learned error and heresy from his Greek teachers, that he was no Christian worshipper, but a blasphemers.^r "It might even have been worse. Would he have embraced the Christianity of Constantinople when that city held Arian or Macedonian doctrines? If he had so done, he would have become a convert only to perish with his teachers in everlasting fire. The only security was in the irreprehensible Church of Rome." Ignatius was Patriarch of Constantinople when the Greek Bishops were warned to withdraw from the spiritual territory of Rome. But even Ignatius, though bound by his interests and gratitude to the unshaken supporter of his claims to the

^r Joann. VIII. Epist. lxxv. et seq. See on the other side the letter of Photius; a full defence of the Greek points of difference. Epist. l.

Patriarchate against the usurper Photius, would not surrender the rights of his Church over the Bulgarians. Ignatius, the Holy Patriarch of Constantinople, became almost as odious at Rome as his exiled rival Photius. This contumacy contributed to throw the Pope, contrary to the policy of his predecessors, and to the indignation of the West, which has been perpetuated by later writers, on the side of Photius. The hope of the surrender of the Bulgarian provinces was among the temptations which induced John VIII. to acknowledge the title of Photius. Centuries did not reconcile the strife.

The Greek missionaries in the mean time, Methodius and Cyril, were passing on to new Christian conquests. The wars of Charlemagne had disseminated some compulsory Christianity among certain of the Slavian tribes. Other partial attempts had been made, especially by the Archbishop of Saltzburg.

Radislav, the Prince of Moravia, standing in need of a political alliance with the Emperor Michael, readily admitted these indefatigable monks into his kingdom. Before long the king, his brother, and the people were baptized, a church was built in honour of the Virgin Mary at Wilibrad,^s and the Christian priests were held in such high respect by the nation that they were called by the name of Princes.^t

Christianity brought other gifts in her train. The Slavian dialects were as yet unwritten: their alphabet was the invention of Cyril.^u This pious man and his colleagues not only so far mastered the language as to

^s Wilibrad, now Hradisch.—Palacky, 1. p. 122.

^t The Church of Olmutz boasted higher antiquity; it was *rebuilt* by King Radislav and Cyril.

^u The Pope (John VIII.) ascribes the invention of the Slavian alphabet to Constantine the *philosopher* (Cyril), as if his philosophy had been called into use in this good work.

preach with success; they translated, it is said, the Bible, probably certain books of the Scripture, into the dialect of Moravia, and even ventured to celebrate the services of the Church in that tongue. This great question as to the celebration of the Liturgy in the vulgar tongue of those barbarous nations who might embrace the faith, had raised no jealousy in the East, where Greek was so widely spoken. The translation of the Bible into the Mæsothianic by Ulphilas had been hailed as a triumph of the faith.

Except perhaps among the Anglo-Saxons of Britain and the remoter parts of Germany which were subdued to Christianity by the sword of Charlemagne, throughout Western Christendom a large part of the population was Roman, or provincials who spoke Latin. At first the clergy continued to be of Roman descent. New languages were forming in Italy, Spain, and Gaul on a Latin groundwork; the Latin services of the Church, therefore, ceased, only gradually and partially, to be intelligible to the common ear. No doubt the constant repetition of these services in the Church contributed to give the Latin element the predominance in these mingled languages; and the transition was so irregular and imperceptible that there would be no precise time at which the sacred Latin would be called upon to abdicate its immemorial use as the Liturgical language. The Church could follow with difficulty, even in her popular preaching, these shifting and unsettled forms of speech.* Even in the more Teutonic parts of Ger-

* Charlemagne ordered Paulus Diaconus (in 782) to make a collection of his Latin sermons for his whole realm. Successive Councils—at Arles (Can. x.) and Tours (Can. iv. xvii.), as well as

Rheims (xiv. xv.) and Mentz (xxv.)—commanded preaching in German as well as in Latin. The Heliand, the Muspelli, and still earlier poetic versions or paraphrases of Scripture, are

many, though the German language, in its various dialects, was beginning to sever Germany from France, the Latin and German or Theotisc oath taken at the treaty of Strasburg (the Latin by Charles, the German by Louis), was at once the sign and the commencement of the estrangement and future oppugnancy of the Latin and Teutonic. Still even in German Germany Latin had already gained and strove to maintain, through the clergy, its sacred and venerable character.

But among the Slavian tribes the Greek missionaries had penetrated into regions of unmingled Barbarism, where the mass of the people were entirely unacquainted with either of the two great languages of the Roman Empire. Rome by some untraced connexion which had grown up between these Greek missionaries in Slavonia and the Roman See (the monks were probably image-worshippers, and so refused obedience to Iconoclastic Constantinople)^v was called upon to decide this important question. The missionaries Methodius and Cyril, who were supposed guilty of propagating the fatal errors of the Greeks in Bulgaria, appear in Rome as the recognised apostles of the Slaves. They brought the welcome offering of the reliques of Clement, the successor of St. Peter, which Cyril boasted to have found on the barbarous shores of the Euxine. Their creed was examined, declared unimpeachable. Cyril died in Rome. Methodius was acknowledged as Archbishop of Moravia and returned with that title to his

of the reign of Louis the Pious and of his sons.—Gfrörer, die Karolinger, i. 66. The subject will be resumed. The author of the Chronic. Salernit. (written in Lower Italy) speaks of the

“Lingua Tedesca quod olim Longobardi loquebantur.”

^v Methodius, it must be remembered, was a Painter.

diocese. According to one account, somewhat legendary in its tone, at an early period under Nicolas I. and his successor Hadrian an amicable discussion took place, and Cyril by a triumphant inference from the words of the Psalm, "Let every spirit praise the Lord," (and if every spirit should praise the Lord, why are not the praises of the Lord in the mass and the canonical prayers to be sung in the Slavian tongue?) overcame the scruples of the Pope.

The controversy was renewed during the pontificate of John VIII. The Pope at first prohibited this departure from ancient usage, this desecration of the Church services by their celebration in a barbarous tongue.^a Methodius, the Archbishop of Moravia, again appeared in Rome. He was received with the utmost respect. Again his creed was pronounced unimpeachable, his labours honoured with the highest praise,^a and the Pope declared that God had made other languages besides the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Latin; that it was not inconsistent with sound doctrine to sing the mass or to read the Gospel in the Slavian language. As a mark of respect, the service and the Gospel were first to be read in Latin, and then translated for the use of those who were ignorant of that language.^b

From Moravia Christianity spread into the neighbouring Slavian principality of Bohemia. The Prince Boriwoy and his wife, afterwards the Sainted Ludmila, were admitted to baptism. Swatopluk, who valiantly, if not without perfidy, had thrown off the German yoke, and vindicated the liberties of Moravia, had married a Bohemian princess, sister of Boriwoy. The patriotic historian rejects as an unworthy fable that, so long as

^a Epist. xcv.

^a A.D. 880.

^b Epist. cxlvii.

the Bohemian was a Pagan, the Christian Swatopluk would only permit her to sit at a lower table in the banquet; he rejects also a rebellion of the Bohemian subjects of Boriwoy in favour of their native gods. Ludmila outlived her two sons, successively Princes of Bohemia;^c but she had watched with more than a mother's care, a Christian mother's, the growth of her grandson Wenzel, under whose reign Christianity won the complete conquest of Bohemia, and who died not indeed by a brother's hand but by a brother's guilt, with the beauty of a martyr's death, if not absolutely as a martyr for the faith. Wenzel built churches in every city of the realm. God, says the legend, had given him such grace, that he could understand Latin books like a good Bishop, and could read Slavian without difficulty. He fulfilled all the works of faith, fed and clothed the poor, protected widows and orphans, redeemed bond-slaves, especially priests, exercised hospitality to strangers. Gentle and full of love to the high and to the low, his only care was the well-being of all. But the fierce Bohemian nobles hated the mild and peaceful Wenzel. His brother Boleslaw was at the head of a conspiracy; he attempted to assassinate the king with his own hand; the stronger Wenzel struck him down. "God forgive thee, my brother," he said; but he did not strike again. Wenzel was despatched by the other conspirators.

But Wenzel's work was done; Christianity remained the religion of Bohemia; Wenzel was worshipped by the people; he became the tutelar Saint of the land.^d

^c Compare Palacky, *Geschichte von Böhmer*, i. p. 135.

^d Palacky, 210

CHAPTER IX.

The Northmen.

THE ninth century beheld also the invasion of the remoter North by Christian zeal. The intrepid missionaries penetrated into those regions which were pouring forth their swarms of pirates on all the coasts of Europe. They sought the Northmen among their own dark pine forests, their blue fiords, and icy lakes. They crossed the Baltic and assailed the last retreat of the old Teutonic divinities, where the faith appeared in its fullest mythological character, in Scandinavia.

The tide of barbaric invasion, which had been thrown back by Charlemagne, began to pour again in a different course over Western Christendom. It was no longer vast hosts, or whole nations moving in masses upon the frontiers, entire tribes crossing the Elbe, the Rhine, and the Danube, and either retiring with their plunder or forming settlements within the territory of the Empire; it was by sea, and on every coast from the British Ocean round to the Adriatic, that the heathen Northmen on one side, the Saracens on the other, threatened the conquest of Christian Europe. The Saracens contested or had won the command of the Mediterranean; all along the south they had ravaged or formed settlements. Sicily was almost entirely Saracen; and they have been seen advancing along Italy even to the gates of Rome: a mosque threatens to rise on the ruins of St. Peter's. In the next century, from a settlement in the province

of Genoa, they infested the passes of the Alps; murdered many passing English pilgrims in the defiles; even reached Genoa in search of plunder.^a The Northmen in the mean time were wasting the whole of Northern Europe. From the shores of the Baltic, from the Scandinavian islands, from the gulfs and lakes, their fleets sailed on, wherever the tide or the tempest might drive them. They seemed to defy, in their ill formed barks, the wildest weather; to be able to land on the most inaccessible shores; to find their way up the narrowest creeks and shallowest rivers; nothing was secure, not even in the heart of the country, from the sudden appearance of these relentless ravagers. The invasion of the piratical Northmen had disturbed the declining years of Charlemagne himself; that sagacious king had seen their approach with prescient terror. His wise policy had planned the only sure defence against such enemies—the building and keeping afloat a powerful fleet, and the erection of strong forts, with garrisons, at the mouths of the rivers. But during the reigns of his imbecile and disunited successors, these precautions were utterly neglected. They had not an armed ship on the seas, and not a standing troop of soldiers; the desultory forces, which they raised, dispersed immediately the campaign was over. Year after year these plundering expeditions were becoming more incessant, more ubiquitous. Not a province in any of the kingdoms, hardly a city in the most inland district escaped these terrible visitants.^b The civil wars which still continued throughout these disastrous years, with the gradual decline of the warlike

^a Flodoard.

^b There is no necessity, with Gfrörer, die Karolinger, to suppose that the Normans were hired or urged by the

hostile sons of Louis the Pious to invade each other's dominions. Gfrörer is again too keen-sighted.

nobility and the absorption of the great fiefs by the churches and the monasteries, yielded up the country almost defenceless to the merciless invader. The great feudatories, the descendants of the Frankish chieftains who had conquered Gaul, and received large grants of land, were rapidly dying out. When most needed to head their hardy vassals, they had either perished in the strife between the different branches of the feeble and hostile Carolingians, or had retired into the cloister. Instead of bequeathing a noble estate, with strongly fortified castles, and a hardy band of followers, the Baron had alienated it to the all-absorbing Church, and for the stronghold a peaceful and defenceless monastery had arisen. At the fatal battle of Fontanet, were said to have fallen 100,000 men. The poet, the historian, describe Fontanet as yielding up the defenceless realm to the Normans.^c That very year, Osker, the Norman, warped up the Seine, burned Rouen; in his descent, burned the rich abbey of Jumièges. Fontenelle bought its security at a high price.^d From that time every river of France was darkened with the black sails of the Normans. They sailed up the Somme—Abbeville, Amiens, all Picardy lay waste. Again they sailed up the Seine—Rouen, Paris, were in the power of the ferocious Regnar Lodbrok. They were in the Loire—

* According to the Ravennese biographer, 40,000 fell on the side of Lothair alone.

"La perit de France la flor,
Et des Barons tuit le meillor,
Ainsi trovèrent Palens terre
Vuide de gens, bonne a conquerre."

Wace, Roman de Rou, i. p. 16.

"Totam Franciam, militum præsidio nudam, cujus robor in bello Fontanido nuper deperierat, tantus metus cor-

ripuerat, ut Normannis nemo possit resistere, nemo possit repellere."—Fragm. Historic. Duchesne, Script. Norm. iii. p. 334. See other quotations in Depping, *Histoire des Normands*, p. 68; Eginhard, *Vit. Car.* p. 452.

^d See Sir F. Palgrave's picturesque description of this expedition, p. 322.

Nantes, Orleans, Blois, Tours (once saved, it was believed, by the all-powerful reliques of St. Martin), had been saved only to fall on the next assault into more terrible ruin: Angers, Chartres were burned. They struck inland to Bourges, to Clermont. They were in the Garonne—Bordeaux, Toulouse, Saintonge, Auch, Limoges, Poitiers, Tarbes, were in flames. It is an appalling and significant fact that the Pope consented to transfer the useless Archbishopric of Bordeaux to Bourges, even though Bourges, in the heart of the land, had not been secure. They followed the coasts of Spain. They ran up the Groyne, the Tagus, the Guadalquiver. In the south of Spain they encountered the Saracens: near Seville met the fleets of the worshippers of Odin and the followers of Mohammed. The Arabic chronicles are not silent on the descents of these new unbelievers. They roved along the Mediterranean; they forced their way against the stream of the rapid Rhone. Arles, Nismes, even Vienne, suffered the inevitable fate of conflagration and pillage. One adventurous band had heard some vague rumours of Rome, of her vast wealth.* They sailed across; mistook the Magra for the Tiber; landed near the fine old Etruscan city of Luna. The Bishop and his clergy were celebrating mass on Christmas day, when they heard of these unknown strangers; they received them with courteous Christian hospitality. Hasting, the famous leader, submitted to baptism. Ere long the Norman camp rang with shrieks of sorrow—Hasting was dead. Some nights after they entreated sepulture for Hasting in the holy cloister. The great captain was borne amid his weeping followers to the grave. As they were about to lower the bier, up sprang

* Depping, ii. 2, p. 80.

the dead man, and cut the bishop to the earth. The priests were massacred; the city plundered; all the wealth of Luna, her beautiful women, and all her youths who could run, were swept on board the fleet. So ran the Norman legend. Italian history has preserved a fragmentary record of this wild event.^f Pisa too is said to have been surprised and sacked.

Germany was not more secure. Very early the Scheldt, the Wahl, the Lys, had been made high-roads to the mercantile cities of Flanders. Year after year, Utrecht, Antwerp, Ghent, Courtray, were pillaged. The broad Rhine was too tempting a road. Nimeguen, Cologne, Bonn, Coblenz, Bingen, even as far as Worms, opened their gates, or had their gates beaten down by the irresistible pirates. Mentz alone seems to have been secure behind her strong walls. On their descent, they sacked Treves. Archbishop Hinemar fled with the reliques of St. Remi, from Rheims: he fled to die in terror and obscurity. From some unknown cause the adventurers did not penetrate into Rheims, though they plundered all the monasteries around; but in Aix-la-Chapelle the barbarous Normans pitched their camp in the palace courts of Charlemagne. Charlemagne's descendants submitted year after year to ignominious capitulations. The peace which they could not win, which they rarely strove to win, with the sword, was bought by large sums of money. Charles the Bald, Louis the German, each of the conflicting kings, who called themselves the sovereigns of the empire, paid in turn this ruinous and disgraceful tribute.

The Northmen were heathens; their ferocious religion

^f Depping, 112. "Luna civitas a Normannis dolo capta"—Fragm. Chronic.; Muratori, Ant. Ital. i. 25. "La Città di Luni fu disfatta per gente uïtramontane."—Villani.

no doubt exasperated their natural ferocity; their gods, like themselves, were warriors and pirates. But they did not, like the Saracens, wage a religious war. Providentially these Arabs of the sea had no Mohammed to organise the Scandinavian tribes into one vast host; to give them the unity and force of a new Northern Caliphate. They had no ambition to propagatè their faith. Perhaps they would have been unwilling to share with others the protection of their warlike gods. They had rather that their enemies should believe in a milder religion, which yielded them up unresisting, or feebly resisting, to the plunderer or the conqueror. They destroyed, with indifferent ferocity, the church and the castle. Their indiscriminate rapacity plundered alike the monastery or the farm. They massacred with as little remorse the bishop or the monk, as the count or his vassal. If their chief ravages appear to have been made upon religious edifices or estates, it was only because these were more defenceless, or offered a richer booty; and because the only chroniclers, the monks, have been more eloquent on their own sufferings; have dwelt on the sacrilegious, more than on the inhuman acts of their common enemies. The Church now paid dearly for her wealth and possessions: the richer the abbey, the more tempting the prey, the more remorseless the plunderer. France was covered with bishops and monks, flying from their ruined cloisters, their burning monasteries, their desolate churches, bearing with them the precious reliques of their saints—their saints who could not defend their violated sanctuaries—and so deepening the universal panic. And everywhere they went they preached despair. The Normans were the instruments in God's hands for the punishment of the sins of the people: it was vain to resist the wrath of

God; and so a wretched fatalism bowed to a more utter prostration the cowed and spiritless race. Even the few ecclesiastics, who saved something from the common wreck, were taxed for the tribute paid by the kings, and bitterly taunted the kings with this profane invasion of the property of the Church. The great ecclesiastics, indeed, were not all so unwarlike; here and there an abbot took upon him the uncongenial function of captain

A.D. 885.

over his own troops. In the famous siege of Paris, as it were the consummation of the Norman conquests, the defenders of the city, with the valiant Count Eudes, were the Bishop Gozlin and his nephew Ebles, Abbot of St. Denys.^g Yet no sooner had the Normans from wandering pirates become conquerors of the soil; no sooner had they taken possession of Normandy, than they submitted to Christianity; and it is singular, that they ceased to be Teutons as well as Pagans. The followers of Rollo became Frenchmen as well as Christians; so at a later period, the Normans, already Christians, in Naples became Italians.^h

Christianity had made some efforts, at an earlier period, to reach the remote regions from which issued forth these terrible Pagans, but without marked or signal success. A fortunate or providential event opened Denmark to her exertions. A contested succession to the throne of that kingdom had driven one of the Princes, Harold, to the court and to the protection of Louis the Pious. Charlemagne had already, during his Saxon conquests, entered into an alliance with the

^g Depping, iii. 1, p. 218. The ten months' siege of Paris had its monkish Homer, Abbo. A later poet, more Hermeric, Ariosto, had that siege in his thought when he brought the

Saracen Agramont under the walls of Paris. Sir F. Palgrave has quoted some of his stanzas.

^h See Guizot, *Collect. des Mémoires* tom. vi.

ancestor of Harold. That prince embraced the faith of Christ, not only as the price of succour in the contest for his throne, but in zeal and sincerity; he was baptised at Ingelheim with great pomp in the year 826.¹ His sponsors were the Emperor, the Empress Judith, and King Lothair. The return of Harold to Denmark seemed to the Danish Prince, to the bishops of the empire, and to the pious Emperor, too favourable an opportunity to be neglected for the promulgation of the Gospel in that heathen kingdom. A zealous and devoted missionary was invited to undertake the perilous adventure.

The abbey of Corbey, near Amiens, was the great monastic institution in that part of the Empire. Among the abbots had been the famous princes Adalhard and Wala, illegitimate scions of the race of Charles Martel. In that abbey there was a monk of noble French descent, of the gentlest disposition, but of deep and settled piety.^k From his childhood he had been possessed by an ardent imagination; and that imagination, as was sure to be the case in that age, had yielded itself up as a willing bond-slave of religion. At the early age of five his mother's death had made a strong impression on the sensitive child. A remarkable dream decided his calling. In his sleep he fancied himself struggling on a miry and slippery ground, beyond which lay a beautiful meadow. There he beheld a lady of stately form, in

¹ Bishop Munter suggests, rather too positively, that the king must have made the renunciation in the form enacted by S. Boniface at the synod of Salzburg, A.D. 742.—Eccard. Franc. Orient. i. 440. "Forsachistu Diabolæ? R. Ec forsacho Diabolæ. End allum Diabold gelde? R. End ec

forsacho allum Diabold gelde. End allum Diaboles Wercum end Wordum? R. End ec forsacho allum Diaboles Wercum end Wordum. Thunaer ende Woden end Saxnote; ende allem them Unholdum, the hera Genotes sint?"—G. Ch. Dan. et Norw. p. 268.

^k Anschar was born Sept. 8, 801,

rich attire, surrounded by females in white apparel; among them his mother. He strove to reach her, but the mire clung round his feet, and he could not struggle onward. The soft voice of the majestic lady, the Virgin herself, addressed him, "My son, wouldst thou join thy mother?" He replied, "Most earnestly do I wish it." "He who would come to us must flee those vanities which we abhor." From that moment the serious child, abandoning all sport and gaiety, was devoted to prayer and study. Up to adolescence he was educated in monastic discipline, but the ardour of youth had begun to relax his strict austerity. At that time the world was startled by the tidings of Charlemagne's death. That the mighty monarch of so many kingdoms must suffer the common mortality of man, struck the imaginative youth. His life became, as it were, one vision. Once he thought that he had died suddenly; and at the moment of his death he prayed to the apostle St. Peter and to St. John the Baptist, who appeared instantly before him.^m He was conducted by his saintly guides to Purgatory, where he passed three days in darkness, and almost suffocation; those days appeared a thousand years. He passed on to heaven, whose inhabitants and their glory he was permitted to behold; and a voice of the most exquisite sweetness, but so clear that it seemed to fill the world, spoke to him out of the unapproachable light, "Go,

^m As Anschar knew them at once, it must be supposed that the saints appeared as usually represented in works of art at that time. St. Peter was the older, with a hoary head, the hair flat and bushy; a ruddy complexion, but rather a sad countenance; his dress white, but mingled with colours (*candidâ et coloratâ*); his stature short. The Baptist was young, tall, with a sprouting beard; the hair rather dark and curling; the face emaciated, but the countenance pleasant. He wore a *silken dress*. "Those who wear silk dresses are in kings' chambers!"

and return hither, crowned with martyrdom.”^a On this triumphant end, which he gained at last, not by the sword, but by the slow mortification of his life, was thenceforth set the soul of Anschar.

His thoughts had no doubt been already turned towards the conversion of the heathen by his residence in a monastic outpost of Christendom, founded by the zeal of the Corbey monks in a beautiful valley on the west bank of the Weser, east of Paderborn, and called New Corbey.^o In this convent he had been appointed to preach to the people, and doubtless prepared himself for his future successes.

Æt. 16, 23.

When the demand was made at the court of Louis the Pious, among the assembled prelates and nobles, who could be found fit and willing to attend the Christian Harold into his Pagan country, and to risk his life for the propagation of the faith, all were silent, until Wala, the abbot of Corbey, bethought him of Anschar. The monk was summoned, and calmly but resolutely undertook the mission. The abbot inquired whether he acted but in obedience to his superior, or from his own free will. He modestly persisted in his determination, unshaken by the persuasion of those who loved him, and the reproof of others, who, unable to aspire to the sublimity of his faith, were jealous of his superiority.

A brother of the convent, named Authbert, though of noble birth, was so kindled by the zeal of Anschar, that he resolved to accompany him. Anschar spent two years in Denmark, but over his difficulties and his

^a The biographer relates this fine vision, as he says, in the words of Anschar himself.—Vit. S. Anscharii apud Pertz, vol. ii. p. 692

^o It was near the modern Hörter, in Westphalia. It is described by Paschasius Radbertus in his life of Adalhard —Pertz, ii. p. 531.

successes the biographer passes with unsatisfactory rapidity. He formed a school of twelve children. At the end of the two years his companion retired, in the extremity of sickness, to New Corbey, and died.

But whatever the success of Anschar in Denmark, the more remote regions of the North suddenly opened on the zealous missionary. An embassy from Sweden announced that many of that nation were prepared to accept Christianity. Anschar did not hesitate at once to proceed to this more distant and unknown scene of labour. As he crossed the Sound, his ship was attacked by pirates; he escaped with difficulty to the shore, losing all he possessed, especially the precious treasure of forty books. On his arrival in Sweden, the reigning king allowed him full liberty to preach the Gospel. There were many Christian captives in the land, who gladly welcomed a priest who could administer the sacred mysteries of the faith. Anschar, after some time, returned to France; and Gauzbert, a Frankish monk, was sent as Bishop to Sweden.

In the mean time the archbishopric of Hamburg had been founded. Anschar was raised to the see, and invested with metropolitan power over all the northern missions. But the Northmen had as yet learned no respect for Christianity. They surprised Hamburg. Anschar hardly escaped, bearing away nothing but the reliques of the saints; everything else, even his library, was burned to ashes.

The prospects of Christianity in Sweden were suddenly darkened. The king had favoured the preachers of the Gospel; the people were still obdurately wedded to their idolatry. An insurrection broke out; one Christian teacher suffered death; the Bishop was seized and expelled from the kingdom, For seven years

Paganism triumphed without disturbance. Anschar in the mean time had been reinstated in the archiepiscopate, now formed by the union of Hamburg with Bremen. More hopeful intelligence came from Sweden; it was rumoured that all who had been concerned in the insurrection had, in some awful manner, been marked for untimely death: the possessor of a book, which had been taken during the pillage by his son, was more signally visited by the Divine wrath. But either from prudence or timidity, the Bishop Gauzbert represented himself as personally so obnoxious to the hatred of the people, that his presence could but excite more bitter hostility. Anschar did not hesitate to obey the call; and in the account of this mission appear some curious incidents, characteristic of the versatile Paganism of the country. "If," it was said, "you want a new God, there is your late king, Eric, in whose honour we have lately built a temple." But Anschar, however strongly dissuaded, determined again to try his influence on the Christians' old protector, the king. He invited him to a feast, made him presents; but the king, become more cautious or more timid, declared that on so great a question he would consult his people and his gods. True to his word, he first held a private council of his nobles, where it was agreed to consult the gods by lots. The lot was favourable to the acceptance of Christianity; the whole people were then assembled in their parliament; and the herald publicly proclaimed the object of their meeting, the admission or rejection of Christianity. The people were of conflicting opinions. A tumult had almost begun, when an aged man arose, and declared that the God of the Christians had been singularly powerful and propitious, in saving him and others from the perils of the sea, and from pirates. "It

would be much wiser, since our own gods are not always so favourable, to have this God also, who is so mighty, and so ready a Protector." ^P This prudent advice carried with it the whole assembly. Christianity was admitted by general consent as a religion permitted by the nation. Churches might be built, and priests allowed to celebrate the mysteries of the faith. On the death of the king some opposition was at first threatened by his son. His hostility died away; the Christians were even allowed to set up a bell, which seems to have been peculiarly detested by the Swedish pagans. Once having obtained a footing, Christianity wrought slowly on till it had achieved the final conversion of the kingdom. But it was not till above a century and a half later, that—under the reign of Canute the Great over the united Christian kingdoms of England and Denmark—were sent over to Denmark English priests and bishops, for the final conversion of his whole continental realm. Canute himself bore as it were the homage of his two Teutonic kingdoms to the feet of the Pontiff of Latin Christianity.^q The tenth century saw the first dawn of Christianity in Norway.

^P "Nobis enim quando nostros pro-
prios habere non possumus Deos, bonum
est hujus Dei gratiam habere, qui sem-
per in omnibus potest et vult ad se cla-

mantibus auxiliari."—c. xxvii. p. 713.

^q S. Anschar died A.D. 865. Canute,
king from 1014 to 1055. Canute
visited Rome A.D. 1026 or 1027.

CHAPTER X.

Alfred.

THE Christianity of the age, by this aggrandisement of the sacerdotal order, and by the civil wars among the descendants of Charlemagne, seemed to deliver France, and parts of Germany, almost defenceless into the hands of the Pagan Barbarians. A Christian King rescued one part of Europe, which was in still greater danger, from total subjugation to the heathen Northmen.

Our English Alfred^a approaches, as near as possible, considering his age, to that lofty model, a Christian Sovereign. Some irregularities in Alfred. his early youth were supposed to be chastised by a severe and inexplicable malady, which seized him at the time of his marriage, and afflicted him during twenty years of his life with excruciating suffering. Even his serene temper was exasperated, in the course of the terrific warfare with the Danes, to some acts of more than necessary cruelty and revenge.

The mind of Alfred was deeply impregnated with true Christian faith. As a child he had been twice taken to Rome, but too early, probably, for the majestic sanctity of the holy city to make much impression: yet no doubt, some vague feeling of reverence must have been left upon his mind by his solemn anointing, as King of Demetia, by the Pope himself. In his youth

^a Alfred was born 849; in Rome, 853 and 855; died, 901.

ne was singularly devout ; rose, before the cock crew, for the religious services ; and in all the dangers, the troubles, the perpetual wars, the absorbing cares of government, he never intermitted the daily mass, or any of the prayers or ceremonies of the Church.

The heroism of Alfred's resistance to the Danes was not only that of a patriotic sovereign, enduring every extremity in defence of his country against a foreign foe, but that of a Christian offering an inflexible resistance to Pagans and Barbarians. Religious hope, religious reliance on God, animated him in battle ; religious resignation to the divine will sustained him in the depths of adversity. His war against the Danes was a crusade, with all which demands generous sympathy and admiration—nothing which shocks the purer Christian feeling.

Alfred alone rescued England from a total return to Paganism and barbarity ; and delayed the Danish conquest till the Northmen had been at least partially conquered, and in some degree softened by Christianity. So nearly was this retrogressive movement achieved ; so nearly was the whole island in the possession of these desolating invaders ; that the Danes were at once on every coast, and in almost every part of the centre of the island : they are at once burning Lindisfarn, and fighting a great battle in Devonshire. At one time they have possession of Canterbury, Rochester, and London ; at other times of Winchester, Exeter, York, Nottingham, Reading, Chippenham in Wiltshire, Cambridge.^b Their numbers were so magnified by the terrors of the people, that if 30,000 are reported as killed in one day,

^b See in Depping the plunder of Croyland, Medhamstead, Ely, and Coldingham, p. 141 ; Asser, v. 29.

they are said to be succeeded the next by double the number. The churches and the monasteries were the chief objects of Danish enmity and spoliation, no doubt, as in France, from their wealth and defencelessness; they were the only places which offered rich and easy booty. Even the religious enthusiasm of the people was cowed, and almost extinct under these incessant persecutions. Its most popular and prevailing impulse, that which, in other countries, had seemed only to grow stronger in times of public calamity, the eagerness for a monastic life, had died away. When Alfred wished to found two monasteries, one for men at Athelney, one for females at Shaftesbury, he found not a single free or noble person disposed to be a monk or nun.^c He was obliged to assemble them from all orders and all parts—some from beyond the sea, especially from France—there was one Pagan, Asser significantly says, “not the last.”

Alfred felt no security until he had compelled his enemies to Christianity; this was the one end and assurance of victory. The first fruits of his great triumph at Eddington was the baptism of Guthrun, with thirty of his chieftains.^d This was the only guarantee for their faith—a precarious guarantee. This alone changed them from fierce and roving marauders to settled inhabitants of the land.

A.D. 879.

Alfred is no less memorable as preserving the close connexion between Christianity and civilisation. It is difficult to understand how, after the long and total devastation of the kingdom by the Danes, Alfred could

^c Asser, p. 61. “Nimirum, quia per multa retroacta annorum curricula monasticæ vitæ desiderium ab illâ totâ gente, necnon et a multis aliis gentibus funditus interierat.” Asser among his reasons, gives one we should scarcely have expected—the *wealth* of the nation.

^d Page 35.

erect the buildings, pile up the castles, build the fleets, endow the churches and monasteries, if not schools, and send out the embassies, which might seem to demand more flourishing finances. He divided, it is said, his whole revenue into two parts; one devoted to secular, the other to religious purposes.^o The latter was subdivided into four; one assigned to the poor, one to his monasteries of Athelney and Shaftesbury, one to the school which he had founded for his nobles, one for the monasteries of the rest of the kingdom, with occasional gifts to foreign religious houses.

Up to twelve years of age, Alfred, the favourite of his parents, and the best hunter in the Court, was ignorant of letters. His mother offered a richly-embellished volume of Saxon poetry to that one of her children who would learn to read it. Alfred, by divine inspiration (writes his biographer), and attracted by the beauty of the capital letters, immediately set about the task and won the prize. The love of letters was thus stamped upon his heart: he constantly carried in his bosom a book of psalms and prayers, which he read himself—a rare accomplishment, almost unrivalled in the whole kingdom of the West Saxons. His youthful prize may have suggested, or urged on him more strongly, the great work of Alfred, his powerful encouragement of the native Saxon literature, the identification of Christianity with the manners, language, poetry, not of a half Roman, but purely Teutonic race. Alfred delighted in

* Asser relates that when the king gave him the two monasteries of Amesbury and Banwell, he presented him with a silken pallium of great value, and as much incense as a strong *mea* could carry! This must have been a most costly gift!—P. 50. Can

we suppose that the Danes having plundered all the religious houses, there was great store of this, to them, useless commodity among the booty which Alfred recovered and could not restore to its lawful owners?

all the old Saxon poems; he collected and caused to be recited Saxon books; and so, instead of being the religion of a learned priesthood, the Anglo-Saxon Christianity was familiarised and endeared to the people: it was a popular national faith. The knowledge of Latin, Alfred thought, would rather be promoted than discouraged by the translation of books into the vulgar tongue. It was a work of love in which he laboured himself, not only from delight, but from want of assistants. In the whole land south of the Trent, there were few priests who could translate Latin into English;† south of the Thames, at his accession, not one. What is more extraordinary, it was a religion which went back to the pure and primal sources of the faith—the sacred Scriptures. The poetry, the tradition of which Alfred continued from the monk Cædmon, was not a poetry exclusively of legend, of the lives and wonders of the Saints, but of the Sacred History thrown into the language and metre of Saxon poetry. It had its popular saints with their metrical lives;‡ but its greatest poets had still reverted to the higher source of inspiration. Alfred, indeed, had not the high poetic gift of the older Cædmon. His works are those of the laborious man of learning, communicating the traditionary treasures of knowledge, which remained from the older civilisation, to his Saxon subjects. King Alfred gave to Saxon England the Ecclesiastical History of Bede; the epitome of Augustine's great work by Orosius. He gave them the Consolation of Boëthius, and the Pastoral of St. Gregory. He summoned from all quarters men of

† Præfatio ad Greg. Past., in Wise's Alfred, p. 87.

‡ See, on the poetry of Cædmon, above. Mr. Thorpe, in his curious

volume from the Exeter Code, has a long poetical life of St. Guthlak, another of St. Juliana.

learning. Asser came from St. David's, John of Saxony from the Abbey of Corbey; Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims sent Grimbald, Provost of St. Omer. The University of Oxford boasts, but on very doubtful authority, to owe her foundation to Alfred the Great.²

² Compare Lingard, i. p. 179.

CHAPTER XI.

The Hungarians. Degradation of the Papacy.

IN the tenth century the few reflecting minds might not without reason apprehend the approaching ^{Tenth cen-} dissolution of the world. A vast anarchy ^{tury.} seemed to spread over Western Christendom. It is perhaps the darkest period in the history of every country in Europe. The Pagan Magyars, more terrible even than the Islamite Saracens, and the Pagan ^{The Hun-} Northmen, now burst upon Europe. The ^{garians.} Arabs, who had swarmed from their deserts, wild marauders, had long become disciplined armies: Islam had become a mighty empire. The Caliphate maintained the show at least of ascendancy over the Sultanies of Africa and of Spain. Arabic was the language of whole regions, almost of continents. The Northmen, fierce pirates as they were, were of origin kindred to the Teutonic conquerors of France. Both Saracens and Northmen acknowledged some rude laws of war. But the Magyars, or Hungarians, seemed as hordes of savages or of wild beasts let loose upon mankind.^a They burst unexpectedly upon Christendom in swarms of which the source seemed unknown and inexhaustible. Indiscriminate massacre seemed their only war law; they were bound by no treaties, respected no boundaries. Civilisation, Christianity, withered before

^a Gibbon, ch. lv. vol. x. pp. 193-209.

their hosts, who were magnified by panic into misshapen monsters, and cannibals who fed on human flesh. Their language, of the Finnish stock, was akin to no known tongue. In those days of disorder and anarchy in Christendom, it is almost incredible that a single race, even if it swept with them many of the tribes who lay on the borders of civilisation, Slavians and Bulgarians, could have so completely covered Europe, as to range over the whole of Germany; burn nearly at the same time Bremen on the Baltic, and the monastery of St. Gall, near the lake of Constance; overrun Southern France, and menace the kingdoms beyond the Pyrenees. They rushed down the Alps, Italy lay open before them. Splendid Pavia, with its forty-three churches, was in ashes. Everywhere the walls of the cities were hastily repaired. Special litanies resounded in all the churches of Italy which escaped their ravages for protection against the Hungarians. Rome beheld at no great distance the flame of their devastation; they spread to the very extremity of the peninsula.^b The Hungarians for half a century were the common terror of Christendom, from their first irruption about A.D. 884 to A.D. 936, the date of the first great victory of Henry the Fowler. Gradually the Magyars settled down within the limits of modern Hungary. At the beginning of the next century Christianity had entirely subdued them, and with a kind of prophetic wisdom had

^b The Chronic. Wurz. sub ann. 938, sums up their ravages: "Ungarii Franciam, Alemanniam, Galliam usque Oceanum, et Burgundiam devastantes per Italiam redierunt, monasteria S. Galli et S. Bonifacii cremantur." The chronicles of almost every monastery—and a great number of monasteries in

all quarters had their chronicle—record the losses, ruin, and desolation inflicted by these terrible strangers.—Apud Pertz, ii. p. 241, &c. Compare Liutprand, lib. ii. in init. One of Muratori's dissertations describes their ravages in Italy.

arrayed this valiant nation as a future outguard against the Mohammedan Turks; their King Stephen was a Saint.

Cast a rapid glance over Christendom during these disastrous invasions of Saracens, Normans, Hungarians.

In England, though the wise institutions of Alfred, and now and then a king, like Athelstan, of more commanding character, maintained some social order, almost the whole period was an uninterrupted war with the Danes. The Church was distracted by the implacable contests between the secular and regular clergy. In France the Carlovingian race was expiring almost in the same state of imbecility and powerlessness as the Merovingians whom they supplanted. Towards the close of this period the new race of the Capets rose to the throne, the first purely French dynasty. The Normans were now in settled possession of a great province in the kingdom.

The Empire alone displayed occasional vigour, rather from the commanding character of Henry the Fowler, the first conqueror of the Magyars, of Otho the Great and his descendants, than from the Imperial power itself. The legitimate descent from Charlemagne had expired in Louis III., the illegitimate in Arnulf. The imperial crown had passed from Italy, and back to Germany. It had become an Elective Sovereignty, as yet with no established rule or form of election, and had been for a short time absolutely suspended: it resumed its greatness under the House of Saxony.

But the deepest abasement, or rather almost annihilation, had already fallen on the Papacy. Italy, which for a time pretended to the Empire, without a native prince of sufficient power or dignity to

State of
Western
Christendom
England.

Germany.

Abasement
of the
Papacy.

maintain its influence, constantly summoning new sovereigns from beyond the Alps to assume that perilous honour, until the right of election was resumed by Germany, was one battle-field of small contending princes, each endeavouring to form or to aggrandise an hereditary principality. The terror of the Hungarians increased at once the confusion, and, by compelling the more strong and artificial fortification of the cities, tended to their more complete isolation. Each city became an independent government; each chieftain aspired to be a sovereign. This anarchy of Italy led to the degradation of the Papacy, the degradation of the Papacy increased the anarchy of Italy. So insignificant is the Pope become, that it is almost as difficult to trace now for a long period, as afterwards at the close of the century, the regular succession. The Pope steals unnoticed into his dignity, and departs from it as unregarded; or rather is suddenly thrust into the throne by some act of violence, and as suddenly dispossessed by means as violent.

To none in the Christian world seems to have occurred the extraordinary anomaly, the election of a Undetermined form of election. spiritual monarch for Christendom (for so he was esteemed in the West) by a body neither in character nor in general esteem representing the community. A single city aspired to nominate the universal Bishop; but that city was Rome; and Europe was resolutely ignorant what strange accidents, caprices, crimes, intrigues, even assassinations determined the rise and fall of the Supreme Pontiff. It is a memorable instance of the vital power of names, that the Christian world so long assented, without protest, apparently without consciousness of wrong, to the pretensions not only of the clergy but of the nobles and people of Rome, and what-

ever soldiery, either Roman or foreign, might command the city, to be the electors of the spiritual autocrat. The assent of the Emperor, at first of the East through the Exarch of Ravenna, afterwards of Charlemagne and his descendants (in theory at least esteemed necessary for the consecration of the Supreme Pontiff), had given to the world, or rather to Latin Christendom, some control over, at least some concurrence in, the election. But the Empire itself was now in abeyance. Italy now asserted her independence, forming a separate political system, with an elective king, and a number of dukes, counts, and princes, who recognised only when forcibly compelled, the supreme authority. At this inauspicious time the absolute election of the Pope reverted to this ill-organised democracy, or, as it were, to these conflicting democracies. Whoever now obtained the mastery of Rome by any means of violence, intrigue, or faction, the neighbouring prince, the demagogue, the rude soldier, or the daring woman, nominated the head of Christendom. The Pope was himself one of those violent or licentious men, or an insignificant personage only performing the religious functions of his office, and holding his office, even his life, at the will of this shifting but perpetual tyranny.

On the other hand, the authority of the Pope, if not in the nomination—in the coronation of the Emperor—if it entangled him too inextricably in secular affairs, had given great dignity to his position. This continued so long as the Empire passed in a direct line down the descendants of Charlemagne. But even already, as soon as the claim had come to be contested, the Pope, with not power enough to be the arbiter, sank into the partisan of one of the contending factions. Rome, become the centre of this strife, added to her own con-

flicting parties, that of rival Kings struggling for the Empire. Already the Pope had to choose between the dynasties of France and Germany or Italy. Each interest maintained its hired or devoted partisans in Rome, either thwarting or urging the Pope to hostile measures against its adversaries; at the time of each election to the Popedom exciting or maddening the contest. The Papal throne, even before it had assumed the power of awarding thrones and dictating to mankind, had been an object of fierce, or at times of sanguinary strife; and all these foreign and political influences exasperated the wild collision of personal conflict. While all around were lawless chieftains, ready to interfere with or without cause, to espouse any interest, and to aggrandise or enrich themselves at the expense of the metropolis of Christendom.

This iron age, as it has been called, opened with the Pontificate of Benedict IV.,^c the successor of John IX. The only act recorded of Benedict IV. was the coronation^d of the unfortunate Louis of Provence, the competitor of Berengar for the empire. A.D. 901. Louis, according to Imperial usage, set up his tribunal, and adjudged causes at Rome.

On the death of Benedict, the prudent precautions established by John IX., to introduce some regularity and control over the anarchy of an election by a clergy rent into factions, by a lawless nobility, and still more lawless people, during this utter helplessness and the abeyance, or the strife for the empire between rival princes, fell into utter neglect, or impotency. The Papacy became the prize of the most active, daring, and violent. Leo V. won the prize; before two months he

^c July, A.D. 900; died, 903, Aug.

^d 901, Feb. Bœnner, Regesta.

was ejected and thrown into prison^e by Christopher, one of his own presbyters and chaplains. The same year, or early in the next, Christopher was in his turn ignominiously driven from Rome.

A.D. 903.

Sergius had already once, if not twice, at the accession of John IX.,^f or at that of Formosus, or at both periods, contested the Papal chair. On his discomfiture he had taken refuge at the Court of the powerful counts of Tuscany; and there sat watching, with a band of devoted partisans, the rapid revolutions in Rome.

This great marquisate, or county of Tuscany, which for a long period exercised so vast an influence for evil or for good, had gradually risen to its enormous power and wealth: power which for many years ruled Rome and the Papacy; wealth which at length, through the munificence of the celebrated Countess Matilda, its descendant through another line, was hereafter to be the strength and support of the Popes in the days of their most exorbitant authority.

The descent of these hereditary Counts of Lucca, and Marquises or Dukes of Tuscany, is clearly traced from Boniface, who held that rank during the later years of Charlemagne. Adalbert was the grandson of Boniface, through a father of the same name. Adalbert had been among those powerful princes, whose claims to beneficiary rights had excited the jealous resentment of the Emperor Louis the Pious. He had been imprisoned, and though soon released, had sworn to avenge the indignity on the first opportunity. Adalbert II., the son of Adalbert I., was so surpassingly wealthy (and wealth in those times was power) that he was called the

^e "Emigrat ante suum quam luna bis impleat orbem."—*Flodoard de Pontif. Rom. apud Mabillon, Acta S. S. Benedict.*

^f "Culmen apostolicæ sedis is jure *paterno* Electus tenuit, ut Theodorus obiit, Joannes subit." *Epitaph in Pagi, sub ann 910*

Rich. His influence, as well as his ambition, was increased by his marriage with Bertha, daughter of the King Lothair, by his wife or concubine, Waldrada, and widow of the King of Provence. This haughty woman

A.D. 900. was mother, by her first husband, of Hugh of Provence, afterwards King of Italy and Emperor. The counsels of his imperious wife led Adalbert into a premature rebellion against Lambert, then Emperor, and King of Italy. The Tuscan was defeated ignominiously, and thrown into prison. He had been taken in a stable.^g Lambert insulted him by saying, "Your haughty wife Bertha prophesied that you would be a king or an ass; lo, you are found like an ass in the stalls among the cattle!" The death of Lambert, by accident or assassination, released Adalbert from his captivity, and restored him to his power. From this time the fate of Italy seemed to depend upon his will. The fickle Italians, weary of the rule of Berengar, who on the death of Lambert had become undisputed pos-

A.D. 900. sessor of the empire, invited Louis of Provence, the son of Count Boso, and of Ermengard, daughter of the Emperor Louis of Germany, to assume the throne of Italy and the empire. Adalbert at first maintained the cause of Berengar (his fidelity was secured by ample gifts), and Louis was obliged to retreat beyond the Alps. But the ambitious Bertha alienated the mind of her husband from Berengar.^h Adalbert joined in a second invitation to Louis. Berengar, when he found the Tuscans among his enemies, shut himself up in Verona, which he was obliged to surrender to the victorious Louis. The new Emperor and

^g Liutprand, ii. 38.

^h "Bellua Tyrrhensis fundens fera sibila ab oris
Solicitat Rhodani gentem." — *Panegy. Berengar.* 19

King of Italy was crowned in Rome.¹ On his return he visited Lucca, where the indiscreet Emperor beheld with astonishment, alarm, and envy, the state, and the formidable and well-appointed forces of Adalbert. He dropped the incautious expression, "This is no marquis, but a king." From that moment the throne of Louis was lost. Bertha organised an extensive revolt of the Italian provinces. Louis allowed himself to be surprised in Verona by Berengar, who revenged himself by putting out the eyes of his rival.

A.D. 906.

It was under the protection of this powerful Tuscan that the exiled Sergius, at the head of a strong force of Tuscan soldiers, appeared in Rome, deposed Christopher,^k who had just deposed Leo V., and took possession of the Papal throne.

Sergius had been seven years an exile in Tuscany; for seven years he ruled as supreme, but not undisputed, Pontiff.^m This Pope has been loaded with every vice and every enormity which can blacken the character of man. Yet as to his reign there is almost total obscurity. The only certain act which has transpired is his restoration of the Lateran palace, which had fallen into ruins; an act which indicates a period of comparative peace and orderly administration, with the command of a large revenue.ⁿ In these violent times Sergius probably

¹ 901. I follow Muratori's course of events.

^k Christopher, consecrated Oct. 903; deposed, and becomes a monk, Jan. 904.

^m "Sergius inde redit, dudum, qui lectus ad arcem Culminis, exsilio tulerat rapiente re-pulsam, Quo profugus latuit Septem volventibus annis.

Hinc populi remeans precibus sacratur honore
Pridem adsignato, quo nomine Tertius exit
Antistes, Petri eximiam quo sede recepto
Præsule gaudet ovans annis Septem amplius orbis."

Flodoard de Rom. Pontif

ⁿ Mabillon, in Appendic. ad O. d. Roman. Muratori, sub ann. 907. Compare Gregorovius, *Stadt. Rom.* iii 269

scrupled at no violence ; but if he drove a Pope from the throne of St. Peter, that Pope had just before deposed his patron, and with great cruelty.^o

But during the Papacy of Sergius rose into power the infamous Theodora, with her daughters Marozia and Theodora, the prostitutes who, in the strong language of historians, disposed for many years of the Papal tiara, and not content with disgracing by their own licentious lives the chief city of Christendom, actually placed their profligate paramours or base-born sons in the chair of St. Peter. The influence obtained by Theodora and her daughters, if it shows not the criminal connivance of Pope Sergius, or a still more disgraceful connexion with which he was charged by the scandal of the times, proves at least the utter degradation of the Papal power in Rome. It had not only lost all commanding authority, but could not even maintain outward decency. Theodora was born of a noble and wealthy senatorial family, on whom she has entailed an infamous immortality. The women of Rome seem at successive periods seized with a kind of Roman ambition to surpass their sex by the greatness of their virtues and of their vices. These females were to the Paulas and Eustochiums of the younger and severer age of Roman Christianity, what the Julias and Messalinas of the Empire were to the Volumnias and Cornelias of the Republic.^p

^o See also the epitaph on Sergius apud Muratori, A.D. 911. Yet even Sergius is regulating the affairs and granting the pallium to an archbishop of Hamburg.—Jaffé, Regesta, p. 308.

^p The devout indignation of Baronius, as to these times, arose no doubt in great part from the severe but honest asceticism of his character, and his horror at this violation of his high

notions of sacerdotal sanctity by what appeared to him far more unseemly and unpardonable criminality than arrogance, avarice, or cruelty. His fears, too, lest he should be accused of an immoral partiality by the slightest extenuation, or even by a dispassionate examination of such vices, has led him to exaggerate rather than soften the monstrous enormities of those times.

It must be acknowledged, that if the stern language of Tacitus and Juvenal may have darkened the vices of the queens and daughters of the Cæsars, the Bishop of Cremona, our chief authority on the enormities of Theodora and her daughters, wants the moral dignity, while he is liable to the same suspicion as those great writers. Throughout the lives of the Pontiffs themselves we have to balance between the malignant licence of satire and the unmeaning phrases of adulatory panegyric.^q On the other hand it is difficult to decide which is more utterly unchristian: the profound hatred which could invent or accredit such stories; the utter dissoluteness which made them easily believed; or the actual truth of such charges.

Liutprand relates that John, afterwards the tenth Pope of that name, being employed in Rome on some ecclesiastical matters by the Archbishop of Ravenna, was the paramour of Theodora,^r who not merely allowed, but compelled him to her embraces. John was first appointed to the see of Bologna; but the archbishopric of Ravenna, the second ecclesiastical dignity in Italy, falling vacant before he

Theodora.

John X.

And the happy thought, happy in a thoroughgoing controversialist, that the deeper the degradation of the Papacy, the more wonderful, and therefore the more manifestly of God, its restoration to power, removed every remaining repugnance to his abandonment of all the popes during the tenth century to historical infamy. The passage is too well known and too long for citation. Muratori, who had some new authorities, is more temperate, especially as to the character of Sergius.

^q Liutprand is the chief, the only authority on which Baronius rests.

Muratori inclines to the Panegyrist of Berengarius, who gives a high character of John X., and to Flodoard; but the poet's language consists merely of the common phrases applied to all popes, who are, according to some writers, ex officio endowed with certain virtues: and Pope John had just acknowledged the title, and entered into close alliance with the object of the poet's panegyric.

^r "Theodora, . . . quod dictu etiam fœdissimum est, Romanæ civitatis non invisiliter monarchiam obtinebat."—Liutprand.

had been consecrated, he was advanced by the same dominant influence to that see.³ But Theodora bore with impatience the separation of two hundred miles from her lover. Anastasius III. had succeeded Sergius, and occupied the Papacy for rather more than two years; after him Lando for six months. On the death of Lando, by a more flagrant violation of the canonical rule than that charged against the dead body of Formosus, John was translated from the archiepiscopate of Ravenna to the see of Rome. But Theodora, if she indeed possessed this dictatorial power, and the clergy and people of Rome, if they yielded to her dictation, may have been actuated by nobler and better motives than her gratification of a lustful passion, if not by motives purely Christian. For however the Archbishop of Ravenna might be no example of piety or holiness as the spiritual head of Christendom, he appears to have been highly qualified for the secular part of his office. He was a man of ability and daring, eminently wanting at this juncture to save Rome from becoming the prey of Mohammedan conquest. The Saracens occupied a strong fortress on the Garigliano,⁴

* Muratori has suggested a most serious objection to the story of Liutprand. That author says that the translation of John from Ravenna to Rome took place "modicâ temporis intercapedine," after his appointment to Ravenna. There is strong evidence for supposing John to have been Archbishop of Ravenna from 905 to 914, a long period for such a passion as Theodora's to endure delay. Are we to suppose that, though Archbishop of Ravenna, he resided at Rome? "Joannes Archiepiscopus Ravennatis ecclesiæ, incensus a primatibus Romanæ urbis,

contra instituta canonum, agens, Romanæ ecclesiæ invasor factus."—Chronic. S. Benedict. apud Pertz. Compare Chron. Mon. Cass. apud Pertz, Liutprand. "Theodoræ autem glycerii mens perversa, Ravennatem hunc præsulatum coegit deserere, Romanumque, pro nefas! summum pontificium usurpare."—c. 48.

* The poet calls this fortress the "vicina Charybdis," which swallowed up all the wealth of Rome.—De Laudib. Berengar. Compare, on the plunder of the wealthy abbeys of Farfa and Subiaco, Gregorovius, p. 284.

which, while it secured their own southern conquests, constantly threatened the dukedoms beyond their border. The whole domain or territory of St. Peter lay at their mercy. They commanded, and could interrupt almost all communication with the South of Italy. The pilgrims could not reach the shrines of the apostles without being plundered, maltreated, often made prisoners, and obliged to ransom themselves at enormous prices.

The Pontiff placed himself at the head of a powerful confederacy of the neighbouring dukes, who were either awed or persuaded into a league for mutual defence : it comprehended Landulf, the Duke of Benevento and Capua, the Dukes of Spoleto and Camerina. But a stronger effort was necessary. It was determined to demand the aid of the two Emperors, those of the West and of the East, in the common cause of Christendom. Constantine, the Emperor of the East, promised naval succours. Berengar was now undisputed Emperor of the West ; he accepted the invitation, and went in person to Rome. His poetical panegyrist has left a glowing description of his power, and the magnificence of his reception. He was met by the Senate with their banners, which represented the heads of wild beasts. They sang his praises in their Latin or Italian tongue. The Senate was followed by the schools of strangers, the Greek among the rest, who each paid their homage to the Emperor in their native dialect. The nobles were represented by Peter, the brother of the Pope, and the son of Theophylact, called by the poet the Consul of Rome. The Popes were accustomed to receive the Emperors standing on the top of the steps leading up to St. Peter's. Latterly they had assumed the more dignified attitude of remain-

March 24, 916.
Coronation of
the Emperor
Berengar.

ing seated. The Emperor rode the Pope's white horse, according to usage.^u He ascended the steps, was received and saluted by the Pope with a kiss. After the Emperor had sworn to maintain the privileges and possessions of the Church, they entered the church hand in hand, the Pope chanting the service. The Emperor knelt and worshipped at the tomb of St. Peter, and was afterwards received at a splendid banquet by the Pope.

The coronation and anointing took place the
A.D. 916. day after Easter-day. The donations of Pepin and Charlemagne were read, with all the domains granted to the successor of St. Peter, as a warning lest any robber should presume to usurp those sacred lands.^x But the Pope was not content with his legitimate influence, in organising this great league for the preservation, if not of Christendom, at least of Rome, from the unbelievers. He placed himself at the head of the army, and for the first time, the successor of St. Peter, the vicar of the Prince of Peace, rode forth in his array to battle. And, if success, as it doubtless was, might be interpreted as a manifestation of Divine approval, the total discomfiture of the Saracens, and the destruction

of the troublesome fortress on the Garigliano,
Aug. 11, 916. seemed to sanction this new and unseemly character assumed by the Pope. Even the Apostles sanctioned or secured by their presence the triumph of the warlike Pope.^y

^u "Evectus Pastoris equo, mox quippe sacerdos Ipse futurus erat, titulo res digna perenni."

See the note of Valesius. There seems to have been some symbolical meaning which is far from clear. Does it imply that the Emperor, by being anointed, assumed a sacerdotal character?

^x "Lectitat Augusti concessos munere pagos, Præsulis obsequio gradibus stans lector in altis, Casare quo norint omnes data muna, prædo Ulterius paveat sacras sibi sumere terras."

^y "A religionis fidelibus visi sunt in eodem bello sanctissimi Petrus et

For fourteen years, obscure as regards Rome and the Pontificate, this powerful prelate occupied the See of Rome. If he gained it (a doubtful charge) ^{A.D. 914-928.} by the vices and influence of the mother, Theodora, he lost it, together with his life, by the no less flagrant vices and more monstrous power, of the daughter, Marozia.

Theodora disappears; and Pope John X. is found engaged in a fierce contest for the mastery of Rome with Marozia and her lover or husband, the Marquis Alberic,² by whom she had a son of ^{Marozia.} the same name, afterwards tyrant of the city. The vigorous and martial Pontiff succeeds in expelling Alberic from the city; Alberic probably met his death ^{A.D. 925.} soon after. It is said that he was murdered by the Romans in revenge for some secret alliance entered into with the Hungarians, who were then wasting Italy, and had reached the very frontiers of Calabria.

The death of her husband increased rather than weakened the power of Marozia. Her personal charms, and her unscrupulous use of them, are said to have multiplied to an infinite extent her adherents. Her paramours made a strong party. The Empire was vacant. There was no potentate to whom the Pope could appeal. Marozia seized the Castle of St. Angelo, and with this precious dowry, which commanded Rome, she sought to confirm her power by some splendid alliance. Guido, the Duke of Tuscany, the son of Adalbert the Marquis,

Paulus apostoli."—Liutprand, c. 54. On this war compare Amari, Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia, ii. 176, &c.

² Muratori has clearly proved the mistake, or perhaps false reading, in Liutprand, followed by Baronius and others. The lover of Marozia was not

and could not be Adalbert the Rich, the Duke of Tuscany, the husband of the imperious Bertha, and the protector of Sergius. Adalbert does not seem to have been at Rome. The lover of Marozia was Alberic, Marquis (Marchio) perhaps of Camerina.

did not disdain the nuptials with a profligate woman, who brought Rome as her marriage portion.

During the rapid and bloody revolutions of the few last years in Italy, this house of Tuscany had maintained its greatness. Soon after the death of Adalbert the Rich, the widow Bertha, and Guido her son, plunged into their quarrel with the Emperor Berengar, then at the height of his power; they had been imprisoned, but speedily obtained their release, and recovered all their wealth and power. Bertha had extended her influence by the marriage of her daughter, Ermengard, a woman of unprincipled ambition, worthy of her mother, with Adalbert, the Marquis of Ivrea, whose first wife had been a daughter of the Emperor Berengar, and who was the most powerful of the northern princes.

The murder of Berengar (who died unpitied,^a for in his last contest with the new usurper of the empire, A.D. 922. Rodolf of Burgundy, he had made a treaty with the terrible Hungarians, now the scourge of the North, as the Saracens were of the South) had made the empire vacant, and threw the whole north of Italy into the utmost confusion. Ermengard, now a widow, and if Liutprand is to be credited, of unscrupulous licence, not with princes only, but even with ignoble men,^b became the object and the promotress of all the intrigues, feuds, and murders, on account of the kingdom of Italy.

The strife ended with the descent into Italy of Hugh of Pro-
Hugh of Pro-
 vance. of Provence, the son of Bertha by her first husband, and so half brother to Guido of Tuscany. Hugh of Provence, the new competitor for the kingdom of Italy and the Empire, landed at Pisa.

^a Liutprand, c. 61.

^b "Carnale cum non solum principibus, verum etiam ignobilibus, commercium exercebat."—iii. 7.

This crafty Prince fully estimated the influence of the clergy in the politics of Italy. He affected the most profound zeal for religion. He was a man, for his day, of many accomplishments, and sought the society of those whom Liutprand dignifies by the name of philosophers. Liutprand himself, the future historian, ambassador at Constantinople and Bishop of Cremona, was brought up as a page in the court of Hugh of Provence; and though his unbounded licentiousness as to women could not but offend the pious ecclesiastic, the courtly historian touches with great tenderness the other vices, not by any means the lightest, of his royal patron.

The clergy of Italy, flattered by the homage, hailed the landing of Hugh at Pisa as the restoration of an age of peace and piety. Lanthbert, Archbishop of Milan, was his ardent partisan, and hastened to meet him at Pavia. The Pope himself, notwithstanding the connexion of Hugh with the husband of Marozia, hoped, perhaps, with the prize of the Imperial crown, to secure his protection against his domestic tyrants. He went to meet the King at Mantua: a treaty July 19, 926. was entered into, but the conditions are unknown.

The last hopes, however, of foreign protection were vain. John X. was left to contest alone the government of Rome with Marozia and her Tuscan husband. Neither Rome, nor the mistress of Rome, regarded the real services rendered by John X. to Christendom and to Italy. The former lover, as public scandal averred, of her mother, the saviour of Rome from the Saracens, was surprised in the Lateran palace by this daring woman. His brother Peter, as it appears, his great support in the contest for the government of Rome, and therefore the object of peculiar hatred to Guido Death of John X. and Marozia, was killed before his face. The Pope was

thrown into prison, where some months after he died,
A.D. 928. either of anguish and despair, or by more summary means. It was rumoured that he was smothered
A.D. 929. with a pillow. No means were too violent for Marozia to employ, even against a Pope.^c

Marozia did not venture at once to place her son on
July, 928. the Papal throne. A Leo VI. was Pope for
Feb. 929. some months; a Stephen VII. for two years
March, 931. and one month. That son may as yet have been too young even for this shameless woman to advance him to the highest ecclesiastical dignity; her husband Guido may have had some lingering respect for the sacred office—some struggling feelings of decency. But at the death of Stephen, Marozia again ruled alone in Rome; her husband Guido was dead, and her son was
March, 931. Pope. John XI. (according to the rumours of the time, of which Liutprand, a follower of Hugh of Provence, may be accepted as a faithful reporter) was the offspring of Marozia by the Pope Sergius: more trustworthy authorities make him the lawful son of her husband Alberic. But the obsequious clergy and people acquiesced without resistance in the commands of their patrician mistress; the son of Marozia is successor of St. Peter.

But the aspiring Marozia, not content with having been the wife of a Marquis, the wife of the wealthy and powerful Duke of Tuscany; perhaps the mistress of one, certainly the mother of another Pope, looked still higher in her lustful ambition; she must wed a monarch. She sent to offer herself and the city of Rome to the new King of Italy.

Flodoard, *Annal.* 929; Liutprand, *iii.* 43; *Annal. Benevent.* "Moritur Papa Johannes in castro jugulatus."

Hugh of Provence was not scrupulous in his amours, lawful or unlawful. Through policy or through passion, he was always ready to form or to break these tender connexions. Yet there was an impediment, a canonical impediment, to this marriage, which even Hugh and Marozia dared not despise. Guido, the late husband of Marozia, and Hugh of Provence, were sons of the same mother. Even the Levitical law, which seems to have occurred to some, would not assist them,^d for Marozia had borne children to Guido.^e Hugh struck out a happy expedient, at the same time to get over this difficulty, to be master of Rome, and to enable himself to fulfil the other great object of his ambition, the seizure of the Tuscan Dukedom. Truth, justice, and the interests of her late husband's family, were alike insignificant in the eyes of Marozia. Lambert, a man of courage and character, had succeeded his brother Guido in the dukedom. Hugh of Provence began by disseminating rumours that Bertha had no children by her husband Adalbert; that Guido, Lambert, and Ermengard, were all supposititious, and imposed on the weak Adalbert by his crafty wife as his own. Lambert had adopted that last strange resource, so imposing and convincing in those days, in order to vindicate his father's wisdom, his mother's honour, and his own legitimacy. He offered the wager of battle to any champion appointed by the King of Italy. A brave and youthful warrior was chosen. Lambert came off victorious. Foiled in this attempt, King Hugh contrived

Marriage of
Marozia with
Hugh of Pro-
vence.

Dukedom of
Tuscany.
Lambert.

^d Liutprand interlards his history with verses:—

* *Hæc tibi Moyseos non præstant carmina, vates*
*Qui fratri sobolem fratris de nomine jus-
sit*

*Edere, si primus nequeat sibi gignere natum,
Nostra tuo peperisse viro te sæcula norunt,
Respondes scio, tu, sed non Venus ebria
curat."*

^e These children probably died early; nothing is heard of them.

to seize Lambert by treachery, and to put out his eyes. The rich inheritance and the power of Tuscany passed without resistance to Boso, brother of Hugh. Successful crime made Hugh of Provence only more welcome to Marozia. The King of Italy drew near to Rome: the cautious Marozia would not allow his army to enter the city, but received her royal bridegroom in the Castle of St. Angelo. There was celebrated this unhallowed marriage.^f

But the Romans would brook the dominion of a Roman woman, they would not endure that of a foreigner. The coarse vices, the gluttony of the soldiers of Hugh, offended the fastidious Italians. The insolence of Hugh himself provoked a rebellion. The nobles were called upon to perform menial offices, usual probably in the half-feudal Transalpine courts, but alien to Italian manners. Alberic, the son of Marozia, was commanded to hold the water in which King Hugh washed his hands. Performing his office awkwardly or reluctantly, he spilled the water, and received a blow on the face from the king. Already may

Alberic. Alberic have been jealous of the promotion of his brother to the popedom, and have resented this devotion of his mother to her new foreign connexions. He was a youth of daring; he organised a conspiracy among the nobles of Rome; he appealed to the old Roman pride,—“Shall these Burgundians, of old the slaves of Rome, tyrannise over Romans?”^g At the

^f “Advent optatus ceu bos tibi ductus ad aram
Rex Hugo, Romanam potius commotus ob urbem,
Quid juvat, o scelerata, virum sic perdere sanctum.”

The sanctity of King Hugo! The natveté of Liutprand is truly comic, betraying the motive, the possession of

Rome, for this sacrifice!

^g Liutprand. This loose writer, and Flodoard, whose adulatory phrases on the virtues and wisdom of each successive pope remind us of the proverbial mendacity of epitaphs, are still almost our sole authorities.

tolling of the bell the whole people flocked to his banner, and attacked the castle of St. Angelo before Hugh could admit his own troops. Alberic remained master of the Castle, of his mother, and of the Pope. These two he cast into prison, defied the King of Italy, who made an ignominious retreat, and from that time remained master of Rome.^h

A.D. 932.

For four years Pope John XI. lingered, in fact a prisoner, at least without any share in the government of Rome, only permitted to perform his spiritual functions. Alberic ruled undisturbed. King Hugh attempted to bribe him to the surrender of Rome, by the offer of his daughter in marriage; the more crafty Alberic married the daughter, and retained possession of Rome. After the death of John, a succession of Popes, appointed, no doubt, by the sole will of Alberic,—Leo VII., Stephen IX., Marinus II., Agapetus II., pass over the throne of the Papedom, with hardly a sign of their power in Rome, no indication of their dignity, still less of their sanctity. They are still Popes beyond the Alps.ⁱ

Papal succession.

Leo, Jan. 936.

Stephen, 939.

Marinus, 941.

Agapetus, 945-955.

Nor was the supreme Pontiff alone depressed in these turbulent times. The great ecclesiastics of Italy are mingled up in most of the treacherous and bloody transactions of the period.^k Individual

Great ecclesiastics of Italy.

^h Flodoard, in Chron. apud Duchesne. On his title Prince and Senator of Rome. Gregorovius, p. 318, note.

ⁱ Leo sends a bull to the Archbishop of Hamburg; appoints the Archbishop of Mentz his legate, with full power to correct bishops and monks; makes grants and issues laws.—Regesta, apud

Jaffé. Stephen interferes in France in favour of Louis d'Outre-mer. Marinus confirms the Archbishop of Mentz as his vicar. Agapetus, in a Council, condemns Hugh, Archbishop of Rheims. On Leo, however, and his Benedictine Reforms, even in Rome.—Gregorovius, 332 et seqq.

^k The obscenities which perpetually

energy gave the bishop of a city great power; but as they acted with as little restraint, so these prelates were treated with as little reverence as secular princes. Landulf of Capua, and Athanasius of Naples, have already appeared in that strangely mingled character of the lawless Italian prince and the Christian prelate. Lanthbert had bought the archbishopric of Milan, by large bribes, from the Emperor Berengar. It was by his instrumentality that Burchard, Duke of Suabia, the father-in-law of King Rodolf of Burgundy, was surprised and murdered. Burchard, indeed, had given provocation; he had threatened to turn a church in the suburbs into a fortress, by which he would bridle the mutinous city of Milan.^m

Hugh of Provence, now undisputed King of Italy, though ejected from and baffled before Rome, ruled supreme in Pavia, where he built a splendid palace. Hugh, throughout his reign, showed the utmost scorn of ecclesiastical as of moral control. He had violated the law of marriage by his union with Marozia; as soon as he found it convenient he declared that marriage null, and married Alda, the daughter of King Lothair. On

her death he again wedded Bertha, widow of

A.D. 938.

King Rodolf of Burgundy, and in contempt of the canon law, united her daughter to his son. No stern or ascetic prelate ventured to rebuke the promiscuous concubinage with which the King of Italy still further outraged public decency. He bestowed the great

occur in the pages of the Bishop Liutprand betoken an age of profound corruption. The Italian character was now a strange fusion of lust and ferocity. The emasculation of their enemies was a common revenge.

■ Compare Verri, Storia di Milano,

c. iii. p. 99, for the insulting language of Burchard, whom the Archbishop had honoured with the especial privilege of allowing him to hunt a stag in his park. Burchard expressed at once his admiration and contempt at the height and strength of the walls of Milan.

bishoprics according to his caprice. One of his bastards he made Bishop of Piacenza, another Archdeacon, or one of the Cardinals, with the hope of succession to the archbishopric of Milan.^a Hilduin, his relation, expelled from his see in France, was raised to the archbishopric of Milan. Ratherius, a French monk, on account of his skill in the seven liberal arts, was made Bishop of Verona; this was contrary to the inclination of Hugh, who declared that Ratherius should bitterly lament his elevation. He cut him off with a very small stipend, and forced him to take an oath not to lay claim to any more of the revenues of the Church.^o On the seizure of Verona by Arnulf, Duke of Bavaria, who aspired for a short time to the empire, Ratherius, accused of favouring the usurper, was seized, deposed, and imprisoned at Pavia. Manasseh, Archbishop of Arles, the ungrateful favourite of Hugh, had been permitted to swallow up the bishoprics of Trent, Verona, and Mantua. This ambitious prelate, tempted by the higher offer of the archbishopric of Milan,^p on the first opportunity, sought to betray his patron. He was master of the March of Trent, and, as Bishop, commanded the pass of the Alps. This pass he surrendered to Berengar, Marquis of Ivrea, when he rose to supplant King Hugh in the dominion of Italy. Monasticism, too, was now at its lowest ebb.

^a Liutprand, iv. 6. Teobaldo, his bastard by Stephania, a Roman concubine of King Hugh. Verri, p. 101. Hugh formed a plot for the murder of Alderic, the Archbishop; it was baffled.

^o The writings of Ratherius in D'Achery, Spicileg. i., and in Martene and Durand, are full of curious matter on his personal history and the state of

the Church. He is strong against the universal marriage of the clergy, which he brands as adultery. D'Achery, i. 363.

^p "Quum miles esse inciperet, episcopus esse desinit." Thus writes Liutprand of Manasseh. Manasseh, in justification of his promotions, had profanely quoted to Liutprand the translation of St. Peter from Antioch to Rome. Liutprand, iii. 2.

King Hugh granted the lands of abbeys, and even abbeys, like other lands, to his flatterers or his servants.⁹

Italy, which was soon weary of better kings, began to take steps for relieving herself of the oppressions of King Hugh. Conspiracies were formed with Transalpine sovereigns to contest the kingdom of Italy, first with Rodolf of Burgundy, whom Hugh bribed to peace by the surrender of part of his Provençal dominions. Then Arnulf, Duke of Bavaria, descended the Alps, and occupied Verona. He retreated with discomfiture and disgrace.

At length arose a more formidable rival. Berengar, Marquis of Ivrea, had married Willa, the daughter of Boso, King Hugh's brother, on whom the king had bestowed the dukedom of Tuscany. Jealous of his brother's wealth, and of certain splendid ornaments, in which Boso and his wife took great delight, Hugh despoiled his brother of the dukedom, which he then granted to one of his own bastards. Berengar had been suspected, with his brother Anschar, Duke of Spoleto, of dangerous designs against the king. Anschar took up arms and fell in battle. Berengar was then at the court of the king, who had determined to seize and blind him. Berengar received timely warning (it is said from Lothair, King Hugh's son, who reigned with conjoint authority), and fled beyond the Alps. There he remained till, almost summoned by the general discontent of the Italian princes, he descended the Alps as a deliverer. The great ecclesiastics were the first to desert the cause of King Hugh. Manasseh, on the promise of the archbishopric of Milan, opened Trent. Adelard, his officer, who commanded the

A.D. 936.
Berengar,
Marquis of
Ivrea.

A.D. 940.

⁹ Liutprand, iv. c. 3. Muratori, Ann. d'Italia, sub ann. 139.

fortress Fiumigara in that district, was rewarded for joining in his master's treason, by the promise of the bishopric of Como. Princes crowded around Berengar to obtain castles or domains, ecclesiastics monasteries or bishoprics. Berengar dispossessed the spiritual as unscrupulously as the temporal sovereigns. He expelled Joseph from the see of Brescia; he broke his promise of the see of Como to Adelard, and gave it to Waldo, a lawless robber, who plundered the highways and blinded his captives; to Adelard he gave the see of Reggio. He was only prevented by large bribes from dispossessing the Bishops of Parma and Piacenza. Guido, Bishop of Modena, had been gained to his party by the rich abbey of Nonantula. A.D. 945.

Berengar was content to leave the title of King of Italy for a short time to Hugh and his son Lothair, while himself possessed the real power. Hugh, disgusted at this humiliation, speedily withdrew, with his enormous wealth, beyond the Alps, leaving the vain but perilous ensigns of royalty to his promising son. He died the year after his retirement. A.D. 946. Lothair lingered on for three years in this inglorious kingly servitude, and died in the flower of his age, poisoned, as of course it was rumoured, by Berengar—by Berengar, whose life he had saved from the plots of his own father, Hugh of Provence. A.D. 947. Berengar and his son Adalbert became kings of Italy. A.D. 950.

During the whole reign of Hugh of Provence, notwithstanding the open or treacherous assaults of that king, Alberic, whether as an armed tyrant, commanding Rome from the Castle of St. Angelo, or as the head of a republic, and recognised by the voice of the Roman

people, had maintained his authority. He had ruled for twenty-two years; he bequeathed that authority, on his death, to his son Octavian.

A.D. 953.

Octavian, though only nineteen years old, aspired to unite, in his own person, the civil and spiritual supremacy. He was already in holy orders; two years after the death of his father Alberic, the Pope Agapetus II. died; and Octavian, by the voluntary or enforced suffrages of the clergy and the people, was elected Pope. He was the first of the Roman pontiffs who changed, or rather took a second ecclesiastical name; the civil government seems to have been conducted in that of Octavian; the Church was administered under that of John XII.

Berengar and his son Adalbert, kings of Italy, had made no attempt on Rome during the strong rule of Alberic. The youth of the new Governor and Pope tempted them to threaten the independence of the city, and to bring it within the sphere of their tyranny. Of that new tyranny Italy was now again weary. Berengar, his wife Willa, and his son Adalbert, are charged with acts of atrocious cruelty and oppression, in every part of their large dominions.

Pope John
XII.
Nov. 955.

CHAPTER XII.

The Othos on the Imperial Throne.

IN the mean time had arisen in Germany a monarch more powerful than had appeared in Europe since the death of Charlemagne. Otho the Great, of the Saxon line, had inherited a preponderating power in the North of Germany. He had greatly increased it by his own successes in war. The Danes, the Slavonians, the Hungarians, had been subdued by his arms, or awed by the terrors of his victorious forces. All Germany submitted to his sway, or acknowledged his superiority. Already, some years before, the formidable Otho had made a descent on Italy; but his expedition was more that of an adventurous Paladin of later days for the deliverance of a captive princess, than the invasion of a mighty sovereign. That princess had pretensions indeed to the kingdom of Italy. The beautiful Adelaide, the widow of King Lothair (the gallant but unfortunate son and heir of Hugh of Provence), had been cruelly persecuted after her husband's death, by Berengar, whose son Adalbert aspired to her hand. She had been stripped of all her jewels and costly raiment, beaten, her hair torn from her head, and plunged into a fœtid dungeon.* She made her escape, with the assistance of a priest, and took refuge under the protection of the Bishop of Reggio. That prelate entrusted her to the

* So writes S. Odilo, Abbot of Clugny.—Vita S. Adelard. apud Canisiura. Hroswitha de Gest. Odon.

care of his brother, who held the strong castle of Canossa, in fee of that Church. Canossa defied the siege of

Berengar and Adalbert. Otho, whose son
A.D. 951. Ludolf had already made a descent, not brilliantly successful, upon Italy, suddenly swept down from the Alps, rescued and married the captive princess. Berengar was obliged to open the gates of Pavia to the irresistible Otho.

Otho made some disposition for a visit to Rome to receive the imperial crown from the hands of the Pope Agapetus; but Alberic would brook no master. The Pope, at his dictation, declined to receive the dangerous stranger. Otho returned to Germany to suppress the menaced rebellion of his son Ludolf, who had taken offence at his father's second marriage. He was followed in the next year by Berengar and Adalbert, who stooped to receive the kingdom of Italy as vassals of the German Otho. They promised—no doubt the secret of their humiliation was the wide-spread discontent of their Italian subjects—to rule with greater
Augsburg, Aug. 7, A.D. 952. equity and moderation.^b But for four years Otho was occupied with his German wars, civil wars against his sons, and wars against the Hungarians;^c the tyranny of Berengar and his son Adalbert weighed on the necks of his subjects with all its former burthen. The son of Otho, Ludolf, who had returned to the allegiance of his father, was first despatched with a great army to the deliverance of Italy. After having overcome all resistance, Ludolf died, by one account slain

^b Hroswitha de Gestis Oddonis:—

• Hunc Regem certè digno suscepit honore,
 Restituens illi sublatis culmina Regni,
 Ista percertè tantum sub conditione.
 — seu subjectis jussis esset studiosus.

• • • et

Ut post hæc populum regeret clementius
 ipsum
 Quem prius Imperio nimium contrivæ
 amaro.”

^c On these wars read Giesebrecht
 Deutsche Kaiserzeit, Braunschweig,
 1855.

in battle by the hand of King Adalbert, by another poisoned through the agency of Berengar; more probably of a fever. Berengar and Adalbert, who had cowered before the irresistible enemy, resumed their sway, and their tyranny was aggravated by revenge. The cry was again loud and universal for the interposition of the Germans.

A.D. 957.

The Church by her prelates was the first and most urgent in its supplications to the Transalpine for deliverance from her Italian tyrants. The Pope John XII. (Octavian), menaced by Berengar, sent two ambassadors of high rank on this important mission. The Archbishop of Milan, who had been dispossessed to make room for Manasseh of Arles, and Waldo, the deprived Bishop of Como, joined in the appeal. Many of the Italian princes were equally impatient for succour.

All Italy looked for the coming of the new Charlemagne. On his appearance resistance vanished. Berengar and Adalbert shut themselves up in their strongest fortresses. It was a triumphal procession to Pavia—to Rome. At Pavia Otho the Great was crowned King of Italy, at Rome the Pope anointed him as Emperor. Thenceforth the King of Germany claimed to be Western Emperor.^d Otho swore to protect the Church of Rome against all her enemies, to maintain her rights and privileges, to restore her lands and possessions, when he should have recovered them, and to make no change in the government of Rome without the sanction of the Pope. John XII. and the Roman people took the oath of allegiance

A.D. 961-2.
Arrived at
Rome Feb.

^d Otho of Freisingen says of the Emperor Otho: "Imperium Romanum virtute suâ ad Francos orientales reduxit."—vi. 24.

"Quemcunque sibi Germania regem Præficit, hunc dives submisso vertice Roma Suscipit."—*Gunther, in Ligur.*
Compare Eichhorn, *Deutsche Staats und Rechts Geschichte*, ii. p. 36.

to the Emperor; they swore more particularly to
A.D. 962.
Purification
of the Virgin. abandon all connexion with Berengar and
 his son. The oath was taken on the body
 of St. Peter.

Yet no sooner had the Emperor returned to Pavia,
 than the perfidious John, finding that he had unwarily
Treachery of
the Pope. introduced a master instead of an obsequious
 ally, began to enter into correspondence with
 Adalbert, who, driven from every Italian city, had found
 refuge with the Saracens. Rumours of this treason
 reached the Emperor. The noble German would not
 believe the monstrous perfidy; he sent some trustworthy
 officers to inquire into the truth; they returned with a
 fearful list of crimes, of license, and cruelty with which
 the son of Alberic, who seems entirely to have sunk the
 character of Pope in that of the young warlike, secular
 prince, was charged by the unanimous voice of Rome.

A.D. 962. The Emperor calmly replied, that the Pope
 was young, the counsel and example of good
 men would soon work a change. In the mean time
 Otho proceeded to besiege first Queen Willa in the
 castle San Giulio in the island of the Lago di Garda,
 then Berengar in his strong fortress of Monte Leone
 near Montefeltro.

The Pope sent two legates to the camp of Otho to
 promise amendment, but at the same time boldly re-
 criminated on the Emperor, as having infringed on his
 part the solemn treaty. He had seized two of the
 Pope's vassals, and compelled them to swear allegiance
 to himself. Nor had he restored, as he had sworn, the
 dominions of the Pope. Otho condescended to reply
 that these men had been seized at Capua, on a mission
 to Constantinople, hostile to him; that at the same time
 others had been taken, who on pretence of a religious

mission to the Hungarians,* were to incite those unbelievers to attack the dominions of Otho; that he had not restored all the Roman territory, only because he had not yet recovered it from the enemies of the See. The treason of the Pope, on the other hand, rested not on vague rumour; the whole correspondence with the Pope's signature and seal was in his hands. Otho sent two bishops, Landobard, a Saxon, and Liutprand of Cremona, to offer the Pope satisfaction as to the charges against his honour: either their own oath, or the wager of battle. His soldier would maintain the fair fame of the Emperor against any champion appointed by the Pope. The Pope, says Liutprand, not without manifest indignation, refused both the oath of the bishops, and the single combat of the warriors. King Adalbert, in the mean time, had emerged from his retreat among the Saracens, and appeared publicly in Rome.

Otho marched at once upon the capital; the Pontiff had reckoned on the cordial support of the people; they recoiled: the Pope and Adalbert fled together from Rome.

July, 963

The Emperor summoned an ecclesiastical council; it was attended by the Archbishops of Aquileia (by deputy), of Milan, of Ravenna, and Hamburg; by two German and two French metropolitans; by a great number of bishops and presbyters from Lombardy, Tuscany, and all parts of Italy. The whole militia of Rome assembled as a guard to the council round the church of St. Peter. The proceedings of the council mark the times. Inquiry was made why the Pope was not present. A general cry of astonishment broke forth from

* The Legater to the Hungarians had letters, "plumbo signatas," to exhort them, "ut supe Ottonem Imperatorem irruant."—Liutprand, *Hist. Otton.* c. 6.

the clergy and the people—"The very Iberians, Babylonians, and Indians have heard the monstrous crimes of the Pope. He is not a wolf who condescends to sheep's clothing; his cruelty, his diabolical dealings are open, avowed, disdain concealment." The calmer justice of the Emperor demanded specific charges. The cardinal presbyter rose and declared that he had seen Pope John celebrate mass, without himself communicating. Another, that he had ordained a bishop in a stable; that he had taken bribes for the consecration of bishops, and had ordained a bishop of Todi who was but ten years old. "For his sacrileges, all eyes might behold them;" they alluded, probably, to the dilapidation of the churches, which were open to the weather and so much out of repair, that the worshippers could not assemble from fear lest the roofs should fall on their heads. Darker charges followed, mingled with less heinous, in strange confusion; charges of adultery, incest, with the names of the females, one his father's concubine, another a widow and her niece; he had made the Lateran palace a brothel; he had been guilty of hunting: charges of cruelty, the blinding one dignified ecclesiastic, the castrating another, both had died under the operation: he had let loose fire and sword, and appeared himself constantly armed with sword, lance, helmet, and breastplate. Both ecclesiastics and laymen accused him of drinking wine for the love of the devil; of invoking, when gambling, heathen deities, the devils Jove and Venus. He had perpetually neglected matins and vespers, and never signed himself with the sign of the cross.

The Emperor could only speak German; he commanded the Bishop of Cremona to address the assembly in Latin. Liutprand warned the council, he adjured

them by the blessed Virgin and by St. Peter, not to bring vague accusations, or such as could not be supported by accredited testimony, against the holy father. Bishops, deacons, clergy, and people with one voice replied, "If we do not prove these and more crimes against the Pope, may St. Peter, who holds the keys of heaven, close the gates against us; may we be stricken with anathema, and may the anathema be ratified at the day of judgement!" They appealed to the whole army of Otho, whether they had not seen the Pope in full armour on the other side of the Tiber; but for the river he had been taken in that attire.

Letters were sent summoning the Pope to answer to these accusations; accusations some of them so obscene, that they would have been thought immodest if made against stage players.^f If the Pope dreaded any assault from the enraged multitude, the Emperor answered for the security of his person. The Pope's reply was brief, contemptuous,—“John, the servant of God, to all the bishops. We hear that you design to elect a new Pope, if you do, in the name of Almighty God, I excommunicate you, and forbid you to confer orders, or to celebrate mass!”

Thrice was Pope John cited before the Council. Messengers were sent to Tivoli; the answer was, “The Pope was gone out to shoot.”^g Unprecedented evils demand unprecedented remedies. The Em-
John de-
posed, Dec. 4,
963.
 peror was urged to expel this new Judas from the seat of the Apostle, and to sanction a new election. Leo, the chief secretary of the Roman See, was unanimously chosen, though a layman, in the room of the apostate John XII.

^f “Ut si de histrionibus dicerentur vobis verecundiam ingererent.”

^g “Pharetratus jam in campestrum abierat.”

But the army of Otho, a feudal army, and bound to do service for a limited period, began to diminish; part had been injudiciously dispersed on distant enterprises; the Romans, as usual, soon grew weary of a foreign, a German yoke. The emissaries of Pope John watched the opportunity: a furious insurrection of the people broke out against the Emperor and his Pope. The valour of Otho, who forced the barricades of the bridge over the Tiber, subdued the rebellion. He took a terrible revenge. The supplications of Leo with difficulty arrested the carnage. Otho soon after left Rome, and marched towards Camerina and Spoleto in pursuit of King Adalbert. The King Berengar and his wife Willa were taken in the castle of St. Leo, and sent into Germany.

Hardly, however, had Otho left the city, when a new rebellion, organised by the patrician females of Rome, rose on the defenceless Leo, and opened the gates of the city to John. Leo with difficulty escaped to the camp of Otho. The remorseless John re-entered the city, resumed his pontifical state, seized and mutilated the leaders of the imperial party, of one he cut off the right hand, of another, a Cardinal, the tongue, the nose; and of a presbyter two fingers; in this plight they appeared in the imperial camp. An obsequious synod reversed the decrees of that which had deposed John. The Roman people had now embraced the cause of the son of Alberic with more resolute zeal; for the Emperor was compelled to delay till he could re-assemble a force powerful enough to undertake the siege of the city. Ere this, however, his own vices had delivered Rome from her champion or her tyrant, Christendom from her worst pontiff. While he was pursuing his

A.D. Jan. 3,
964.

A.D. 964.

Returns to
Rome.

Feb. 964.

Feb. 27.

amours in a distant part of the city, Pope John XII. was struck dead by the hand of God, as the more religious supposed; others by a more May 14, 964. natural cause, the poignard of an injured husband.^b

But it was a Roman or Italian, perhaps a republican feeling which had latterly attached the citizens to the son of Alberic, not personal love or respect for his pontifical character. They boldly proceeded at once, without regard for the Emperor, to the election of a new pope, Benedict V.

Otho soon appeared before the walls: he summoned the city, and ordered every Roman who attempted to escape to be mutilated. The republic was forced to surrender. Benedict, the new pope, was brought before the Emperor. The Cardinal Archdeacon, who had adhered to the cause of Leo, demanded by what right he had presumed to usurp the pontifical robes during the lifetime of Leo, the lawful pope. "If I have sinned," said the humbled prelate, "have mercy upon me." The Emperor is said to have wept. Benedict threw himself before the feet of Otho, drew off the sacred pallium, and delivered up his crozier to Leo. Leo broke it, and showed it to the people. Benedict was degraded to the order of deacon, and sent into banishment in Germany. He died at Hamburg.

The grateful, or vassal pope, in a council, recognises the full right of the Emperor Otho and his June 23, 964. successors in the kingdom of Italy, as Hadrian that of Charlemagne, to elect his own successors to the Empire, and to approve the Pope. This right was to

^b Other authorities, followed by Muratori, speak of a sickness of eight days.

belong for ever to the King of the Roman Empire, and to none else.ⁱ

Early in the next year the Emperor Otho re-crossed the Alps.^k Leo VIII. died, and a deputation from Rome followed the Emperor to Germany, to solicit the reinstatement of the exiled Benedict to the popedom. But Benedict was dead also. The Bishop of Narni (John XIII.), with the approbation or by the command of the Emperor, was elected to the papacy.^m

In these dark times the form of a republic seems dimly to arise with magistratures bearing the old and venerable names of consuls, tribunes, and prefects. But whether it was a confederacy of the Roman barons in the city and the neighbourhood who usurped these functions, the titles of which had perhaps never been extinct, or a popular movement towards independence, it is difficult to determine. At all events, its avowed aim was to shake off the yoke as well of the Pope as of the Emperor.

Scarcely had John XIII. assumed the pontificate than the barons and the people began to murmur against the haughtiness of the new pontiff. They expelled him from the city with one consent. The Prefect Rotfred, not without personal insult to the Pope, assumed the government of Rome; for ten months John XIII. was an exile from his see, at first a prisoner, afterwards in freedom. From his retreat in

ⁱ See the law in Pertz, Leg. ii. 167. The form of the Bull is thought suspicious; of the substance there is no doubt.—Jaffé, Regesta, p. 324.

^k The Emperor Otho returned from Italy bearing many precious reliques,

and splendid marbles to adorn his noble church at Magdeburg.—Thietmar, ii. 10, 11. He was at Pavia Christmas 964.

^m Otho created and disposed of bishoprics with full and unlimited powers.—Thietmar.

Campania he wrote with urgent entreaty to the Emperor. Otho made the cause of John his own; for the third time he descended the Alps; the terror of his approach appalled the popular faction. In a counter insurrection in favour of the Pope, Rotfred the prefect was killed, and the gates opened to the pontiff; he was received with hymns of joy and gratulation.^a At Christmas Otho entered Rome; and the Emperor and the Pope wreaked a terrible vengeance at that holy season on the rebellious city. The proud Roman titles seemed but worthy of derision to the German Emperor and his vassal Pope. The body of the prefect who had expelled John from the city was dug up out of his grave and torn to pieces. The Consuls escaped with banishment beyond the Alps; but the twelve Tribunes were hanged; the actual prefect^o set upon an ass, with a wine-bag on his head, led through the streets, scourged, and thrown into prison. All Europe, hardened as it was to acts of inhumanity, shuddered at these atrocities. The Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus Phocas, reproached the ambassador of Otho at Constantinople with his barbarity. Liutprand, though an Italian, was devoted to the Emperor and his cause: he haughtily answered, that his master had only punished, according to the imperial laws of Theodosius and Justinian, insurgents against the Empire and the Pope; he had scourged, executed, hanged, and banished these sacrilegious rebels^p who

A.D. 966

Nov. 12, 966.

A.D. 967.

^a Continuat. Reginon. sub ann. 696.

^o He had first been hanged by the hair on the famous equestrian statue of M. Aurelius in the capitol.—Gregorius, p. 387.

^p “Jugulavit, suspendit, exilio rele-

gavit.”—Liutprand. The emperors of Constantinople had never abandoned their pretensions to Rome and Italy. Nicephorus resented the allegiance demanded by Otho of the princes of Benevento and Spoleto, and his hosti-

had broken their oath of allegiance. If he had not done so, he had been impious, unjust, tyrannical.⁹

The rebellion was crushed for a time; during the five remaining years of John's pontificate the presence of Otho overawed the refractory Romans. He ruled in peace. At his death the undisturbed vacancy of the See for three months implies the humble consultation of Otho's wishes (he had now returned to Germany) on the appointment of his successor.

The choice fell on Benedict VI., as usual of Roman birth. The factions of Rome now utterly baffle conjecture as to their motives, as to the passions, not the principles, which actuated their leaders. Twice (the second time after an interval of ten years, during which he was absent from Rome), the same man, a Cardinal Deacon, seizes and murders two Popes; sets himself up as Supreme Pontiff, but though with power to commit these enormities, he cannot maintain on either occasion his ill-won tiara.

The formidable Otho the Great^r died the year of the accession of Benedict VI.^s Otho II., whose character was as yet unknown, had succeeded to the imperial throne; he had been already the colleague of his father in the Empire. He had been crowned at Rome by Pope John XIII.^t

lities against the few remaining possessions of the Greeks in Southern Italy. He demanded restoration of the Exarchate and of Rome, as the price to be paid for the hand of his daughter. The Romans will appear afterwards, more than once, in their desperation, turning for succour to the decrepit East.

⁹ In the Legatio of Liutprand are some curious details on the Greek

clergy. The passage often quoted from Liutprand about the degeneracy of the Romans refers to the *Byzantine* Romans.

^r "Post Carolum magnum regalem cathedram nunquam tantus patriæ rector atque defensor possedit."—So writes Thietmar of Otho I.

^s He died May 7, 973.

^t John XIII. also crowned Theophania the Byzantine wife of Otho II., April 14, A.D. 972.

The year after the accession of Otho II., on a sudden, Bonifazio, surnamed Francone, described as the son of Ferruccio, a name doubtless well known to his contemporaries, seized the unsuspecting Pope Benedict and cast him into a dungeon, where shortly after he was strangled. Bonifazio assumed the papacy; but he had miscalculated the strength of his faction, in one month he was forced to fly the city. Yet he fled not with so much haste, but that he carried off all the treasures, even the sacred vessels from the church of St. Peter. He found his way to Constantinople, where he might seem to have been forgotten in his retreat. The peaceful succession of Benedict VII., the nephew or grandson of the famous Alberic, may lead to the conclusion that the faction of that family still survived, and was opposed to that of Bonifazio. The first act of Benedict, as might be expected, was the assembling a council for the excommunication of the murderer and anti-pope Boniface. This is the first and last important act in the barren annals of Pope Benedict VII. Under the protection of the Emperor Otho II., or by the strength of his Roman faction, he retained peaceful possession of the See for nine years,^a an unusual period of quiet. He was succeeded, no doubt through the influence of the Emperor, by John XIV., who was no Roman, but Bishop of Pavia. But in the year of John's accession, Otho II. was preparing a great armament to avenge a terrible defeat by the Saracens. He had hardly fled

July, 974.

A.D. 974.

A.D. 983.

^a Sismondi is probably right that Domus or Domnus, who is here inserted, was merely a title, Dominus Benedictus. This conjecture has the farther recommendation of giving the full nine (or near ten) years to the papacy of Benedict, according to the epitaph quoted by Baronius. Compare Jaffé, who quotes a work of Giesebrecht as conclusive.

from the conquering Saracens, made his escape from a Greek ship by leaping into the sea and swimming ashore.^x He now threatened with all the forces of the realm to bridge the Straits of Messina, and re-unite Sicily to the Empire of the West. In the midst of his preparations he died at Rome.^y

The fugitive Bonifazio Francone had kept up his correspondence with Rome; he might presume on the unpopularity of a pontiff, if not of German birth, imposed by foreign influence, and now deprived of his all-powerful protector. With the same suddenness as before, he re-appeared in Rome, seized the Pope, imprisoned him in the Castle of St. Angelo, of which important fortress he had become master, and there put him to death by starvation or by poison.^z He exposed

the body to the view of the people, who dared not murmur. He seated himself, as it seems, unresisted, in the papal chair. The Holy See was speedily delivered from this murderous usurper. He died suddenly. The people revenged themselves for their own base acquiescence in his usurpation by

cowardly insults on his dead body:^a it was dragged through the streets, and at length buried, either by the compassion or the attachment, for Boniface must have had a powerful faction in Rome, of certain ecclesiastics. These bloody revolutions could not but destroy all reverence for their ecclesiastical

^x Muratori, *Annali*, ann. 982. Giesebrecht, p. 567. On this battle, Amari II. 324.

^y Richer, whose valuable chronicle the industry of Pertz has recovered, is very particular on the death of Otho II. He was suffering from indigestion, took 4 drachms of aloes, which brought

on a bloody flux.—b. iii. c. 96. On his tomb, see Papencordt's note p. 182. Gregorovius, 420.

^z *Chron. Volturn.* apud Muratori t. i. p. 11.—R. I. Hermann. *Contract.* sub ann. 984.

^a *Catal. Pap.* apud Eccard.

rulers in the people of Rome. The Empire was vacant; Otho III., though he called himself King of Germany and of Italy, had not yet assumed the imperial crown: and Otho was a youth who had but newly succeeded to his father.

The Roman Republic, crushed by the overwhelming power of Otho the Great, now again assumes a distinct form and regular authority; and at the head of this republic is the Consul Crescentius, by the ecclesiastical writers condemned as a sacrilegious usurper, in modern days hailed as the champion and the martyr of Roman liberty. By a probable, if not a certain, genealogy, Crescentius descended from that famous, or infamous, line of Theodora, Marozia, and Alberic, who had so long ruled in Rome.^b He was the grandson of Theodora and the Pope John of Ravenna; by the mother's side he was nephew of Alberic. Crescentius was Master of the Castle of St. Angelo, so lately possessed by the usurper Boniface (who may have been supported by the Roman party, the house of Alberic), and the Castle of St. Angelo commanded Rome.

* Hoefler, in his *Deutsche Päpste*, a panegyric rather than a history of the German popes, has ingeniously traced this genealogy of the Crescentii from the various epitaphs preserved by Baronius:—

• Corpore hic recubat Crescentius inclytus
 ecce,
 Eximius civis Romanus, Dux quoque
 magnus.

Ex magnis magna proles generatur et alta
 Joanne patre, Theodorâ matre ntescens."

This was the Crescentius "caballi marmorei" of Liutprand, vi. sub ann. 963; the Crescentius of Hermannus Contractus, who imprisoned and strangled Pope Benedict VII., A.D. 964. The great parents were Pope John X.

and Theodora. This Crescentius had two sons: 1. John, named by Hermann. Contract. sub ann. 689, as having slain the Prefect Rotfred. 2. Crescentius (Numantanus), the Consul. The elder Crescentius became a monk; and by this, and ample and exemplary donations to the Church, atoned for his sins—

"Se Domino tradidit habitum monachorum
 adeptus,
 Quod templum donis amplis d'tavit et
 agris,
 Hinc omnis, quicumque legis rogare me-
 mento,
 Ut tandem scelerum veniam meretur ha-
 bere."

He died July 7, 984.

John XV., a Roman, had succeeded peaceably on the death of Boniface.^c But either the Pope disdained to

submit to the supremacy of the Consul, or the

Sept. 985.

Consul persecuted the Pope. John XV. was either driven from Rome, or retired into Tuscany. His complaints of his contumacious people were heard with favour by the King of Italy, the youthful Otho, whom the Pope tempted to Rome that he might receive the imperial crown. The Romans had too recent and bitter remembrance of the terrible vengeance exacted by the

A.D. 987.

Germans for former revolts. The Pope was permitted to return; he was received with the utmost respect by the Consul and the Senate, whose powers he seems to have recognised without reserve. John XV. ruled for a period of eleven years, in quiet possession of his spiritual, if not of his secular, supremacy. The great imputation on his memory implies an accommodating temper, which would not provoke danger by ill-timed pride. He is charged too with excessive venality.^d Possibly the Republic, in its usurpation of the papal power, may likewise have laid claim to some of the revenues of the Roman territory; the Pope may have been thrown back on his spiritual resources, and so justified to himself his extortions on the appellants to Rome.

But however Rome and the Roman people might depress the Pope, and keep him in subjection to the Consul and the Senate, the Pope had rarely been in these latter times a native but of Rome, at least of

^c Another John, son of Robert, who ruled for four months, is inserted by some writers; but this John was called John XV.

a pilgrim at Rome, describes him as "turpis lucri cupidum, atque in omnibus actibus suis venalem."—Quoted in Muratori, A.D. 996.

^d Abbo, the pious Abbot of Fleury,

Italy. Rome heard with amazement, which it was constrained to suppress, and confusion which it dared not betray, that the Emperor had determined to unite in his own family, his barbarous German family, the Empire and the Papacy. Rome was not only to endure a foreign Emperor, but a foreign Pope. Christendom, in truth, would tolerate no longer the profound ignominy of the Papal See. There was still too much of true religion in the world to submit to such Popes as for nearly a century had profaned the throne of St. Peter. It was no insurrection of disobedience, nor of rebellion at the supremacy of the Roman See; it was an act of loyal reverence, of sincere respect. If Italy could not furnish more worthy pontiffs, Italy must forfeit her exclusive privilege. The determination might appear sudden, but it was the effect of moral indignation which had been long fermenting in the hearts of men, and broke forth when it could no longer be pent up in silence.

The descent of Otho III. to Italy might seem a great ecclesiastical armament of the Transalpine clergy to rescue the papacy from its debasement, the Pope from being the instrument or the victim of the turbulent factions in Rome: to put an end to the notorious vices, the licentiousness, the venality, the intrigues, the ferocious bloodthirstiness, which had so long degraded the head of Christendom.* Around the youthful Emperor, on whose face the first down of manhood began to appear, were assembled at Ratisbon the great dignitaries of the realm,—Willigis Metropolitan of Mentz, Harburg of Saltzburg, the Bishops Hildebrand of Worms, Widebold of Strasburg, Rotberd of Spire, Notker of Liège,

* Vita S. Adalberti, apud Pertz.

Haimo of Verdun, Lambert of Constance, Gotschalk of Freisingen, Christian of Passau, Alawick Abbot of Reichenau. Gerbert the deposed Archbishop of Rheims, afterwards Pope Sylvester, was in the train.^f Otho confessed himself to the saintly abbot, Romuald of St. Emmeran. And so the Emperor, environed by his hierarchical council, set forth amid the sound of bells and the chants of the clergy; men bearing the holy lance led the way.

Otho celebrated Easter at Pavia, and received the
A.D. 996. homage of the Lombard princes. He had arrived at Ravenna, where he was met by a message from the clergy, the senate, and the people of Rome, announcing the sudden death, by fever, of John XV., and humbly submitting to the wishes of the Emperor as to the appointment of his successor.

Otho at once proclaimed his determination to place his kinsman and chaplain Bruno, son of the Duke of Carinthia, on the vacant throne. Bruno was a youth of unblemished piety, of austere morals, morals ill suited for the state of Rome, and somewhat fiery temper. The Romans had gone too far to recede. The new Pope appeared in Rome, accompanied by Willigis of Mentz and Hildebald of Worms; he was received and consecrated with seeming joy. The more pious of the monks did not disguise their delight. "The news that a scion of the imperial house, a man of holiness, of wisdom, and virtue, is placed upon the chair of St. Peter, is news more precious than gold and precious stones." So writes the holy Abbo of Fleury to his friend.^g

^f These names appear signed to an original document, dated Rome, May 24, 996, published by Höfer, *Zeitschrift für Archivkunde*, i. 538.—Quoted by Gfrörer, p. 1481.

^g Mabillon, *Act. Ord. S. Benedict.* vi. 30.

Rome, overawed, had submitted to receive the Pope; the Pope was followed by the King of Germany, who received the imperial crown from the hands of Gregory V., the name assumed by the new Pope. The Emperor held a Council with the ecclesiastics, a Diet with the civil authorities of Rome. The Consul Crescentius was summoned to appear before the latter (the Cæsar himself was on the tribunal), to answer for his offences.

May 3, 996.

May 21.

May 25.

He was condemned to exile, but pardoned at the intercession of the Pope, who foresaw not how dangerous was his mercy. The Emperor exacted the vain homage of an oath of allegiance from the Romans to himself as Emperor, and an oath of fidelity to the Pope.

Otho withdrew from Rome and from Italy with almost as great rapidity as he had arrived;^b with him departed the German prelates, whose followers perhaps had formed the greater part of the army, content with having achieved their noble work, but having taken no measures to secure its permanence.

Gregory was left alone, to overawe as he could by the blamelessness of his life, his gentler virtues, the dignity of his spiritual character, the turbulent patricians and people of Rome, whom Crescentius had already roused and ruled by his eloquent reminiscences of their former liberties, of their republican glories; and Crescentius himself, who had already tasted the luxury of power. A year had not elapsed before the Pope was forced to fly from Rome, and reached Pavia in a state of utter destitution.¹ At Pavia he assembled a council of Italian

^b He was in Rome only till the end of May; in August, at Pavia; 15th Sept. at Ingelheim.—Böhmer, *Regesta Ottonum*, p. 767.

¹ "Nudus omnium rerum."—*Ann. Hildesheim*, 996. *Annalista Saxa* Sept. 29, A.D. 996.

bishops, and launched an excommunication against the rebel Crescentius; ignorant, in his own profound religious faith, how dead the Romans had become to these familiar terrors. Crescentius laughed to scorn the spiritual menace of an unarmed and unprotected pontiff.

Crescentius wanted an antipope, and an antipope soon offered himself: he was not a Roman, but, singular as it may at first appear, a Greek, at least a Calabrian, a subject of the Greek empire. At this juncture the ambassadors of Otho III. at Constantinople returned to Rome; among these was the Bishop of Placentia. Philagathus was a Calabrian of mean birth; his knowledge of Greek, still spoken in the parts of Southern Italy subject to the Greek Emperor, had recommended him to the notice of Theophania, the Byzantine wife of Otho II., the mother and guardian of Otho III. He had been employed in important affairs; had been ambassador more than once to Constantinople, where he had perhaps fostered the ambition, never yet extinct, in the Byzantine Emperor, of resuming his supremacy in Italy. The East, by the marriage of her princess with the Emperor of the West, had again become more mingled up with European affairs; but that connexion would be no bar to engagements with the Roman insurgents against the authority of the Western Empire.

Philagathus had obtained, it was said, by violent means, the bishopric of Placentia: he had amassed great wealth by the plunder of that church, and was prepared with his wealth to be the antipope of the Roman republic. Crescentius and John XVI. agreed to divide the dominion of Rome; and, under the protection of the Greek empire, the one with the title of patrician or consul to administer the temporal, the other the spiritual

affairs of the city. It cannot be supposed that Crescentius, whatever may have been the views of the subtle Greek Pope, had any serious designs of withdrawing Rome from its position as head of the Western Empire, or of restoring it to its dependence on the despised East.^k But in his desperation he caught at any alliance, and that alliance with the East was interpreted by the jealousy of the Germans as a deliberate transference of his allegiance. History, in truth, is always seeking for policy, when passions (as is so often the case) are the ruling motives of men. And the ambition of Crescentius was a passion, rather than a calm and heroic aim; it was not content with the temporal power, under the subordinate title of patrician or consul; the assertor of the liberties of Rome (an extant medal confirms the statement of one, though but of one historian) himself assumed the empire.

But the new Emperor or Consul, and the Pope, to whom all agree in ascribing fox-like cunning, had strangely miscalculated their strength. No sooner was Otho released from the Slavonian war in which he was engaged, than he appeared in Italy^m at the head of an overwhelming force of Germans and Italians; Italy was prostrate before him. He reached Rome, he entered Rome without the least resistance. Pope John made his escape, but was taken and brought back. The most horrible punishment was inflicted on the traitor to

^k Arnulf of Milan (apud Muratori, *Scrip. Ital.* iv.), said to have made accurate investigations into the history of Rome at that time, writes of John XVI.: "De quo dictum est, quod Romani decus Imperii in Græcos transferre tentasset. Si quidem consultu

et ope quorundam civium Romanorum, præcipuè Crescentii cujusdam prædixit Apostolicam sedem jam violenter invaserat, dejecto eo, qui tunc insederat, venerabili Papâ."—c. ii.

^m 997. He was at Pavia, Jan. 5 998.

the Empire, the usurper of the Papal See. His eyes were put out, his nose and his tongue cut off, and in this state, it is said by the command of the hard-hearted Pope himself, he was paraded through the streets on an ass with his face to the tail, and the common form of mockery,—a wine-bladder on his head.ⁿ

Crescentius shut himself up in the Castle of St. Angelo, and for a short time defied the Emperor. He was at length persuaded to capitulate; but the perfidious Otho ordered him to be beheaded with twelve of his leading partisans; their bodies were hung with their heads downward round the battlements of the castle.^o So, says the historian, turbulent Rome was awed to peace before the Emperor.^p

April 29,
A.D. 998.

But if Rome could not defend, it could revenge itself.

The German Pope enjoyed his recovered dignity hardly a year, and that not without disturbance; he was cut off in the flower of his age, as it

Feb. 999.

ⁿ Thietmar, iv. 21. "Gregorius V. . . . apprehendere fecit illum scelestum invasorem, et fecit ei oculos eruere et nasum cum linguâ abscindere et in asello sedere faciens Romam fecit eum circumduci, cum utro in capite."—Chronic. Estens. apud Muratori, S. L. iii. 2, p. 337. Compare Cat. Pontif. Eccard iv. Acta S. Nili. That holy hermit is there said to have interceded for the life of his wretched compatriot. The Emperor consented; but the savage Pope was not yet satisfied. *ὁ δὲ ἄγριος Πάπας ἐκείνος, μὴ χορτασθεὶς ἐφ' οἷς ἔπραξεν εἰς τὸν προβήθηεντα Φιλάγαθον*, tore his dress from him, and then ordered him to be paraded through the city, as in the text. Out of this Höfler has made a religious

romance about the Pope's indignation at John's wearing the dress of a priest, not of a penitent (as if the poor blinded and mutilated prisoner could choose his dress). With more flagrant dishonesty, he attributes the cruelty of the Pope to the Roman people. Nilus, a Greek it is true, predicted the wrath of God both against Pope and Emperor. On the same authority (Acta S. Nili) rests the pilgrimage of Otho to Mount Garganus to expiate his cruelty towards John XVI.

^o Rudolphus Glaber has an incredible story of Crescentius appearing before the Emperor, and being allowed to re-enter the castle.

^p "Sic Roma ante mobilis regis quievit in oculis."—Arnulf.

was commonly believed by poison. Crescentius, too, was fearfully avenged: how avenged the close of three or four years will show, neither to the honour of the Emperor, nor of Rome.⁴

⁴ "Sed post discessum ejus (Ottonis III.) a Romanis expulsus, ac deinde veneno peremptus est." — Vit. S. Meinwerci, c. 10. Compare Acta S. Nili. Gfrörer, with his marvellous felicity for discerning recondite villainies, attributes Gregory V.'s death to his successor!! whom he calls the serpent of Ravenna—"die Schlange zu Ravenna!"—p. 1507.

CHAPTER XIII.

Otho III. Pope Silvester II.

GREGORY V. had died, but the youthful Emperor Otho lived, revolving magnificent schemes of empire, and little foreseeing the fate which awaited him so speedily in Rome, the object and the centre of his ambitious designs. The first Millennial period of Christianity was drawing to its close. In many parts of Christendom there prevailed a deep and settled apprehension that with the thousandth year of Christ the world would come to an end. That last day, when Christ would return to judge the world; the day which, since the times of the Apostles, the more profoundly religious, especially in periods of more than usual darkness and calamity, had beheld as immediately at hand, as actually bursting upon the world, could not delay beyond this fatal period. The vague but awful language of prophecy had dwelt in strong terms on the period of a thousand years, as if divinely appointed to enclose certain phases of human history; and many of the most dreadful predicted signs (never wanting to those who seek for them with the sagacity of terror), the wars and rumours of wars, above all the want of faith upon the earth, might seem to justify these cowering apprehensions of the timid—the triumphant anticipations of the more ardent and hopeful believers. At the beginning of the century, the end of the world had been announced

by a grave council.^a The end of the world is at hand, was publicly preached at Paris.^b Men hastened to propitiate the coming, almost present Judge, by the sacrifice of their ill-gotten, now useless possessions. The deeds of the time, the donations of estates, and of all other gifts to the Church, are inscribed with the significant phrase, the end of the world being at hand.^c

But while these fears were lurking in the hearts of pious but obscure men; while they were darkening the dreams of holy recluses, and dictating the wills of penitent sinners trembling on the brink of the grave; the great men of Europe, the secular and ecclesiastical potentates entertained no timid misgivings as to the duration of the world. In Italy, in Rome the centre of Italy, these terrors were unknown. The Emperor himself, instead of apprehending the close, looked to the opening of the new Millennium but as the dawn of a Western Empire, as vast and comprehensive, more firmly established, and more stably organised, than that of Charlemagne. Otho had imagined the re-establishment of the Roman Empire, with Rome for its capital.^d

^a See Gieseler, Lehrbuch, 2, 1, p. 267. Michelet, Hist. des Français, lib. iv. c. 1, sub init. "Dum jam jamque adventus imminet illius in majestate terribili ubi omnes cum gregibus suis venient pastores in conspectum pastoris æterni."—Concil. Trosleian. sub ann. 909.

^b Abbo, the Abbot of Fleury, had heard this sermon in 990.—Galland, xiv. 141. "Æstimabatur enim ordo temporum et elementorum præterita ab initio moderans secula in chaos decidisse perpetuum, atque humani generis interitum."—Radolf. Glaber, l. iv. 39.

^c "Appropinquante mundi termino."

But compare Dr. Todd's Donnellan Lectures, who curiously traces the expectation of the final judgement through every century. Dr. Todd denies that the clergy encouraged the donations of land—"appropinquante mundi termino"—more about the year 1000 than at other times. It is a question hardly capable of proof.

^d "Imperator antiquam Romanorum consuetudinem jam ex parte magnâ deletam suis cupiens renovare temporibus, multa faciebat, quæ diversi diversè sentiebant."—Thietmar, iv. 29.

In all the hopefulness of youth, in the pride of an imperial descent for three generations, he resolved on the vast but impossible scheme of restoring Rome to her ancient authority as the seat of empire.* The reformation of the clergy by the renovated power of the Pope, the correction of that notorious avarice and venality for which Rome was already infamous,^f was to be accomplished by the appointment of a Supreme Pontiff truly apostolic in his character. The two great powers, the spiritual and the temporal, each working in his separate sphere, were to dwell together in the same eternal metropolis, and give laws, wise and holy and salutary laws, to Christendom.^g Rome might seem to have cast a spell upon the mind of the Teuton; it was on the Aventine Hill that he conceived and brooded over this great vision. He dismissed his German followers; he returned hastily, having appointed the new Pope, to Germany: in Germany, it was observed, not without jealousy, that he was envired by Italians.

Yet as if too his mind was not exempt from that holy awe which prevailed in other parts of Europe, the conduct of Otho during his short residence in Germany had a serious and melancholy character.

A.D. 1000.

* "Româ solum quam præ ceteris diligebat ac semper excolebat, exceptâ."
—o.

^f "Tota Italia Roma mihi visa est; Romanorum mores mundus perhorrescit."—So had written Gerbert, Epist. 40, apud Duchesne, ii. 728. Gerbert was to know more of Rome. Thietmar writes of Rome: "Corruptis autem pecuniâ cunctis primatibus maximeque Romanis quibus cuncta sunt venalia."—iii. 5.

^g "Eodem tempore imperator Ro-

mam profectus in antiquo palatio, quod est in Monte Aventino, versabatur, et sicut juvenis tam viribus audax quam genere potens, magnum quiddam immo et impossibile cogitans, virtutem Romani Imperii ad potentiam veterum Regum ad tollere conabatur. Mores etiam ecclesiasticos quos avaritia Romanorum pravis commercationum usibus vitiabat, ad normam prioris gratiæ reformare æstimabat."—Chron. Camerac. c. 114, apud Bouquet, x. 199. Compare Giesebrecht, p. 680 *et seqq.*

He made a pilgrimage to Gneisen, to the grave of Adalbert, the Apostle of Bohemia, the friend of his youth ; he entered the town as a penitent, with discrowned head, and naked feet. At Quedlinburg he celebrated Easter with his sister, the holy Abbess Adelheid. At Aix-la-Chapelle, in obedience to a dream, he commanded the grave of the great Teutonic Emperor of the West, Charlemagne, to be opened. The body was found seated on a golden throne in royal apparel, with a crown of gold and jewels, and the sceptre in his hand. Otho took a cross of gold from his neck, and some part of his raiment, and commanded the tomb to be again closed over his imperial predecessor. This singular ceremony, this investiture, as it were, by the dead Charlemagne, at all events, this association of the two great names, coincided with the visionary ambition of Otho, and with the specific object of that ambition.

Nor was the successor of Gregory V. a man to despair of the future fortunes of the world, to acquiesce in dreaming and indolent prostration of mind in the approaching termination of human affairs. Gerbert had gradually risen by his great abilities ; his sagacity in ruling the minds of men ; his learning, which awed his age ; his unimpeachable morals, and his character for profound piety, through all the successive steps of ecclesiastical advancement to the second see in the West.

Gerbert was born near Avrillac in Auvergne, of obscure parentage. He was received into the school of the Clugniac Abbey at Avrillac.

Gerbert.

The abbot Gerald admired the indefatigable thirst for knowledge and the fervent piety of the youth, who felt himself born for great purposes. It happened that Borel, the Count of Barcelona, visited the monastery ; he took the youthful student with him into Spain.

There the zeal of Gerbert did not prevent him from profiting by the mathematical science and advanced knowledge then exclusively possessed in Europe by the Mohammedan schools.^b He is said to have visited Cordova, where the Omniade Caliph, Hakim II., held his splendid court, and patronised the peaceful arts and sciences. But the learned and scientific studies of Gerbert, so far beyond his age, were not those of a recluse and contemplative monk; nor did his Arabian skill in arithmetic, geometry, and astrology perhaps rather than astronomy, fall under the suspicion with which they were looked upon in later legend, as forbidden and magic arts. Gerbert must be archbishop and Pope, and incur all the hatred inevitable during contentious times in such high functions before he is branded as a necromancer. With Count Borel, and with Hatto, Bishop of Vich, in Catalonia, Gerbert visited Rome.¹ There he attracted the notice of the Pope (John XII.) and of the Emperor Otho I. By Otho he was recommended to Adalbero, Archbishop of Rheims. He taught in the school of that city, the ecclesiastical metropolis of the Franco-Gallic church. He accompanied the Archbishop Adalbero again to Italy in the expedition of Otho II. That Emperor bestowed on him the famous Abbey of Bobbio.

But if the Italian manners of Rome shocked the piety of Gerbert, the turbulent and intriguing monks of Bobbio gave him no peace. Their poverty and nakedness distressed the Abbot. Former abbots had wasted, had even alienated the estates of that once

^b His Geometry is said to indicate Arabian sources of knowledge. | first scientific scholastic disputation) with Otric the Saxon. See the re-

¹ It was during this expedition that | markable details in Richer.
he had his curious disputation (the

splendid foundation of St. Columban.^k The neighbouring nobles who had obtained possession of the lands of the abbey demanded the ratification of their usurped rights.^m Gerbert was persecuted; accused before the Emperor and the Empress Adelheid. He fled to Rome, with nothing left but his pastoral staff and his apostolic ordination. But the Pope, trembling for his own life, could give him no protection; and the death of his patron Otho II. left him utterly defenceless. He abandoned Italy lest there he should be obliged to join the enemies of Otho.ⁿ He returned to Rheims to live under the patronage of Archbishop Adalbero. For ten years^o he taught in the school of Rheims the whole range of human science;^p at the same time he acted as secretary to the Archbishop; in the Archbishop's name and in his own maintained a constant correspondence with Adelheid, the widow of the elder; with the Greek Theophania, the widow of the second and mother of the third Otho.^q

^k "Cum videam monachos meos attenuari fame; premi nuditate . . . nescio quibus codicibus, quos libellos vocant, totum Sanctuarium Domini venundatum est. Collecta pecunia nunquam reperitur; apothecæ et horrea exhausta sunt; sed in marsupiiis nihil est."—Gerbert, Epist. ad Othon. Imper. Compare Epist. iii. to the Bishop of Tortona. Epists. iv., v., and xii. *et seqq.*

^m Epist. xx.

ⁿ See the first five of Gerbert's epistles, apud Bouquet.

^o This probably includes his former residence and teaching.

^p Richer is diffuse on the whole course of Gerbert's lectures. They comprehended rhetoric, logic, music,

geometry, astronomy. He explained the poets Virgil, Statius, Terence; the satirists Persius, Juvenal, Horace; the *historian* Lucan. Richer describes the "sphere" of Gerbert, and the Abacus, seemingly as wonders, yet unknown north of the Pyrenees. M. Haureau (*Hist. de la Philosophie Scholastique*) seems to think rather more highly of Gerbert's treatise *De Rationali et Ratione Ut* (published by Pez, *Thes. Anecd.* v. 1) than the authors of the *Hist. Littéraire*, and M. Cousin, p. 154.

^q Curious notices of books, especially of science, as well as historical facts, are scattered throughout Gerbert's letters; but they sadly want a critical editor.

The great but almost silent revolution was now taking place which raised the house of Capet to the throne of the effete race of Charlemagne. Hugh Capet received the crown of France from the hands of the Archbishop of Rheims.^r His son Robert was consecrated by the same holy prelate. On the death of Archbishop Adalbero, a few months after, the metropolitan throne of Rheims might seem, like that of the Roman pontiffs, to have become the mark of secular as well as of spiritual ambition. But the contest for this hierarchical dignity, with no less violence and treachery, had something of feudal character. Adalbero, according to Gerbert, had bequeathed to him the care, the primate had hoped the succession to the See.^s But it was too valuable a prize to be surrendered at once to a low born man, however the most distinguished in Christendom for learning and science. Arnulf, a bastard son of the royal house of France, the falling Carolingian house, aspired to the dignity. The bastardy was a blot in the ecclesiastical escutcheon, but might be washed off by the mystic sacramental power of the Church.^t Hugh Capet, from some unknown policy, supported the pretensions of Arnulf: he appeared at Rheims, and though he affected to leave

Arnulf of
Rheims.

^r On the election of Hugh Capet, read the speech of Archbishop Adalbero, repudiating the notion of hereditary right to the crown.—Richer.

^s “Taceo de me, cui nullæ (mille) mortes intendebantur; et quod pater noster Adalbero me successorem sibi designaverat, cum totius cleri, et omnium episcoporum, ac *quorundam* militum favore.”—Epist. cl. ii.

^t “Sed tamen hæc mater ecclesia purificans mysticis abluit sacramentis.” See the proclamation of Arnulf, written by Gerbert, Epist. ii. 1. Hugh Capet does not seem to consider the bastardy a blot: he commends Arnulf to the citizens of Rheims as “divæ memoriæ Lotharii ex concubinâ filius.”—Richer, lib. iv.

the free election to the clergy and people, disguised not his own inclinations. Arnulf's oath of fidelity to Hugh Capet, couched in terms of more than usual severity of imprecation, has been preserved by a contemporary writer.^u Arnulf took the sacrament on this oath, and observed it—a few months. Arnulf was seized with compassion for his own despoiled and injured house. Hugh Capet became a usurper. The gates of Rheims were opened to Charles of Lorraine, the head of the Carolingian party. The archbishop at first pretended total ignorance of his own act; he was at length compelled to throw off the mask. Gerbert, also, had discovered the wrongs of the Carolingian house.^x He is become, as though indispensable in that office, the secretary of Arnulf, as he had been of Adalbero. In a letter to Bishop Adalberon or Ascelin, of Laon, he addresses him as his dear friend, and acknowledges how deeply he is mingled up with plots, conspiracies, litigations, secular affairs. "Why should this wrong be inflicted on the elder house? why is it dispossessed of the throne?"^y

King Hugh Capet sent ambassadors to Rome to de-

^u "Quod ei imprecatur pro felicibus contumeliosa, pro salutaribus pernicioiosa, pro honestis turpia, pro diuturnitate punctum, pro honore contemptum; et, ut totum concludatur, pro omnibus bonis omnia mala."—Richer. This valuable work of Richer was first discovered and published by Pertz. It has been re-edited and translated by the Historical Society of Paris.

^x "Patruo igitur miserescibat; illum cogitabat; illum colebat; illum pro parentibus carissimum habebat, apud quem collato consilio quærebat

quonam modo in culmen honoris provehere possit, sic tamen ut ipse regis desertor non appareret."

^y "O felix quondam et dulcis amice sub imperio patris mei Adalberonis! . . . Ille ego qui sub imperio beatæ memoriæ patris mei Adalberonis militaveram in scholâ omnium virtutum. Nunc regiam incolo aulam, cum sacerdotibus Dei vitæ verba conferar (conferam?). Nec ob amorem Karoli aut Arnulfi diutius passus sum fieri organum diaboli . . . pro mendacio."

mand the deposition of the perfidious and rebellious Arnulf. Heribert, Prince of Vermandois, with Charles of Lorraine, the chief of the Carlovingian faction, appeared in person on the other side. Heribert brought more cogent arguments: it was not only a beautiful white palfrey which he presented to the Pope, but more solid gifts in other quarters, to Crescentius, Lord of Rome. The ambassadors of King Hugh stood unhonoured and unheard at the doors of the Vatican. Gerbert was in dire perplexity. With unconscious effrontery he confides his own double dealing to his friend the Archbishop of Treves. He had pledged himself to King Hugh; he trembled at the power of Charles of Lorraine, still, with Arnulf, master of Rheims. But on the side of Hugh Capet were the offers of the education of his son Robert, and the archiepiscopate.² He sent his letter of repudiation to Arnulf, yet with strange simplicity he entreated Arnulf to take under his special care certain houses which he had built in Rheims.³ He had now discovered that Arnulf had been raised by simoniacal, and therefore heretical means. Arnulf's apostacy from his lord the king reveals all his diabolical wickedness. Gerbert becomes aware that Arnulf was a plunderer, a spoiler, not an administrator of the See. Gerbert's perceptions may have been quickened by the synod of French bishops at Senlis, which declared the

A.D. 989.

* "Pervenit, beatissime Pater, gladius usque ad animam. Hinc fide promissi Regibus Francorum urgemur, hinc potestate Principis Karoli, regnum ad se revocantis adducti, permutare dominos aut exules fieri cogimur."—Epist. xiv. In another letter: "Dicimus tacenda, tacemus dicenda; agi-

mur quod volumus, quod volumus nequimus."—Epist. xi. He consoles himself that he never actually *swore* allegiance but to the Emperor Otho: "Nulli mortalium unquam aliquando juris jurandum præbui nisi D. M. Othoni."

* "Libellus repudii."—Epist. xxiv

monk priest Adelgar, who had opened the gates of Rheims to Charles of Lorraine, then under the ban of the Church, and the Bishops of Rheims and Laon out of communion.

The betrayal of Arnulf by Adalberon of Laon into the hands of King Hugh Capet is a scene of treachery and impiety unparalleled even in those days. Adalberon, as Gerbert's letter shows, had been but now on the Carolingian side. He was the prelate accused of adulterous intercourse with Emma, wife of King Lothair; now, his widow, it was asserted by some, through poison administered by her episcopal paramour.^b Charles of Lorraine and Arnulf the Archbishop were committed to several prisons.

King Hugh Capet waited not his tardy, it might be unsuccessful, appeal to Rome. A council was Council of Rheims, July 17, 991. instantly summoned in the monastery of St. Basolus at Rheims. The Archbishops of Sens and Bourges, eleven bishops, a great number of abbots took their seats; they sate as feudal nobles, as well as prelates of the Church, to adjudge the crime of treason, as well as to depose the Metropolitan. The long formal procedure for the degradation of Arnulf contrasts with the easy and rapid transference of the kingly power from the Carolingian to the Capetian dynasty. To depose an Archbishop of Rheims was an affair of difficulty and intricacy, compared with the dethronement of a king of France.^c

^b It is just to observe that Richer relates the death of Lothair as natural. See also the pathetic letter of Queen Emma to the Empress Adelheid: "My hope was in my son (Louis le Fainéant, now dethroned by Hugh Capet); he is become my enemy. . . . They have invented infamous charges against the

Bishop of Laon."—Richer, iv. 61.

^c The acts of the Council of Rheims were drawn up by Gerbert. Baronius pours forth a torrent of indignation against him, whom even the papal dignity does not exculpate from the sin of having presumed in this Council to deny or to limit the pontifical power.

Arnulf beheld confronted before him Adalgar the priest who had opened the gates of Rheims to Charles of Lorraine. Adalgar swore that the keys had been confided to him for the express purpose of the treason by the Archbishop. "Whoso believes me not on my word, I am ready to satisfy by the ordeal of fire, by boiling water, or red-hot iron." Bishop Guido of Soissons bore witness against the Metropolitan. A more revolting, a nameless charge was brought against the falling prelate by Rayner, his private secretary. Arnulf shuddered: he was permitted to retire with the Archbishop of Sens and three bishops. These prelates returned to the council, declaring that Arnulf, smitten in the conscience by God, had fallen at their feet, confessed his sins, and acknowledged that he ought rightfully to be deposed from the dignity which he had unworthily assumed. The other prelates were not content without being witnesses of his humiliation. Nor were they satisfied with this; they brought him before the people; they forced him to stammer out his consent to his own degradation. Nor was this all: they would preclude the reversal of their sentence by bold anticipative defiance of the interposition of Rome. Arnulf, Speech of Arnulf of Orleans. Bishop of Orleans, in the name of the king, delivered, doubtless in the words of Gerbert, a long elaborate harangue, which amounted to the renunciation of all allegiance to the pope; the declaration of independence, if not of superiority to the Italian pontiff. It spoke, as Gerbert might justly speak in all the pride of pre-eminent science and learning, of the profound ignorance of Rome. "There is not one at Rome, it is notorious, who knows enough of letters to qualify him for a doorkeeper; with what face shall he presume to teach, who has never learned?" It spoke

of the gross venality of Rome. "If King Hugh's ambassadors could have bribed the pope and Crescentius, his affairs had taken a different turn." It recounted the revolting crimes which for the last many years had sullied the papacy; the crimes of John XII. (Octavian), who had cut off the nose and the tongue of John the Cardinal; of Boniface, who had caused John XIII. to be strangled, and starved John XIV. to death in the dungeons of the Castle of St. Angelo. "To such monsters, full of all infamy, void of all knowledge, human and divine, are all the priests of God to submit; men distinguished throughout the world for their learning and holy lives? The Roman pontiff who so sins against his brother, who often admonished refuses to hear the voice of counsel, is as a publican and sinner. Though he be seated on a lofty throne, glittering with purple and gold; if he be thus without charity, thus puffed up by vain knowledge, is he not Anti-Christ? He is an image, an idol, whom to consult is to consult a stone."^d Towards the close, the Bishop of Orleans speaks with a kind of lofty compassion, and vouchsafes as it were a few words of reserved respect for Rome. "Worthy, or unworthy, we will respect her edicts, if the welfare of the realm be not thereby endangered." Significant words follow: "She has already lost the allegiance of the East; Alexandria, Antioch, Africa, and Asia are separate from her; Constantinople has broken loose from her. The interior of Spain (here we recognise Gerbert) knows nothing of the Pope." The orator not obscurely applies those titles, under which the Pope was long after designated by his foes; he is not only Anti-Christ, but also "the Man of Sin, the

^d Concil. Remens. sub ann. 991.

Mystery of Iniquity." Had visions crossed the bold mind of Gerbert of a kind of Transalpine papacy at Rheims? If so, disappointment came upon him with his greatness. For the council, not content with the degradation of Arnulf, placed Gerbert on the vacant cathedral throne.

The form of Gerbert's election is remarkable. It is by the bishops, who complain that on a former occasion they were compelled by popular clamour, popular clamour that once cried, "Crucify him, crucify him!" to make an unworthy choice. It was no boy whom they now deliberately chose, but a man of mature age, known to them from his youth; of profound learning and piety. Gerbert's confession of faith is still more extraordinary. On the Trinity, and other points of doctrine, it is elaborately orthodox. He adds: "I prohibit not marriage; I condemn not second marriages. I do not blame the eating of flesh. I acknowledge that reconciled penitents should be admitted to communion. All sins original, as well as voluntary, are washed away by baptism. I believe no one can be saved out of the Catholic church. I confirm the four great councils."*

Gerbert had been advanced, unwillingly, if his own words are to be credited, to the archiepiscopal see. But his election was unpopular; the people were indignant at the bishops assuming the election; the severity of his morals offended the looser clergy; the want of

* Gfrörer, with his customary too great ingenuity, makes out of this convenient adulation to the family of Hugh Capet a design to throw off the Pope, and assert the absolute independence of the Gallican Church. The clergy were to be won by the permission of marriage. It reads to me more like a renunciation of Manicheism, which Gerbert may have thought necessary or expedient.—Gfrörer, p. 1462.

birth was an inexpressible delinquency with the high-born prelates. He was accused as having betrayed, imprisoned his master, and violated his spouse, *that is*, usurped his church.^f Adalberon, the perfidious Bishop of Laon, envied the advancement of Gerbert; to dethrone his rival he entered into negotiations with the German Court of Otho, from which Gerbert, by throwing himself into the interest of Hugh Capet, had undesignedly estranged himself. Theophania, the Greek Empress mother, was now dead; Adelheid, his grandmother, or the boy Emperor, Otho III., demanded a legate from Pope John XV. to reverse the iniquitous sentence pronounced against Arnulf, and the promotion of Gerbert. It was time for the Papal See, even at its lowest state of degradation, to assert its trembling authority, to assert that authority at the summons, and therefore under the protection of the imperial house of Saxony. Leo, the abbot of St. Boniface in Rome, appeared as the papal legate to adjudge this great cause, conjointly with the Bishops of France and Germany.

Fall of
Gerbert,
A.D. 995.

A.D. 991.

On the first menace of the papal interference, the French prelates, who met at a place called Chela, seemed resolute in the assertion of their liberties. But the papal legate was a man of courage and ability equal to the occasion. The Roman abbot Leo promulgated an answer to the harangue of the Bishop of Orleans at Rheims.^g This remarkable document (but lately come to light) strikes in its outset at Gerbert as the author of the speech of the Bishop of Orleans at

^f "Ut major fiat invidia, obloquitur, Dominum tuum tradidisti, carceri mancipasti, sponsam ejus rapuisti, sedem pervasisti."

^g It has been published by Pertz. *Monumenta Germaniæ*, iii. 686.—Hoeck's Life of Gerbert was written before the publication of this, and of Richer.

Rheims. "The acts of your synod, which have been delivered to me, fill me with abhorrence. Truly is the word of the Lord fulfilled in you, 'There shall be many anti-Christ's;' so know we that the last day is at hand. Christ, who cannot lie, has said that the blessed Peter is the foundation of your churches, yet say your anti-Christ's that in Rome there is now but a temple of idols, an image of stone. Because the vicars of Peter and their disciples will not have for their teachers a Plato, a Virgil, a Terence, and the rest of the herd of philosophers, who soar aloft like the birds of the air, or dive into the depths like the fishes of the sea; ye say that they are not worthy to be doorkeepers, because they know not how to make verses. Peter is indeed a doorkeeper—but of heaven." Thus abbot Leo repels the charge of ignorance; to that of gross venality his answer is certainly not that of Italian address. "Did not the Saviour receive gifts of the wise men?" He does not deny the crimes charged against Popes, but urges the warning example of Ham, accursed for uncovering his father's nakedness. He asserts that the prerogative of the See of Rome is from God himself; it cannot be annulled, or transferred to any other see. To the asseveration of the revolt of Asia, Africa, and Spain from the Roman See, he avers that it is utterly false, and declares that ambassadors from Alexandria, Jerusalem, Carthage, Cordova, have but lately paid homage, and consulted the See of Rome.

Whether through the presence or the arguments of the papal legates, or the countenance of the Court of Otho, or the interests or the apprehensions of Hugh Capet of France (he died the next year), Gerbert stood alone at Moisson before a synod of

A.D. 995.

but a few German prelates,^b Ludolf of Treves, Notkar of Liège, Siegfried of Munster, Haimo of Verdun. The papal legate sat in the centre. The Bishop of Verdun, as understanding it might seem alone A.D. 896. among these Teutonic bishops, the Gaulish (the Roman tongue), opened the session. Gerbert made an eloquent speech, but to an adverse court. The legate pronounced the sentence of interdict from communion, and from the exercise of his episcopal functions. Gerbert boldly overwhelmed them with citations from the canons, that such interdict against a man convicted of no crime was illegal. The council adjourned the final decree.

Gerbert contemplated further resistance. The future Pope in a letter to the Archbishop of Sens utters these un-Roman doctrines,—“Rome cannot make lawful that which God condemns, nor condemn that which God has made lawful. Rome cannot expel from her communion him who is convicted of no crime. The papal decrees are only of force when they concur with the Evangelists, the Apostles, the Prophets, and the genuine canons of the Church.”ⁱ

But deserted by all, shunned as under interdict,^k he thought it wisest at length to bow before the storm. He retired from France to the court of the Emperor Otho. There, however, degraded from his archiepiscopate, it might seem through the imperial interest, Gerbert ceased not to be the ecclesiastic most distinguished for knowledge and erudition north of the Alps,

^b Concilium Moisson., compared with the last chapters of Richer.

ⁱ Epistol. Arch. Senonen.

^k Compare his letter to the Empress Adelheid: “Memini enim meos con-

spirasse non solum milites, sed et clericos, ut nemo mecum comederet, nemo sacris interesset.”—Epistol. c. 411. A third rival candidate for the archiepiscopate was in the field, Gebuin.

perhaps in Christendom. He resumed all his old honour and respect; the court of Otho was proud of his presence; the spell of his powerful mind was cast on the young and ambitious Otho. One step towards the height of power had been made, and he had fallen back; he was ere long to make the other two.^m

We return from this long but necessary episode, the life of Gerbert, to the magnificent schemes of Otho III. for the restoration of the empire in its transcendent Cæsarean power to Rome; of the popedom in its boundless, but strictly spiritual dignity.

Gerbert was now again free to follow with undivided devotion the fortunes of the Imperial House. France had cast him off: he was the vassal of Otho. He joined the great assemblage of prelates, and accompanied his imperial master to Italy. There the Archbishop of Ravenna having retired to monastic seclusion, Gerbert, though a Transalpine, was raised at once to the second see of Italy.ⁿ On the death of Gregory V. Otho could find no prelate so likely to enter into, or to carry out (if Gerbert's influence had not first suggested, and constantly kept alive) his magnificent visions, as the man who stood alone as the most eminent prelate of his age, in learning peerless, in piety unimpeachable, Gerbert of Ravenna. Gerbert took the significant name of Silvester II., the new Silvester of the new Constantine.

The decree for the election of Gerbert issued by the

^m Read the skilful letter to the Emperor Otho: "Scio me divinitatem in multis offendisse et offendere. . . . Tribus ut ita dicam sæculi ætatibus vobis, patri, avo, inter hostes et tela fidem purissimam exhibui."—Epist. **xxx.** The famous lines are ascribed

to Gerbert himself. Scandit ad R. (Rheims) Gerbertus, ad R. (Ravenna) Post, Papa viget R. (Rome).

ⁿ Gregory V. grants the pall to Gerbert, as Archbishop of Ravenna. April 28, 998.

Gerbert,
Archbishop
of Ravenna,
A.D. 998.

Gerbert
Pope,
April, 999.

Emperor developes the designs of Otho and of his Pope. "In the name of the Holy Trinity, Otho the servant of the Apostles, by the will of God the Saviour, Emperor of the Romans: We declare Rome to be the capital of the world, the Roman Church the mother of the churches; but the dignity of the Roman Church has been obscured by her neglectful and ignorant pontiffs; they have alienated the property of the Church without the city to the dregs of mankind^o (these were the feudatory princes of the Roman States), made everything venal, and so despoiled the very altars of the apostles. These prelates have thrown all law into confusion; they have endeavoured to retrieve their own dilapidations by the spoliation of us; they have abandoned their own rights to usurp those of the empire." He denounces the donations of Constantine and of Charlemagne as prodigal and unwise; he assumes the power not merely of electing, but by God's grace of creating and ordaining the Pope. Finally, he grants eight counties to the Pope—Pesaro, Fano, Senigaglia, Ancona, Fossambruno, Osimo, Cagli, and Iesi.^p

But ungrateful Rome seemed loth to enter into the lofty schemes of the Emperor for her aggrandisement; the presence and the power of the Emperor did not overawe her conflicting factions. The feudatory nobles of the neighbourhood might well resent the denunciations and suspect the power of their new lord. Tibur broke out in rebellion; the lord of that

Rome
revolts.

^o See the comminatorium of Gerbert to the neighbouring barons, whom he accuses of slaying priests, robbing the Church and the poor.—Epist. ii. xli. Gerbert had the high satisfaction of magnanimously condescending, as Pope, to reinvest his old rival Arnulf in his

full archiepiscopal rights and honours.—Epist. ii. lv. Dec. 999.

^p The decree names only seven: Pisaurum, Fanum, Senigalliam, Anconam, Fossimbrunum, Gallihesem, Ausimum. Is the last but one made out of Cagli and Iesi?

city was the kinsman of Crescentius and the ancestor of that line of counts who in the next century created and unmade popes. Tibur was compelled to yield to the overpowering force of Otho : but on his return to Rome Otho found the gates closed. He ascended a tower near the walls, addressed the people in the prophetic language of expostulation, reminded them of his attachment, of his plans for their aggrandisement. They yielded probably rather to the terror of his arms than to the force of his eloquence. The gates were opened, and again they swore allegiance to their irresistible sovereign. But at this very moment the dire tragedy was hastening

to its close. No Nemesis more awful ever darkened the stage of Greece. *Stephania*, the wife of Crescentius, had, on his fall, been abandoned to the brutal lust of the German soldiers.¹ With stern self-command she suppressed her indignation, her loathing, within her heart. At the end of three years she had nursed up her fatal beauty to its old exquisite lustre. Otho himself, the religious Otho, was caught in her toils, which she spread with consummate art. She scrupled not to ascend the bed of her husband's murderer. With *Stephania* vengeance was cheaply bought at such a price. She feigned the passionate love of a mistress, till the opportunity came of administering a subtle poison.² In Italy such poisons were too well

¹ "Stephania autem uxor ejus traditur adulteranda Teutonicis."—Arnulf, c. 12. Höfler kills her of this ill usage.

² "Incidit in insidias mulieris malæ, cujus virum Crescentium jusserat capitalem subire sententiam, quam formæ elegantissimæ nimis insipienter thoro suo socios, ab eâ veneno intra cubiculum dormians, infectus est."—

Vit. S. Meinwerici apud Leibnitz, i. p. 521. Compare Ann. Saxo. Leo Ostiens., Landulf senior, Radulph. Glaber. The modern German writers, zealous for the honour of Otho, seem inclined to doubt this story. Muratori accepts it. It seems to me to rest on as good authority as most events of the time.

known, and here there seems convincing evidence to the truth of this crime, throughout Italian history always suspected, always credited, yet rarely with stronger proof than suspicion. The hand of death was upon the bright, hopeful youth. He withdrew from Rome, either expelled by a new insurrection secretly guided by Gregory of Tusculum, or with his constitution shattered by the poison administered through the hand of Stephania: he withdrew, not to collect his faithful troops and crush the rebellious city, but as a penitent to deplore and expiate his sins. His countenance was still cheerful to his faithful adherents; but his time was spent in tears, in prayer, in almsgiving. Already had he made a pilgrimage in the preceding year to atone for his perfidious execution of the Consul Crescentius, and his cruelty to Pope John XIV. Heaven, it is to be hoped, was more merciful than the wife of Crescentius. Deeply must Otho, cut off at the age of twenty-two years, have rued his fatal connexion with Rome, which neither terror could control, nor the hopes of her restoration to glory propitiate to a Transalpine sovereign. The world, especially the Transalpine world, deplored the untimely fate of this promising prince, who seemed destined for nobler ends. Rome might seem to crown her wickedness by this last unequalled crime.*

* Höfer has published a curious popular poem on the death of Otho, and the election of Henry II. The following are stanzas:—

“ Quis dabit aquam capiti?
 Quis succurret pauperi?
 Quis dabit fontes oculis?
 Lacrymosis populis
 Sufficientes lacrymæ (as)
 Mala mundi plangere?
 Ad triumphum ecclesiæ
 Cœpit Otto crescere:

Sumsit Otto imperium
 Ut floreret sæculum:
 Vivo Ottone tertio
 Salus fuit populo.

* * * * *

Plangat ignitus Oriens,
 Crudus ploret Occidens:
 Sit Aquilo in cinere,
 Planctus in Meridie.
 Sit mundus in tristitia,
 Nostra luge cithara.
 Plangat mundus, plangat Roma,
 Lugeat Ecclesia.

The faithful Pope Silvester had followed the Emperor in his retreat from Rome; he returned to Rome after his death. But Gerbert had seen three generations of Saxon Emperors expire in sad succession: the next year he followed them to the tomb.[†] Popular rumour attributed, if not his death, yet a grievous malady, to the same remorseless Stephania. He is said to have lost his voice by poison, which she contrived to have administered to him.[‡] Such were the crimes believed in those days to be perpetrated, if not actually perpetrated on holy Popes and on Emperors. All the magic art which fame attributed to Gerbert furnished no antidote. But Pope Silvester, throughout the following ages, was remembered with a kind of awful misgiving, with shuddering horror, lest the throne of St. Peter should have been occupied by a necromancer,[‡] by a man whose wonderful

Sit nullum Romæ canticum,
Ululet palatium.
Sub Caesaris absentia
Sunt turbata sæcula."

Beiträge, xvi. p. 331.

On the other hand Bonizo, the Bishop of Sutri, expressing no doubt a strong Italian feeling of the time, condemns Otho to hell, for his cruelty to Pope John of Ravenna: "Domino odibilis sine viatico vitam finivit . . . Quo mortuo et in infernum sepulto."—*Liber ad. Amic. iv.*

[†] Otho died Jan. 22, 1002; Silvester, May 12, 1003.

[‡] "Veneficio ejusdem mulieris etiam Papa Romanus gravatus asseritur; ita ut loquendi usum amiserit."—*Ann. Saxo.*

[‡] William of Malmesbury is full on the magical arts and enchantments of Gerbert. He stole his book of glamour; his miserable death is the

indubitable proof that the accusations of magic and doing homage to the devil are true (pp. 275, 284). Such was the belief in remote Britain. A more brief funeral oration cannot be imagined than that in the *Vit. Pontif. Ravennat.*: "Homagium diabolo fecit et male finivit."—p. 207.

But compare *Hist. Lit. de la France* and Vincent of Beauvais in his *Encyclopædia of the Middle Ages*. Gerbert in Spain, the land of necromancers, fell in love with the daughter of one of those accursed doctors: he stole his books. The magician, by the aid of the stars, pursued the robber. But Gerbert too had learned to read the stars. By their counsel he lay hid under a bridge, through the arches of which rushed the roaring waters. The devil descended, and bore him

powers could only have been attained through a compact with the Evil one.

away on his wings beyond the sea ; with the design of establishing at a future time, by an awful delusion, one of his own abhorred supporters on the chair of the chief apostle.

Modern readers will be more struck with wonder at Gerbert's organ, which went by *steam* : " Ipse Gerbertus fecit

arte mechanicâ horologium et organa hydraulica, ubi mirum in modum, per aquæ calefactæ violentiam, implet ventus emergens concavitatem barbati (barbiti ?) et per multos foratiles tractus æræ fistulæ modulatos clamores emittunt."— Vincent Bellow. Spec. Hist. xxiv. c. 98.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Tusculan Popes.

THE first attempt to rescue the papacy from the hands of the turbulent patricians or fierce populace of Rome, to open to the whole Western Church the appointment to the supreme headship of Western Christendom, had ended in failure. Nearly another half century must elapse before Transalpine Christendom, by asserting her right of supplanting a line of degenerate Italian pontiffs by men more worthy of the high office, shall compel Italy, in her turn, to bring forth and to train men who, through their commanding abilities, win back the lost tiara, and revenge Italy for her temporary obscurity by reducing beneath her feet the rebellious Teutonic Church and even the Western Empire.

Three undistinguished popes, John XVII., who lived less than six months after his election, John XVIII., and Sergius IV., ruled for ten years of obscurity.^a The contest for the kingdom between Ardoin, Marquis of Ivrea, whom the Italians had chosen on the death of Otho, and the Emperor Henry II., was decided in the north of Italy. All the great prelates of the north espoused the imperial interest^b—Tibald, Marquis and Archbishop of Ravenna, the Bishops of Modena, Verona, and Vercelli openly

^a John XVII., June 13, Dec. 7, 1003; John XVIII., Dec. 25, 1003, June, 1009; Sergius, July, 1009, died 1012, June 16.

^b Adelbert in Vit. S. Henrici.

maintained, the Archbishop of Milan, the Bishops of Cremona, Piacenza, Pavia, Brescia, and Como hardly disguised their inclinations to, the same cause. The Pope alone seems to have stood aloof in unregarded insignificance. Rome, abandoned to herself, had resumed her republican constitution. The family of Crescentius had risen again to power. John, the son of the beheaded consul,^c whether through the prevailing interest of Stephania, or by the solicitude of Otho to win popularity in Rome, had been created prefect of the city under the Emperor. On Otho's death he assumed the title of Patrician, and ruled the city and the Popes with arbitrary power.^d

But adverse as it may be safely conjectured, and rival to the lineal descendant of Crescentius, had risen the Counts of Tusculum. These counts ^{Counts of Tusculum.} were also descended from Marozia and Alberic, and closely connected, being a younger branch of the same family, with the house of Crescentius. The Counts of Tusculum had resisted Otho III. in the zenith of his power. A strong faction in Rome were jealous of the Tusculans, and reproached Otho for his blind clemency in not razing to the ground that dangerous and rebellious fortress, which was in too close neighbourhood to Rome. Possibly a temporary junction between these two great rival houses led to the perilous state of things, which induced the dying Otho to leave the impracticable, if not insurgent city. The Counts of Tusculum seemed to have attached themselves to the new Imperial House which succeeded to that of Saxony. They governed Rome by less violent means than the Crescentii, whose power they gradually supplanted; they bought the venal

^c See the genealogy in Höfler.

^d "Destructor Apostolicæ sedis."—Thietmar, A.D. 1012.

people, and appointed Popes by the most open simony. The Papacy became an appanage of their family; they had almost succeeded, had they not blindly abused their influence, in rendering it hereditary. Three Popes in succession from this powerful family became the heads of Christendom.

The first of these, Benedict VIII, did not ascend the throne without opposition. Gregory, an anti-pope, was set up by the adverse party, possibly by the patrician Crescentius. Benedict fled for protection and support into Germany to the Emperor Henry II., who had now made great progress in the reduction of Ardoin, his rival for the kingdom of Italy. The price of protection was the usual one—the gift of the imperial crown in Rome. But some peaceful revolution, brought about possibly by the terror of the Emperor, or the reconciliation of the Counts of Tusculum with John the Patrician (the Crescentius), permitted Benedict to return to Rome and resume his full pontifical rights.^e When Henry II. appeared in Rome, Benedict received him, according to ancient usage, on the steps of St. Peter's. The Patrician John showed all outward signs of homage to the Transalpine, laid splendid presents at his feet, and made more splendid promises; yet in secret he endeavoured, but in vain, to impede the coronation of the Emperor.^f Nevertheless the coronation took place.^g

* The time of Benedict's return was unknown to Muratori. In 1012 he is granting privileges to German prelates. He was at a synod with the Emperor at Ravenna, Jan. 1014. His return must then have been in 1012.

^f "Apostolica sedis destructor, munibus suis et promissionibus pha-

leratis regem palam honoravit, sed Imperatoria dignitatis fastigium eum ascendere multum timuit, omnimodisque id prohibere clam tentavit."—Thietmar, 1014.

^g The coronation the 24th or 14th of Feb. Muratori, sub ann. 14 Feb. Jaffé.

Henry displayed and exercised all the rights of sovereignty, coined money with his own superscription, and administered justice in his own name. Benedict ruled in peace. John Crescentius still held the office of Prefect of the city; Alberic, the brother of the Pope, was Consul and Senator.^h Yet even from a Crescentius, described as son of Count Benedict, the Pope wrested estates, which, when Consul, the Crescentius had seized, belonging to the famous monastery of Farfa. The spoiler was summoned before the Pope's tribunal; for Benedict wanted neither ability nor courage, at least that of a secular prince. By his activity and personal prowess a powerful armament of Saracens, which had landed in the territory of Pisa at Luna, was attacked and cut off almost to a man. The king only escaped; the queen was taken; her head-dress of gold and jewels, worth 1000 pounds, was sent as a present by the Pope to the Emperor Henry. The indignant Saracen, it is said, sent a large bag of chestnuts to the Pope, with a billet, "I will return with as many valiant Saracens to the conquest of Italy." The undaunted Pope sent him back a bag of millet. "As many brave warriors as there are grains will appear at my bidding to defend their native land."¹ The Pope more than maintained his lofty language: his legate was sent to Pisa and to Genoa, urging those cities, now rising into mercantile importance and power, not to endure the possession of an Italian

July 1014.

A.D. 1016.

Defeat of Saracens by the Pope.

^h Compare a Placitum published by Mabillon, Ann. Benedict. a. 1016.

¹ Thietmar, vii. 31. Muratori conjectures the king to have been Mugello, who had possession of Sardinia. His summons to the troops

was "ut inimicos Christi secum circumferant." The Pope claimed the queen's head-dress, the "spolia opima, aurum capitale, ejusdem (reginæ) ornamentum Papa sibi præ ceteris vindicavit."

island by the unbeliever. The united forces of these two cities expelled the Saracens from Sardinia, but they quarrelled about the spoil. The Pisan annalist claims the investiture of the island by the Pope for his city, which retained the sovereignty.^k Benedict maintained his amicable relations with the Emperor Henry II.

A.D. 1020. The Pope visited the Emperor at Bamberg; during the next year the Emperor descended

into Italy. The Pope and the Emperor had a common enemy, the Greeks of Apulia and the south of Italy. The Greeks, seconded by the Prince of Capua and some of the southern chieftains, had taken the aggressive; in possession of Capua they would have threatened Rome

A.D. 1021. herself. At this time Rodolf, a Norman, with some few followers, half adventurers driven

from their native lands, half pilgrims to the shrine of the apostles, appeared at Rome. The martial Pope enlisted them in his cause, and garrisoned with them the strong fortress on the Garigliano; the forces of the Emperor overran Apulia. His general, Poppone, Archbishop of Aquileia, besieged and took Capua; the prince was at the mercy of Henry, who hardly respected a safe-conduct given by the Archbishop of Cologne. Troja, after an obstinate siege, surrendered. Henry was prepared to wreak his revenge on the city: he was melted to tears by a saintly hermit coming forth from the gates with the children of the city in procession, chanting Kyrie Eliéson! The Emperor and the Pope visited together the monastery of Monte Casino. The Emperor was relieved from excruciating pains, which he was suffering, by the intercession of St. Benedict; he

^k Annali Pisani, p. 107.

rewarded the saint by ample donations to the monastery.^m

On the death of Benedict VIII., the Tusculan house by the same quiet but unresisted influence, undisguised bribery, elevated the brother of Benedict, a layman and prefect of the city, to the papal throne.ⁿ The Emperor Henry II. died in the course of the same year. For nine uneventful years the power which had created, maintained John XIX. in peace-
Jan. 28, 1024.
 able possession of the papal throne. Between two and three years elapsed before Conrad the Salic, the successor of Henry II., could journey to Rome to receive the Imperial crown. His coronation was the important affair of the Pontificate of John. It was attended (so great was still the reverence for Rome in the remoter parts of Europe) by two pilgrim kings, present to behold the eternal city, and to do homage to the chair, to the religion, to the successor of St. Peter. These were Rudolf III. of Burgundy, and Canute the Danish king of England. The ceremony did not pass off without tumult. A fierce fray took place between the barbarous and undisciplined Germans and the turbulent Romans; it ended in a great slaughter of the Romans. The leaders were compelled to appear before the haughty Emperor in the garb of penitents, with naked feet; the free men with their
John XIX.
 Aug. 1, 1024,
 to April 7,
 1033.
 Conrad the
 Salic.
 March 26,
 1027.

^m Radolf. Glaber. The *religious* Pope, with the *religious* Emperor, at a synod at Pavia, passed decrees strictly prohibiting the growing usage of the marriage of the clergy; no clerk might have wife or concubine; no bishop have a female in his dwelling; the sons and daughters of clerks were slaves of the Church; anatema on

him who adjudges them to be free.—Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 561.

ⁿ “Uno eodemque die et laicus et pontifex fuit.”—Romualdi. *Salern. Chron. S. Muratori*, H. It. vii. “Qui uno eodemque die prefectus fuit et Papa.” This clause had been erased, but was restored in the MS. of Bonizo.

swords unsheathed, the slaves with osier cords round their necks, as if deserving to be hanged.^o Another tumult more characteristic broke out between two Eriberts, archbishops of Ravenna and Milan. Each claimed the privilege of standing at the right hand of the Emperor. The decision, as might be expected, was against the Prelate of Ravenna, the old traditional antagonist of the Pope. Eribert of Ravenna boldly took the place; the Prelate of Milan wished to avoid an open rupture. The Emperor, by the advice of the Pope, withdrew his hand from that of the Archbishop, and summoned the Bishop of Vercelli to his right hand. But Eribert of Ravenna still persisted in his right: the followers of the two archbishops came to blows, and the Ravennese was obliged to fly. A council asserted the right of the Archbishop of Milan, but Ravenna defied the decree both of Pope and council.

The hereditary papacy in the House of Tusculum, if
 Jan. 1033. it had debased the Holy See by men of rapacity and violence, had yet maintained the peace of Rome for twenty years, and their Popes as secular princes had not been wanting in energy and vigour. Now as though their object had been to reduce it to the lowest contempt, or as if, although the older and more able branches of the family disdained or would not submit even to the outward restraints of the office, nevertheless they would not allow the dignity to depart from their house; by their irresistible gold they secured the Pontificate for a boy not more than ten or twelve years old, the nephew of his predecessors, Benedict and John.^p

^o Wippo, Vit. Conrad Salici.

^p "Puer ferme decennis, intercedente thesaurorum pecuniâ, electus extitit Romanis."—Radolfus Glaber, iv. c. 5.

Benedict IX. had all the vices of a youth born to uncontrolled power; the Papacy had to endure the evils without the counteracting advantages of hereditary monarchy. In Italy, more especially in Rome, this transmission of the grace of the priesthood, or the spiritual power of the Supreme Pontificate through the worst and most licentious of mankind, seemed to jar on no strong religious sensitiveness, to rouse no general remonstrance of indignation. No vice could interrupt the descent of power imparted, according to its own proper theory, for the extirpation of vice: so entirely had that which was outward and formal prevailed over the inward and moral conception of Christianity. Beyond the Alps, at least in the remoter parts of Western Christendom, the individual Pope was merged in his office. The revolutions in Rome disturbed not the ideal sanctity with which the religious imagination arrayed the successor of St. Peter. In some cases the writers in Germany, though ecclesiastics, seem to have been ignorant of the name of the ruling Pope. For twelve years Benedict IX., under the protection of his powerful kindred, ruled in Rome, in the words of one of his successors, Victor III., leading a life so shameful, so foul, and execrable, that he shuddered to describe it.^a He ruled like a captain of banditti, rather than a prelate. Adulteries, homicides perpetrated by his own hand, passed unnoticed, unrevenged; for the patrician of the city, Gregory, was the brother of

^a "Benedictus ille nomine, non factis, cujusdam Alberici filius (Magi potius Simonis, quam Simonis Petri vestigia sectatus) non parvâ a Patre in populum profligatâ pecuniâ, summum sibi sacerdotium vindicavit.

Cujus quidem post adeptum sacerdotium vita quam turpis, quam fæda, quam execranda extiterit, horresco referre."—Victor III., Dialog. lib. iii. apud Mabillon, Act. S. S. Benedict. sec. iv.

the Pope; another brother, Peter, an active partisan. Once, according to one doubtful authority, he had been already expelled, but replaced by the Emperor Conrad the Salic.^r The oppressed people at length grew weary of his robberies, murders, and abominations. They rose and drove him from the city, and proceeded to the election of John Bishop of Sabina, who took the name of Silvester III. But they had sold themselves to the Tusculan tyranny, and were not permitted to shake it off; the Consuls were partisans, doubtless kindred of the Pope; Benedict returned in triumph; the anti-Pope retired in disgrace and excommunicated to his bishopric. Benedict himself grew weary of his office, or despaired of maintaining it, or perhaps put it up to auction with no intent of fulfilling the contract. According to another by no means inconceivable story,^s he was deeply enamoured of his cousin, the daughter of Gerard de Saxo (of the rock), master perhaps of some strong hill fortress. The father refused his daughter, unless the Pope would surrender the papacy. He actually sold the papacy to an arch-Presbyter, named John,^t of the same house, who assumed the name of Gregory VI. John, the arch-Presbyter, was a man of learning for his day, of unimpeachable chastity, now become in Rome so rare as to be called an angelic virtue. By his own admission he had heaped up enormous wealth, which he intended to dedicate to pious uses. Among these pious uses (according to this Didius Julianus of the Papacy) was his own advancement. Not only did he pay a large sum to

^r Radolfus Glaber, sub ann. 1038.

^s Bonizo, ad Ann.

^t "Joanni Archipresbytero non parvâ ab eo acceptâ pecuniâ, summum

sacerdotium tradidit." — Victor III., Dialog. lib. iii. "Ejusdem pontificatus per cartulam refutavit Johanni suo patrino."

Benedict himself, he confessed the purchase of the suffrages of the people: it was a pious use to restore the right of election to its lawful owners. Such acts ascribed to Gregory VI. throw some light on these times of darkness and confusion. It is natural to inquire into the sources of this enormous wealth by which the Counts of Tusculum had so long retained the Roman people in their pay. It is probable that the papacy was enslaved by its own wealth: that this powerful house had obtained by forcible or fraudulent alienation large parts of the estates of the Church. Gregory had bought the papacy; but it was not a barren and impoverished see which he coveted.^a He devoted himself immediately to the recovery of the ecclesiastical possessions at the point of the sword; and to the suppression of another great source of revenue to the turbulent barons of Rome and the neighbourhood, the plunder of the pilgrims to Rome. These pilgrims, who still flocked on with unwearied zeal to the Holy City, arrived, instead of opulent and munificent votaries at the sacred shrines, miserable and plundered beggars. So entirely was Pope Gregory occupied in these achievements, that the Roman people gave him a colleague to officiate, when he was engaged in war, within the Church.^x

^a It is strange enough to find Peter Damiani (he was but young) rejoicing in the accession of Gregory VI. as the future extirpator of simony. "Lætentur cæli . . . conteratur jam milleforme caput venenati serpentis; cesset commercium perversæ negotiationis: nullam jam monetam falsarius Simon in ecclesia fabricet."—Epist. i. 1. Compare Epist. ii.

^x According to William of Malmesbury, on Roman affairs no high autho-

riety, these sanguinary occupations of the Pope disqualified him in the eyes of the Romans for his holy office. The Romans would have been the last to take offence at such exploits in a Pope. But a strong anti-Tusculan party may have felt so much interest in the recovery of the estates of the Church from those lawless barons, and in the security of the roads, by which the pilgrims might reach Rome with their wealth, that they may

There were now three Popes, by themselves or by their factions engaged in deadly feud. They had laid aside, or had taught each other to despise, their spiritual arms; they encountered with the carnal weapons of ordinary warfare. For Benedict had not obtained his bride; Gerard de Saxo had joined the faction of Silvester III. Benedict's brother would not brook the obscuration of the house of Tusculum: they brought back, not unreluctant, the abdicated Pope and reinstated him on his throne. Benedict held the Lateran, Gregory Santa Maria Maggiore, Silvester St. Peter's and the Vatican.

Christendom could not longer be ignorant of, or endure this state of things. Peter the Archdeacon of Rome, commissioned by the vows and prayers of a great number of the clergy, the monks, and more devout people, crossed the Alps, and threw himself at the feet of the Emperor, imploring his succour. The Emperor Henry III. was called upon by his title to the Empire, by his own grave and religious character, by the open or the tacit summons of the pious throughout Europe, and even of those who respected the Church: he was implored, in popular verse, to dissolve this odious Trigamy of the Church,¹ and to interpose his irresistible authority. He crossed the Alps, and was received either with loud acclamations or with silent awe. At Piacenza, Gregory, supposing his own claims to the papacy irrefragable, ventured to meet him.² Henry gave no answer, but advanced to Sutri, about thirty

have acquiesced in the Pope's discharge of his sacred functions by a deputy.—William of Malmes. lib. ii.

¹ "Una Sunamitis nupset tribus maritis,
Rex Henrice, Omnipotentis vice,
Solve connubium triforme dubium."

² Some writers, summed up by Luden (*Geschichte der Deutschen*, vol. viii. p. 191), suppose a secret understanding between the Emperor and Pope Gregory.

miles north of Rome. There he assembled a Council of many prelates: among them were the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Bishop of Augsburg, and the Archbishop of Arles. In this Council he proceeded to examine the claims of the conflicting Popes. Silvester was condemned at once as an usurper, and delivered up, degraded from his holy orders, to be imprisoned for life in a monastery. The voluntary abdication of Benedict annulled his claim.^a Gregory fondly thought that there was now no obstacle to his universal recognition. But he was called upon to give an account of his own election. He could not deny, he could not attempt to extenuate, the flagrant simony of those proceedings by which he had bought the papacy. He admitted his guilt, his disqualification, stripped off the pontifical robes, and intreating forgiveness, quietly surrendered up the papacy.^b He retired, not without compulsion, into a monastery in Germany; his involuntary companion in his exile was no less than the famous Hildebrand.^c

A.D. 1046.
Dec. 20.

Degradation
of Benedict
IX. and
Gregory VI.

^a "Maximè cum ipse, Romanus Pontifex, se judicaverit deponendum."

^b "Ego Gregorius Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, propter turpissimam venalitatem simoniacæ heræseos, quæ

antiqui hostis versutiâ meæ electioni irrepsit, a Romano episcopatu judico me submovendum."—Bonizo. Victor in Dialog. lib. iii

^c Muratori, sub ann. 1046.

BOOK VI.

CONTEMPORARY CHRONOLOGY.

POPES.		EMPERORS OF THE EAST.		PATRIARCHS OF CONSTANTINOPLE.		GERMAN EMPERORS.		KINGS OF FRANCE.	
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
1046	Clement II.	1047							
1048	Damasus II.								
1048	Leo IX.	1054	Constantine Monomachus	1054					
1054	Victor II.	1057	1054 Theodora II.	1056		Henry III.	1056		
1057	Stephen IX.	1056	1056 Michael VI.	1057					
1058	Benedict X.	1059	1057 Isaac Comnenus	1059		1056 Henry IV.			
1059	Nicolas II.	1061	1059 Constantine Ducas	1068	1059 Constantine III.			Henry I.	1061
1061	Alexander II.	1078	1068 Romanus Diogenes	1071	1068 John Xiphilin	1075		1061 Philip I.	
1078	Gregory VII.		1071 Michael VII.						

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER I.

The German Popes.

THE evil of the degraded papacy lay deeper: it was absolutely necessary to rescue it entirely and for ever from the Counts of Tusculum and the Barons of Rome. The only remedy was the appointment of a stranger. Murmurs were heard that no one could canonically be elected Pope, who had not been ordained Deacon and Priest in the Church of Rome. The insulting language of the Germans was, that in the whole Church there was scarcely one who was not disqualified either as illiterate, or as tainted with simony, or as living in notorious concubinage.*

Suidger, the Bishop of Bamberg, was consecrated Pope at Sutri; the first Pope consecrated out of Rome.^b On the arrival of the Emperor at Clement II. Rome, the usual appeal was made to the Roman people whether they knew one worthier to be Pope. The German soldiers stood around; the people preserved an

* "Neminem ad Romanum debere ascendere pontificatum, qui non in eâdem ecclesiâ presbyter et diaconus." —Bonizo, apud Œfelium. "Ut in tantâ ecclesiâ vix unus reperiri potuit, quin vel illiteratus, vel simoniacus, vel esset concubinatus." Bonizo is a bad historian for the past, but an unexceptionable evidence of the violence of the Italian feelings against a German pope. Compare Leo Ostiens. and Victor III.

^b So at least says Bonizo. Compare Herman. Contract. A.D. 1096.

obsequious silence. The Bishop of Bamberg was led by Henry himself to the papal throne: the people seemed to assent by their acclamations.^c Suidger took the name of Clement II., the first, it might be hoped, of a new line of apostolic pontiffs, called after the immediate successor of St. Peter. Henry and his Empress Agnes, received the imperial crown from the hands of the new Pope. The coronation was celebrated with unusual pomp and solemnity. The Pope exacted from the religious Emperor, not merely the most full confession of faith, and the oath of fidelity and of protection to the Roman see, but of chastity, justice, humility, and charity. The Pope enforced on the Emperor, the Emperor with the most profound submission pledged himself in the face of heaven to observe these Christian virtues.^d

The first act of reformation, which the religious part of Christendom expected from the promotion of this blameless and holy stranger to the Roman see, was the summoning a Council at Rome to brand the all-prevailing vice of the times. Simony was condemned in the strongest general terms and in all its various forms; but even this Council was obliged to mitigate its censure. The severer bishops proposed the absolute degradation of any one of their order who had been guilty of this sacrilegious sin; they were reduced to the melancholy confession, that the Church would be nearly deprived of all its pastors, since

^c If Benzo of Albi is to be believed Henry told them to elect any one present. The Romans replied, that in the presence of the Emperor the election was not according to their will: "Ubi adest præsentia regis, non est electionis consensus in arbitrio

nostræ voluntatis." — Benzo, apud Menckenium, i. 393.

^d Cenni Monumenta, ii. 261, contains the ordo for the coronation of Henry and Agnes. Höfler devotes many pages to the ceremony, i. 236-250.

the ordination by a simoniacal bishop annulled the orders.^e Whoever was knowingly ordained by a simoniacal bishop, was bound not to exercise his functions till after forty days' penance. But Clement sat alone in his unworldly holiness; the Council, assembled to reform the Church, was interrupted, if not broken up, by a fierce dispute for precedence between the Archbishops of Ravenna, of Milan, and of Aquileia. The decision in favour of the German Archbishop of Ravenna, unpopular doubtless with the Italians, was confirmed by threats of excommunication against the other contumacious prelates, if they should renew the strife.^f Rome herself might seem impatient of foreign rulers. The fatal climate asserted her injured supremacy. Clement II. died before the close of the year.^g

A.D. 1047.
Oct. 9.

A bold attempt was made to reassert the claims of Benedict IX. He appeared in Rome under the protection of the Marquis of Tuscany, and held the pontificate for nine months. But he fled again on the first appearance of the new Pope environed by German soldiers: he had been abandoned by the Tuscan Marquis.^h For the obsequious clergy and people had in the meantime sent to Ger-

Benedict IX.
in Rome.
Nov. 8, 1047.

July 16,
1048.

* So universal was this crime, that the Abbot Guido, when Boniface of Tuscany, the father of Matilda, one of the most pious churchmen of the day, went to make his annual confession at the monastery of Pomposa, thought it right to scourge this vice out of the penitent —

“ Sic de re Guido sacer abbas arguit, immo Hunc Bonifacium, ne venderet amplius, ipsum Ante Dei Matris altare flagellat amaris Verberibus nudum, qui deliciis fuit usus.

Pomposa vovit tunc abbatique Guidoni, Ecclesiam nullam quod per se venderet unquam.”—*Donizo*, i. 14.

^f Labb. Concil. sub ann.

^g I quote once for all the famous lines of Peter Damiani, applicable on so many German invasions of Rome:—
“ Roma vorax hominum, domat ardua colla virorum,
Roma ferax febrium, necis est uberrima frugum,
Romanæ febres stabili sunt jure fideles.”

^h Vit. apud Murat. *Annal. Roman.* p. 469.

many to submit themselves to the nomination of the Emperor.¹ Halinard, Archbishop of Lyons, declined the perilous advancement; the choice fell on Poppo, Bishop of Brixen. He had hardly time to reach Rome, and to take the name of Damasus II., when he too fell a victim to the summer fever. This pontificate lasted but twenty-three days.^k

This rapid succession could not but give rise to reports of foul means, employed by the unscrupulous Italians to get rid of these strangers, no less dreaded for their austerity, than hated for their usurpation of the Roman rights. But Italy was overawed by the commanding character and unshaken authority of the Emperor Henry III. No secular power dared to offer resistance, there was no Cisalpine prelate, whose lofty piety and courageous sacerdotal dignity could venture, or warrant opposition. Rome and Italy again looked submissively to the Transalpine monarch for a successor to these two short-lived pontiffs.

Yet this absolute nomination to the papacy by the uncontrolled authority of the Emperor could not but alarm the jealous hierarchical spirit throughout Europe, as well as in Italy. The flagrant venality and vices of the Roman clergy might justify, for once or for a time, the intervention of the supreme secular power. The declared aversion of Henry to the dominant evil of

¹ It is said that Benedict IX., persuaded by the Abbot of Grotta Ferrata, retired into that monastery, repented of his sins, and died an exemplary monk. But S. Peter Damiani, on the authority of the Bishop of Capri, raises his ghost, to compel his successor to devote some of his ill-gotten wealth to the poor.—Opuscul. xiv. 3.

^k Boniface, Marquis of Tuscany, received orders from the Emperor to conduct this bishop "full of Pride" to Rome, where in twenty days he died, body and soul.—Bonizo, p. 803. Was this merely the Italian hatred to a German pope, or some personal hostility of Bonizo? Either way it is characteristic.

simony, the lofty language which he used concerning the reformation of the Church, his own profoundly religious life, might tempt the most zealous churchmen to acquiesce in a despotism, commended by such results, and exercised so much for the honour and for the welfare of Christendom. But the clergy, ever as intuitively and sagaciously jealous to detect the secret encroachment of any principle dangerous to their power, as skilful in establishing any one favourable to their interest, were not off their guard. There was one, whose searching eyesight was watching, who was warning, and taking measures to awaken that dread of secular interference, which came even countenanced by such manifest and uncontested advantages. Hildebrand, in his exile in Germany, was steadily surveying the course of affairs.

The imperial choice fell upon a prelate, in whom, although of noble descent, and nearly allied to the Emperor,^m the churchman predominated Leo IX. over the subject of the empire. Though with such claims to the highest advancement, supported as it now too rarely was, with the fame of transcendent piety avouched by vision, wonder, and spiritual communion with the other world, Bruno had contented himself with the poor and humble bishopric of Toul.ⁿ There he was distinguished by his unimpeachable holiness, his gentleness to those below him (he constantly washed the feet of the poor), but no less by his inflexible assertion of all the rights and possessions of his see and the

^m The Emperor Conrad's mother and the father of Bruno were cousins german. Conrad spoke of his "consanguineum et . . . affectum avitæ propinquitatis."—Wibert, Vit. Leon. IX. i. 18.

ⁿ The early life of Bruno is related by his affectionate and admiring follower, Archdeacon Wibert, with its full portion of legendary marvel.—Apud Muratori, Script. Ital. iii.

Henry displayed and exercised all the rights of sovereignty, coined money with his own superscription, and administered justice in his own name. Benedict ruled in peace. John Crescentius still held the office of Prefect of the city; Alberic, the brother of the Pope, was Consul and Senator.^h Yet even from a Crescentius, described as son of Count Benedict, the Pope wrested estates, which, when Consul, the Crescentius had seized, belonging to the famous monastery of Farfa. The spoiler was summoned before the Pope's tribunal; for Benedict wanted neither ability nor courage, at least that of a secular prince. By his activity and personal prowess a powerful armament of Saracens, which had landed in the territory of Pisa at Luna, was attacked and cut off almost to a man. The king only escaped; the queen was taken; her head-dress of gold and jewels, worth 1000 pounds, was sent as a present by the Pope to the Emperor Henry. The indignant Saracen, it is said, sent a large bag of chestnuts to the Pope, with a billet, "I will return with as many valiant Saracens to the conquest of Italy." The undaunted Pope sent him back a bag of millet. "As many brave warriors as there are grains will appear at my bidding to defend their native land."ⁱ The Pope more than maintained his lofty language: his legate was sent to Pisa and to Genoa, urging those cities, now rising into mercantile importance and power, not to endure the possession of an Italian

July 1014.

A.D. 1016.

Defeat of Saracens by the Pope.

^h Compare a Placitum published by Mabillon, Ann. Benedict. urbann. 1016.

ⁱ Thietmar, vii. 31. Muratori conjectures the king to have been Mugello, who had possession of Sardinia. His summons to the troops

was "ut inimicos Christi *secum circumferant*." The Pope claimed the queen's head-dress, the "*spolia opima, aurum capitale, ejusdem (reginæ) ornamentum Papa sibi præ ceteris vindicavit*."

nothing could have been more politic than this flattery to the pride of the Roman clergy and people. Whether he did not assume, or threw off by the advice of Hildebrand, the mitre and the purple robe, the Bishop of Toul did not travel to Rome as a pontiff, but as a pilgrim. His humble attire and demeanour attracted far more notice than the familiar pomp of a prelate. Multitudes crowded around him; it was rumoured that celestial music was heard, and that wonders attended upon his journey. The Teverone suddenly withdrew its overflowing waters to let him pass. He was met, as he drew near, barefooted, to Rome by the clergy and the people; but even then he would not ascend the papal throne without a solemn appeal to the semblance at least of an election, a recognition of his authority by what appeared to be free suffrages.⁹

Nothing could contrast more strongly than the whole demeanour of Leo IX., such was the name he assumed, with the Italian popes, who had recently held the holy office. His first object was the restoration of the dilapidated church of St. Peter, and visits to the celebrated places of pilgrimage, Mount Garganus, and the monastery of St. Benedict, at Monte Casino. He had unexampled difficulties to struggle with. The wealthy See of Rome was reduced to the lowest state of poverty. The clergy had alienated the benefices to their own children, the barons had seized the estates; Pope John had plundered the churches; no pilgrims dared to approach with costly offerings. The money which Bruno

pare a long note of Theiner, Die Einführung der erzwungenen Ehelosigkeit, v. ii. p. 6.

⁹ One account, intended for panegyric, would convict him of downright

hypocrisy. He declared that he merely came to Rome as a pilgrim, to visit the tombs of the apostles.—*LEO IX.* Vit. a Nic. Arragon.

nad brought from home was soon exhausted. His German followers showed a disposition to desert their poor master, of whose wealth as Pope they had doubtless entertained magnificent notions: a timely offering by some wealthy votaries from Benevento, who had heard of the Pope's virtues, relieved his immediate necessities. Public confidence was restored, the Pope went on performing all the great and imposing acts of his Office, the consecration of wealthy abbots, the confirmation of privileges to remote monasteries; and, doubtless, the grateful oblations began again to flow into the papal treasury. Of his measures to resume the usurped possessions of the church the records are silent. But the great object of his saintly care and ambition was the reformation of the corrupted church. He devoted himself to wage implacable war with the two dominant evils of his time, as they were esteemed by all zealous churchmen, simony and concubinage. A council met at Rome: again the severer prelates proposed by one sweeping interdict to annul the orders, and to degrade every clerical person who was any way implicated in simony, who had made any gift, payment, or contract to obtain a bishopric, or other office in the church.⁷ But again it was found that the times would not endure these summary remedies. It would have deprived almost the whole of the clergy; and as, by annulling their orders, it rendered all their acts invalid, every sacrament, ordination, consecration; it absolutely interrupted, or rendered doubtful the whole spiritual succession of the order.⁸ The Pope, either from the gentle-

⁷ On the notoriety of the simoniac proceedings at Rome:—

"*Heu sedes Apostolica
Orbis olim gloria,*

*Nunc, pro dolor! efficeris
Officina Simonis."*

Damian, lib. iv. Epist. ix. p. 109.

⁸ "Ita ut non solum ab ipsis, sed

ness of his disposition, or from the necessity of the times, was obliged to adopt more lenient measures, to accept certain penances from the delinquents, and on confession, humiliation, and absolution, to restore the offender to his function or dignity.

The general concubinage, or rather marriage of the clergy, no less embarrassed the austere reformers.* It was determined that the clergy of Rome should no longer live scattered about in private houses, but in colleges or separate dwellings, and so be submitted to rigid superintendence and discipline. Women convicted of unlawful intercourse with the clergy were to lose their freedom and become slaves attached to the Lateran palace.[†] But these were not the worst vices of the clergy. The stern ascetic Peter Damiani, who now comes forward the absolute unswerving model of monkhood, presented a book to the Pope, the title of which expressed in the coarsest form the unnatural vices widely prevalent among the monks as well as the secular clergy, a book which would shock a more sensitive age, but was received by the Pope as an honest and bold exposition of the morals of the times.[‡]

a plerisque diceretur episcopis, omnes pene basilicas sacerdotalibus officiis destitutas, et præcipue missarum solemnias ad subversionem Christianæ religionis, et desperationem omnium circumquaque fidelium funditus omittenda."—Damiani, Liber Gratissimus, c. 35.

* "Perrarus inveniretur qui non esset uxoratus vel concubinatus. De simoniâ quid dicam? omnes pene ecclesiasticos ordines hæc mortifera bellua devoraverat, ut qui ejus mortuum evaserat, rarus inveniretur."—*It. S. Joann. Gualberti*. "Non erubes-

cebant sacerdotes uxores ducere, palam nuptias faciebant, nefanda matrimonia contrahebant et legibus eas dotabant, cum quibus secundum leges nec in unâ domo simul habitare debebant."—Bruno Sign. ap. Murator. pp. 346, 347.

† "Et quæcunque damnabiles feminae intra Romana mœnia reperirentur Presbyteris prostitutæ, deinceps Lateranensi palatio adjudicarentur ancillæ." This may have been somewhat later in 1051.—Petri Damiani Epist. ad Cuni- bert. Taurin. Episc.

‡ The title of one chapter is enough to show the nature of this odious book,

Damiani's blind monastic fury perceived not that the argument of his repulsive book was against himself. His remedy, the prohibition of marriage, was not likely to correct this frightful state of things. The Bishops at a synod in Rome acquiesced in the prohibition of marriage, but took no steps to enforce it. Of the worse evil, perhaps wisely, they were silent.^y The German Pope might appear to turn his back in horror and disgust from the scenes of such vices. He would seek elsewhere for devout and rigid minds, which might console him by their holy sympathy; and some were yet to be found in every part of Europe, either on the episcopal throne, or in the rigorous cloister.

The saintly ambition therefore of Leo did not confine his views for the reformation of the Church to the city of Rome or to Italy. He aspired to comprehend the whole of Latin Christendom under his personal superintendence. Though now hardly seated firmly in his throne at Rome, he resolved to undertake, as it were, a religious visitation of Western Europe, to show himself in each of the three great kingdoms as the Supreme Pontiff, as the equal or superior of all secular princes; and that in all the genuine characteristics of power, the protection of the oppressed, the redress of grievances, the correction of abuses, the punishment even of the haughtiest and most powerful

the Gomorrhianus of Peter Damiani—
‘De diversitate peccantium contra naturam.’ No detail is spared. Compare Leonis Epist. prefixed to Damiani's book. The wiser Alexander II. stole the book and shut it up. Of this Damiani complains bitterly.—Epist. ii. 6.

. . . ut sacerdotes et Levitæ et subdiaconi cum uxoribus non coeant; quæ res magnum veternosum serpentem concitavit in iram. Quod audientes episcopi primo quidem veritati non valentes resistere tacuere; postea vero, suadente humani generis inimico, inobedienter celavere.”—Bonizo, p. 803.

^y “Sub anathemate interdictum est,

offenders against the statutes of the church, the suppression of simony, the restoration of monastic discipline. Some of Leo's predecessors had indeed crossed the Alps, either to obtain by personal supplication the assistance of the Transalpine sovereigns against their enemies; or to take part in the secular or ecclesiastical affairs of those kingdoms. Latterly the Popes had dwelt in their remote seclusion at Rome, and that seclusion alone had permitted the reverential imagination of the world still to invest them in some lingering sanctity. Yet rumours and the reports of the pilgrims could not but disseminate through Europe, even to its remotest parts, the degraded character of the Italian Popes; the rapacity, the licentiousness, the venality had become more and more notorious. How some Popes had lived, how they had died, could not be altogether disguised. This had been proclaimed in full synods of Transalpine prelates, as at Rheims. The difficulty of reconciling the loftiest spiritual offices, the holiest functions, with the most unholy life, could not but force itself upon the religious mind of Christendom.

Leo came forth to Europe, not only with the power and dignity, but with the austere holiness, the indefatigable religious activity, the majestic virtue which became the head of Christendom. His personal character and habits would bear the closest and most jealous inspection; he was not merely blameless in morals, but exemplary in the depth and intensity of his devotion. Wherever he went he visited the most severe of the clergy or of the monastic orders, men already sainted by the popular devotion; like St. Gualberto of Vallombrosa,² and the successor of

Leo's visitation beyond the Alps.

² See the Lives of S. Gualberto.

the holy Odilo at Clugny. All recognised a kindred spirit, and hailed the genuine Pontiff. He passed by Florence; he held a council at Pavia; he crossed the Alps to Germany. Throughout Germany his time was occupied, till he reached Cologne, in consecrating churches, and bestowing privileges on monasteries. On his arrival at Cologne he was received by the Archbishop Herman, the Chancellor of the Empire, with the greatest state. Herman was a prelate of a kindred spirit, pious, and disposed to hierarchical magnificence; both himself and the Pope knowing, no doubt, the influence of the splendid ecclesiastical ceremonial on the popular mind. The Pope created a new and high office for the Archbishop of Cologne, the arch-chancellorship of the Apostolic See. The archbishop became a kind of northern Pope; seven cardinal priests were appointed daily to read mass, sandalled, at the altar of St. Peter in the cathedral. At Cologne appeared the pious Emperor, Henry III., in military array; he was engaged in war with Godfrey, Duke of Upper Lorraine, and a powerful confederacy, comprehending Baldwin of Flanders, and Herman of Mons, and Theodoric of Holland, secretly supported by Henry I., King of France. Godfrey had been already under the ban of the Empire for expelling his brother from his inheritance, the dukedom of Lower Lorraine. He had been defeated and pardoned. But when, on the death of his brother, the Emperor granted away the dukedom of Lower Lorraine to Frederick of Luxemburg, he again rushed to arms. With his lawless allies, he had destroyed the imperial palace at Nimeguen, and burned Verdun. But their predatory bands had suffered a defeat by the forces of the Bishops of Liège, Metz, and Utrecht.

A.D. 1049.
March 14.

June 29.

Leo scrupled not to smite with his spiritual arms the enemy, the rebel against the Empire, who was accused of burning churches in his marauding warfare. He excommunicated Godfrey of Lorraine; and that turbulent prince, who had defied the authority and the power of the Emperor, bowed in awe beneath the spiritual censure. He came to Aix-la-Chapelle, where the Pope advanced to receive him; he came as a humble suppliant. The Pope with difficulty extorted his pardon, but not the restitution of his dukedom, from the resentful Emperor. But Godfrey was broken in spirit by the appalling presence of the Pope; he went to Verdun, and submitted to the most humiliating penance: he was publicly scourged before the altar, in order to obtain re-admission into the church. He was condemned to rebuild the cathedral which he had burned; and the fierce marauder was seen labouring like a common workman in the repairs of the ruined church.

July 27.

Nor was the religion of Leo IX. too lofty or spiritual for his age; he was deeply involved in its superstitions. The ecclesiastical Hercules, who travelled about beating down the hydra heads of clerical avarice and licentiousness, is surrounded, like him of old, with an atmosphere of mystic legend. Leo was the most sure discoverer of reliques, wherever it was desirable that reliques should be found; wherever he prayed for them, the bodies of saints came to light. His life was a life of visions; miracles broke out on all great, sometimes on more insignificant occasions.^a

^a The most remarkable miracle, of later date, was this. A precious cup, presented to him by the Archbishop of Cologne, fell on the ground and was broken to pieces. At the word of Leo the pieces came together, the cup was again whole, and the fracture was only marked by a thin thread (capillo). But the most extraordinary part was, that all the while not a drop of the

Germany had received with submission, not unmingled with pride, the holy German Pope. The German clergy, on the whole, stood higher than that of any other part of Latin Christendom. The religious character of the reigning Emperor, Henry III., had maintained at least superior decency of manners; he had discouraged simony, and advanced the more religious of the clergy. But when the austere Pope proposed to pass into France, to visit Rheims, the king and the clergy heard with equal dismay of the unwelcome design. In France, with the exception of some exemplary prelates, the hierarchy were more feudal in their tenures and in their habits: the benefices had fallen into the hands of warlike nobles, more secular than ecclesiastic in their lives; they were obtained by more questionable means, devoted far less exclusively to religious purposes. The king, no doubt, at the suggestion of his clergy, excused himself from this unwonted visitation, on the plea that his bishops and abbots, with the rest of his feudal array, had been summoned to attend his banner against the hostile Normans.

The courteous pertinacity of the Pope would not admit the excuse. As Bishop of Toul he had pledged himself to be present at the consecration of the new and splendid church at Rheims, and the removal of the remains of the holy St. Remi; as Pope he was bound to fulfil his pious engagement. St. Remi was the popular saint of France, equal to St. Martin of Tours, superior to that host of saints which had been canonised by the early zeal of the Franks during the reigns of the Mero-

liquor was spilled. The authority for this was Hugo, Archbishop of Besançon, an eye-witness, who piously stole the cup from the Pope "devoto furto." Wibert, ii. 6. It is related in a Papal diploma, and was avouched by Gregory VII.

vingians. St. Remi had baptised Clovis, and so had expelled Arianism from the kingdom of France. Nothing could deepen so much the reverence for the Pope throughout that part of France as his devout respect for St. Remi. The abbot Heriward had been summoned on his allegiance to attend the royal array: the king was obliged to dismiss him, when advanced some days' march, to attend on his sacred functions.

The Pope came to Rheims: nothing could surpass the pomp of the ceremonial for the consecration of the church. It was the day of St. Remi, the day on which, in ordinary years, pilgrims crowded from all quarters of the world to the shrine of the tutelary saint of France. It was a time singularly well chosen for the papal visit. Such vast multitudes thronged from all sides (at the council there were representatives of England, no doubt many English among the zealous votaries) that the Pope was obliged to address them from the roof of a house. The church was with the utmost difficulty cleared for the performance of the ceremony; the pious spectators trampled each other under foot. The Pope himself supported for a time the chest or coffin which contained the inestimable bones of St. Remi, during the long procession which awed, delighted, prostrated in reverence and elevated in pride as the possessors of such wonder-working reliques, the countless worshippers.

Oct. 2.

The consecration of the church was the preliminary to a council summoned to meet at Rheims.

The council was not imposing for its numbers; it reckoned but twenty bishops, including the strangers, and about fifty abbots; the rest were engaged in following the royal wars. A strife for precedence arose between the Metropolitans of Treves and of Rheims.

Oct. 3.

Treves had but recently received the title of Primate from Leo himself; Rheims asserted his immemorial primacy over the Church of Gaul. The prudent Leo refused to decide the question. The four Archbishops of Treves, Rheims, Lyons, and Besançon sat in a circle around the Pope.^b The Cardinal-Deacon opened the conclave, declaring the subjects which demanded the grave consideration of the assembled fathers: simony, the unlawful possession of clerical benefices by the laity, marriages within the prohibited degrees, desecration of churches, irregular divorces and second marriages, the abandonment of their vows by monks, the military services of the clergy, the plunder and imprisonment of the poor, unnatural crimes, and certain heresies which had arisen in France. Every prelate present was summoned, under pain of the papal anathema, if he was conscious of any guilt of simony, openly to confess his sin. The Archbishop of Treves arose and made his protestation in the most solemn terms. He was followed by Halinard, the venerable Archbishop of Lyons, who had declined the papacy; and by the Archbishop of Besançon. All eyes were turned on Guido of Rheims, who sat in suspicious silence. Guido arose, and demanded a delay until the next morning, that he might have some private communication with the Pope. His request was granted. The turn of the Bishops came. All declared their innocence except Pudicus of Nantes, Hugo of Langres, Godfrey of Coutances, Hugo of Nevers. The examination of their offences was adjourned to the next sitting. The Abbots were not so scrupulous or not so exempt from

^b There were present three English dignitaries: Dudic, Bishop of Bath, the Abbot of St. Augustine in Canterbury, and the Abbot Alvisius.

guilt. Heriward of Rheims declared his own innocence. Even Hugh of Clugny, though he called God to witness that he had no concern in any simoniacal contract, acknowledged that there were suspicious rumours abroad concerning him. Of the rest, some who could not excuse themselves, endeavoured to palliate or conceal their crimes. One, Arnold of Poitiers, accused of grave offences, was deposed. The Cardinal-Deacon, then under the menace of the same apostolic anathema, demanded whether there was present any man who held any one besides the Pope to be the head of the Catholic Church. There was a profound silence: the traditional passages of the canons were then read, on which was grounded the right of the Pontiff of Rome to the primacy of the Church.^e It was then proclaimed that the Pope forbade any one, under pain of anathema, to leave Rheims, without his permission, before the close of the council.

The following morning Guido of Rheims, before the opening of the synod, had his private conference with the Pope. Notwithstanding this, he was summoned again by the Cardinal-Deacon to answer on the question of simony, and other grave offences, of which he was publicly accused. Guido answered not; he demanded a consultation with his friends, he retired with the Archbishop of Besançon, the bishops of Angers, Soissons, Nevers, Senlis, Morin (Boulogne). On his return he demanded that the Bishop of Senlis should be heard in his name. The Bishop of Senlis came forward and declared that the Archbishop of Rheims was not guilty of simony. The Pope demanded that he should take the

^e Was this, as it were, to exorcise Rheims from the evil doctrines proclaimed at the former council under the influence of Gerbert?

oath: so had his holy predecessor Gregory the Great required of Maximus of Salona. Guido struggled in the toils, again he requested delay: the Pope, content with his humiliation, granted it on condition that in the next spring he should appear to answer before a council at Rome. The other charges were allowed to fall from want of proof. But the bishops escaped not so easily. Hugo of Langres was arraigned not only for simony, but for murder, whoredom, and unnatural crimes. Witnesses were at hand to prove these monstrous wickednesses. The bishop confessed the simony, but repelled the other accusations; the examination of these charges therefore was postponed till the next sitting of the council. Before that sitting Hugo of Langres had fled; he was solemnly cited; he was sought for in his lodgings in due legal form by the Bishops of Senlis and Angers; he was deposed and anathematised as guilty of contumacy. Hugo of Nevers acknowledged that his father had given a large sum of money to purchase his bishopric. Since that time he could condemn himself for no offence, yet he dreaded God's wrath, and was prepared to lay down, he did actually lay down, his pastoral staff at the feet of the Pope. The Pope was content with his oath, that at the time he knew nothing of the simony, and restored his staff. Godfrey of Coutances confessed that his brother had, without his knowledge, bought him his bishopric. As soon as he knew the fact, he had endeavoured to fly; the people had brought him back by force. The council on his oath pronounced him innocent. Bishop Pudicus of Nantes confessed that his father, who had been Bishop of Nantes before him, had secured him the succession by bribery; he admitted that by the same ungodly means he had obtained the ordination after his father's death. He was deposed,

but in mercy allowed to retain the order of a priest. The council proceeded to condemn the bishops who had dared to disobey the papal summons to the council. The anathema fell on the Archbishop of Sens, the Bishops of Amiens and Beauvais; the Bishop of Laon, the adviser of the King of France to impede the council, and the Abbot of St. Medard, who had left the council without the permission of the Pope. Their sees were declared void (the Archbishop had been forced upon his diocese by the King; the Bishop of Amiens was a great hunter); the clergy and people proceeded to new elections. Among the other statutes of this council, chiefly the re-enactment of former canons, one condemned a Spanish prelate, the Archbishop of St. James of Compostella, who had dared to assume the title of an Apostolic bishop; and aspired, as Gerbert of Rheims to be a Gallican Pope, to be the Pope of Spain.

The Norman historian sums up the acts of the Council of Rheims. Priests were forbidden to bear arms, or to **have** wives. The bearing arms they gave up without reluctance; but even now they will not their harlots (such is the name with which their wives were branded), nor submit to chastity.^d

To the Gallican council at Rheims succeeded a German council, attended by forty prelates at Mentz, among these three great Metropolitans, Bardo of Mentz, Eberhard of Treves, Herman of Cologne, with Engelhard

^d "Tunc ibidem generale concilium tenuit, et inter reliqua ecclesiæ commoda, quæ instituit, presbyteris arma ferre et conjuges habere prohibuit. Unde consuetudo lethalis paulatim exinaniri cœpit—arma quidem ferræ presbyteri jam gratanter desiêre, sed a pellicibus adhuc nolunt abstinere, nec pudicitia inservire."—Orderic. Vital. Compare Vit. Hildeberti, in Act. SS. April 29; Alberic Destrois fontaines, Leibnitz, p. 89.

of Magdeburg, Adalbert of Hamburg and Bremen.* The Council of Mentz confirmed the acts of the Council of Rheims. The same strong resolutions passed against simony and concubinage. Sibico, Bishop of Spire, was forced to take the sacrament in proof of his guiltlessness of simony. According to the biographer of Leo, Sibico's cheek was struck with palsy, and he bore for life the brand of his perjury.^f A contest for the archbishopric of Besançon was decided in favour of the Metropolitan Hugo, who had rendered such true allegiance to the Pope at Rheims. During his return to Italy, Leo either visited in person, or confirmed by statute, the privileges of many famous monasteries—Fulda, Lorsch, Moyon-Moutier, Altorf, Hirschau, Reichenau, Donauwerth.^g He passed Christmas in Verona. Leo IX. returned to Rome. In this single spiritual campaign, by the calm dignity of his holiness, by his appeal to the strong religious reverence of Christendom, he had restored the papacy to all its former authority over the minds of men. He had justly elevated the pride of Germany in having bestowed such a Pope upon the world, crushed the tendencies at least to rebellion in the churches of France and Spain, and brought them again into acknowledged subordination to the See of

* Adam. Bremens. Hist. Eccl. ap. Lindenbrog. Mansi et Hartzheim, sub ann.

^f Wibert, Vit. Leon. ii. 5. The charge against Sibico, according to Adam of Bremen, was adultery.

^g Among the countless treasures of reliques bestowed on the church of Altorf, were pieces of the cradle, the tomb, and the garments of the Re-

deemer; of the vine which he had planted with his own hand!—of the cross,—of the robe of the Virgin, and the beard of John the Baptist. All this and much more is related as if with grave unsuspectingness (is it indeed grave unsuspectingness?) by Hoeffler, ii. p. 64. See also the discovery of the site of Hirschau.

Rome. He carried back to Italy the respect and the obedience of the world to overawe any still unextirpated desire for the recovery of Italian spiritual domination ; to Rome the assurance of the most powerful Transalpine protection, to suppress the turbulent and mutinous spirit of her nobles and her people.

CHAPTER II.

Berengar of Tours.

THE unity of Latin Christendom had been threatened during the dark age of the Papacy not only by the separation of the spiritual monarchy into independent dynasties, by the elevation of a Gallican and of a Spanish primate; the allegiance even of Ravenna and Milan to the supreme pontiff was doubtful and contested. Nothing could have preserved the papal supremacy if it had continued to descend in its line of lawless Roman princes. It might have been endangered even by a succession of German pontiffs of less energetic, commanding, and holy character than Leo IX.—pontiffs in whom the German nationality had predominated over their churchmanship—for Christendom would hardly have submitted long to the Pope, only an obsequious vassal of the German Emperor. More, however, than this, the unity of doctrine, that great system of imaginative Christianity which had so long ruled the mind of Latin Christendom, was menaced with a controversy which struck at the roots of its power, prematurely undermined in the hearts of men the greatest of those influences by which the hierarchy swayed the world, and might have led, long before Christendom was ripe for a more spiritual and intellectual religion, to a fatal disturbance of the traditional and dominant faith. The controversy raised by Berengar on the doctrine of the Real Presence in the Eucharist, his protest

against the new rigid form of Transubstantiation into which that doctrine had but recently been cast by Paschasius Radbert and his followers, was totally different from those which to this period had broken the unity of the Church. Sects from time to time had arisen and were still rising^a in different parts of Latin Christendom whose opinions departed widely from the dominant faith. But the principle of these sects was, in general, separation from the Church; they were societies working in secret, withdrawing their members from the communion of the Church and from subordination to the hierarchy; bound together either by peculiar tenets or by some intuitive harmony of feeling and opinion; here organised under their own priesthood, there held together by aversion to the pride and to the vices of the established clergy; esteeming apostolic poverty and apostolic humility the only signs of apostolic truth and authority. Infinitely various, but with some leading kindred principles, these sects had one common character, they were sects. They either asserted each itself to be the sole true church, or, altogether rejecting the notion of a visible church, rested on the evangelic truth of their doctrines, on their conformity with the sacred Scriptures (never altogether abandoned as a distinct tenet); or they had inherited the yet unextinguished principles of Arian or Manichean opinions, the latter of which seem to have been constantly flowing by untraceable channels into the West. These sects were the authors, in different quarters of Europe, of wide-spread and still renewed revolt; but this revolt was still beaten down in detail by the strong arm of ecclesiastical and temporal power: they were

^a This affiliation of these very obscure sects will be hereafter traced.

confuted by the irrefragable argument of fire and sword.

But the opinions of Berengar threatened a civil war—a contest within the Church, within the clergy itself. He declared that his was the true Catholic doctrine; from his school at Tours he proclaimed a haughty intellectual defiance to all the other theologic schools of Christendom. He was himself probably unconscious of the ultimate bearing of his own views. He appealed to the clergy generally, in all likelihood as unconscious; but who had an intuitive apprehension, equally alarming to the prudence of the cautious and to the sensitive jealousy of the devout, that they were descending from a higher to a lower ground—that the Sacrament, by this new or revived interpretation, was sinking in its majesty and in its efficacy. This Sacrament—the Eucharist—from the earliest times had withdrawn into the most profound mystery; it had been guarded with the most solemn reverence, shrouded in the most impressive ceremonial. It had become as it were the Holy of Holies of the religion, in which the presence of the Godhead was only the more solemn from the surrounding darkness. That Presence had as yet been unapproached by profane and searching controversy, had been undefined by canon, neither agitated before Council, nor determined by Pope. During all these centuries no language had been thought too strong to express the overpowering awe and reverence of the worshippers. The oratory of the pulpit and the hortatory treatise had indulged freely in the boldest images; the innate poetry of the faith had worked those images into realities. Christ's real Presence was in some indescribable manner in the Eucharist; but under the notion of the real Presence might meet con-

ceptions the most dissimilar, ranging from the most subtle spiritualism to the most gross materialism; that of those whose faith would be as profoundly moved by the commemorative symbols, which brought back upon the memory in the most vivid reality the one sacrifice upon the cross; as that of the vulgar, to whom the more material the more impressive the notion, to whom the sacred elements would be what the fetiche is to the savage.

Between these two extremes would be the great multitude of believers, who would contemplate the whole subject with remote and reverential awe. To these the attempt at the scrutiny or even the comprehension of the mystery would appear the height of profane presumption; yet their intuitive apprehension would shrink on the one hand from refining the holy bread and wine into mere symbols, on the other from that transubstantiation which could not but expose the actual Godhead to all the accidents to which those elements, not now merely corporeal, and with all the qualities of the human flesh and blood, but actually deified, might be subject. It was the fatal term Transubstantiation, first used (as is commonly, but it seems erroneously said) by Paschasius Radbert, a monk of New Corvey, which startled some of the more reflective minds; according to this term the elements ceased entirely to be what they still seemed to be to the outward senses. The substance of the bread and wine was actually annihilated—nothing existed but the body and blood of the Redeemer, the body and blood of the Redeemer resuscitated in the flesh, yet to which belonged the ubiquity, the eternity of the divine nature.^b

^b Paschasius Radbert's Treatise is in Martene et Durand, t. ix. Paschasius, though perhaps his theory of Transubstantiation (he does not use the word) may be explained away into what is called Impanation (as by

Such a phrase could not but cause some reaction. But the leader of that reaction, Berengar, had surrendered himself as the humble pupil of the one great thinker, the one purely metaphysical intelligence, who during this period had been so much in advance of his age as almost to elude their theological jealousy.

It was impossible but that among the minds withdrawn into profound contemplation by monasticism, altogether secluded from practical intercourse with the world, there should be some in whom the severe intelligence should entirely predominate. Such men—the religious awe being less strong and less exclusively exercised than the logical faculty—would not be restrained from the cool analytic examination even of the most accredited theologic phraseology; they would subtly scrutinise the inward sense of words, reduce them from their rhetorical or poetic form to their present meaning; they would be, by mental constitution, the intellectual parents of the Nominalists in the twelfth century.

Of these the most remarkable was the Scotch or Irish monk, John Scotus or Erigena. Erigena was a philosopher of a singularly subtle mind: men wondered at this subtlety, which was so high above the general train of popular notions as to command universal reverence rather than suspicion. But he had not only broken the bonds of Latin Christianity, he went almost beyond the bounds of Christianity itself.

Ebrard, *Dogma vom Heiligen Abendmahl*, i. 406), certainly followed it out into its grossest consequences, the miracles of the Host bleeding, assuming a human form, that of a child, &c., c. xiv. Sirmond claims for him (in *Vitâ*) the merit of having first matured

the full doctrine of the middle ages; others ascribe it to Lanfranc. The Schoolmen stripped off all the awfulness, and coldly discussed it in all its naked materialism. Compare Gieseler on Paschasius and on Berengar.

The philosopher dwelt alone in his transcendental world; he went fathoming on, fearless and unreprieved, in the very abysses of human thought; and, it is not improbable, had followed out his doctrines into that theory at which men in whom the rationalistic faculty prevails, and who are still under the influence of a latent religiousness, so often arrive. He had wrought out a vague Pantheism, singularly anticipative of that which in its various forms now rules in modern Germany. But we must at a later period revert to Erigena as in one sense the parent of scholasticism, but of scholasticism as a free, discursive, speculative science, before it had been bound up with rigid orthodoxy by Aquinas, Bonaventura, and Duns Scotus. Berengar, it should seem, with a weaker and far less original mind, had been caught in the logical trammels of Erigena, from which he could not escape. He was not without the pride which arises from the adoption as well as the discovery of new and apparently distinct views of mysterious subjects, as manifesting superior intellectual strength and acuteness (that pride is betrayed in his somewhat contemptuous challenge to Lanfranc), or he shrank from the coarser materialism which seemed enforced by the doctrines of Paschasius Radbert, and which had already encountered opposition from Rabanus Maurus, the monk Ratramn, and some others.^c He proclaimed, as the true doctrine of the Church, the counter definition of his master Erigena, which, asserting the real Presence, declared that real Presence spiritually conceived.^d

^c On the question of the authorship of the treatise ascribed to Scotus Erigena, and to the monk Ratramnus, compare Gieseler. The treatise of Scotus, if he wrote expressly on the subject, is lost. Compare Schröckh, *xxiii.* 441, *et seqq.*

^d The discovery of the famous trea-

On the other hand, in the vast European hierarchy there could not be wanting minds of equally powerful logical subtlety, and trained in dialectic science, who would repress within themselves the rebellious intelligence; and in the confidence arising out of their infelt accordance with the dominant creed, with the sagacity, not merely timorous but conscientiously jealous, which would tremble at any approach to the unsettling of great religious questions, or the diminishing of the sacerdotal power^e (the only bulwark against brute force and blind ferocity), would espouse the established creed with the zeal and ardour of conscientious churchmanship. Such was Lanfranc, a native of Pavia, under whose learned government the Norman monastery of Bec was rising into fame; and Lanfranc himself was gaining that high character which designated him hereafter for the Norman primate of England. Some jealousy may have lurked in the mind of the master of the great school of Tours, which had so long enjoyed high reputation as a seat of theologic learning, against the upstart university, if it may be so called,^f among the yet barbarous Normans. In his challenge to Lanfranc, Berengar acknowledges the ability of that teacher with a haughty condescension, reproving him for the haste with which

tise of Berengar by Lessing, its recent publication at Berlin, furnishes us with Berengar's own distinct, deliberate statement of his views. It is a hard, harsh, obscure treatise, apparently little likely to awaken enthusiasm, or to attract devoted followers.

^e Miracles were not wanting to refute Berengar. A priest saw and touched the form of a child on the

altar. He kissed it; it resumed the appearance of bread. Berengar tauntingly said, "Speciosa certe pax nebulonis, ut cui oris præberet basium, dentium inferret exitium." — Wm. Malmesb., p. 466.

^f See in Malmesbury the very curious account of the virtue, austerity, and sanctity of Berengar by Hildebert, Bishop of Le Mans, p. 466.

he has presumed to condemn the judgements of Erigena.^g

The opinions of Berengar were widely disseminated by the poor scholars^h who wandered about the country from the school at Tours, and who were maintained at the cost of Berengar. By some they were heard with horror: he was accused, as usual, of opinions which he did not hold—of reducing the Holy Sacrament to a shadow, not a truth—of vague concubinage, and the denial of baptism.ⁱ Others seem to have been overawed by the fame of his erudition. His first antagonist did no great honour to the cause of orthodoxy; it was Hugo, Bishop of Langres, the bishop condemned and degraded by the Council of Rheims for notorious criminality of life. Others wrote in a more respectful and expostulatory tone. The writings of Berengar himself have all the contemptuousness of a mind in which the severe and naked logical faculty has complete mastery, and which cannot comprehend that unison of faith and reasoning which commends itself to those in whom the religious sentiment maintains its power.

Lanfranc had his revenge for the insolent superiority assumed by Berengar. He was present at the Council in Rome held by Pope Leo IX. The May, 1050 opinions of Berengar were brought under discussion, but of those opinions there was no acknowledged or authoritative statement which could expose him to con-

^g "Hac ergo in re, si ita est, pater, indignum facisti ingenio quod tibi Deus, *non aspernabile*, contulit, præproperam ferendo sententiam. Nondum enim satagisti in scripturâ divinâ, nec multum contulisti cum tuis diligentioribus." — Lanfranco Berengarius,

apud Giles. Lanfranci Opera, Epist. 1

^h "Jamque scatebat omnis Gallia ejus doctrinâ per egenos scolares, quos ipse quotidianâ stipe sollicitabat, disseminatâ." Wm. Malmesb., iii.

ⁱ Authorities in Mabillon, Analect. and Schröckh, p. 509.

demnation. Lanfranc, suspected (such was his excuse) of correspondence with the heretic, and thus implicated in his doctrines, produced the fatal letter in which Berengar avowed the opinions of Erigena, proclaimed the Holy Sacrament, as it was asserted, and inaccurately asserted, to be but a figure and a similitude.* Berengar was condemned at once; he was commanded to appear at the Council summoned to meet at Vercelli.

Sept. 1050.

But to Vercelli Berengar came not;^m he had appealed to King Henry of France for protection: he was imprisoned by that monarch in order, as he himself states, to extort money from him; nor would he submit to be judged out of his province. He had not merely proselytes, but fanatical followers. The Church of Tours sent one of their body to deprecate the hasty wrath of the Pope; he was accompanied by a renowned clerk of Burgundy, named Stephen.ⁿ Words ran high: to Lanfranc's learned arguments it was replied, that he who rejected the conclusions of Erigena

* Compare Vita Lanfranci apud Giles. Oper. Lanfranc. i. 188. There his friends are said to have sent the letter after him, and that Lanfranc, suspected of heresy on account of his correspondence with Berengar, produced the letter.

^m It is remarkable with what supercilious contempt Berengar writes of the Council of Vercelli, even of Leo IX. He denies the right of the Pope to summon him to be judged beyond his metropolitan province. He accuses Leo of having lodged with the Bishop of Vercelli, who was living in open adultery with the wife of his uncle, a nobleman of Pavia, and of having refused to take cognisance of the charge

publicly made by his uncle against the bishop.—p. 40. By an adverse writer he is reported to have spoken with equal scorn of the Pope and of the see of Rome: "Nempe S. Leonem P. non Pontificem sed pompificem et pulpificem appellavit, S. Romanam Ecclesiam vanitatis concilium et Ecclesiam malignantium, Romanam sedem non apostolicam sed sedem Satanæ dictis et scriptis non timuit appellare." —Bernald, de Berengar. damnatione. Gieseler has quoted the whole passage, p. 285.

ⁿ "Dissuaserant secundum ecclesiastica jura, secundum quæ nullus extra provinciam ad judicium cogendus est ire."

rejected the words of St. Augustine.^o One of Lanfranc's party, who branded Berengar with the name of heretic, the Canon of Tours declared, in the name of Almighty God, to be "a liar." But notwithstanding this bold resistance, the Council of Vercelli passed its censure both upon Erigena the master, and the disciple Berengar.

But Berengar treated the excommunication of the Pope and of the Council with sovereign contempt. His disdainful language towards the Pope offended even his friends. He charges his antagonists with ignorant or wilful misrepresentation.^p In France his opinions divided the public mind; one distinguished prelate, Bruno of Angers, openly espoused his doctrines; they were favourably received by Froilant of Senlis. The king vacillated between the condemnation of Berengar and tacit connivance at his opinions. Two Councils were held, one by the Duke of Normandy, whom Berengar had endeavoured to win over, at his castle of Brion: of this synod the date and the proceedings are but vaguely known. Berengar is said to have withdrawn discomfited, and admitting the truth of the established doctrine. The second was summoned by the king at Paris. There the Bishop of Orleans, the adversary of Berengar, took the lead. The tenets of Berengar and the book of Scotus were denounced by wild acclamation; and it was declared, that, if Berengar did not recant, the clergy would summon the array of

^o Much of the treatise 'De Sacra Cœnâ' is devoted to the proof that his own doctrines and those of Erigena were the same as those of Ambrose and Augustine.

^p Berengar bitterly complains of

the misrepresentation of his doctrines: "Fumbertus enim ille tuus, inaudito me . . . scripsit quod voluit, et quod meum non erat, mendaciter meum esse confinxit."

the kingdom, march at its head, besiege Berengar in whatever fortress or city he might take refuge, compel him to recant, or to surrender himself as prisoner. But the name of Erigena stood high in France; he had always been held as the most honoured divine at the court of Charles the Bald. The king hesitated, and took no further measures for the restraint of Berengar. It was not till towards the close of Leo's life and pontificate that the alarm grew so great at Rome that no less than Hildebrand himself, the cardinal-subdeacon of the Church, now rising towards that height of fame, afterwards to exalt him above all the world, was sent as legate into France to compose that dangerous feud.⁹ Hildebrand, with his natural intrepidity, summoned a

April 1054.

Council at Tours, to assail his adversary in his stronghold. But at Tours Hildebrand, instead of taking the high ground of authority, condescended to become persuasive and conciliatory; he was content with an ambiguous declaration extorted from Berengar, that after consecration the bread and wine were really the body and blood of the Lord.^r With this, and with a faint expression of his determination to carry Berengar with him to Rome, Hildebrand closed his part in this

⁹ "Ego interim dico: panem et vinum per consecrationem converti in altari, in verum Christi corpus et sanguinem, non mea, non tua, sed evangelica apostolicaque simul authenticarum scripturarum quibus contra ire nefas, est sententia." He subjoins lower: "Quam diceres conversionem . . . minime assignasti."—p. 57. See against Material Transmutation, p. 173. In more than one place Berengar states that he had disguised his opinions for fear of death.—p. 73. See also

the distinct view of Berengar's opinions, p. 274. Compare *De Sacra Cœnâ*, pp. 52, 53.

^r He states that before Hildebrand: "quod jurarem, panem atque vinum altaris post consecrationem sunt corpus Christi et sanguis. Hæc me sicut re proferrem, juramento confirmavi, corde tenui." It was the *material* change which he rigorously and constantly opposed, by every argument of obscure, indeed, and tortuous logic, but still with unaccommodating rigour.

momentous controversy. The secret is clear: Hildebrand was wanted at Rome; his place was there.⁵ The King of France was bringing forward in his council questions of great political importance, an accusation against the King of Spain, and a demand of aid against that king from the Emperor. The Council might be interminably protracted, and Pope Leo was in the utmost peril; his army had been defeated, he was a prisoner; if released, released only to die.⁶ Besides the fatal effects of his humiliation, his macerations had begun to threaten his life; to those so deep in the politics of Rome the progress, the fatal end of his disease might be known by sure prognostics.

But we must reascend two years to Leo, still in the full activity of his youth, still endeavouring to command the whole Latin world by his personal presence. His aspiration was still to be Pope of Christendom, not of Rome only (though, as will hereafter appear, he had great schemes for the aggrandisement of the Pope in Italy): so during this period he visited rather than took up his residence, or fixed his court, in Rome. Three times, during his pontificate of five years, he crossed the Alps; once already he had been seen in Germany and at Rheims; the second Transalpine visitation took place immediately after the Council of Vercelli. Its ostensible object was a great religious ceremony in honour of the city of which he was still the bishop. The German

* Hildebrand had ordered all the books bearing on the subject to be collected: "Ut ex eorum auctoritate satisfaceret de eucharistiâ pro cuius diligentiori consideratione et veritatis, Dei misericordiâ, comprehensione hæreticis me insimulaverant homines nihil

scientes, et superiores se in scientiâ alios non æquo animo tolerantes."—p. 52.

⁵ According to Berengar, p. 53, he had heard of the actual death of Leo: "Nunciatum illi est, Papam Leonem rebus decessisse humanis."

Popes had introduced a singular kind of plurality, as if the Teuton felt insecure in his Roman see, and still reserved a safe retreat in his native land. Clement II.

had retained the bishopric of Bamberg; Leo Oct. 21, 1050. had been several years Pope before he vacated that of Toul.

No gift could be bestowed on a city or on a church of equal value with that of a popular saint; the city grew in honour and in wealth. Not merely were its own citizens more under the influence of the clergy from this increased devotion, but it became a place of pilgrimage; multitudes flocked annually to the shrine with their offerings, and not seldom a profitable commercial mart grew up to the advantage of the town. Gerard had been bishop of Toul; he had reposed for fifty-six years in his tomb. During a ceremonial, as solemn as that which had installed the holy St. Remi in his new shrine, the tomb of Gerard was opened. The body was found in perfect preservation. An altar was consecrated to the new saint; wonderful cures were not wanting; privileges were lavishly bestowed on the favoured church, and on the clergy of the favoured see.

The Pope again visited some of the great cities of Germany, everywhere making munificent grants, confirming the rights and possessions of monasteries. He

was at Treves and at Augsburg; at the Feast Feb. 2, 1051.

of the Purification of the Virgin met the Emperor and the Pope. But enemies of the Pope had now arisen at the court of the Emperor. Leo IX. was too much of a German pontiff for the Italians, not German enough for his countrymen. The Germans, during the reign of the Franconian emperors, had possessed themselves of some of the wealthiest sees in Italy,

as well as of that of Rome." A German held the see of Ravenna; and under his episcopate Ravenna had begun to renew her ancient pretensions to independence of Rome. Leo, in the true Roman spirit, would not endure the encroachments even of a German prelate, raised to his see by the special favour of the Emperor. The Italian prelates at Vercelli joined eagerly in the humiliation of the German of Ravenna; Humfred was degraded and excommunicated by the Pope and Council. At this act the brooding jealousy against the Pope broke out at the court of Henry into open hostility. Bishop Nitger of Freisingen, a magnificent prelate, whose revenue, if in part dedicated to less sacred uses, was splendidly employed on ecclesiastical buildings, during some warm dispute relating to the affair of Ravenna, grasping his neck, said, "May a sword cleave this throat if I work not the ruin of this Pope." The biographer of Leo adds that the bishop^x was seized with a pain in the neck, and died in a few days. At Augsburg the Pope was compelled to submit to the restoration of his haughty antagonist. Humfred, it is true, was ordered to make a restitution of all which he had unlawfully usurped from the Pope, to acknowledge his supremacy and to request his forgiveness. He knelt; "According to the depth of his repentance," said the Pope, "may God forgive him his sins." The prelate rose, and broke out in scornful laughter. Tears filled the eyes of the Pope. "Miserable, he is a dead man!" Humfred returned to Ravenna, fell ill, and

^u Hoefler has drawn out a list of German prelates, by which it appears that the Patriarchate of Aquileia, the Bishoprics of Como, Padua, and Verona, were a long time almost exclusively

in their hands: other sees less frequently.—Beilage, xvii. p. 333.

^x This must have been much later, as Nitger survived the Archbishop of Ravenna some time.

in a few days died, not without strong suspicions of poison.[‡]

The third journey of Leo IX. beyond the Alps was as mediator between the Emperor Henry and Andrew King of Hungary. Fifty years had elapsed since that formidable people the Hungarians had been converted to Christianity. St. Stephen, their king, had wrought this almost sudden change. Stephen was the son of a Christian mother, Sarolta, herself the daughter of Gyula, who had been converted by a monk of Constantinople, Hierotheus. King Geisa, father of Stephen, seems to have hovered between the old Magyar religion of his subjects and his new faith. Stephen was not baptised in his infancy; the holy St. Adalbert administered to him that redeeming rite; he received the Christian name of Stephen; he obtained the hand of a Christian bride, Gisela, the daughter of the Emperor Otho. On the death of Geisa, an insurrection of the Magyars against the foreign councils and the foreign faith was suppressed. The Christian King ascended the throne; his first act was to unite himself to Latin Christendom; he sent an embassy to Pope Sylvester II., and received the present of a crown, and a Papal edict empowering him to regulate the ecclesiastical offices of his realm. He was crowned King of Hungary at Gran. Throughout the land rose churches: the nation received the religion of their Sovereign. Stephen, during his reign of thirty years, continued in the practice of that faith and of those virtues, which acquired for him the

Stephen
King, 1000,
1036.
1052, Leo's
third journey
to Germany.

Conversion of
Hungary.

‡ Gfrörer, with somewhat dubious charity, labours to exculpate the Pope from all share in this crime, of which no candid man can have the least suspicion. He lays it to the hostility of the Italians, who were jealous of their bishoprics being turned into German fortresses for the oppression of Italy.

name and renown of a saint. But Peter, the successor of Stephen, did not rule, he was ruled by German and Italian priests. The rude and warlike people had indignantly thrown off the yoke. The unhappy king was dethroned, blinded; Andrew and Levanta, two princes of the royal race, were placed on the throne; heathenism became again the national religion; everywhere the old altars rose; the Christians were persecuted; some priests and bishops suffered martyrdom. But on the death of Levanta, Andrew boldly declared himself a Christian; he was crowned by a Christian bishop (probably the native bishops had been permitted to remain); he restored the churches, and prohibited heathenism on pain of death.

The Emperor Henry had espoused the cause of the dethroned Peter; on his death he declared Hungary a fief of the empire. Andrew offered tribute, it was rejected with scorn. At the instigation of Henry, himself engaged in the war with Godfrey of Lorraine, his uncle Gebhard, Bishop of Ratisbon, led a marauding expedition into Hungary. He was defeated; but the Count of Bavaria and Adalbert Margrave of Austria entered into the war. It was waged with greater yet not with conclusive success. Haimbourg the frontier town was taken and retaken. Henry himself in the year 1051 headed a campaign without important result, the next year he advanced with a more overwhelming force, and laid siege to Presburg. Pope Leo appeared in his camp to reconcile the temporal head of Christendom² with a king who had restored the Christianity of his realm. But his mediation was rejected by both

* An Hungarian prelate, Coloczy, had been among the bishops present at Toul, perhaps as ambassador, secret or avowed, of King Andrew to the Pope. Compare throughout Mailath, *Geschichte der Magyaren*.

parties. He urged on the Emperor the terms of submission and tribute, offered by the Hungarians; Aug. Sept. Henry coldly and contemptuously declined the conditions. But the tide of war turned, the Hungarians sunk the provision ships on the Danube, upon which the army of the Emperor depended for their subsistence; and now the Hungarian in his turn refused the humiliating concessions which he had offered before. The Pope withdrew, not without some loss of dignity; the peace was not established till the following year, and then without his interference. At Ratisbon during the close of this year Pope Leo pursued his favourite avocation, the canonisation of Saints. Two bishops of that city, Erhard and Wolfgang, were installed in that honour with the usual imposing ceremony.

Christmas was celebrated by the Pope and the Emperor, and many of the great prelates of Germany, at Worms. They met not merely to celebrate the birth of the Redeemer with more than usual magnificence, but on secular affairs of great, it appeared of vital importance to the Pope. Leo, though maintaining his hold on Transalpine Christendom, had not neglected the affairs of Italy. Those affairs in which he appeared in a new character, and of which he was perhaps the victim, must be unfolded hereafter. He aspired it is clear to restore the Pope to his rank as an Italian Potentate, to become something more than a secular vassal of the empire, something beyond the spiritual monarch of Christendom. The See of Rome laid claim to many wealthy churches and abbeys,^a either as the pious donations of the founders, or as the grants

^a See the list of 31 churches and 47 monasteries, besides some allodial estates, in Muratori Antiq. v. Dissert. 69.—Hoeffer, p. 367.

of emperors. Among these were the famous Abbey of Fulda, and the bishopric of Bamberg.^b Leo agreed to surrender these endowments in exchange for the city and territory of Benevento, stipulating at the same time for a strong imperial force to put him in possession of that city, and to enable him to subdue the formidable and hostile Normans.

But the Antipapal party at the court of Henry had grown in strength and in bitterness of hostility; the more the Pope became an Italian, and the more he asserted his independence, the more odious he became to the great German prelates. His most attached friend and most powerful supporter, the holy and charitable Bardos, the Archbishop of Mentz, was dead; the Emperor of his own authority had appointed Liutpold, Provost of the Chapter of Bamberg, to this German primacy. The Pope had bestowed, in order to propitiate the new primate, some further privileges on the See of Mentz. The archbishop was the Papal Legate in his own diocese. But Leo, as if he knew the character of Liutpold, took the opportunity of this grant to remind him of the duties of his function. A trifling incident betrayed the mutual jealousy of the German and Italian churchmen, the difficult position of the Pope, who having rashly favoured the insolent superiority of the Italians, was obliged to humble himself before the sullen obstinacy of the Germans. In the mass for Christmas day, the Pope read the service, the next day the Archbishop of Mentz, the Metropolitan of Worms, performed the function. The procession was ended, the archbishop had taken his

Worms.
Oct. 18.

^b Gfrörer conjectures that the Bishopric of Bamberg was attached to the Papacy on the promotion of Clement the Second.

seat, Humbert, a deacon of the archbishop, chanted the Gospel in a tone different from the Roman usage, perhaps jarring to Italian ears. The Italians requested the Pope to forbid him from proceeding in his dissonant chant: the Pope did so, but the deacon went on, disregarding the Papal mandate. The Pope allowed the Gospel to be ended, summoned the refractory deacon, and declared him deposed from his office: the archbishop instantly sent some of his clergy to demand the restoration of his deacon; the Pope declined. The service went on, it was the time for the elevation of the Host. The archbishop sat stubbornly in his seat, and declared that neither he himself, nor any other should proceed with the office. The whole ceremony paused; the Pope was obliged to yield, his apologists said because he would not interfere with the rights of a metropolitan in his own diocese. The deacon was reinvested in his functions; the archbishop condescended to discharge the rest of his holy office.

But this, humiliating as it was, was not the most fatal mark of jealousy displayed by German churchmen against the unpopular Pontiff. At a council at Mantua, suddenly broken off, were undisguised signs of German hostility.^c Gebhard, Bishop of Eichstadt, who was of great weight in the councils of the Emperor, persuaded him to withdraw the greater part of the troops, which were to march with the Pope into Italy, and put him in possession of Benevento.^d The

^c At the council of Mantua the uproar against the Pope was not on account of the married clergy, against whom stronger measures were threatened, but the attempt of the Pope to obtain a sponge declared to contain the blood of the Lord. This accompanied the reliques of S. Longinus, the soldier who pierced the side with his spear. Compare Theiner, vol. ii. p. 32.

^d Floto (Kaiser Heinrich der Vierte, i. p. 179, published 1856) assigns some reasons, the dangers and difficulties of Henry in Germany, for that advice.

Pope had influence enough to retain in his service 500 Swabian knights. With these, and assembling around his standard, as he went, a host of lawless adventurers and mercenaries, the holy Leo marched through Italy to appear at the head of his own forces, the first or almost the first martial pope, against the terrible Normans. The Italian policy of Leo, bold, aggressive to a certain degree, had been justified by success. In the reconquest of Sardinia from a new invasion of the Saracens, his admonitions and advice had encouraged the Pisans to achieve the conquest. In the neighbourhood of Rome he had not been able to subdue the fierce barons, who still maintained the fastness cities, and awaited their time: a Crescentius still held Tusculum. But Southern Italy offered a more promising field for the extension and consolidation of his sovereignty. It was held by three powers mortally hostile to each other, the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Normans. Of these the Saracens, by recent feuds, had been so weakened, that Leo, in his lofty visions, began to dream of the reconquest of Sicily to Christendom. The Greeks, almost in despair of maintaining their ground against the Norman adventurers, had vainly sought recourse in craft. They endeavoured to bribe them with enormous pay to enter into their service and engage in new wars in the East. But the Normans knew their strength: this body of men, who had arrived in Italy as pilgrims, had now become sovereigns of many cities; they warred impartially on all.* The deliverance of Southern Italy from these half christianised and barbarous freebooters seemed to justify to Pope Leo even his warlike propen-

* On the settlement of the Normans in Italy read the curious chronicle 'Li Normans,' published, by M. Champollion Figeac. Soc. de l'Histoire de France

sities. His first incursion into the South had been of a more peaceful, more seemly character; but it had opened to his ambition views which matured slowly to the close of his life. In the second year of his pontificate, he had again visited Monte Casino, and held a synod at Salerno. At his approach the city of

May, 1050.

Benevento threw off the yoke of its sovereign prince, Landulf of Capua. Leo hesitated not to accept the popular surrender; and to receive the city as part of the domain of St. Peter. The faction of the Capuan regained possession, Leo excommunicated the rebellious city. He was now by the Imperial grant Lord of Benevento. He was at the head of an army, enlisted to expel the Normans from the land. He wrote to the Greek Emperor, Constantine Monomachus, to declare the reasons which urged him to undertake this war in person. In his martial ardour he forgot the theologic controversy,^f which was rising to its height with the patriarch of Constantinople, Michael Cerularius; the controversy, which prolonged for centuries the schism between the Greek and Latin churches. While the vital question as to the nature of the Sacrament threatened to distract the West, the East broke off all con-

For this controversy between Humbert, Cardinal Bishop of Sylva Candida, legate at Constantinople, and the clergy of Constantinople, which ended in haughty words on both sides, see Leonis Epist. apud Mansi, xix. Canisii Lectiones Antiq. One of the strongest objections against the Greek Church was the marriage of her clergy. The Latin replies: "Hæccine quoque sunt illa majora et perfectiora, ut novus maritus et recente carnitate resolutus et totus marcidus Christi

ministret altaribus, et ab ejus immaculato corpore sanctificando manus confestim ad muliebres transferat amplexus. . . . Pro quibus omnibus et aliis, quos longum est scripto prosequi erroribus, nisi resiperitis et digne satisfeceritis, irrevocabile anathema hic et in futuro eritis a Deo et ab omnibus Catholicis, pro quibus Christus animam suam posuit."—Compare the answer by Nicetas. Apud Canis. pp. 501-314.

nexion with a church which dared to use unleavened bread in that solemn rite. The Normans, thus wrote Leo to the Emperor, that undisciplined and foreign race, were still ravaging Christian Italy with more than Pagan impiety; they spared neither age nor sex, and not merely slew the Christians indiscriminately in promiscuous fray, but put them to death slowly with indescribable tortures. They made no distinction between things sacred and profane; they plundered, burned, razed churches. Princes, according to the apostles, were not to bear the sword in vain; and as a prince Leo went out to war; not that he desired the death of a single Norman, nor of any human being, but by the terrors of human judgements, these unbelievers must be taught the terrors of God's judgements.⁵

In his youthful days, Leo had acquired some fame for military conduct; he had commanded the vassals of the bishopric of Toul in one of the Emperor Conrad's expeditions into Italy. Some vain self-confidence may have mingled with the zeal which induced him to lead his own army against the enemies of the faith^h—an act at which some of the more religious stood amazed, and did not disguise their utter repugnance. The stern recluse Peter Damiani protested with all his natural energy.¹

⁵ Leo IX. Epist. Constant. Monomach. vii. ; Labbe, p. 982.

^h "In illius itaque sæcularis militiæ dispositione, sic repente sagax apparuit et providus, quasi hujusmodi negotiis tantum fuisset hætenus exercitatus." —Wibert, i. 7.

¹ Damiani lays down this irrefragable proposition: "Si ergo pro Fide, quæ universalis vivit Ecclesia, nusquam ferrea corripitur arma conceditur,

quomodo pro terrenis ac transitoriis Ecclesiæ facultatibus loricate acies in gladios debacchantur." "When the saints have power they do not even slay heretics and infidels." He proceeds to condemn Leo IX.: "Ad hæc si quis objiciat, bellicis usibus Leonem se frequenter implicuisse Pontificem, verumtamen sanctum esse. Dico quod sentio, quoniam nec Petrus ob hoc Apostolicum obtinet principatum, quia

The conduct of Leo in the campaign belied his early fame. The sagacity and forethought, formerly ascribed to him, utterly failed. Not that he actually took the generalship of his troops in the battle, but all the movements seem to have been made under his guidance. From San Germano he advanced to Capua, accompanied by many bishops, by Frederick of Lorraine the Chancellor of the Empire, the Duke of Gaeta, the Counts of Aquino and Teano. Thence he marched into the Capitanata, the stronghold of the Normans. The Apulians and other Italians flocked to his standard. He had an interview with Argyrous, the Greek Catapan of Calabria, who promised his succour. He fixed his

June 18,
1053.

quarters at Civitella, and launched his first blow, the excommunication of the Normans.

The Normans either were, or pretended to be, appalled by these vast preparations. They offered terms of submission. These were peremptorily refused by Frederick of Lorraine: the only condition offered was their total abandonment of Italy. The Pope saw not the danger of driving them to despair. He pushed forward his troops to the banks of the Fertorio, near Dragonata. The German troops were not above 500. The terrible Normans mustered 3000 knights, men who were said to be able to cleave an enemy from the head to the saddle with one blow. They were commanded by the sons of Tancred, Humfrey, Richard of Aversa, and the yet unrenowned Robert Guiscard. Three days the armies

negavit; nec David idcirco propheticæ meretur oraculum, quia torum alieni viri invasit." It is curious to read Damiani's commentator, trying to make out that Damiani does not condemn the Pope's using the sword as a

temporal prince. How would the old Saint, who compared Leo's wars with the denial of Peter, and the adultery of David, have scorned this distinction. —Damiani, Epist. iv. 9.

watched each other. While the negotiations were pending, the Normans occupied a hill, on which depended the fate of the battle. The fourth day they burst down in three squadrons. The Lombards, on one wing, the Apulians on the other, fled at once: the Germans were surrounded and cut to pieces to a man.

The Normans rushed from the field to seize the Pope at Civitella. An accidental conflagration repelled them for that night: the next day they entered the town. The humbled Pope at once relieved them from their excommunication: they became again sons of the Church. Was it religious awe, or was it subtle policy, which made them at once her obsequious sons? The rude soldiery perhaps from dread, the leaders from that craft in which the Normans excelled as much as in valour, cast themselves down before the Pope, entreated his pardon, professed deep penitence. But they lost no time in securing again all the cities which had thrown off their yoke. Count Humfrey, the gentlest of the sons of Tancred, remained as gaoler, or as an attendant on the Pope. Leo was allowed to visit the battle-field,^k to bury his own soldiers with the honours of martyrs. He declared that he had heavenly visions of their glory, as having died for the faith. The Normans themselves afterwards assisted in building a church over their remains. The Pope was conducted with all respect by Count Humfrey to Benevento: there he remained, a prisoner, though treated with the most profound outward reverence, for some months.

Heart-broken at the failure of all his schemes; perhaps now conscious of his own unclerical conduct, in

^k The battle was fought June 16, 1053. Leo set off for Rome March 21 1054.

becoming the leader of an army; seeing the divine condemnation in his abasement, his imprisonment, notwithstanding the courteous and deferential demeanour of the Normans; knowing that he was absolutely in their power, the pious Leo betook himself to the severest acts of penitential austerity. He wore nothing but sackcloth; he slept on a carpet, with a stone for his pillow, the few hours which he allowed for sleep. Every day he performed mass; almost all the rest of the day and night were passed in prayer and the recital of the Psalter. He did not absolutely neglect his ecclesiastical functions; he appointed a new abbot of Santa Sophia, in Benevento. He kept up a correspondence with Africa, with Constantinople, with the most remote parts of Latin Christendom; but his chief occupation, besides his prayers, was works of charity. His admirers glorify his imprisonment with many miracles. But his sorrow and his macerations had wasted all his strength; the hand of death was upon him. The Normans, perhaps out of compassion, perhaps lest they should be accused of the death of the Pope while in their hands, were willing to release the dying man. On the 12th of March he left Benevento, under the escort of the Norman Humfrey. He was obliged to rest twelve days at Capua. He arrived at Rome, but repressed the universal joy by melancholy intimations of his approaching death, too visibly confirmed by his helpless condition. His calm departure reaches sublimity. He ordered his coffin to be carried to St. Peter's; he reposed on a couch by its side. There he gave his last admonitions to the ecclesiastics around, entreating them to abstain from simony and the alienation of the estates of the Church; there he received the last sacraments. He rose with difficulty, and looked into his coffin.

“ Behold, my brethren, the mutability of human things. The cell which was my dwelling when a monk expanded into yonder spacious palace; it shrinks again into this narrow coffin.” The next morning he was dead. He died before the altar of St. Peter’s. As might be expected, his death had been announced by visions: monks had beheld in their dreams angels in white robes by his bed-side. April 13,
1059. Wonderful cures immediately followed his departure. A devil, who had possessed a Tuscan woman for above nine years, confessed that Leo had already ascended to heaven, and that it was by his power that he was driven forth. A woman laughed this tale to scorn; she was seized by the expelled fiend, and compelled to pray to the new Saint. The lame, the dumb, the lepers, were brought from all parts of Italy to touch his remains. Churches were built to his honour in Benevento, in Toul, and in many other cities.

CHAPTER III.

Continuation of German Popes.

HILDEBRAND having concluded his hasty treaty with Berengar, but not leading with him, as he had threatened, the captive heretic, travelled with the utmost speed to Rome. Pope Leo, it is said, had bequeathed the administration of the see, during the vacancy, to the Cardinal-subdeacon; but tumults were threatened, or actually broke out: the party of Benedict, the old Roman party, was not extinct. According to one account, it made a bold attempt to regain its power. Hildebrand was too wise as yet to aspire to the unsafe dignity. The Pope must be a wealthy prelate, for the larger part of the papal domains were still in the hands of the baronial plunderers. An Italian pope of the most awful piety, of the most determined energy, would only have wielded spiritual weapons, to which those lawless men had been too long habituated, not to laugh them to scorn. The Pope must command the imperial protection, without which Rome might at any time become the prey of the Normans. That terrible race had again resumed their hostile aspect; their ally, the Count of Reate, had not scrupled to seize and imprison, on their return from Constantinople, the future Cardinal Frederick of Lorraine and the other legates of Pope Leo. The Pope would have become the slave, he had not yet learned the wiser policy of being the patron and ally, of these barbarians. After some months it was

determined to send an embassy to the Emperor, at the head of which was Hildebrand himself, to implore his nomination. But Hildebrand had already determined upon his choice—a Pope who might meet the exigencies of the times, and whose election would so flatter the Emperor, that he would hardly refuse to concur cordially in the appointment. Gebhard of Eichstadt was one of the richest, undoubtedly the ablest of the German prelates. Gebhard might be considered the remote cause of the discomfiture of Leo at Civitella, and of his premature death. He it was who had advised the Emperor to countermand the march of the great body of his troops to the support of Leo. He had veiled this act of jealous hostility to Leo under affected scorn of the Normans; “with two hundred knights he would chase them from Italy.” If Gebhard could command the German troops to retire, he could command them to advance in these perilous times to the rescue of Rome.

The rise of Gebhard of Eichstadt to power and influence had been rapid and extraordinary. Gebhard, Bishop of Ratisbon, the uncle of the Emperor, had demanded for his favourite, Cuno, the succession to the see of Eichstadt. From some latent cause, on the pretext that Cuno was the son of a married priest, Henry refused the nomination, but endeavoured to propitiate his uncle by leaving the appointment absolutely in his power. The Bishop of Ratisbon immediately named Gebhard, a remote descendant of the noble house of Calw. To the Emperor’s objection against his extreme youth, the bishop replied with prophetic sagacity, that Gebhard would rise to still higher honours. This vaticination began immediately to give promise of fulfilment. The Bishop of Eichstadt showed consummate abilities; he

was of the greatest service to the Emperor in most difficult circumstances, particularly during the Hungarian war. He became his most intimate and confidential counsellor.

It was a great stroke of policy to secure the full exertion of the imperial power for the reinstatement of the Pope in the dignity and security of his office; to repel the Normans, perhaps to wrest back from their unworthy possessors some of the estates of the see: while at the same time it deprived the Emperor of a counsellor who was most likely to give success to his policy, to the German policy, of retaining the Pope in obsequious vassalage to the Empire. It might be boldly predicted from the ambition and abilities of such a Pope as Gebhard, that after the great work of the re-establishment of the papacy was completed, the Churchman, as in his predecessors, would predominate over the faithful subject, the Italian Pope over the German Liegeman. Gebhard foresaw the danger, shrank from the temptation; he had rather remain the commanding counsellor than the equal, the rival, it might be the enemy, of his master. He yielded to the pressing entreaties of Hildebrand and the Romans, and of his Imperial sovereign, only after long delay, only on the significant terms that the Emperor would restore the rights and possessions which he held belonging to the papacy. This speech implied the pledge of his assistance to recover those usurped by others. A whole year had elapsed before the successor of Leo IX. was inaugurated at Rome under the name of Victor II.

April 13,
1055.

The Emperor followed his Pope into Italy at the head of an imposing and powerful array. But a new enemy had arisen, if not more formidable, more hateful to the Emperor than the Normans or the usurpers of the Papal

estates. Godfrey the Bearded, the deposed Duke of Lorraine, had been Henry's ancient antagonist. Godfrey, anathematised by Leo IX., deserted by his allies, had submitted to the loss of his hereditary dukedom; he had led an aimless and adventurous life. One of the acts which was considered as betraying hostility to the Emperor in Pope Leo, had been the elevation of Godfrey's brother, Frederick of Lorraine, to the Cardinalate, and to the highest honours of the Church. Godfrey had accompanied his brother, the Cardinal Legate, on his mission to Constantinople. On his return he married Beatrice, the widow of Boniface, Marquis of Tuscany, who had been murdered A.D. 1052. a few years before. The whole inheritance of that family, the most powerful in Italy, the inheritance which, afterwards falling to the famous Countess Matilda, was the great source of the independence and overweening power of Gregory VII., was at the command of the Emperor's implacable enemy. The depression of the house of Lorraine was the one object which now occupied the Emperor. The mother and her daughter fell into his hands. Godfrey of Lorraine was forced to abandon his Italian possessions; he fled to Germany, to stir up more perilous revolt against the Imperial authority. The Cardinal Frederick, pursued by the implacable jealousy of the Emperor, did not find himself safe even in the holy sanctuary of Monte Casino. He took refuge in a more unapproachable monastery in the rocky island of Thermita, to emerge in a short time, under other circumstances, as the Supreme Pontiff.

Pope Victor II. held a council in the presence of the Emperor at Florence, then an unimportant city. Besides the ordinary denunciations against simoniacal proceedings, and a new May 27.

sentence against the excommunicated Berengar, a decree was passed which attempted to strike at the root of that evil which impoverished the papacy, broke up the Church property into small pieces, and made laymen the actual possessors of the estates of the Church. It prohibited, under pain of excommunication, all bishops and abbots from granting the estates of the Church as fiefs to knights or nobles. The Pope set the example of this new proceeding; on the falling in of the fief of Spoleto and Camerina, he became himself the Marquis. He proceeded, no doubt under the awe of the protection of his imperial master, to resume other lands which had been rashly and fraudulently granted away in the more turbulent periods to the barons of the Romagna.

But, whether from his severity in the condemnation of simony, the enforcement of ecclesiastical discipline, or the threatened resumption of the estates of the Church, the Italian hatred to a German Pope soon found a man bold and guilty enough to endeavour the murder of Victor. A subdeacon mingled poison even with the blood of the Lord in the Eucharist. The story took the form of legend; the Pope could not lift the chalice; he entreated the prayers of the faithful to enable him to investigate the cause of this wonder; the affrighted culprit fell on his knees and confessed, or, as it was said, the *dæmon* who possessed him confessed his guilt.

The Emperor, on the news of threatened insurrection, had hastened back to Germany. Instead of descending again in the next year to Italy, he sent messenger after messenger pressing the return of his one faithful and wise counsellor to Germany. The Empire was in open or secret revolt in many parts. Godfrey of Lorraine

had organised an insurrection; France threatened war: the Pope hastened to the aid of his old master. He arrived at Goslar to receive his confession, to administer the last Sacraments. The Emperor, in consequence of violent exertion in the chase, had caught a fever, which, working on a mind harassed by the perplexing state of affairs, brought him to the grave. He died, Oct 5, 1056.
 forgiving all his enemies, making restitution (Oct. 28.)
 of all which he had unjustly possessed, bequeathing his infant son to the care of the Pope. He was buried by the faithful Pope at Spires.

Victor II., Gebhard of Eichstadt, was now in power both Pope and Emperor; his wise moderation appeased the angry conflict in Germany. He reconciled Baldwin of Flanders to the young king by a timely concession of his hereditary dukedom. He allayed the enmity of Godfrey of Lorraine; he gave no offence to those who were most likely to take offence at this pre-June, 1057.
 eminent elevation of one of their own order, Oct. 29, 1055.
 the great prelates of Germany, he raised the celebrated Adalbert into a metropolitan of Northern Germany, as Archbishop of Hamburg. He sent Hildebrand again into France to reform the Church, to depose the simoniacal prelates, to wrest the power and the wealth of the clergy out of the hands of the laity. In Italy it had already, before the Emperor's death, begun to appear that the Pope now wielded the power of the Empire. He had made a progress into the March of Nov., Dec.,
 Ancona as Duke of Spoleto and Marquis of 1055.
 Camerina and Fermo and of the March of Ancona. He raised his tribunal, and was received with the utmost submission; many of the unruly barons attended obsequiously upon his court. He summoned the Count Teuto and his sons for unlawfully withholding the castle

of La Vitice from the Bishop of Teramo. The contumacious Teuto not appearing, the judge of the Pope declared him in rebellion, pronounced against him the ban of the Empire and of the Pope, and gave orders to take the castle by force. These proceedings were not always carried out without strong murmurs. Peter Damiani, in one case, thought himself called upon to intrude his remonstrances, and to admonish Pope Victor as to the observance of more equal justice. It was an ungrateful return to God who raised Victor to the favour of the Emperor, and had now invested him with imperial power, to abuse that power, to despoil unrightfully a man who had withdrawn from the world and dedicated himself to Christ.^a But at the summons of Pope Victor a

April 18,
1057.

large synod of bishops from Northern and Central Italy met at Florence; those of Florence, Arezzo, Nocera, Castello, Popilia, Sienna, Vercelli, Turin, Eugubio, Velletri, Fiesole, Pisa, Pistoia. Of the acts of this Synod nothing is known but the presentation of Frederick of Lorraine, fallen into such disgrace with the Emperor Henry III., but now wisely restored to favour, as Abbot of Monte Casino to the Pope.^b Frederick was received with the utmost courtesy, confirmed as abbot, and at the same time acknowledged as the Cardinal of St. Chrysogonus in the Roman Church. The ambition of Victor rose with his power; his grants assume a loftier tone; the Apostolic throne of Peter,

^a Damiani, Epist. i. v. The circumstances to which Damiani alludes are unknown.

^b Read in Tosti *Storia della Badia di Monte Casino*, i. p. 211, the curious account of the elevation of Frederick of Lorraine by a bold Papal intrigue to the Abbacy, the forcible deposition

of the pious and aged Abbot Peter, the courageous stand of the monks for their right of election. (They had an Imperial edict absolutely exempting them even from Papal jurisdiction) "fu tutta opera del generoso e forte monaco Hildebrando." So writes Tosti. The whole early history of Monte

the chief of the Apostles, is raised high above all people, and all realms, that he may pluck up and destroy plant and build in his name. He was preparing again to cross the Alps to arrange, in his character of guardian of the Empire, with the Empress Agnes the affairs of Germany; he was meditating a second great Council at Rheims, to accomplish the reform in the Church of France. He suddenly died at Arezzo, and with him expired all these magnificent schemes of universal rule.

July 28,
1057.

When the unexpected intelligence of Pope Victor's death arrived at Rome, the Cardinal Frederick of Lorraine had not departed to Monte Casino. The death of Victor caused almost a vacancy in the Empire as well as in the Papacy. The Empress mother alone, now deprived of her ablest counsellor, and her young son, represented the Franconian Cæsars. The House of Lorraine was in the ascendant; not only had Duke Godfrey been permitted to resume his hereditary rank and title, Victor, the Pope, had either from policy consented, or yielded through fear, to admit Godfrey and his wife Beatrice of Tuscany as joint representatives of the Empire, and as rulers of Italy. Frederick of Lorraine was not a Roman, not even an Italian, but he was the

Casino is a singularly vivid and instructive illustration of the times. The foundation of S. Benedict had martial Abbots, who stood in arms against the fierce Lombard counts and dukes, and the hardly more ferocious Saracens; a Martyr Abbot who was slain before the altar; ambitious Abbots akin to the Lords of Capua and Naples who obtained by force or fraud the coveted dignity; holy Abbots, who won the homage of mankind by

their virtues. Prefects, Kings, Emperors vied with each other in lavish grants of domains or wealth to Monte Casino. Those domains and that wealth became the object of plunder to Lombard, Saracen, or Norman; and was hardly lost before it was recovered or replaced by religious awe or superstitious terror. The Abbot of Monte Casino became a personage, sometimes hardly of less importance than the Pope himself.

hereditary enemy of the Imperial House; he had suffered bitter persecution from the late Emperor. The Romans determined to seize the occasion of reasserting their privilege of themselves creating the Pope without regard to the permission or sanction of the Emperor. Hildebrand was absent: and as they still hesitated, they consulted the Abbot of Monte Casino concerning the future Pope. Frederick of Lorraine named no single prelate; he embarrassed them (if indeed the whole was not well understood between the parties) with the choice among five prelates, Humbert Cardinal Bishop of St. Rufino, the Bishops of Velletri, of Tusculum, and of Perugia, and the Subdeacon Hildebrand. It was proposed to await Hildebrand's return; but the dominant party would hear of no delay. They declared none of these to be equal to the Papacy; Frederick of Lorraine himself must be the Pope. "Be it as you will," said the unresisting Abbot, "ye can only do what God permits you to do." Five days after the death of Victor, Frederick, under the name of Stephen IX.,
Stephen
Pope,
Aug. 2, 1057. was inaugurated in the church of St. Peter ad Vincula, and installed amid universal joy in the Lateran Palace. Frederick of Lorraine was a churchman of the sternest and haughtiest views. As the Legate of Leo IX. at Constantinople, he had asserted the Roman supremacy in the strongest terms. He had anathematised the Byzantine Church in language which, notwithstanding that the policy of the reigning Emperor Constantine Monomachus (intent on retaining, as an ally of the Pope, his small remaining territory in the south of Italy) led him to endure any degradation of his Church by the representatives of the Pope, eventually tended to widen the irreparable breach between the East and West. He drew up, with his colleagues, a paper which

he solemnly deposed on the high altar of St. Sophia, which, while it condescended to admit that among the pillars of the realm and the great dignitaries of the state, they had found much true faith and orthodox doctrine; asserted that the so-called Patriarch and his followers were sowing the seeds of all imaginable heresies. Like the Simonists, they sold the grace of God: like the Valesians, they appointed men whom they had castrated not only to the priesthood but to the episcopate;^c like the Arians, they rebaptised those who had been baptised before in the name of the Holy Trinity, even Latin Christians; like the Donatists, they declared that without the Church of Byzantium was no true Church, the sacraments were of none effect: like the Nicolaites, they permitted carnal union to priests; like the Severians, they declared the law of Moses accursed, and cut off from the article about the Holy Ghost his procession from the Son as from the Father: like the Manicheans, they asserted that whatever is leavened has life. Like the Nazarenes, they so highly respect the purification of the Jews, that they do not baptise children who die before the eighth day, and do not administer the communion to women who are in danger during childbirth; if heathens, do not baptise them. Finally, they do not, because they themselves wear their hair and beard long, admit to the communion those who, according to the Roman usage, clip their hair and shave their chins. "Accursed, therefore, be Michael, miscalled Patriarch, Leo Bishop of Acrida, and all their followers, with those of Simon, Vales, Donatus, Arius, Nicolaus, Severus, with all the enemies of God and the Holy Ghost, the Mani-

^c Compare on this extraordinary charge against these Valesians (Valentinians, qu.?) the letter in Mansi.

cheans and Nazarenes, and all heretics, yea with the Devil and his Angels. Amen! amen! amen!" With this protest Frederick of Lorraine and the other legates had shaken the dust from their feet, and left guilty Constantinople.

The Abbot of Monte Casino was a rigid monk as well as a haughty churchman: the appointment of Peter Damiani, the austere champion of clerical celibacy, the sworn enemy of the married clergy, to the cardinalate, showed to the world the inclination of his mind on these great points, on which the Church was plunging into a mortal contest.

But the secular prince, the heir of a German dukedom, was not sunk either in the monk or in the churchman. Pope Stephen IX. had great schemes at once for the deliverance of Italy, for the elevation of his own family, perhaps some undetected desire of revenge against the house of his enemy, Henry III. He proposed, by the aid of Godfrey, now in possession of the marquisate of Tuscany, to expel the Normans from Italy, and afterwards to elevate Godfrey, the deliverer and master of Italy, to the Imperial throne. But great means were necessary to arm a force sufficiently powerful to subdue the Normans. The Abbot of Monte Casino (he was still Abbot) remembered the vast treasures which the piety of centuries had accumulated in the vaults of Monte Casino (though once plundered by the Saracens),^d the votive offerings to St. Benedict, whom every devout monk considered his spiritual ancestor. He caused these treasures to be conveyed to Rome: he intended to devote them to this sacred crusade. But as he surveyed them religious terror seized his mind;

^d Leo Ostien.

visions were not wanting in which the holy Benedict and his sister Scolastica appeared to pious worshippers to protest against and to denounce this sacrilegious alienation of their riches. In an agony of remorse the Pope sent back the whole, except one picture, which himself had brought from Constantinople. The secret of this conduct is clear: it was the consciousness of failing health which repressed the bold ambition of the Pope. On St. Andrew's day, but four months after his election, he had retired to Monte Casino. At Christmas he was seized with a violent illness, and was at the point of death. Already had he begun to take measures for the administration of affairs after his decease. On his return to Rome in February, an access of returning health re-awakened his paralysed ambition. But the hand of death was upon him. He set off for Florence, turned aside to visit the holy Gualberto in his retirement at Vallombrosa, and after a few days died in his arms.

Christmas,
1057.

Feb. 10, 1058.

March 29,
1058.

The death of Stephen IX. was no sooner announced in Rome than each faction took its measures. The Imperial party sent a submissive message to the Empress Agnes, laying the nomination at the feet of her and of her son. But the old Roman feudatory barons, who had been already compelled to relax their hold on some of the wealth of the Church, saw at once their opportunity to seize the Papal election again into their own hands. The minority of the Emperor gave them courage. The Count of Tusculum, the Count of Galeria, the Crescentii of Monticello, rose without delay. John Mincius, the Cardinal Bishop of Velletri, had been one of the five prelates named by Cardinal Frederick of Lorraine on the death of Victor II.: he was of the famous house of Crescentius. Him they persuaded or compelled to accept

the dignity. He was hastily inaugurated, enthroned by night, and took the name of Benedict X. From him they proceeded to extort the most lavish grants. They plundered the treasures, no doubt on the specious pretext of purchasing the good-will of the people. The sacred oblations of St. Peter were not secure; the hammer of the coiner was heard beating up those holy ornaments into money. The cardinals present protested, and fled from Rome. Cardinal Humbert of St. Sabina, and Peter of Tusculum returned from the burial of the Pope: they found Benedict on the throne, the Romans submitting to a Roman Pope. They withdrew in all haste to Florence, to concert measures with him whose master-mind they had begun to acknowledge. Hildebrand was accidentally at the Imperial Court, on a mission from the late Pope; he would have no difficulty in rousing the resentment of the Empress against this usurpation, this insult, after the nomination had been offered by the Romans. She empowered him to proceed to a new election. Hildebrand alleged the specious reason of visiting the tomb of his late benefactor, the deceased Stephen IX., for delay in Florence. There he enlisted in the same cause the ancient enemy of the Imperial House and of the Empress, Godfrey of Lorraine, the Marquis of Tuscany. Rivals for the empire, these two potentates had a common interest in wresting the appointment to the Papacy from the lawless Romans, a common worldly interest, if not a religious dread of seeing the Papacy, notwithstanding the high character of the Pontiff elect, designated by the former Pope as one of the five most worthy ecclesiastics, sink to its former degradation. The choice skilfully adapted itself to the hopes and passions of both parties. It was Gerard, a Burgundian, a fellow student of the Lorrainer, the late

Pope Stephen IX., now the Archbishop of Florence, and therefore connected, no doubt, with Godfrey, who heartily concurred in the choice.^e The price of the concurrence of the Empress was a secret stipulation to crown her son as emperor. The anti-Pope took the name of Nicolas II. He moved to Sutri, escorted by Godfrey of Tuscany, supported by Guibert of Parma, the Chancellor of the Empire, whom he had summoned to attend at Sutri in a council of bishops.

Jan. 1059

Pope Benedict was declared excommunicate, Nicolas II. the rightful Pope. Resistance was vain. Nicolas II. advanced to Rome: he was received with apparent joy by the clergy and the people; the barons had disappeared with their plunder.

The Pontificate of Nicolas II. witnessed the two great changes in the Papal policy, which laid the foundations of its vast mediæval power—the decree for the election of the Pope by the cardinals of Rome, and the alliance with the Normans. With the aid of the Hagarenes (so are the Normans called) Nicolas besieged his rival in Galeria. The Count of that fortress repented of his rashness in offering protection to the Pope Benedict. Benedict ascended the walls; he began to make signs, to utter curses against the Roman people. "You have forced me, against my will, to be your Pope; give me security for my life, and I will renounce the Pontificate." Thirty Roman nobles pledged themselves as his guarantees for life and limb, for his safe reception in Rome. Nicolas, at the head of his army, returned to Rome; his rival followed, having stripped himself of his pontifical robes, and found a retreat with his mother, who lived near the Church of

Nicolas II.
Pope.

^e "Annitente Gothofredo duce."—Leo Ostien. iii. 12.

S. Maria Maggiore. Thirty days after, Hildebrand the archdeacon seized him by force, and placed
April 13. him before Nicolas and a council in the Lateran church. They stripped him before the altar of his pontifical robes (in which he had been again invested), set him thus despoiled before the synod, put a writing in his hand, containing a long confession of every kind of wickedness. He resisted a long time, knowing himself perfectly innocent of such crimes: he was compelled to read it with very many tears and groans. His mother stood by, her hair dishevelled, and her bosom bare, with many sobs and lamentations. His kindred stood weeping around. Hildebrand then cried aloud to the people, —“These are the deeds of the Pope whom ye have chosen!” They re-arrayed him in the pontifical robes, and formally deposed him. He was allowed to retire to the monastery of S. Agnes, where he lived in the utmost wretchedness. They prohibited him from all holy functions, would not allow him to enter the choir. By the intercession of the Archpresbyter of S. Anastasia, he was permitted at length to read the Epistle; a short time after, the Gospel; but never suffered to celebrate mass. He lived to the Pontificate of Hildebrand, who, when informed of his death, said, “In evil hour did I behold him; I have committed a great sin.” Hildebrand commanded that he should be buried with pontifical honours.^f

Immediately on his accession, while he was yet in his strength, supported both by the Imperial power and by the Marquis of Tuscany, while Rome and the barons were depressed by their late discomfiture, Nicolas II.

^f *Annales Romani*, first, I believe, published by Pertz vol. v. Pertz thinks that these annals had been seen by Barinius.

summoned a council, the second Lateran council in Rome. A hundred and thirteen bishops obeyed the call. The first decree of this assembly wrested at once the power of nominating the Pope from the lower clergy, the turbulent barons, and the populace. It left to the people and to the Emperor a barren approbation, but it vested the actual election solely in the higher clergy. With the cardinal bishops was the initiative; the assent of the cardinal priests and deacons was first required, then that of the laity, and finally that of the Emperor.⁵ The higher spiritual aristocracy took the lead, the others were to be their humble followers.^h Besides this, it established a kind of prerogative right in the Roman clergy to the Pontificate: only in default of a fit person within that Church was a stranger to be admitted to the honour. Rome was to be the place of election; but even Rome, by tumult or by contumacy, might forfeit her privilege. Wherever the cardinals were assembled, there was Rome. It had been at Sienna or at Sutri. In case the election could not take place within the city—and of this they were the sole judges—the cardinals, assisted by some of the religious clergy and religious laity, even though few (their religion would be their fidelity to their party), might proceed elsewhere to the election. The Imperial rights were reserved vaguely and ambiguously.ⁱ

A.D. 1059.
April 13.

⁵ "Nimirum cum Electio illa per Episcoporum Cardinalium fieri debeat principale *judicium*; secundo loco jure præbeat clericus *assensum*; tertio popularis favor attollat *applausum*; sique suspendenda est causa, usque dum regis celsitudinis consulatur auctoritas: nisi, sicut nuper contigit, periculum fortassis immineat, quod

rem quantocyus accelerare compellat." —Peter Damian. i. Epist. xx.

^h "Et ideo religiosissimi viri præduces sint in promovendâ pontificis electione: reliqui autem sequaces." The religiositas unhappily was estimated solely by rank in the Church.

ⁱ "Cardinales Episcopi, cum religiosis clericis, Catholicisque Laicis,

This decree, and an anathema of more than usual terror (the most dreadful imprecations in the Scripture were selected with sedulous care), was ratified by the consent of all, by the signature of above 70 bishops, with many other ecclesiastics. The anathema condemned the offender against the statute to irrevocable excommunication, to be counted among the wicked to all eternity. "May he endure the wrath of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and that of St. Peter, and St. Paul, in this life and the next! May his house be desolate, and no one dwell in his tents! Be his children orphans, his wife a widow, his sons outcasts and beggars! May the usurer consume his substance, the stranger reap his labours; may all the world and all the elements war upon him, and the merits of all the saints which sleep in the Lord, confound and inflict visible vengeance during this life! Whosoever, on the other hand, shall keep this law, by the authority of St. Peter is absolved from all his sins." Yet two years were hardly passed, when on the death of Nicolas a contested election distracted the Church of Rome; and some of the subscribing bishops are found in each furious faction.

The same Council, the second Lateran Council, which had thus made provision for the unity of the church by a new form of election, which had wrung the misused power from a lawless and irresponsible body, and seemed to repose it in security in the most holy and intelligent of the sacerdotal order; aspired also to esta-

licet paucis, jus potestatis obtineant eligere Apostolicæ sedis pontificem, ubi congruere viderint."—Conc. ii. Lateran. Throughout, however, there is a respectful reservation of the imperial right: "Salvo debito honore et

reverentiâ Henrici, qui in presentiarum rex habetur, et futurus imperator speratur." The last clause cited above has in the copy in Pertz: "*Ubi cum rege congruentius judicaverunt.*"—Pertz, *Leges*, ii, App. p. 177.

blish the endangered unity of doctrine, and authoritatively to decide the most perilous theological controversy which had arisen in Latin Christendom. Berengar of Tours had been persuaded or compelled to appear before the Lateran Council. He had his choice between death and the recantation of his tenets. But logic makes no martyrs. The temperament of Berengar's mind was not that of a reckless fanatic.^k He fairly confesses that the fear of death extracted from him the humiliating admission of his errors; he accepted a creed equivocal according to his view, and elusive of the main question, in which the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist was distinctly asserted, though not in the strongest terms of transubstantiation. No sooner was he beyond the power of his adversaries, than Berengar recanted his recantation; reassumed the contemptuous language of a superior mind towards Pope Nicolas himself; reasserted the doctrines of his master Erigena, whom in the presence of danger he had not hesitated to forswear. But though the decree of the Lateran Council had no effect on Berengar, it had for a short time the effect of almost suppressing his doctrine.^m Yet as will appear, it was

^k Compare Berengar's own account of these proceedings: he claims the victory, and boastfully avers that, by their own terms, the bread, as he had always asserted, remains after consecration.—p. 70 *et seq.* “Dum dicitur, *panis* in altari consecratio, vel *panis* sanctus, *panis* sacrosanctus est Christi corpus, omni veritate panis superesse conceditur.”

^m Among the most bold of Berengar's assertions was his protest against the assumption so perpetually made, that a certain doctrine, because supported

by the majority, is the doctrine of the whole Church. He boasts multitudes who hold his opinions: “Quod nomen Ecclesiæ totiens ineptorum multitudini tribuis, facis contra sensa majorum:—quod dicis omnes tenere hanc fidem—contra conscientiam tuam dicis, quam latere non potest, usque eo res agitata est, *quam plurimos* aut *pæne infinitos* esse cujuscunque ordinis, qui tuum de sacrificio Ecclesiæ excreantur errorem, atque Pascasii Corbejensis Monachi.”—p. 27.

not altogether swallowed up in the more absorbing question, the marriage of the clergy.

By the decree of the Lateran Council the popedom was restored to Italy, to Rome. The great organised and simultaneous effort of the higher Clergy, to become as it were the chief feudatories and to choose their monarch, had been successful. But the decree of a Council was only a mass of idle words, unless the Papacy could command some strong military force to secure its independence against domestic and against foreign foes. Either the Emperor must still dictate, or the Roman barons overawe the election. The Pope with all his magnificent pretensions was but a defenceless vassal, a vassal dependent on foreign resources for his maintenance on his throne.

The second great act of the pontificate of Nicolas II. was the conversion of the hostile, the unbelieving Normans into the faithful allies, the body guard of the Pope. The Normans were now in almost undisputed possession of the whole of Southern Italy: the Greek Argyrous, the last Catapan, the ally of Leo IX., had retired in despair, finding his dominions almost shrunk to the one faithful city of Reggio at the very verge of Calabria, to Constantinople. The Normans were not less politic than brave; they were not without superstition; their policy and their superstition might render them the allies, the protectors of the Papacy. Robert

Alliance
with the
Normans,
June 24,
1059.

Guiscard, the most powerful of the Norman princes, no doubt knowing how such advances would be received, sent an embassy to

Rome, to request the revocation of the ban of excommunication, still in force against his Normans. The Pope made a progress, partly of a spiritual, partly of a secular character, in the South. He held a synod at

Melfi; the extirpation of concubinage, universal among the Neapolitan clergy, was the pretext;ⁿ the Norman treaty the real object. The Normans wanted a more imposing title than that of conquest to their Italian possessions. They were not disposed to question the right of one, who was on his part disposed to make such title on his own authority. The Pope wanted the Norman aid, he scrupled not to advance the enormous pretension of a seignorial suzerainty over the whole kingdom of Naples, how devolved and how obtained, or on what ground, no one ever presumed or cared to inquire, and no one as yet has been able to answer, though few for centuries could safely dispute. He invested the Norman Richard in the principality of Capua; Robert Guiscard in the Dukedom of Apulia, of Calabria, and of Sicily, which he was to recover from the Saracens.

The Sovereign was not long in putting his feudatories to the test of their fidelity. The Pope returned to Rome, followed by his new Prætorian guards. Their first duty, which they undertook with fierce delight, was the extermination, or at least the humiliation of those ruthless nobles, who had so long ruled over Rome. They trampled on the pride of the Counts of Tusculum, Præneste, and Nomentana,^o who looked out from their

* "Ille ecclesiastica propter
Ad partes illas tractanda negotia venit.
Namque sacerdotes, Levitæ, clericus
omnis
Hæc regione palam se conjugio sociabant.
Concilium celebrans ibi Papa faventi-
bus illi
Præsulibus centum jus ad synodale
vocat.
Ferre sacerdotes monet altarisque mi-
nistros
Arma pudicitia: vocat hos et præcipit
esse
Ecclesia sponsos, quia non est jure sa-
cerdos
Luxuria cultor; sic extirpavit ab illis

Partibus uxores omnino Presbyterorum
Spretos minitans anathemate percutien-
dos."—*Gul. App.*, lib. ii.; *Muratori*, v. 202.

The clergy of the kingdom of Naples, like that of the rest of Italy, were to a great extent married: they were Greeks in this usage, as in subjection to the empire; but Nicolas and the Normans were leagued to extirpate all Greek influences.

o "Nam non solum Tusculanorum,
et Prænestanorum et Nomentanorum

inaccessible castles to see their territories wasted with fire and sword; and were even driven to go to Rome and make their peace with the Pope. The Normans crossed the Tiber, attacked the Count of Galeria, whose castle commanded the road to Rome, and who plundered all the pilgrims on their way. This ruffian had been vainly anathematised by each succeeding Pope, the last time in full synod by Nicolas himself, for robbing an English archbishop (Stigand of Canterbury) and an English Count of 1000 pounds.^p This castle and others as far as Sutri they demolished or subdued.

The proceedings of Nicolas II., this absolute Italianisation of the Pope, this close alliance with the only race who could confront the military prowess of the Germans, were watched with the utmost jealousy by the Imperialists in Italy, and by the whole of Germany. At Florence Nicolas felt the approach of death, he began to take measures for the appointment of his successor. It was his manifest aim absolutely to exclude the Germans from all hope, from all concern in this splendid inheritance. Already the great German prelates had observed, that all which the Lateran Council had left to the Emperor had been the supercilious notification by the Cardinals of the appointment to the Papacy, or if this statute might bear a stronger interpretation, Pope Nicolas is said to have issued a second decree almost annulling the consent of the Emperor. Hanno of Cologne, who had already been involved in some dispute with Pope Nicolas, with the consent of the other great prelates of Germany, took up the cause of

superbiam calcaverunt, sed et Romanam transeuntes, Galeriam et omnia castra Comitis Gerardi, usque Sutrium vastaverunt, quæ res Romanam urbem

Capitaneorum liberavit dominatione."
—Bonizo, p. 806.

^p *Money of Pavia*, says the *Disceptatio Synodalis*, p. 1169.

the Emperor, which was now that of the Transalpine Church ; he sent letters of excommunication, of deposition from the Papal throne to the dying Nicolas. Nicolas is said to have read them with deep affliction, and immediately to have expired.⁹

July 27, 1061.

The Cardinals on the death of Nicolas still held together, yet they did not venture at once to act upon the Lateran decrees or that of the deceased Pope. They feared, or were too prudent to defy the whole German interest. The Counts of Tusculum and the other barons, in revenge for their humiliation, threw themselves headlong into the Imperial faction. They sent the golden crown and the other insignia of the Patriarchate to the young Henry, and urged him to nominate a Pope, not a Roman. It might be seen at once at whom was pointed their sentence of exclusion. The Cardinals likewise sent a Legate, the Cardinal Stephen, to the youthful King and to his mother. This Cardinal was not admitted, probably as representing a body who were usurping the rights of the Empire.

Hildebrand knew that his time was not yet come ; and of all the great qualifications of this lofty Churchman, nothing is more extraordinary than his suppression of his personal ambition, the patience with which he

⁹ "Ad vindicandam vero suam aliorumque injuriam erexit se animo Coloniensis. . . . Communi consensu orthodoxorum episcoporum, direxit illis (the Pope and the Cardinals) excommunicationis epistolam, quâ visâ et dolens et gemens presentem (the Pope) deseruit vitam." This passage of Benzo (lib. vii. p. 397) is partly confirmed by a passage from Anselm of Lucca (or Cardinal Deusdedit), who asserts that the Emperor and the

Germans had made themselves unworthy even of this scanty mark of respect, the notification of the appointment of the Pope: "Primum quia postea Nicolaum Coloniensem Archiepiscopum pro suis excessibus corripuisse graviter tulerunt, cumque hujus gratiâ, quantum in se erat, a Papate deposuerunt, et nomen ejusdem in canone consecrationis nominari vetuerunt." Ap. Canis. Antiq. Lect. vi. p. 221. Compare Höfler, p. 358.

was content to work in a subordinate station, to be the first in influence without being the first in worldly dignity. Nor was there any other ecclesiastic in the Church of Rome whom he dared or chose to advance. The vacancy continued for three months, even before the initiatory nomination of the Cardinals took place. At length they chose a Lombard, Anselm of Badagio, Bishop of Lucca; but a Lombard with peculiar claims and marked opinions, who brought with him a strong and now triumphant party in Northern Italy; who was the sworn and tried enemy of doctrines odious to a large part, especially odious to the whole monastic section of the Church. Anselm had at one time been proposed as Archbishop of Milan: had he obtained that rank, the feud which was kept alive by the weakness, the connivance, if not the inclination of that great prelate towards the married clergy, had come to an earlier issue.

The Archbishop of Milan was the most powerful prince, when there was not an Italian Emperor or King of Italy, in the north of the Peninsula. The power of the Archbishop, and the use which he could make of this power, cannot be estimated without ascending to the beginning of this century, and even higher than the archiepiscopate of Heribert. Milan owes almost all her glory to her Archbishops. The first restorer of her greatness was Archbishop Anspert. Milan, which had ranked among the nine great cities of the Empire, whose wonders had been commemorated in the poetical panegyric of Ausonius,^r had never recovered its utter ruin by Attila. Pavia, under the Ostrogoths and Lombards, was the capital of Northern Italy. The

Anspert
archbishop,
868; died 881.

^r "Et Mediolani mira omnia."—Auson. The verses are worth reading.

great Archbishop Anspert (during the reign of Charles the Fat) first assumed his metropolitan dignity over his suffragans of Cremona and Bergamo, and haughtily neglected the citations of the Pope; and when John VIII. commanded the clergy of Milan to proceed to a new election in place of the contumacious prelate, the clergy paid no regard whatever to the mandate. Anspert was a magnificent as well as powerful prelate; he built the porch of San Ambrogio. Heribert, who now stands before us, was the second founder of Milan's greatness. The Archbishop Otto of Visconti (in later times) was the first Lord of Milan, and handed down the ducal dominion (a more dubious title to the gratitude of Milan!) to the house of Visconti.^a The prelate-prince Heribert was magnificent in his charities and uncom-
Archbishop
Heribert,
1018.
 promising in his assertion of his episcopal rights. During a long famine, more or less severe, of twenty years, his prodigality to the poor was unexhausted; at the same time he seized with a strong hand all the property of the Church which had been wasted or alienated by the rapacity or weakness of his predecessors. He was esteemed a great divine, but not less a master in worldly policy.^b One of his first acts was to cross the Alps,^c and of his sole authority to elect Conrad the Salic King of Italy. According to the right asserted by the Archbishop of Milan to crown the King of Italy (that of crowning the Emperor belonged to the Pope), Conrad received the famous iron crown from the hand of Heribert;^d and at the diet of Roncaglia, Italy recognised the sovereign thus chosen by the Archbishop of

^a Landulph. Sen. ii.

^b "Divinâ pollens scientiâ, sæcularique ingenio astutus."

^c Verri, Storia di Milano, c. n. p. 87.

^d Arnulfus, Rer. Ital. Script., ix. 14; Wippo, Vit. Conrad.

Milan.⁷ When Conrad went to Rome to receive the Imperial crown, there broke out one of the fierce quarrels for precedence between the Archbishops of Milan and Ravenna. It was suspended for a time by the Pope's authority, but followed by a war, in which the two martial prelates of the same name headed their own forces. Heribert of Ravenna escaped with difficulty within the walls of his city. Among the rewards for his service the Emperor Conrad had bestowed on the Archbishops of Milan the right to appoint, or at least to grant the investiture of the See of Lodi. On the death of the bishop, Heribert hastened to supply the place with a faithful partisan. The clergy and people of Lodi resented this invasion of their rights, and proceeded to another election. Heribert instantly marched upon Lodi; after a vigorous resistance he compelled the city to receive his bishop, and from this cause sprang the implacable hatred between Milan and Lodi.² The martial prelate, also in obedience to the summons of his liege lord, crossed the Alps, and aided Conrad in the conquest of Burgundy. But his own warlike nobles began to rebel against the tyranny of Heribert. The important law of Conrad, passed at the Diet of Roncaglia, had wrought a revolution in the feudal system; it recognised the hereditary descent of fiefs hitherto, nominally at least, held at the will of the suzerain. Heribert refused to admit the valvassors of the Church of Milan to this privilege; he seized on a vacant fief, and thus

⁷ "Nel corso di ventisette anni ch' gli occupò questa sede, Milano diventò a città precipua della Lombardia."—Verri, p. 124.

² "Ab illo etenim tempore inter Mediolanenses et Laudenses implaca-

bile viguit odium." The Milanese were the more powerful and wealthy; those of Lodi valiant to ferocity (truces). They cared not for loss, if they could inflict loss on their enemies.

—Arnulf, ii. c. vii.

embodied against him all the great beneficiaries. They broke out in open rebellion.^a Heribert attempted to allay the mutiny by prudent measures; he then had recourse to force. With the assistance, no doubt, of the people, to whom the tyrannous nobles were odious, he drove them out of the city. They left it in sorrow.^b There, however, they were joined by the lords of the surrounding castles and by the people of Lodi, burning for revenge against Heribert. A great battle took place at Campo Malo; the Bishop of Asti, on Heribert's side, was slain. Heribert, confounded by many desertions, retired into the city, and summoned the Emperor to his aid.^c

Conrad crossed the Alps, but instead of espousing the cause of the Archbishop, offended by the freedom of the populace, he retired to hold ^{A.D. 1037.} his court at Pavia. There, at a great diet, he sat as suzerain, to grant redress to all appellants to his tribunal. A charge was brought against the Archbishop of Milan; it was seconded by clamorous outcries from his enemies. The Emperor commanded the arrest of the Archbishop of Milan, and his partisans the Bishops of Vercelli, Piacenza, and Cremona. The intelligence was received with profound sorrow and indignation at Milan. The clergy chanted solemn litanies for his deliverance, the people rushed to arms. Heribert contrived to escape from his drunken German guards, and threw himself into the city, where he was received with universal joy. The Emperor speedily laid siege to Milan; the Archbishop made a gallant defence, and

^a This, I think, is clear from Arnulf; "Compertâ autem occasione cujusdam beneficio privati, subito prouunt."—*Ibid.*

^b "Ab urbe discedunt mœrentes."—*Ibid.*

^c Arnulf, ii.; Landulph, ii. 22.

Conrad retired discomfited. In revenge he declared Heribert deposed, and appointed a rival prelate. The dauntless Heribert retaliated by secretly endeavouring to set up a rival King of Italy. Insulted and baffled, after having ravaged the whole country in his impotent wrath, the mighty Emperor Conrad retired beyond the Alps.^d The triumphant Heribert wreaked his vengeance on the adherents of the rival prelate, punishing them in person and in property.

Aug.,
A.D. 1038.

Thus the conqueror at once of his own rebellious liegemen and of the Emperor himself, the Archbishop ruled his splendid city, which he seemed determined to arm against any future aggression upon its liberties.^e It was at this time that the Christian bishop invented the carroccio, the car-borne standard of Milan, afterwards adopted by the other Italian cities. In the great car rose a tall mast with a transverse beam supporting a banner, on which above were the arms of the city, below the crucified Saviour, visible to the whole army, to animate or console the combatants in success or defeat. The elevation of this banner was the summons which all Milan was to obey, the noble and the peasant, the rich and the poor.^f

Milan, but for her internal dissensions, now relieved by the death of Conrad from her one formidable enemy, might have enjoyed long prosperity. For a time Heribert overawed both nobles and people. But other feuds began. The new military captains trained by

^a Conrad, who had proceeded to the south of Italy, obtained the excommunication of the Archbishop of Milan from Pope Benedict XI. Heribert paid no more respect to the excommunication of the Pope than to the ban of the empire. Conrad died the year after, June 4, A.D. 1039.

^e Landulph is throughout the wondering panegyrist of Heribert.

^f Compare Verri, p. 133; Muratori, Dissert.; Arnulf, ii. 16.

Heribert in his wars had proved more intolerable tyrants than the old nobles, whom the people began to regret, and to call the guardians and protectors rather than the oppressors of the people.^g Yet we find the whole nobility soon united in a common cause. Lanzo, one of the nobles, espoused the popular faction. The valvassors and the populace met in bloody strife in every quarter of the city. Again the worsted nobles were forced to leave the city; again the country chieftains made common cause with them. Six fortresses were built to bar every access to the city; for three years Milan was in a state of siege.^h But the skill and courage of Lanzo baffled all assault. The city suffered greatly from famine. A small domain under the walls produced some corn and wine. On both sides the prisoners were treated with the utmost inhumanity. The part which Heribert took in this conflict is not clear. By some he is represented as having left the city with the expelled nobles. His panegyrist ascribes to him a stately neutrality.ⁱ Though connected with them by birth, he rebuked, with vain but earnest severity, the avarice and licentiousness of the nobles, yet would not commit himself to the popular cause.

Lanzo at length found his way to the Court of Henry, the son and successor of the Emperor Conrad. But Henry suspected the fickleness of the Italians; he dreaded the enmity of Heribert, so fatal to his father. He imposed the hard terms, that four thousand of his cavalry should be admitted within the city, and that Lanzo should be answerable for the fidelity of the

^g Landulph panegyrises the ancient
"Duces."

A.D. 1051 or 1052.

^h The beginning of this feud was

ⁱ "Qualiter nec fuit cum populo, nec voluntati majorum juit."—Landulph.

citizens. Lanzo was a man of inexhaustible resources. With patriotic treachery he revealed his own secret negotiations with the Emperor, and used these haughty demands as an argument to force the conflicting parties to peace. He urged on the nobles and the people that their quarrels would only yield them up to the remorseless tyranny of the barbarous Germans. The nobles re-entered the city; peace was restored.

Soon after this Heribert died. The Archbishop consoled his weeping attendants on his deathbed—"I am going to the feet of St. Ambrose." He received the Sacrament in the presence of the whole clergy of Milan; and this martial and secular prelate was, if not directly canonised by the admiration of his countrymen, yet admitted to equal veneration with the holiest and most world-despising saints. His miracles were soon recorded in the chronicles of the city. The worthy successor of St. Ambrose was reported to have averted famine from the land by his prayers. The pastoral staff of Ambrose, having been stolen by a sacrilegious robber for the sake of its precious metal, revealed itself to his successor.

Who was to fill the throne of the mighty and sainted Heribert? Among the names proposed was that of Anselm of Badagio, afterwards Bishop of Lucca, and Pope under the name of Alexander II.^k The choice fell upon Guido, a man of far inferior character and determination than his predecessor,^m whose warlike example he seemed at first disposed to follow; he headed the troops of Milan in a war with Pavia; he asserted at Rome the precedency of the Milanese see

^k The four candidates were presented to the Emperor Henry. Guido was not a noble.—Giulini, iii. p. 422.

^m "Vi volle tatta l' astuzia

Guidone, tutto il timore, che si aveva del re Enrico e multo denaro, per ottenere che fosse consecrato il nuovo arcivescovo."—Verri, I. 136.

against rival Ravenna. But Guido was unequal to the imminent crisis, more important to the Church and to Christianity than all the disputes between the nobles, valvassors, and people, when the clergy of Milan dared to assert their real or supposed privileges against all the power of Rome, against the reviving austerity of monasticism, and against the populace of Milan. It involved the great question of the marriage of the priesthood, of which the Milanese clergy were the avowed champions. It was a protest, or rather a direct rebellion against the vast scheme of ecclesiastical dominion already matured, at least in the mind of Hildebrand; and which could never have been accomplished but by a celibate clergy. Anselm of Badagio, an avowed monk, a monk of monks, as Archbishop of Milan, would have taken a decided part; Guido, by his vacillation, incurred the contempt of both parties, inflaming the feud by his unsettled policy, and betraying, from want of courage to support it, that cause to which no doubt he had a secret leaning.

The Church of Milan revered the memory of St. Ambrose almost as proudly as Rome that of St. Peter. Milan boasted the most numerous, ^{S. Ambrose.} best appointed, and best organised clergy. According to a proverb of the time, Milan was to be admired for its clergy, Pavia for its pleasures, Rome for its buildings, Ravenna for its churches.ⁿ It had its peculiar service,

ⁿ "Ecclesia enim Ambrosiana Domino annuente, sapientibus sacerdotibus, Levitis et Subdiaconibus, super ceteras abundabat ecclesias. Unde in proverbium dictum est, Mediolanum in clericis, Pavia in deliciis, Roma in ædificiis, Ravenna in ecclesiis."—Landulph, Sen. iii. p. 96.

Damiani himself praises highly the clergy of Turin (allied with Milan) as in all other respects virtuous, learned. "They chanted like angels; they seemed a noble ecclesiastical senate." When he found them married, all their virtues disappeared.—Opuscul xviii.

the Ambrosian, which had been respected, and was undisturbed by Gregory the Great.

But the Church of Milan possessed likewise—or boasted that it possessed—an unbroken tradition from St. Ambrose himself. They cited boldly, publicly, and without any charge that they had falsified the text—the very words of St. Ambrose, authorising, if not the marriage of the clergy, the Greek usage, that priests married before their ordination should retain their wives.* Heribert himself, the

* This was the sentence: “De *monogamiâ* sacerdotum quid loquar? quum una tantum permittitur copula et non repetita, et hæc lex est non iterare conjugium.” This text now stands: “De *castimoniâ* autem quid loquar, quando una tantum nec repetita permittitur copula? Et in ipso ergo conjugio lex est non iterare conjugium.”—S. Ambros, Oper. edit. St. Maur. ii. 66, Paris, 1686. Another passage was triumphantly cited in a public speech (Rer. Ital. Script. iv. p. 109): “Virtutum autem magister apostolus est . . . qui unius uxoris virum præcipit esse, non quod exortem excludat conjugii, nam hoc supra legem præcepti est, sed ut conjugali castimoniâ fruatur absolutionis sui gratiâ: *nulla enim culpa est conjugii, sed lex.* Ideo apostolus legem posuit dicens; si quis sine crimine est, unius uxoris vir, tenetur ad legem *sacerdotii supradicti* (am?) qui autem iteraverit conjugium, culpam quidem non habet coinquinati, sed prærogativâ exiit sacerdotis.” In the editions this now stands: “Ut conjugali castimoniâ sernet absolutionis sui gratiam.” Instead of the words in italics, omitted: “Neque iterum ut filios in sacerdotio

creare apostolica invitetur auctoritate, habentem enim dixit filios non facientem, neque conjugium iterare.” Then: “Ideo apostolus legem posuit dicens, si quis sine crimine est unius uxoris vir, tenetur ad legem sacerdotii suscipiendi,” *et seqq.*

At the revival of letters there were great disputes about the falsification of the texts of the Fathers. See Koster's Preface to Edit. Basil. 1555; Francis Junius, Præfat. ad Indic. Expurgat.; Rivet, Critica Sacra, iii. 6; Daillé: on the other side, the Benedictine Editors and Puricelli, apud Muratori, R. It. Scrip.; and the Preface of Cardinal Montalto to the Roman edition. Sound and impartial criticism would, in my judgement, unquestionably maintain the older reading. Yet forgeries were clearly not all on one side. Galvaneo Fiamma quotes from an ancient chronicle of Dazio the account of a synod held at Constantinople (an apocryphal synod), in which Ambrose was present! in which one party asserted that married priests could not be saved. The supreme pontiff (Damasus!) submitted the question to S. Ambrose. He replied: “Perfectio vitæ non in castitate

great Archbishop, was a married man; his wedlock had neither diminished his power nor barred his canonisation.^p In assertion of this privilege they dauntlessly defied all superior authority, and denied as to this, as to their other precious rights, all supremacy of the Pope. Nor was it a privilege of which they availed themselves sparingly. By the accounts of friends and foes, the practice of marriage was all but universal among the Lombard clergy. They were publicly, legally, married with ring and dowry,^q as were the laity of Milan; and this, which was elsewhere esteemed a vice, became in Milan, by their bold assertion of its lawfulness, a heresy.^r

sed in charitate consistit, secundum illud Apostoli, si linguæ hominum loquor et angelorum, etc. Ideo lex concedit sacerdotes semel virginem uxorem ducere, sed conjugium non iterare. Si autem mortuâ primâ uxore sacerdos aliam duxerit, sacerdotium amittat." Peter Azerid wrote thus at the beginning of the fourteenth century: "Iis omnino benedicens B. Ambrosius, unâ uxore uti posse concessit, quâ defunctâ, et ipsi vidui in æternum permaneant. Quæ consuetudo duravit annis septuaginta usque ad tempora Alexandri Papæ, quem civitas Mediolanensis genuerat." In the older editions of Corio (mine is Venezia, 1554) is a passage which was struck out in the later editions: "Concesse loro (S. Ambrogio) chè potessero havere moglie vergine, la quale morendo, restassero poi vedovi, si come chiaramente si legge nella prima di Timoteo."—p. 5, 6. Puricelli in Muratori, H. I. S. iv. 122.

^p "Hic Archiepiscopus habuit uxorem nobilem mulierem: quæ dona sit dotem

suam monasterio Sancti Dionysii, quæ usque hodiè Uxeria dicitur."—Galvaneus Fiamma, *sub ann.* 1040.

^q "Cuncti enim cum publicis uxoribus sive scortis suam ignominiose ducebant vitam."—Vit. B. Arialdi, a B. Andreâ, Bolland, xvii. Jun. In the first sermon of Ariald, he says of the clergy: "Et ipsi, ut cernitis, sicut laici palam uxores ducunt." He adds: "Stuprum quemadmodum scelesti laici sequuntur."—Ibid. He speaks of their greater vigour as not labouring but living "ex dono Dei."

^r "Vitium quippe in hæresin vertitur, cum perversi dogmatis assertionem firmatur." See the furious invective of Damiani "contra clericos intemperantes," c. vii. "Nec vos terreat—(he is urging the pellices, as he calls them, to break off their connexions)—quod forte, non dicam fidei, sed perfidiæ vos annulus subarrhavit; quod rata et monimenta dotalia notarius quasi matrimonii jure conscripsit; quod juramentum ad confirmandam quodammodo conjugii copulam utri-

Still there were many of the austerer clergy in Milan, as in other parts of Italy, who looked with what they esteemed righteous indignation at this licentious and sensual privilege. Three persons bound themselves in a holy league of enmity against the married clergy: of these Anselm of Badagio was one; the second, Ariald, a man of humble birth, and therefore more able to speak to the hearts of the rude populace; the third, Landulph, a noble, remarkable for his eloquence. Landulph and Ariald began to preach in Milan to the populace of the city, and to the peasantry, the unlawfulness and licentiousness of a married clergy.^s Each party strove to implicate the other with the name of an odious heresy; the monastics branded the assertors of clerical marriage with the old name proverbial for sensuality, Nicolaitans: the Lombard Clergy affected to treat their adversaries as Paterines or Manicheans. This was no unmeaning phrase. During the rule of Heribert, one of those strange sects, with many old Gnostic opinions, had appeared at Monteforte. A certain Gerard was at their head: their doctrines contained much of mystic Gnosticism. They identified the Saviour with the soul of man born into a corruptible state.^t The Holy Ghost was apparently the divine Intelligence (Nous) revealing itself to man. They were severe ascetics, condemned all union of the sexes, and said that if men would abstain from corruption, they would generate like bees, without conjunction. They denied the absolving power of the priesthood; that they ascribed to an unseen

que processit. Ignorantes quia pro uniuscujusque fugaci voluptate concubitus mille annorum negotiantur incendium."—Ibid. c. iii.

^s The Council of Pavia, under Benedict VIII. (A.C. 1021), with the

approbation of the emperor, Henry II., had passed an ordinance to enforce the celibacy of the clergy.

^t Rodulphus Glaber, iv. 2; Landulph, Sen.

influence which visited God's people. Their great tenet was, that it was right to die in torments, so to purify the soul; they rejoiced therefore in martyrdom: if not so nappy as to meet it before the approach of death, they were released by one of their own people. Heribert gratified their passion for martyrdom; he burned all, except a few, who shrunk from death, on an immense pyre in Milan.^u The married clergy taunted their opponents with the name and tenets of this hated sect; they even lodged a formal accusation against them before the archbishop. Guido attempted to silence both parties by gentle admonitions, but without effect; at length the conflict broke out.

During a great festival, for the translation of the reliques of the martyr Nazarius, a priest was maddened by the unmeasured invectives of Ariald against his married brethren. Ariald had driven the singers and all the clergy out of the choir of the church; he caused a paper to be written, which bound all the clergy under an oath to maintain their chastity; he endeavoured to compel all ecclesiastics to sign this paper.^x The priest broke out into a violent harangue, and struck Ariald. This was the signal for a general tumult; the adherents of Ariald rushed through the streets, the bells rang, the populace gathered from all quarters. The populace are usually on the side of those who make the most austere show of religion; they were jealous of the wealth of the clergy: many of them, like the plebeians of Rome, were burthened with heavy debts, severely exacted no doubt by the clergy.^y The higher ecclesiastics were

^u Landulph, apud Muratori.

^x Arnulf.

^y "Horum disseminatis verbis pes-
tenter, subito multi quibus alienum

æs purissime exigebatur, quosque foris
et intus dura paupertas agebat," etc.
—Landulph, vi. 9.

mostly patrician in birth, and habits, and faction. Everywhere they were insulted, assaulted, beaten, their houses plundered; and they were forced by a summary process of divorce to abandon their wives.² The nobles were overawed and dared not interpose. Nor were the clergy of the city alone exposed to this popular persecution. The preachers roved through the country and stirred up the peasantry against the priests and their concubines,—they would give them no more respectful name.

Ariald and Landulph went to Rome, to obtain the sanction of the Pope, Stephen IX., for their proceedings. The Cardinal Dionysius, a Milanese by birth, attempted a cautious and timid opposition; he did not venture, except slightly and incidentally, to enter on the grave question of the marriage of the clergy; but remonstrated against the violence of their adversaries, the stirring up the rabble with clubs, and spears, and swords, against the holy anointed priesthood. A Legation was appointed by Pope Stephen, consisting of Ariald, Anselm of Lucca, and Hildebrand. This first mission had no effect in allaying the strife; the dissension was growing fast into a civil war.^a

Guido at length took courage, and assembling a synod at Novara, or rather at Fontaneto, in the territory of Novara, asserted his full archiepiscopal authority,^b and excommunicated the turbulent Ariald, Landulph, and their partisans; they treated the excom-

^a "Postea vero summo cum dedecore mulierum divortium sine lege, sine jure, sine Episcopo, non Deum, sed pecuniam illorum amantes, gladiis et fustibus feriebant."—Ibid.

^a This first legation is distinctly

asserted by Landulph; it is barely possible that it may be another version of the later one.

^b "Ut quodammodo Ecclesia Mediolanensis suis jussibus ottemperaret."

munication with contempt. Another Legation arrived, with the famous Peter Damiani, now compelled to be a cardinal, who, with Anselm of Lucca, was commissioned by the new Pope, Nicolas, to investigate the spiritual state of Milan. Peter Damiani was the austere monk in Italy, a monk who, compelled to be a bishop, had striven with all his might to throw off the worldly and unholy burthen. His horror at sexual indulgence was almost a madness.^c Yet the cardinal and his colleagues were received with all outward show of respect by the Archbishop and the clergy; but the pride of the Milanese of all ranks was in secret skilfully excited; would they permit the church of St. Ambrose to be enslaved by that of Rome? The popular indignation was further roused by the appearance of the Legate with Anselm of Lucca on his right hand, and the archbishop of Milan on his left. Milan assembled at the ringing of the bells in all the churches, and the summons of an enormous brazen trumpet, which shrieked through the streets. The fickle populace were now as furious in defence of the clergy, who seemed the champions of the liberties of the city, as they had been in their persecution. The cry was loud that the church of S. Ambrose would never submit to the Roman pontiff. The life of Damiani was in danger;^d but Damiani was

A.D. 1059.

^c "Interea et vos alloquor, o lepores clericorum, pulpamenta diaboli, projectio Paradisi, virus mentium, gladii animarum, aconita bibentium, toxica convivarum, materia peccandi, occasio pereundi. Vos, inquam, alloquor, gynecæa hostis antiqui, vos upupæ, ululæ, noctuæ, lupæ, sanguisugæ, affer, affer sine cessatione dicentes. Venite itaque audite me, scorta, prostibula, savia, volutabra porcorum pin-

guium, cubilia spirituum immundorum, nymphæ, sirenæ, lamia, *diana*, qu. ? . . . vos tigrides impiæ . . . vos harpyæ, vos sirenæ atque charybides . . . vos viperæ furiosæ;"—and so on for paragraphs. These are the terms in which he addresses the wives of the clergy. Damiani must be read to understand his sacred horror of priestly wedlock.

^d "Intentabant mihi, ut ita loquor

not a man to quail before popular tumult; he mounted the pulpit; he asserted with firm and argumentative tone the supreme jurisdiction of Rome;^e he boldly appealed to their own archives to prove that Ambrose himself had applied to the Pope Siricius, and that the Pope had sent his legates, a priest, a deacon, and a sub-deacon, to assist Ambrose in rooting out from his city that same Nicolaitan heresy, the marriage of the clergy, for which they now asserted the authority of Ambrose.^f Guido was grown older and more timid; the people saw him seated of his own accord on a stool at the feet of Damiani. The clergy, deserted by the bishops, deserted again by the populace, who were overawed by the eloquence and lofty bearing of the cardinal, had no resource but humble submission.^g The Archbishop, reluctantly it is said, took a solemn oath against simony, and against the marriage of priests. The clergy were compelled to subscribe the humiliating concession; every simoniac (and of simony every clergyman of Milan, from the Archbishop downwards, was accused) was to submit to a penance of five or seven years in proportion to his guilt; but there were those who felt the pride of Milan

omnem mentem, et, ut ab amicis meis sæpe suggestum est, nonnulli meum sanguinem sitiabant."—Damian. Op. v.

* Damiani (ad Card. Hildebrand) describes the sensitive pride of the Milanese as to the Church of St. Ambrose: "Factione clericorum repente in populo murmur exoritur non debere Ambrosianam ecclesiam Romanis legibus subjicere, nullumque judicandi vel disponendi jus Romano pontifici in illâ sede competere. Nimis indignum, inquit, ut quæ sub progenitoribus nostris semper fuit libera ad nostræ confusionis opprobrium nunc

alteri, quod absit, ecclesiæ sit subiecta!"

^f Damiani probably believed this dauntless assertion. Siricius was certainly the first Pope who authoritatively condemned the marriage of the clergy; but imagine Ambrose needing or demanding aid from the Pope to exterminate this heresy in his own diocese!

^g Damiani's letter to Guido, humbly thanking him for the gift of two stoles, contrasts singularly with his demeanour and influence in the city.—Epist. iii. 7.

humbled, Damiani's assuming precedence over the archbishop goaded them to frenzy. "O senseless Milanese! (writes the indignant historian, who represents the feelings of this party) who has fascinated you? Yesterday you clamoured for the independent supremacy of your see, to-day you submit to this base subjection. If Rome is to be honoured for the apostle, Milan is not to be despised, who boasts her Ambrose."^h

At the great Council, however, at Rome (1059), which assigned the election of the popes to the cardinals, Guido sat, as archbishop of Milan, at the right hand of the Pope, a reward for his submission. He was attended by his suffragans, the Bishops of Brescia, Turin, Asti, Novara, Lodi, Vercelli. Ariald assailed Guido, as a favourer of simony and of concubinage; he was defended by his suffragans; the temper of Pope Nicolas allayed the strife. Guido perhaps hence was again supposed to espouse the cause of the married clergy; he rose, therefore, with them into high popularity. Though the Council denounced both simony and concubinage in severe statutes, the Lombard bishops dared not publish them in their cities. Adrian of Brescia alone ventured to do this: he hardly escaped being torn to pieces by the rabble. In Cremona and Piacenza the people split into two parties—those who adhered to, and those who refused communion with the married clergy.ⁱ

^h Arnulf. Compare Tristano Calchi, Hist. Patr. vi. 132.

ⁱ "Concilio igitur rite celebrato episcopi Longobardi domum remeantes, cum magnas *Levitis concubinariis et sacerdotibus accepissent pecunias* [Bonizo was on the other side] decreta Patrum celaverunt præter unum scilicet Brixienarium Episcopum qui

veniens Brixiam, cum decreta Papæ publice recitasset, a clericis verberatus pæne occisus est, quod factum non mediocre Pateriæ dedit incrementum. Nam non solum Brixie, sed et Cremonæ et Placentiæ et per omnes alias provincias multi concubinatorum abstinebant communione."—Bonizo p. 207.

Anselm of Badagio, Bishop of Lucca, the instigator of Landulph and of Ariald, was now summoned to a loftier station : on him had fallen the choice of the cardinals assembled at Rome. But the election of Alexander II. (such was his title) without the consent of the Emperor, was received as a bold invasion of the Imperial rights by the Transalpine prelates. The Lombard ecclesiastics, especially those who were for the marriage of the clergy, dreaded the elevation of Alexander, whom they hated with personal hatred, and foresaw no doubt the overweening influence of Hildebrand and of the high monastic party. They too would have an Italian Pope, but a Pope from their part of Italy.^k

Guibert was the Chancellor of the Empire, the administrator of the Imperial interests in Italy. By his advice a Council was assembled in Basle, composed of German and Lombard prelates. The Council annulled the election of Alexander, and chose Cadalous, Bishop of Parma, who took the name of Honorius II.^m The Roman people were represented at Basle by the Count of Galeria, and some of the other barons who had been put down by the Normans. The passions of the time can be best known by the language of the time. It would be unjust to estimate the character of Cadalous by the frantic words of Damiani ; but they show clearly the fanaticism of hatred with which his appointment was viewed by the adverse party. He is described as the preacher of the devil, the enemy of man's salvation, the

* "Nec aliunde se habere Papam, nisi ex Paradiso Italiæ, talemque qui scivit compati infirmitatibus eorum." —Bonizo, p. 80.

^m Compare throughout the *Disceptatio Synodalis* between the advocate of the Emperor and the Defender

of the Roman Church before the Council of Augsburg, remembering that it was the work of Peter Damiani. I had written Osbor after the authorities. The Germans, as I am informed by M. Ranke, know no such place : they read Augsburg. [1857.]

apostle of Antichrist, the gulph of lewdness, the filth of mankind, the sink of all vices, the abomination of heaven, food for hell fire.ⁿ After these and many other equally opprobrious terms, it is nothing to accuse him of the most deplorable ignorance.^o Unfortunately Damiani assumed the language of a prophet, and foretold that the impious usurper would not live a year from the period of his elevation!^p At the election of Cadalous, writes another hostile historian, the Simoniacs rejoiced, the priests who had concubines exulted with loud joy.^q His partisans declared that all the Catholic Bishops of Italy, Germany, and Burgundy, approved his elevation.^r

The election of Alexander had taken place on the 1st of October, that of Honorius II. on the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude (Oct. 28). Open war must decide the contest for the vicegerency of the Prince of Peace.

▪ “Cadalous videlicet perturbator ecclesie, eversor Apostolicæ disciplinæ, inimicus salutis humanæ . . . radix peccati, præco Diaboli, apostolus Antichristi; et quid plura dicam? sagitta producta de pharetrâ Satanæ, virga Assur, filius Belial, filius perditionis, qui adversatur et extollitur supra omne quod dicitur Deus, aut quod colitur: vorago libidinis, naufragium castitatis, Christianitatis opprobrium, ignominia sacerdotum, genimen viperarum, fœtor orbis, spurcitia sæculi, dedecus universitatis serpens lubricus, coluber tortuosus, stercus hominum, latrina criminum, sentina vitiorum, abominatio cœli, projectio paradisi, pabulum Tartari, stipula ignis æterni.”—Damiani, *Epist.* vii. 3. The whole epistle is to obtain the interposition of the youthful Emperor.

• Damiani, writing to the Arch-

bishop of Ravenna, who seems to have doubted which side to take, represents Cadalous as without character or learning: “Ita est homo stolidus et nullius ingenii ut credi possit nesciisse per se talia machinari.”—If he can explain a single verse, I will not say of a psalm, but of a homily, I will at once submit to him, and own him not merely the successor of the Apostle, but an Apostle.

P “Fumea vita volat, mors improvisa propinquat,
Imminet expleti præpes tibi terminus anni;
Non ego te fallo: cœpto morieris in anno.”—*Epist.* i. 20.

q “Tunc symoniaci lætabantur, concubinati vero sacerdotes ingenti exultabant tripudio.”—Bonizo, p. 807.

r “Collaudantibus Italiae, Alemanniæ, Burgundiæ Catholicis Episcopis.”—Benzo, c. iv.

It was a war of Germany and the antimonastic part of the clergy in Lombardy and other parts of Italy on one side, against the Hildebrandism of Rome and the monasticism of Christendom aided by the arms of the Normans. Winter alone suspended the hostile operations; the passes of the Alps were closed. With the spring, Cadalous descended upon Italy; he was received with joyful acclamations, as the champion of their cause, by the Lombard prelates. But while he advanced, an unarmed conflict was taking place in Rome. Neither Pope nor Antipope was the most prominent man of his party. On the side of Cadalous (the Chancellor Guibert stood more aloof) was Benzo, Bishop of Albi, a faithful adherent of the Empire, but a man of Italian subtlety, utterly unscrupulous, and of ready and popular eloquence, with that coarse saturnalian humour which pleases the Italian, especially the Roman ear.^s Benzo appeared, and was received in Rome as the ambassador of the Emperor. He was lodged in the Octavian palace. During a whole week he was permitted to address the people day after day. Those whom he could not persuade with his eloquence he bribed with money, for from the private wealth of Cadalous, which was large, and other sources, he was richly provided with means of working on the Roman nobles and people.^t In his harangues he treated Alexander with the bitterest con-

^s The strange, barbarous rhapsody, the panegyric of Benzo on Henry IV., written partly in verse, in jingling Leonine rhyme, partly in what may hardly be called prose, as a contemporary document is of considerable value. It was written avowedly to obtain preferment; its adulation therefore is even more worthless than that

of ordinary panegyrics. But Benzo's account of the affairs in which he was personally engaged is too characteristic not to contain much truth.

^t A large quantity of furs was among the presents: "Clitellarios honestos preciosarum pellium donis." —Benzo, ii. c. 1.

tempt, and openly strove to alienate the people from him; to Hildebrand he paid the homage of his most furious invective. Neither the Pope nor Hildebrand ventured to disturb this avowed emissary of Cadalous; he was also the representative of the Empire. At the end of the week a great meeting was held in the Hippodrome, and there Alexander determined to confront his adversary. He appeared on horseback, and was received with a doubtful murmur. Benzo rose, and in his character as ambassador, reproached him with ingratitude and rebellion against the Emperor, as having abandoned his See of Lucca and usurped that of Rome." "Thou hast obtained thy election to the popedom by the aid of Normans, robbers, and tyrants, and by notorious bribery. Hildebrand, that son of Simon Magus, was the chief agent in this detestable merchandise, for which ye have both incurred damnation before God and man." He accused Alexander of acts of cruelty and bloodshed, warned him to retire to Lucca, and after remaining there a month, to proceed to the court of the Emperor, there to undergo whatever penance might be imposed upon him. Alexander calmly answered, that he had received the Roman pontificate, but had not thereby broken his allegiance; that he would send his delegate to the court of Henry to declare his will. He then turned his horse and rode off, amid the hootings of the populace—"Away, leper! out, wretch! begone, hateful one!"*

* The translation of bishops was still of doubtful legality, at least in many minds.

* It is the boast of Benzo:—

"Bellum egi cum Prandello [Hildebrand] atque cum Badaculo [Anselm] Qui thesaurum sancti Petri ponebant in sacculo.
Fos expuli ex arca, potitus primaculo."

He expects his reward:—

"Non est magnum tanto regi unum signum
facere,
Hoc est dicere Benzoni, veni foras La-
zare,
Redditâ tibi mercede, sta sub meo latere."
Lib. iv

Benzo was a better partisan than poet.

On his return to the Octavian palace, Benzo assembled what he dignifies by the name of the Senate of Rome. He repeats a strange, coarse speech of Nicolas, the master of the palace, heaping the grossest insults on Hildebrand, and asserting that the election of the Pope must not be abandoned to monks and Normans. Benzo acknowledges the utter instability of the Roman populace, but dwells on the effect of his own eloquence, his lavish promises of mountains of gold, and, if he be taken literally, the joys of Paradise.^γ By these means, and by skilful management of the leaders, he had organised a most powerful party.

Hildebrand, on the other hand, if he came less boldly forward, was neither irresolute nor inactive during this perilous crisis. Hildebrand is acknowledged no less by the undisguised homage of his admirers than by the discerning hatred of his enemies, throughout the pontificate of Alexander, as something above the Pope. "You made him Pope," writes Damiani in one of his moments of bitterness, "he made you a god." He was commonly called the Lord of the Lord Pope.^z To him were attributed all the more vigorous and warlike measures of Alexander;^a he held together the Romans of their faction;^b and, according to his antagonist, lavished money with emulous prodigality.

^γ "Nunc pollicendo auri montes, nunc paradisi mellifluos fontes."—Benzo.

^z The two well-known epigrams:—

"Papam rite colo, sed te prostratus adoro.
Tu facis hunc Dominum, te facit ille Deum."

^a "Vivere vis Romæ? clara depromite voce,
Plus Domino Papæ, quam Domino pareo Papæ."

^b "Magis solers vincere effuso mor-

talium sanguine, quam sacrorum canonum gloriosissimo certamine."—Benzo.

^b Hildebrand took counsel with Leo, a Jew by descent, with Cencius Frangipani, "et cum brachiato Johanne." Of the two former we shall hear more. The rest of his partisans were *beggars*, who lived on the alms of the Church.—Benzo.

gality.^c He was the impersonation, as it were, of monk-hood.^d

The Antipope in the mean time advanced with a large force and an ample treasure towards Rome. At Sutri he was met by Benzo, the Imperial ambassador, who had discharged his office of shaking the allegiance of the Romans and forming a strong faction in the city. Honorius II. advanced towards Rome; the neighbouring barons hailed their deliverer from the Pope and his Norman satellites. An embassy arrived from the Byzantine Emperor, or rather from the few Greeks who held their ground in Southern Italy, proposing a confederacy against the Normans. The Normans partly, perhaps, pre-occupied, or setting too high a value on their services, were unusually, suspiciously slow in their movements. The forces of Alexander ventured into the open field, they were defeated and driven within the walls.^e Cadalous was not strong enough to force his way within the walls, but he crossed the Tiber to put himself in connexion with the barons on that side of the city. He fixed his camp at Tusculum, where he received the Greek embassy. He was joined by the Count of Tusculum, the grandson of the famous Alberic.

Godfrey of Lorraine, the Duke of Tuscany, had learned caution by his eventful life: it had degenerated into craft. He aspired, no doubt with ulterior views, to hold the balance of power in

Godfrey of Lorraine.

^c Benzo says of his opponents that they put their trust not in the Lord, but "in multitudine divitiarum." Whence the wealth at the command of Hildebrand? from the monasteries? the Papal estates? the votive offerings of the faithful? the now religious Normans?

^d "Cotidie autem ceram domno electi disputabant seniores, quomodo possint *cuculati* *Dæmonis* allidere tergiversationes."—Benzo, xi.

^e There is a rapid but curious view of these affairs in the *Annales Romani*.—Pertz, v. 472.

Italy.^f Hitherto he had declared for neither Pope.^g He had not interrupted the march of Cadalous along his frontier; he had allowed the attack on Rome. He was suspected of too friendly intercourse with Cadalous. Godfrey now appeared with an overpowering force; but, instead of joining either party, he assumed the lofty tone, not of a mediator, but an arbiter. He proposed that the two Popes should retire, each to his episcopal city, and there await the decision of the contest by the Emperor and the proper authorities. The haughty prelates were obliged to submit. Cadalous, having been first compelled by gentle but irresistible violence to surrender all his treasures to Godfrey, withdrew to Parma. Alexander had no alternative but to receive the fair promises of friendship lavished upon him by the Tuscan, and in like manner retired to Lucca. The Church seemed to have surrendered herself by her unnatural quarrel to the superior secular power; Pope and Antipope waited their doom from the princes of the world.

A.D. 1062.

A sudden revolution in Germany decided the contest for the Papacy. That revolution was accomplished by one of the powerful churchmen of the Rhine. It might seem only the daring effort of one bold man for ascendancy; but there are evident signs that if Hanno of Cologne was not supported by a widely organised conspiracy, which embraced the Hildebrandine party in Italy, he knew that he could reckon

Revolution
in Germany.

^f He was early an object of jealousy at the Imperial Court: "Quo comperto imperator Henricus gravi scrupulo perurgeri cœpit, reputans ne forte per eum [Goffredum] animi Italorum, semper avidi novarum rerum, ut a regno Teutonicorum deficerent,

solicitarentur."—Lambert Hertzfeld, *sub ann.* 1052.

^g See Damiani's Letters on the view of that part of Godfrey's character; his suspicious interview with Cadalous.—vii. 10, &c.

on their perfect sympathy. A young widow was the person least suited to govern the ambitious and mutually hostile feudatories of the empire, the almost independent princes and prelates, all aspiring to rule, none disposed to obey. She had power enough to give offence, none to control the refractory. Every grant or favour made many enemies—that of the fief of Bavaria to Otho of Nordheim, a treacherous and ungrateful instead of an open foe. Whoever became the chief counsellor of the Empress was immediately an object of universal dislike. She now placed her full confidence in the Bishop of Augsburg; but so unscrupulous was the jealousy of the rivals for her favour, so slight the confidence in the sanctity of the sacerdotal character, that the bishop's influence was attributed by popular rumour, not discountenanced by the highest in the land, to criminal intercourse. Agnes was no doubt blameless; but the haughtiness of the bishop confirmed the opinion that he must possess more than lawful power over her mind.^h It was murmured abroad, among the people as well as by these great prelates and princes, that the King, now twelve years old, was kept entirely under female control, and not instructed either in manly studies or chivalrous amusements. A plot for his deliverance, or rather a design to obtain possession of his person, was contrived and conducted with consummate skill by Hanno and Siegfried, the Archbishops of Cologne and Mentz, by Otho of Bavaria, and the Count Ecbert. Hanno of Cologne undertook in person the abduction of the youthful Emperor from his mother's care. At

Hanno of
Cologne.

^h On the death of this prelate Lambert says; "Obiit in visus regi, in visus administratam regni gubernationem tempore Imperatricis." — Lambert episcopis omnibus, propter superbe Hertzfeld.

Whitsuntide after a joyous banquet on an island on the Rhine (that of Saint Suithbert),ⁱ Hanno invited the boy to embark in a gay and richly decorated barge, prepared for the occasion. No sooner was he on board than the rowers rose to their oars, and the barge went rapidly though against the stream. The affrighted boy, thinking that their design could be nothing but his death, threw himself headlong into the stream. He was rescued by Count Ecbert, who plunged in after him, at the peril of his life.^k The multitude followed along the shore, resenting with loud but vain cries this insult upon the majesty of the Empire. But Hanno pursued his course; he soothed the popular indignation by artful declarations that he acted only for the public good. The gentle Empress, if wounded in her motherly feelings, relieved from an oppressive burthen, contemplated immediate retirement into a convent, but was persuaded for a time to suspend her pious intention.^m

The policy of the Empire, as to the Papacy, veered suddenly round. Duke Godfrey could hardly but be cognisant of this conspiracy. Both he and the whole Hildebrandine party hastened to take their advantage. The unworldly Damiani at this crisis cannot keep within his cloister. He plunges with as much zeal as Hildebrand himself, whose secular ambition at times so distresses the saint, into the political turmoil. He writes a letter to Hanno, hailing his success, and urging him to fulfil his design of discomfiting the scaly monster of Parma. His act is that of the good priest Jehoiada

ⁱ Near Neuss.

^k Bonizo, *Annalista Saxo*; Lambert, *rub ann.* 1162.

^m See the *Letters of Damiani* (vii. 6, 7, 8) urging her to contempt of imperial greatness.

rescuing the pious youth of Joas from the influence of the wicked queen Athalia. But he has done nothing unless he tramples on the smouldering brand, the limb of the devil, the Antipope.²

A council was summoned at Augsburg. Damiani appeared as a legate, the representative of the monkish and Hildebrandine party. Instead of a grave deliberation, a singular composition by Damiani was read—a disputation between the advocate of the Empire and the defender of the Papacy. It was drawn up with much skill and some moderation. The defender of the Papacy does not openly contest the Imperial right to confirm the election of the Pope, though he suggests a long line of Popes who had ruled without such sanction. But during the infancy of the Emperor that right was in abeyance. The legate of the Roman cardinals had been refused a hearing at the Court; the clergy, therefore, were compelled to proceed to the election of Pope Alexander. In temporal affairs the mother of the Emperor might guide her son; but the Roman Church was the mother of the Emperor in a higher sense, and as his rightful guardian was to act for him in spiritual concerns. Gradually the Imperial advocate yields to the overpowering argument of the Papal defender; and the piece concludes with a fervent prayer that the Empire and the Papacy may henceforth be united in indissoluble alliance; that as the kingdom and the priesthood, founded by one Mediator, were blended together as in one holy sacrament, so by this mysterious union the

Council of Augsburg.

Damiani.

² Epist. iii. 6. Damiani is seized of gold, with Jupiter descending into this letter with a classical fit. He compares Cadalous descending on the bed of the apostolic throne in a shower the bosom of *Diana*!—if this be not an error of the transcriber.

King might be recognised in the Pontiff, the Pontiff in the Emperor, saving that incommunicable prerogative which belonged to the Pope alone; the King supreme in temporal Courts, the Pontiff with unlimited jurisdiction over the souls of men.

Damiani's triumph as an orator over an audience who needed no persuasion was complete. Alexander was declared the rightful Pontiff, with full powers; but Damiani's fame as a prophet was in some danger. The election of the Antipope Cadalous had taken place on the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude in the last year. The council was held on the same festival in the present; but Cadalous, instead of having closed his impious life as Damiani had distinctly foretold, was in a state of dangerous activity. Damiani took refuge in the spiritual death inflicted by the excommunicatory decree of the Church at Augsburg.

Alexander II. had returned to Rome; the Pope recognised by the higher clergy of Rome, by the council of Augsburg, by the court of the youthful Emperor. But Cadalous did not abandon his pretensions. A large part of the Italian clergy still adhered to his cause; he was in correspondence with the Empress and her partisans in Germany; his wealth he devoted to increase his warlike resources; above all, the barons of his faction in and about Rome, hating a Pope allied with the Normans, occupied the tower of Cencius (the Castle of St. Angelo), and kept the city in constant dread and insecurity.

Hanno of Cologne could not retain the authority which he had acquired with such boldness, but exercised with too much pride. In vain had he heaped imperial grants on his more powerful episcopal brethren, the Archbishops of Saltzburg and Magdeburg, the Bishops

of Freisingen and Halberstadt.^o Gunther of Bamberg, for his loyal service, it was alleged, to the Empress, against whom he had been in open rebellion, received Forcheim, with thirty-six villages and townships, which Henry III. had alienated from the monastery. Those who thus obtained the spoils were discontented that they got no more; those who got nothing were only more exasperated against those who did, and against their misjudging patron. The young King could scarcely forgive the insult of his violent abduction, nor, if he had any natural affection (a doubtful point), his forcible separation from his mother. A deep repugnance against ecclesiastical tyranny may have taken root within his heart, hostile not only to the ambitious churchmen, who were encroaching more and more on the Imperial power, but to the wholesome restraints and holy influences of religion itself. But he could only hope to pass from the control of one hateful ecclesiastic to that of another better able and disposed to win his affections. Adalbert, Archbishop of Bremen, had every quality to rule a court, and the councils of a nation such as Germany then was. Of a commanding person (no one officiated in the Church with so much dignity and splendour), ready eloquence, great knowledge of business, he would not condescend to ask, scarcely to receive favours; while his lavish munificence gathered round him troops of admiring and ardent partisans. To these more worldly distinctions he added those peculiar to his profession, unblemished chastity, saintly piety. The church of Bremen, which he built, was of the noblest in Germany, and served with unrivalled magnificence; and he displayed that haughty humility which, while it

Adalbert of
Bremen.

^o Stenzel, Frankische Kaiser, i. 217.

constantly stooped to wash the feet of the poor, made him assert his equality with the proudest princes of the Empire. Adalbert became the guardian, the counsellor, almost the friend and favourite of the youthful Henry ; and in him the loyal subject of the Empire predominated over the punctilious churchman.^p

Encouraged by this new revolution in the Imperial court, and on the invitation of his allies the Roman nobles, the Antipope made a second unexpected descent upon Rome. His faction commanded the gates of the Leonine city. He entered that district with all his forces ; but in the other quarters of Rome the partisans of Alexander made a brave resistance. Cadalous was attacked in the rear by the Norman troops, hardly escaped being made a prisoner, and was hurried by Cencius and his Roman allies into the Castle of St. Angelo. In that impregnable fortress he maintained his position for two years. Rome had two Popes with their armed troops glaring defiance at each other from opposite quarters of the city. The spiritual thunders—each of course, and each in his synod, had hurled his direst excommunication at the other—were drowned in the louder din of arms.

The final possession of the Papacy still hung on the revolutions in the Imperial Court. For two years Adalbert of Bremen maintained his influence by his own stately respectfulness and courteous domination, and by the aid of Count Werner, the younger favourite and companion of Henry.^q The affairs of state, the

^p For Adalbert's earlier career, conversion of heathens, and ambitious views, see Giesebrecht, ii. p. 440, &c.

^q Bruno (de bello Saxonico) as a Saxon hated Henry. He is more full, not always decent, and by no means

trustworthy, in his history. He charges Adalbert of Bremen with more than unepiscopal connivance : " Stultum dixit esse si non in omnibus satisfieret suæ desideriiis adolescentiis."—i. 3.

disposition of preferments, the Royal grants, were left to Adalbert; while the boy-Emperor and his friend were allowed to devote themselves too exclusively to the light and unimproving pursuits of youth, the chase and other idle amusements. Adalbert committed the unpardonable error—more than error, the crime—of not endeavouring to bring up the young Emperor in habits of business suited to his station, to teach him the great lesson of commanding men, of commanding himself. Adalbert's own great qualities were leavened by an ostentatious vanity. His magnificent profusion soon exhausted even his vast resources. He could not supply his wants but by encroaching on the possessions of the great and comparatively defenceless monasteries. Some of these indeed, as it were, provoked the spoiler. The secular clergy in Germany—if the hatred between the regulars and seculars had not attained the same height as in other parts of Latin Christendom, in England, and in Lombardy—could not but envy and covet the often ill-gotten and ill-spent estates of the wealthier conventual foundations. While the more rigid monastics denounced the vices of the clergy, and were the stern examples of piety and ascetic devotion, which put to shame the worldly, often warlike, lives of the prelates—not even the most pious declined the Court offerings and grants, which increased with the fame of their piety. The more worldly abbots, on the other hand, aspired in rank, in opulence, even in secular power, to an equality with the prince bishops. They, too, would be prince abbots. There were constant collisions. In a dispute for precedence between the Bishop of Hildesheim and the Abbot of Fulda in the church of Goslar, there was a wild battle between their armed followers; the King was present, and with difficulty extricated from

the fray. The Bishop was furious.^f The Abbot was condemned as the cause of the tumult. The hatred of the seculars against the monks was hardly sated, though the Abbot bought his pardon by fines, which utterly ruined the abbey of Fulda, to the King, to his counsellors, to the Bishop. The feeling ran high against the Abbot. On his return to his convent he was encountered by an insurrection among his own monks, by whom he was hated for his tyranny. The younger and more violent broke from their cloister to lay their grievances before the King. But Henry's counsellors, Hanno of Cologne, Otho of Bavaria, would not encourage this monastic rebellion. The Abbot was restored by the soldiers of the King, and took his revenge on the contumacious monks. Some were publicly whipped, others condemned to fasting and imprisonment, some drafted off to other convents; but according to their birth and connexions was their punishment.^g

The great metropolitans, though in possession of their splendid sees, and now ruling absolutely in the King's councils, were not great enough for their ambition. They did not plunder the magnates or the bishops, but it was from fear, not from respect. They wielded the whole power of the Empire; they sold all promotions, ecclesiastical and secular: yet this was not

^f Lambert of Hertzfeld, *sub ann.* 1063. "Tum vero urgebat et ille Apostolicæ Sanctitatis et Mosaicæ mansuetudinis episcopus, qui tanti sanguinis manus suas Deo consecraverat, et violatæ ecclesiæ injurias truculentius atque immitius quam rex suas persequatur . . . Abbatem, præter acerbitem rei, quæ acciderat odium quoque gravabat dominis mona-

chici, quod inveterata malitia hominis sæculi semper opprimere atque obfuscare conabatur." Lambert was a monk of Hertzfeld, not of Aschaffenburg.—Pertz.

^g "De singulis tamen non pro modo culpæ, sed pro natalitium suorum claritate vel obscuritate sumptum est supplicium."—Lambert.

enough; the defenceless abbots were at their mercy. Siegfried of Mentz was as rapacious as the Archbishops of Cologne and Bremen; for in this the common interests of Hanno and of Adalbert joined them in a common league. They condescended to throw part of the spoils to the King, and so bought his support. They asserted the King's power over the abbots and lands of the abbeys, and his right to grant them away, to be as full, as over his bailiffs and other administrators of the royal domains. The Archbishop of Bremen attempted to seize Laurisheim and New Corbey. Corbey was, however, rescued from his grasp. The Abbot of St. Lavers stood on the defensive. Archbishop Siegfried seized Seligenstadt. Hanno of Cologne, not content with a ninth part of the Imperial treasure, had for his share Cornelius-Munster and Malmedy. St. Remacle wrested his cloister from the rapacious prelate by wonders, in which his monks were singularly skilful.^t The Bishop of Spire had two abbeys: the Archbishops of Magdeburg, Saltzburg, the Bishops of Halberstadt, Freisingen, Minden, Bamberg, whole villages, with large privileges. Nor were the nobles without their portion. Otho of Bavaria had the abbey of Kempten; the Duke of Saxony the castle of Retzburg; Werner, the King's favourite, estates of Charlemagne's favoured Abbey of Hertzfeld. Werner added insult to spoliation. The monks of Hertzfeld took to prayer and fasting against him. "See," said Werner, scoffingly, to the King, "I have roused these

^t See the Triumphus S. Remacii, in which the monks of Etable contested the possession of Malmedy with Hanno, and by playing off the popular superstition, which the bishop and the King saw thro' but could not resist,

maintained possession of their property. —Apud Chapeauville, *Gesta Pontificum Leodensium*, ii. 517 *et seqq.* Flote (Heinrich der Vierte), i. p. 286 *et seqq.* gives this at great length.

monks to most unwonted devotion; they have taken to fasting and prayer."—And men wondered that the young King was not imbued with awe and reverence for the Church!

In the depression of the monasteries and the invasion of their possessions the rival prelates, Hanno of Cologne and Adalbert of Bremen, might agree: no one repudiated his share of the plunder.^a But the strife between these two men was a kind of prelude to the great conflict between the Empire and the Church. Hanno sought to strengthen his power by establishing his friends and kindred in the great bishoprics. Adalbert aspired to be surrounded by a vassalage of temporal nobles. The minority of Henry was one long strife of ambition and violence, in which the Churchmen ever took the lead, strangely crossed with acts of the most profound and self-denying devotion. At the time when a powerful confederacy was secretly forming against the overweening power of Adalbert of Bremen, many of the greatest prelates in Germany were seized with a sudden passion of pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Siegfried of Mentz broke off his career of plunder. Gunther of Bamberg, Otho of Ratisbon, William of Utrecht, with many other distinguished ecclesiastics of France as well as Germany, set out in the autumn of 1064 for the Holy Land. Their imprudent display of wealth excited the astonishment and, of course, the cupidity of the wild Mohammedans, through whose territories they passed. In one affray with these rude enemies, they escaped massacre only by the personal courage and strength of the Bishop of Bamberg; and they were so fortunate as to buy the

^a So writes Lambert, one of the sufferers. Compare Stenzel, Die Frankische Kaiser, i. 221. Stenzel in his *Beilage* gives a long and full list of lands seized by the great Prelates.

protection of a more powerful chieftain, who kept his word with true Eastern fidelity. They returned to Germany, Gunther of Bamberg to die, Siegfried of Mentz to plunge again into the world; he would compensate to himself for the hardships of his pilgrimage by bolder gratification of his ambition and rapacity.

Adalbert of Bremen had ruled too absolutely, too ostentatiously, in the court of the young King. His virtues were not less dangerous than his faults. His transcendant abilities awoke jealousy, his magnificence compelled him to more insatiate rapacity. He had more than his share in the plunder of the Empire.

The prelates and the secular princes combined for his overthrow—Hanno of Cologne, Siegfried of Mentz, Rudolph of Swabia, Otho of Bavaria, and the counts of Saxony—who hated Adalbert, and longed to plunder his wealthy bishopric, which in the north of Germany overshadowed their power and riches. They obtained the support of Godfrey of Tuscany, now in Germany. At a great diet at Tribur they boldly laid before the young King the alternative—the abandonment of his archiepiscopal minister, or the loss of his crown. Henry had been already cowed by the death of his favourite Count Werner in a fray at Ingelheim. He attempted to fly to Goslar with the insignia of the Empire. His palace was surrounded. Adalbert of Bremen was in danger of his life, and with difficulty, under a strong guard, he reached his bishopric. But the fallen man must fall still further. Duke Ordulf of Saxony, his son Magnus and his brother Herman, broke into the territories of the See. They threatened death to the archbishop; he sought concealment in a distant estate. At length he was compelled to make terms, by which he granted one-third of his vast estates as a fief of the

archiepiscopate to Magnus of Saxony; other estates to other secular princes.

The magnificent prelate who aspired to be the Patriarch of the north of Germany had to endure poverty. Alms ceased to be distributed in the splendid church of Bremen. So the administration of affairs returned to the bishops.*

The fall of Adalbert crushed the lingering hopes of the Antipope Cadalous. Latterly he had been a prisoner rather than the master in the castle of St. Angelo; and Cencius only on hard terms permitted this useful ally or rallying-point to his own faction, that of the old Roman nobles, to escape. Cadalous was obliged to pay 300 pounds of silver for the privilege of making a hasty and ignominious flight to the north of Italy.†

Hanno of Cologne, now all powerful at the Court of King Henry, had espoused the cause of Alexander II.: he was desirous, as a Churchman, to put an end to this perilous and disgraceful schism; but he had too much of German pride to abandon altogether the imperial claims. With his confederates, the German princes and prelates, he summoned, in the name of the Emperor,

May, 1067.‡ a Council to meet at Mantua to decide the great cause. Himself, with a large retinue of

German princes and three hundred knights, proceeded to Rome. A discussion was held with Hanno of Cologne on one side, Hildebrand on the other; Hanno asserting

* "Sic iterum rerum publicarum administratio ad episcopos rediit."—Lambert. The temporal nobles were not too faithful to Adalbert.

† "Consenso strigosissimo equo inde solus aufugit."—Bonizo.

‡ See on the Council of Mantua

(the proceedings are lost), Stenzel, Beilage, the inferences of Giesebrecht, the conjectures of Gfrörer. I am now convinced that the date must be brought down to 1067. I had followed Lambert, Baronius, and the older writers.

the right of the King, the Patrician of Rome, to confirm the Papal election; Hildebrand, the indefeasible liberties of the Church.

Alexander, or Alexander's counsellors, thought it more wise to confirm his title by the authority of a council. He condescended to appear, not doubtful of the event, at Mantua.

The Council of Mantua declared Alexander the legitimate Pope; but hardly was this done, when the city was disturbed by a sudden irruption of the soldiers of Cadalous, swarming through the streets and heaping scorn on Alexander. Cadalous had raised these troops in his neighbouring diocese of Parma: but Godfrey, Duke of Tuscany, the patron of Alexander, had guaranteed the security of the Pope. He drove the Parmesans in ignominious flight from the town.^a The Lombard prelates threw themselves at the feet of Alexander and implored his forgiveness. This forgiveness is said to have been extended to Cadalous himself, who nevertheless, though his friends fell off, never renounced the title of Pope. He died at last, almost forgotten by the world, except by the hatred of his enemies, which pursued him beyond the grave.^b But either lest the German or imperial interest should be too much depressed, or as the price of his abandonment of the Antipope, the author of the schism, Guibert the Chancellor, was rewarded with the Archbishopric of Ravenna.

During the whole pontificate of Alexander II. the strife

^a Lambert expresses the feelings of religious men on these scenes: "Homines, non ut quondam ut præessent ecclesiæ Dei injectâ manu trahebantur, sed ne non præessent armata manu præliabantur, fundebantque mutuo sanguinem non pro ovibus Christi,

sed ne non dominarentur ovibus Christi. *Anselmus tamen, qui et Alexander, et virtute militum et favore principum sedem obtinuit.*"—*Sub ann.* 1064.

^b "Eodem tempore Cadalous Parmensis Episcopus corpore et animâ defunctus est."—*Bonizo*, p. 810.

in Lombardy and in other parts of Northern Italy had continued with but remitting obstinacy. Alexander in his first address, as a Milanese, to the clergy and people of Italy, had declared the enforced celibacy of the priesthood the great object of his pontifical ambition.^c Damiani did not hold his peace: he bitterly complained that the Simoniac and Nicolaitan heresies, which he thought he had suppressed, had broken out again. He addressed, or more actively promulgated, an invective against the married clergy, even more furious than before. Phineas is his favourite example of zeal, Eli of criminal indulgence in the fathers of the Church as abstaining from using the sword of vengeance.^d Damiani, Pope Alexander, fulminated not in vain.

Landulph, one of the sworn triumvirate of Milan, had died; but a more implacable adversary of the married clergy rose up in his place—his brother Herlembald,^e of a stern, warlike character. An event in

A.D. 1065.

^c "Speramus autem in eo qui de virgine dignatur est nasci, quia nostri ministerii tempore sancta clericorum castitas exaltabitur, et incontinentium uxuria cum cæteris hæresibus confundetur."—Epist. Alex. II. ad clerum populumque Mediolanensem.

^d See two letters to Ariald, v. 14, 15. Damiani's Commentary on the Old Testament is rather bold. He confounds Phineas with Elijah! Phineas was rewarded for his act of zeal with a life of 620 years. Eli's guilt is aggravated, for he was a *metropolitan*, Hophni and Phineas only *bishops*. The coarse indecency of this model of monkhood might provoke laugh, or, if laughers were not sobered

by disgust: "Sanctis eorum femoribus volui seras apponere; tentavi genitalibus sacerdotum, ut ita loquar, continentie fibulas adhibere."—De Cœleb. Sacerd. Opusc. If the evil were concealed, it might, perhaps, be tolerated; but it is public, notorious; names, places are bruited abroad: "Nomina concubinarum, socerorum quoque et socruum, fratrum denique et quorumlibet propinquorum." If lavish gifts, jests, secret meetings, betray them not; "omnis dubietas tollitur," there are "uteri tumentes et pueri vagientes."

^e Herlembald's person and character are described at length.—Landulph, iii. 13.

Herlembald's early life had embittered his heart against the less rigid clergy. His plighted bride had behaved lightly with a priest: Herlembald indignantly broke off his marriage. He then made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and was just returned, with his whole soul full of religious enthusiasm. He soon ruled in Milan, by espousing the faction of the people against the nobles; ^f and with their aid proceeded to assail the married priests. It was a spiritual tyranny exercised by a layman, though in conjunction with his brother-colleague Ariald, and maintained by armed partisans. Obnoxious priests were dragged from the altar, and consigned to shame and insult.^g The services of the Church, the most holy sacraments, were suspended altogether, or administered only by the permission of Herlembald. It is said that, in order to keep his rude soldiery in pay, he made every one in holy orders take a solemn oath that he had never known woman since the day of his ordination. For those who refused the oath, their whole property was confiscated. The lowest rabble, infected with Paterinism, poor artisans and ass-drivers, furtively placed female ornaments in the chambers of priests, and then, attacking their houses, dragged them out and plundered their property. Herlembald assumed the title of standard-bearer of the Church. Pope Alexander, at the instigation of Hildebrand, bestowed upon him a consecrated banner.^h Sometimes these ecclesiastical tribunes condescended to argument and expostulation; but their usual reasoning was force. Herlembald assumed a power far above that of the archbishop. His followers contested, indeed, the title and authority of the archbishop, no

^f See note quoted from Petrus Arragonensis by Puricelli, ad Vit. Arialdi, apud Bolland; June 27.

^g Laudolph, iii, 20.

^h Vit. Arialdi.

doubt as guilty of simony, of which they had constituted themselves judges as well as avengers.¹

Guido at length, after nearly nine years of silent strife, determined on an attempt to throw off the yoke. The churches of Milan were for the most part without ministers. The married clergy had been expelled, and there were none to take their place.^k A synod at

¹ "Guido qui dicebatur archiepiscopus." And Ariald in his hour of martyrdom will not own Guido for archbishop.—Vit. Ariald.

^k Among the most curious parts of Landulph's history, and among the most singular documents of his age, is his account of a conference held in the presence of Herlembald on the marriage of the clergy. The speeches on both sides are given at length. The debate is opened by Guibert, the archdeacon, who holdly broaches the doctrine that all Christians, laity as well as clergy, are priests: "Forsitan cogitatis, quod de Laicis tantum dicat, de quibus non est dubium habere conjugem. Omnes tamen, Laici et Clerici, *quicumque sunt filii ecclesie, sacerdotes sunt.*" Landulph, perhaps, has not done justice to the arguments of Ariald; more than justice to his opponents. The most remarkable speech of all, however, is that of Andrew, "Sacerdos Decumanus." He dwelt most vividly on the gross immoralities which as he believed—and he appealed to general experience—invariably followed the interdiction of marriage to the clergy: "Et si mihi de naturâ humanâ non credis, maximè non credis de ordine nostro, qui dum magis constringitur, amplius illicitis accenditur; vel tibi, quod olim fuisti, vel eras, [vel] esse poteris, crede.

Vetando unam et propriam uxorem centum fornicatrices ac adulteria mille concedis: præterea vitium detestabile (ob quod quidam ex tuis simulantes sese caste vivere uxoribus falsâ religione dimissis, vitio imbuti detestabili, in theatro populi tracti, et in fronte decocti sunt), te amicè tangendo deterreat." He indignantly inveighs against the violence of the celibate faction: "Thou hast separated us from our wives, thou that art more righteous than the Apostles; holier than the Prophets; purer than the Patriarchs; not by justice, not by charity, but by spears and swords, and every kind of persecution." He accuses them of holding the ascetic doctrines of "those of Monteforte," who proscribed all connexion between the sexes. He repels the argument that a priest cannot offer at the altar, if polluted by contact with a wife. The priest who has a wife cannot serve God faithfully, if he loves his wife more than God: that is all. Yet Andrew does not pretend to excuse a priest who marries after he is in orders: he must suffer the penalty of that breach of discipline; but he protests against dissolving, even in the case of such priest, the indissoluble union.—Landulph, iii. c. 25. Compare with this Damiani's dispute with the chaplain of Duke Godfrey, Fpist. v. 13.

Novara (1065) summoned Herlembald and Ariald to render an account of their proceedings. Their answer was silent contempt. At length the sentence of excommunication was pronounced against Ariald and Herlembald as refractory. But the inflexible Ariald appealed to Rome. He sent letters to inquire what course was to be pursued with this bishop, whom he loaded with the appellations of simoniac and adulterer. Damiani again blew a fierce blast from his monastic trumpet, and urged on these indefatigable warriors to extirpate this Nicolaitan heresy, as Jesus, from whose mouth goes forth the two-edged sword, will hew down all his enemies, and pour their blood on the earth.^m

But Ariald presumed beyond his strength. He had returned from Rome armed with full powers, with the ban of the Church pronounced against Guido, which had been extorted from the reluctant Pope by the more intrepid Hildebrand. The people of Milan had borne his tyrannous sway; they had aided him in his persecution of the married clergy, and of those accused of simony. But now the manifest object of Ariald and of Herlembald was the total subjugation of Milan to Rome, the abrogation of all her peculiar rights and privileges. When, therefore, Ariald began to interfere with the ritual, received by constant tradition from St. Ambrose himself—to command a fast on certain days on which St. Ambrose had appointed no fast—to preach against, to treat as heathen a fast and procession on Ascension Day, instituted by St. Ambrose—he fell at once from the commanding height of his popularity.ⁿ The factions of the different litanies met in conflict on more equal terms. The Archbishop himself, whose life had been in

^m Epist. v. 14.

ⁿ Tristan Calchi, vi. 133.

danger during the strife, headed the insurrection. The whole of Milan was summoned to meet in the great church at Pentecost. Guido appealed to the people:—"Let all who love S. Ambrose leave the church." Of seven thousand persons, but twelve remained with Ariald and with Herlembald. They stood near the altar to protect or to be protected by it. The partisans of Guido rushed to the attack; the clergy selected Ariald, the laity Herlembald, for their victim. Ariald was dragged from the church sorely wounded; Herlembald escaped better. At night his followers rallied, and rescued them both from their enemies. Six men, probably of note, were killed. The palace of the archbishop was stormed and pillaged. They then attacked the church. The aged Guido hardly escaped, sorely maltreated in the tumult. But the nobles, the more distinguished of the citizens, the vassals of the Church, would endure this tyranny no longer. Guido of Landriano placed himself at their head; the city was laid under interdict; no service was to be performed, no bell sounded, till Ariald should be driven from the city. So great was the fury of Milan against Ariald, that he fled to Legnano. He fell into the hands of Oliva, the niece of Archbishop Guido. She carried him to an island on the Lago Maggiore. There she demanded whether he would acknowledge Guido for archbishop (he had been excommunicated by Rome). "As long as my tongue can speak," he replied, "I will not acknowledge him." The servants of Oliva, after a more shameful mutilation, tore out his tongue, and left him half-dead. Landulph, his former colleague, had suffered before his death from a disease in the tongue; and thus, says the hostile historian, "God punished these men by the member which was the cause of all their wicked-

June 28,
1066.

ness." Ariald soon found and still holds his place as a martyr in the annals of the church.^o

The strife was not allayed by the death of Ariald, nor by the appearance of two Papal legates, the Cardinal Bishop of Sylva Candida, and the cardinal priest John Minuto. They passed strong constitutions against simony and the married clergy.^p Herlembald, who had fled to Pavia, returned, regained his A.D. 1068-9. power, and, openly supported by the Pope's authority, reorganised his tyranny. Guido, as he advanced in years, became more consciously incapable of rule. He had been archbishop twenty-seven years, the last ten of civil war. He determined to vacate the see: he burdened it with a fixed pension to himself, and then made it over to a certain Godfrey. To him he resigned the pastoral staff, and the ring of investiture bestowed by the Emperor. Godfrey crossed the Alps, and promised the King, if he would grant the investiture, to destroy Pateria (so the adversaries of the monastic party opprobriously named them), take Herlembald alive, and send him prisoner into Germany. The Emperor, won, or bribed, as it is said, ratified the appointment.^q

But Herlembald, who now conducted himself not merely as secular tyrant, but as a Pope, in Milan, refused to acknowledge Godfrey, expelled him from the city, and besieged him in Castiglione. Guido, not receiving his stipulated pension, annulled his resignation, and resumed his state as archbishop. But he unwisely

^o The least credible part of Lantulph, the historian's, story is the public confession of his errors, which he ascribes to Ariald, who humbly owns himself guilty of the blood of his fellow-citizens, as the cause of

countless fornications, adulteries, and even worse crimes, among the clergy.

^p "Constitutiones, quas S. Legati Mediolanensibus observandas præscribunt."—Mansi, xix.

^q Benzo.

trusted himself to the faith of Herlembald; he was seized, and shut up in a monastery till his death.^f

Before the death of Guido, Herlembald had set up a certain Atto,^g nominated by himself with the legate of Rome by his side, and without regard to the Church of Milan or their liege lord the Emperor. Atto was but a youth, just entered into holy orders. The people were furious, rose and attacked the archbishop's palace, tore him from his refuge in an upper chamber, dragged him by the legs and arms into the church, and there compelled him to renounce his dignity. The Roman legate hardly escaped with his robes torn.

During this strife Milan had suffered two dreadful fires, which burned down some of the finest churches, as well as a large part of the city. A.D. 1071-75. These calamities goaded the factions to more relentless cruelty: as each party would attribute them to the direct wrath of God, so each would receive them as the summons to wreak vengeance on their adversaries, thus designated the foes of God as of themselves. Herlembald, now strong in the armed protection of the great Hildebrand^t (we have reached his pontificate), maintained his power; yet so vigorous and inflexible was the party called that of the married clergy, that it prolonged the contest on the whole during twenty years,^u and obtained at last a temporary triumph in the death of Herlembald.^x

^f Giulini, iv. 140; Verri, p. 173.

^g Atto was sanctioned as archbishop by the Pope in 1072.

^t Landulph (the historian) says of Herlembald: "Solum Romani illius Hildebrandi auscultabat consultum."

^u "Crescebat quotidie numerus infidelium, et de die in diem numerus

minuebatur Paterinorum."—Bonizo, p. 813.

^x The enemies of Herlembald were the Capitanei and Valvassores (these Hullman interprets *bas vassaux*), the simple populace: "Dicentes se integritatem beati Ambrosii velle ju rare."

This man at length fell in an insurrection: the standard of St. Peter was trampled in the dust. Liutprand, a priest of his faction, was mutilated, his ears and his nose cut off. His enemies would scarcely allow Herlembald decent burial. A solemn procession passed to the Ambrosian Church, with hymns of thanksgiving for the deliverance of the Church of Milan from her oppressor.⁷ Yet he, too, is placed as a martyr in the calendar of Christian saints.² The canonisation of these two religious demagogues, who, whatever may be thought of their spiritual objects, governed by popular insurrections and plunder, by carnage—which did not respect the most sacred persons—by exaction, and by every kind of persecution, closes this melancholy chapter in church history.

It was not in Milan alone that the war raged against the married clergy; nor wholly in the Milanese that the married clergy were strong enough to maintain a long and obstinate resistance to the Hildebrandine yoke.^a In Monza, in Cremona, in Piacenza, in Pavia, in Padua, in Asti, fierce feuds, as fierce as the later conflicts of Guelfs and Ghibellines, disturbed the streets, not without bloodshed. Alexander II. addressed a hortatory letter to the Cremonese; it rung like a tocsin through the city. The people rose upon the married clergy.^b

⁷ Arnulf.

² In his epitaph it is said: "Hunc Veneris servi perimunt, Simonisque magistri."

^a Verri in his *Storia Milanese* adduces strong reasons for supposing that the married priests continued to exercise their functions, however with

greater caution, in the Milanese. A synod, held in 1098, condemns the abuse of the clergy handing down their benefices to their children by a kind of hereditary succession.

^b See authorities in Theiner, p. 133 Benzo, p. 808, 9.

But in Florence the secular clergy, headed by Peter, the Bishop of Florence, opposed a long but vain resistance to the monks, those especially of Vallombrosa, with their abbot, hereafter sainted, John Gualberto. The legend of this holy man is among the most striking in hagiology. He was of noble Florentine birth; his brother had been murdered. The honour of his house, paternal love, the solemn imprecation of his father imposed upon Gualberto the sacred duty of avenging his brother's blood. He brooded in fixed and sullen determination over this settled purpose. One day (it was Good Friday) he met his destined victim, the murderer, in a narrow pass: he drew his sword to plunge it to the heart of the guilty man. The assassin attempted no defence, but threw himself from his horse, and folded his arms over his breast in the form of a cross. Gualberto held his arm—he forgave for the sake of that holy sign. He rode on to pay his devotions in the Church of San Miniato; the crucifix seemed to bow towards him, as if in approval of his holy deed. From that moment Gualberto was a monk in heart as in life. He found a hermitage under the dark pines of Vallombrosa, on the banks of the Acqua Bella. The hermitage grew into a monastery; and of all cloisters none was so rigid as that of Vallombrosa; later times had seen no monk so austere, so self-mortified, as John Gualberto. Peter, Bishop of Florence, was accused as a Simoniac; the protection of Peter Damiani, who at first endeavoured to repress the intemperate zeal of the monks, may seem to absolve the prelate from this charge. But the secular clergy of Florence were deeply tainted it is said by this vice; they lived separate, there were no colleges of canons—an unmarried clergyman

was rare—they were intent on their worldly interest, the heritage of their children, or provision for their families.^c

The strife lasted for many years. Gualberto denounced Peter, the simoniac Bishop, in the streets of Florence; the monks of Vallombrosa renounced all allegiance to their sullied prelate. Appeals to Rome were in vain; the Pope Alexander inclined to milder and more conciliatory measures; Hildebrand hailed the kindred spirit of his friend, the abbot Gualberto, and maintained with his more than Papal authority the cause of the monks.

But the monks had determined on, they had repeatedly urged, an appeal to a higher authority even than Rome, to God himself. They demanded the ordeal of fire. There was a fierce commotion in Florence. Many of the clergy had been awed by the denunciations of Gualberto and the monks; they fell off from the bishop, they declared that they could not obey a simoniac prelate. The civil authorities were summoned to drive the refractory priests from their residences. The populace arose, ever on the sterner, as they thought the more religious, side; women ran about rending their veils, beating their breasts, and shrieking wildly. There was a loud cry: "Christ, thou

^c "Quæ enim lingua etiamsi ferrea ipsius cuncta posset referre bona? Quæ clericorum congregatio vitam erat ducens communem? Quis clericorum propriis et paternis rebus solummodo non studebat? Qui potius inveniretur, proh dolor! qui non esset uxoratus vel concubinarius? De simoniâ quid dicam? Omnes pene ecclesiasticos

ordines hæc mortifera bellua devoraverat, ut, qui ejus morsum evaserit, rarus inveniretur."—Andreas Strum. in Vita S. Gualberti, apud Bolland, July 12. Atto says: "Exemplo vero ipsius et admonitionibus delicati clerici spretis connubiis cœperunt simul in Ecclesiis stare, et communem ducere vitam."

art driven out! Simon Magus will endure thee no longer!”

A great rout, at least 5000, with monks at their head, marched forth to Settimo, a monastery dependent on Vallombrosa, a few miles from Florence. At Settimo had been prepared two lofty scaffolds; between them a narrow path, heaped with dry wood. The scaffolds were crowded with spectators, who gazed in transports of weeping devotion on the celebration of the mass below, by a popular monk, named Peter,^d appointed as the champion of his cause by Gualberto. As the *Agnus Dei* was sung, four priests advanced, one bearing the cross, one with holy water, one with the swinging censer, one with two lighted torches. There was a wild intonation throughout all the people of the *Kyrie Eliéson*—prayers to Christ, to the Virgin, to St. Peter—then all was silence. The mass was over; Peter, the monk, advanced in slow procession, amid the chanting of the Litanies and of the Psalms—he bore the cross. An abbot uttered a solemn prayer that this ordeal might root out the simony which reigned throughout the world. Peter knelt and prayed with deep fervour: “If Peter, Bishop of Florence, be a simoniac, may I pass unscathed through the flames.” “Amen!” answered the awe-struck crowd. He gave and received the kiss of peace from his brethren. He waved the cross over the burning wood; walked slowly through the hissing flames, over the glowing embers. He passed unhurt; it was said that even the hairs on

^d The monk who passed the ordeal was called afterwards Petrus Igneus. He became Bishop of Albano. Berthold apud Pertz, with note of Usserman, p. 273; the whole account chiefly from Berthold, in 1071, p. 109.

his feet were unsinged. All rushed around him, pressed his feet, the folds of his garments. There was one shout of triumph, demanding the degradation of the bishop. Peter, a man of gentle character, yielded to the storm he withdrew from Florence, but he retained his bishopric till his death.^e

The death of Alexander II. (after a pontificate of nearly twelve years, including the contest with Cadalous) was neither sudden nor unexpected; the election of his successor could not but be a subject of intense public anxiety. In Anselm of Lucca the Pontificate had been restored to Italy: would Rome any longer endure the bitter ignominy, that no one of her clergy, according to the precedence assigned to them by the decree of Pope Nicolas and the Lateran Council, was fit to be elevated to the shrine of St. Peter? Hildebrand had already for more than two pontificates been virtually Pope; the popular voice had described him as Lord of the Pope; would he still condescend to a subordinate station, and out of humility, policy, timidity, decline the ostensible supremacy? An unusual fast of three days might indicate that some measure of more than ordinary solemnity was in contemplation.

The clergy were assembled in the Lateran church to celebrate the obsequies of Alexander; Hildebrand, as Archdeacon, was performing the mournful service. At once from the whole multitude of clergy and people arose a simultaneous cry, "Hildebrand is Pope!" "St. Peter chooses the Archdeacon Hildebrand!" The

^e Theiner adduces evidence that he was recognised by the Pope some time after his supposed degradation. The Mantuan biographer of S. Gualberto

will not permit his triumph to be incomplete. The inscription bears:—

"Ast ille ejectus Petrus fuit illco ab omni Sede sua sacra Pontificisque loco."

Archdeacon rushed towards the pulpit to allay the tumult, and either with real or assumed modesty to repel the proffered honour; but Hugo the White, a cardinal presbyter of weight and influence, yet under the accusation of simony and excommunicated by the late Pope, eager perhaps to retrieve his endangered position, at once came forward and made himself heard above the acclamations of the multitude. "Well know ye," he said, "beloved brethren, that since the days of the blessed Leo this tried and prudent Archdeacon has exalted the Roman See, and delivered this city from many perils. Wherefore, since we cannot find any one better qualified for the government of the Church or the protection of the city, we, the bishops and cardinals, with one voice elect him as the pastor and bishop of your souls." The voice of Hugo was drowned in universal cries, "It is the will of St. Peter; Hildebrand is Pope." Hildebrand was led to the Papal throne; he was presented to the people as a man of profound theological knowledge, as a man of prudence, a lover of equity and justice, firm in adversity, temperate in prosperity; according to the Apostolic words, of good conversation; blameless, modest, sober, chaste, hospitable, one that ruleth his own house; a man well brought up in the bosom of his Mother Church, and advanced already for his distinguished merits to the dignity of Archdeacon. "This our Archdeacon then we choose, to be called henceforth and for ever by the name of Gregory, for our Pontiff, as the successor of the Apostle." He was immediately arrayed with the scarlet robe, crowned with the Papal tiara, and, reluctant and in tears, enthroned in the chair of St. Peter.^f

^f Bonizo, sub ann. 1073. Compare Jaffé, Regesta, p. 401.

Hildebrand wept! Were they tears of pride and joy, or of humility and sadness, or of mingling and conflicting emotions? It was impossible but that his ambition, his conscious superiority, must long have contemplated this ultimate advancement; but even his firm mind, in its profound religious devotion, may have been shaken at this crisis in his life. The higher Hildebrand estimated the power of the Pope, the more awful the responsibility. According to his view the Pope stood alone on earth between God and man; the destinies of the human race, the temporal no less than the eternal destinies, which must depend on the issue of the imminent contest into which he was about to plunge, hung henceforward upon his acts and words. The monk was not entirely dead within him; to his monastic friends, especially to Desiderius, Abbot of Monte Casino, afterwards his successor, he imparts, with seeming sincerity, the struggle of mind with which he undertook the inevitable office.⁸

He commenced his reign with temper and prudence. The decree of Nicolas II. had acknowledged that, in the last instance, after the nomination of the Cardinals, the ratification by the clergy and by the people of Rome, the assent of the Emperor was necessary to complete the full legal title. Gregory despatched messengers to Germany to inform Henry IV. of his elevation, and to receive his assent. It is said that at the same time he warned the Emperor not to sanction his nomination; the warning was couched in words of prophetic minacity: "If I be indeed made Pope, I must no longer patiently endure your great and flagrant

⁸ April 24.

excesses.”^b But this is probably the language of later admirers of the great theocrat, who would at once invest him in all the terrors which he afterwards assumed. In the decree of Nicolas the assent of the Emperor had been reduced almost to a form; Gregory was a rigid and punctilious observer of forms, and it was most important that there should be no flaw whatever in his charter, no defect of which his enemies might avail themselves hereafter in his title. But by such language, thus more than usually offensive and contemptuous, Gregory himself raised the form into a reality. The words imputed to him absolutely submitted the validity of his election to the Emperor, and acknowledged the Emperor’s power to cancel his promotion. It is utterly irreconcilable with his character, directly at issue with the lofty principles so soon, so firmly, and so haughtily maintained by Hildebrand, to suppose that if the Emperor had refused his assent he would quietly have descended from the Pontifical throne; it was either base hypocrisy, or a perfidious attempt to betray the Emperor at once into hostile proceedings. If it be true—if the address of Gregory was more severe than the ordinary parental admonitions which were wont to form part of the Papal addresses to sovereigns—if more than a grave or tender remonstrance against his personal conduct—Gregory must have been prepared to discharge his conscience with this deliberate defiance, with which he cancelled beforehand any claim upon his gratitude for the assent of the Emperor, and held himself at full

^b “Interminatusque si ejus electioni assensum præbuisset, nunquam ejus nequitiam patienter portaturum.” —Bonizo, p. 811. “Ne assensum præberet, ipsum attentius exoravit.

Quod si non faceret certum sibi esset, quod graviores et manifestos ipsius excessus impunitos nullatenus toleraret.” —Cardin. Arragon. in Vit.

liberty to appear as an open adversary of the Empire in defence of the loftiest pretensions of the Papacy. It was presuming, too, somewhat over boldly on the timidity and irresolution of the Emperor and his council. Hildebrand's character was too well known—it had been known for too many years—not to excite apprehensions of his ambitious views in Germany. He was an Italian—a Roman prelate. His austerity would alarm all who were either guilty or under the imputation of simoniacal or incontinent lives; he would have many adversaries even among the better, but not unambitious, German Prelates. Henry was in truth strongly urged to annul at once the election. “If he did not at once tame this violent man, on no one would the storm fall so heavily as on himself.” Count Eberhard of Nellenberg was sent to Rome to demand of the Romans why they had presumed, contrary to ancient usage, to elect the Pope without previous consultation of the Emperor; if the answer was unsatisfactory, Eberhard was to insist on the abdication of Gregory.¹ But Count Eberhard was received with courteous deference by Gregory, who declared that he had not sought, but that the honour had been forced upon him by the clergy and the people. He had, however, deferred, and should defer, his inauguration until he had received the assent of the King. This skilful concession was accepted. Eberhard returned to Germany. Gregory Bishop of Vercelli, the Chancellor of Italy, was sent to Rome to signify the Imperial assent.^k Hildebrand thus assumed the Pontifical power unembarrassed by a contested title.

¹ Lambert. Floto rejects this, but afterwards denied the fact, because Lambert could hardly have invented they would not acknowledge the Eberhard's mission. The high Papalists, less politic than Hildebrand, right.
^k Bonizo.

Yet the watchful Pope still took every opportunity of asserting indirectly the independence of the Papacy. His name of Gregory VII. was a declaration that Gregory VI., whose Pontificate had been annulled by the Imperial authority, was a legitimate Pope.

END OF VOL. III.

HISTORY
OF
LATIN CHRISTIANITY;

INCLUDING THAT OF
THE POPES TO THE PONTIFICATE OF NICOLAS V.

By HENRY HART MILMAN, D.D.,
DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S.

IN NINE VOLUMES.—VOL. IV.

FOURTH EDITION.

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A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	
1073	Gregory VII. 1085	1056	Henry IV. 1106	1060	Philip I. 1108	1066	William the Conqueror 1067		<i>Castile.</i>	1076	Canute IV. the Saint 1066	1072	Ducas 1078	
1080	(Guibert, Clement III. Antipope) 1100								—	1086	Olaus II. 1096	1078	Nicephorus Botoniates 1081	
1086	Victor III. 1087					1087	William Rufus 1100		<i>Arragon.</i>	1096	Eric the Good.	1081	Alexius Comnenus 1118	
1088	Urban II. 1098							1087	Sancho 1094					
								1094	Peter I. 1103					
ARCHBISHOPs OF MILAN.		ARCHBISHOPs OF MENTZ.		ARCHBISHOPs OF RHEIMs.		ARCHBISHOPs OF CANTERBURY.		EARL OF PORTUGAL.		KINGs OF NAPLES.		KINGs OF HUNGARY.		
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	
1076	Tedaldo.	1060	Siegfried 1048	1068	Mannasses I. 1093	1070	Lanfranc 1089	1088	Henry I. 1112		Robert Guiscard 1085	1063	Solomon 1074	
	Anselm 1093	1084	Wezil 1088	1093	Rainald 1096	1098	Anselm.				1085	Roger I. (Sicily) 1111	1074	Geisa 1077
		1068	Ruthard 1108										1077	Ladislaus I. 1095
													1095	Koloman 1111

BOOK VII.



CHAPTER I.

Hildebrand.

HILDEBRAND was now Pope; the great contest for the dominion over the human mind, the strife between the temporal and spiritual power, which had been carried on for some centuries

Pope Gregory
VII.
April 22,
A.D. 1073.

as a desultory and intermitting warfare, was now to be waged boldly, openly, implacably, to the subjugation of one or of the other. Sacerdotal, or rather Papal Christianity, had not yet fulfilled its mission, for, the Papal control withdrawn, the sacerdotal rule would have lost its unity, and with its unity its authority must have dissolved away. Without the clergy, not working here and there with irregular and uncombined excitement on the religious feelings of man, awakening in one quarter a vigorous enthusiasm, while in other parts of Europe men were left to fall back into some new Christian heathenism, or into an inert habitual Christianity of form; without the whole order labouring on a fixed and determined system, through creeds sanctified by ancient reverence, and a ceremonial guarded by rigid usage: without this vast uniform, hierarchical influence, where, in those ages of anarchy and ignorance, of brute force and dormant intelligence, had been Christianity itself? And looking only to its temporal condition, what had the world been without Christianity?

The Papacy has still the more splendid part of its destiny to accomplish. It has shown vital power enough to recover from its seemingly irrecoverable degradation. It might have been supposed that a moral and religious depravation so profound, would utterly have destroyed that reverence of opinion, which was the one groundwork of the Papal power. The veil had been raised; and Italy at least, if not Europe, had seen within it, not a reflex of divine majesty and holiness, but an idol not only hideous to the pure moral sentiment, but contemptible for its weakness. If centuries of sanctity had planted deeply in the heart of man his veneration for the successor of St. Peter, it would have been paralysed (the world might expect) and extinguished by more than a century of odious and un-Christian vices. A spiritual succession must be broken and interrupted by such unspiritual inheritors. Could the head of Christendom, living in the most un-Christian wickedness, perpetuate his descent, and hand down the patrimony of power and authority, with nothing of that piety and goodness which was at least one of his titles to that transcendent power?

But that idea or that opinion would not have endured for centuries, had it not possessed strength enough to reconcile its believers to contradictions and inconsistencies. With all the Teutonic part of Latin Christendom, the belief in the supremacy of the Pope was coeval with their Christianity; it was an article of their original creed as much as the Redemption; their apostles were commissioned by the Pope; to him they humbly looked for instruction and encouragement, even almost for permission to advance upon their sacred adventure. Augustine, Boniface, Ebbo, Anschar, had been papal missionaries. If the faith of Italy was shaken by too

familiar a view of that which the Germans contemplated with more remote and indistinct veneration, the national pride, in Rome especially, accepted the spiritual as a compensation for the loss of the temporal supremacy; Rome had ceased to be the centre of the Imperial—it would not endure not to be that of ecclesiastical dominion. The jealousy of a Pope elected, or even born, elsewhere than in Italy, showed the vitality of that belief in the Papacy, which was belied by so many acts of violence towards individual Popes. The religious minds would be chiefly offended by the incongruity between the lives and the station of the Pope; but to them it would be a part of religion to suppress any rebellious doubts. Their souls were deeply impressed with the paramount necessity of the unity of the Church; to them the Papacy was of divine appointment, the Pope the successor of St. Peter: all secret questioning of this integral part of their implanted faith was sin. However then they might bow down in shame and sorrow at the inscrutable decrees of Heaven, in allowing its Vicegerent thus to depart from his original brightness, yet they would veil their faces in awe, and await in trembling patience the solution of that mystery. In the Christian mind in general, or rather the mind within the world of Christendom, the separation between Christian faith and Christian morality was almost complete. Christianity was a mere unreasoning assent to certain dogmatic truths, an unreasoning obedience to certain ceremonial observances. Controversy was almost dead. In the former century, the predestinarian doctrines of Gotschalk, in general so acceptable to the popular ear, had been entirely suppressed by the sacerdotal authority. The tenets of Berengar concerning the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, had been restrained, and were to be once more

restrained, by the same strong hand; and Berengar's logic was beyond his age. The Manichean doctrines of the Paulicians and kindred sects were doubtless spreading to a great extent among the lower orders, but as yet in secrecy, breaking out now in one place, now in another, yet everywhere beheld with abhorrence, creating no wide alarm, threatening no dangerous disunion. In all the vulgar of Christendom (and that vulgar comprehended all orders, all ranks) the moral sentiment, as more obtuse, would be less shocked by that incongruity which grieved and oppressed the more religious. The great body of Christians in the West would no more have thought of discussing the character of the Pope, than the attributes of God. He was to them the apostle, the vicegerent of God, enveloped in the same kind of awful mystery. They feared the thunders of the Lateran as those of heaven; and were no more capable of sound discrimination as to the limits, grounds, and nature of that authority, than as to the causes of the destructive fire from the clouds. Their general belief in the judgement to come was not more deeply rooted than in the right of the clergy, more especially the head of the clergy, to anticipate, to declare, or to ratify their doom.

The German line of Pontiffs had done much to reinvest the Papacy in its ancient sanctity. The Italian Alexander II. had been at least a blameless Pontiff; and now every qualification which could array the Pope in imposing majesty, in what bordered on divine worship, seemed to meet in Gregory VII. His life
Character. verified the splendid panegyric with which he had been presented by Cardinal Hugo to the Roman people. He had the austerest virtue, the most simple piety, the fame of vast theologic knowledge, the tried ability to rule men, intrepidity which seemed to delight

in confronting the most powerful; a stern singleness of purpose, which, under its name of Churchmanship, gave his partisans unlimited reliance on his firmness and resolution, and yet a subtle policy which bordered upon craft. To them his faults were virtues; his imperiousness the due assertion of his dignity; his unbounded ambition zeal in God's cause: no haughtiness could be above that which became his station. The terror by which he ruled (he was so powerful that he could dispense with love), as it was the attribute of the Divinity now exclusively worshipped by man, so was it that which became the representative of God on earth.

Hildebrand, if not a Roman by birth, was an adopted Roman by education. He was of humble Birth and youth of Hildebrand. origin; so humble as to be obscure, almost doubtful. His father was a carpenter in Saona, a small town on the southern border of Tuscany. His name implies a Teutonic descent, though later adulation allied it with the great Roman house, the Aldobrandini. His later glory, as usual, cast back a preternatural splendour on his early life: prognostics of his future greatness began to embellish the dark years of his infancy and youth. His youth was passed in a monastic house in Rome, St. Mary on the Aventine, of which his uncle was abbot. That abbot, named Laurence, if the same who was afterwards Archbishop of Amalfi, was a man of ability and reputation. The disposition of Hildebrand was congenial to his education. He was a monk from his boyhood. Mortification in the smallest things taught him that self-command and rigour which he was afterwards to enforce on himself and on mankind: it was his self-imposed discipline, perhaps his pride, to triumph over every indulgence of the senses, even on the most

trivial occasions. His sternness to others was that which throughout life he exercised upon himself.

Rome was no favourable school for monastic perfection; yet perhaps the gross and revolting licentiousness of the city, and the abuses in the monastic system, which, whether they had penetrated or not into the sanctuary on the Aventine, by exciting the abhorrence of the devout Hildebrand may have hardened his austerity. The alternative to a Roman monk was between shameless profligacy and the extremest rigour; and Hildebrand would not be outdone in the holier course. But arrived at manhood, he determined to seek some better school for his ardent devotion, and to suppress, by travel and by study in some more safe retreat, the yet mutinous passions of his adolescence. There were still, in the general degeneracy of the monastic institutes, some renowned for their sanctity. At no period have been wanting men, who carried out to the utmost, who aimed at surpassing, the severe rules of Benedict or Columban. Among these was Odilo, abbot of Clugny, in Burgundy, the great Reformer of the monastic life in France. The situation of this monastery was beautiful. Hildebrand here found a retreat among brethren, whose asceticism might test his most rigorous power of self-discipline. The studies which he had commenced with promising success at Rome, proceeded rapidly in the peaceful shades of Clugny. Hildebrand soon became master of all the knowledge of the times; and perhaps at no period was in greater danger of abandoning the lofty destiny for which he seemed born. Where there was such depth of devotion there must have been strong temptation to remain, and to permit that devotion to luxuriate undis-

Hildebrand
in Clugny.

turbed and uninterrupted. Hildebrand might have been content to live and die the successor of Odilo of Clugny, not of the long line of Roman Pontiffs.

But holy retirement was not the vocation of his busy and energetic spirit. Hildebrand is again in Rome; he is attached to that one of the three conflicting Popes, whose cause would doubtless have been espoused by a man of devout feeling, and rigidly attached to canonical order. When Gregory VI., compelled to abdicate the Papacy, retired into Germany, he was followed by Hildebrand; on Gregory's death Hildebrand returned for a short time to his beloved retreat at Clugny.

A.D. 1047.

But during all this period, as a resident in France and in Germany, he was acquiring that knowledge of men and of affairs, which he was hereafter to employ in his great scheme of dominant churchmanship. It was the Italian and the Churchman surveying the weakness of the enemy's position. From Clugny he emerged, having cast his spell on the congenial mind of Leo IX., and admonished him to maintain the dignity and independence of the Papal election. From this time he was Pope, or becoming so. On every great occasion he was the legate: he was commissioned to encounter and suppress the daring Berengar; he was, no doubt, the adviser of Nicolas II. in the change of the Roman policy, the assumption of the power of election by the Cardinals, and the Norman alliance. He created Alexander II., and discomfited his rival, Cadalous. The strongest indication, indeed, of his superiority, his prophetic consciousness of his own coming greatness, was the self-command with which he controlled his own ambition. There was no eager or premature struggle for advancement; offices, honours, laid themselves at

A.D. 1048.

his feet. He was content to labour in a subordinate capacity, to have the substance without the pomp of authority, the influence without the dignity of the Papal power. For a long period in the Papal annals, Hildebrand alone seems permanent. Pope after Pope dies, disappears; Hildebrand still stands unmoved, or is rising more and more to eminence. The Italian might even seem to trust, not without stern satisfaction, to the fatal climate of his country, to wear out the rapid succession of German pontiffs, who yet were rendering the great service of regenerating the Popedom. One by one they fall off, Clement, Damasus, Leo, Victor, Nicolas. The only one who rules for ten years is the Italian, Alexander II.

While Hildebrand was thus rising to the height of power, and becoming more and more immersed in the affairs of the world, which he was to rule, his Damiani. aged colleague in one of his important missions, the suppression of the married clergy in Lombardy, Peter Damiani, beheld his progress with amazement, with friendly terror and regret. The similitude and contrast between these two men is truly characteristic of the age. Damiani was still a monk at heart; he had been compelled by Pope Stephen, his persecutor, as he called him, rather than his patron, to take upon him the episcopate. He had been invested by the same gentle violence in the rank of a Cardinal; and in that character had wrought his temporary triumph in Milan. Already had he addressed an earnest argument to Pope Nicolas II., to be allowed to abdicate the weary, unthankful, unmonastic office. Damiani saw the monk, in all but its personal austerity, departing from the character of Hildebrand. Hildebrand could not comprehend the pusillanimity, and, as it were, spiritual

selfishness with which Damiani, in anxious apprehension for his own soul, would withdraw from the world, which himself would confront and cope with, not seek his safety in cowardly flight. Damiani trembled even for the stern virtue of Hildebrand, when raised to the pomp, and at least able to command the luxuries of a magnificent prelate. His argument is a bitter satire against the Bishops, and, of course, the still loftier dignitaries of the Church. "What would the bishops of old have done, had they to endure the torments which now attend the episcopate? To ride forth constantly attended by troops of soldiers, with swords and lances; to be girt about with armed men, like a heathen general! Not amid the gentle music of hymns, but the din and clash of arms! Every day royal banquets, every day parade! The table, loaded with delicacies, not for the poor, but for voluptuous guests; while the poor, to whom the property of right belongs, are shut out, and pine away with famine."^a

From that time Gregory and Damiani trod their opposite paths: Damiani to subdue the world within himself^b with more utter aversion, more concentrated determination; Hildebrand to subdue the world without—how far within his own heart God alone may judge.

The first, the avowed object of Gregory's pontificate, was the absolute independence of the clergy, of the Pope, of the great prelates throughout Latin Christen-

^a In one passage Damiani declares no single clerk fit to be a bishop; one is a little better (*meliusculum*) than another. The Bishop of Fano he calls "*latro Fanensis*."—Opuscul.

^b See Damiani's black account of

the sins which he had to struggle against. Those which clung to him were scurrility (Damiani was not wanting in self-knowledge) and *disposition to laughter*.—Epist. v. 2.

dom, down to the lowest functionary, whose person was to become sacred; that independence under which lurked the undisguised pretension to superiority. His remote and somewhat more indistinct vision, was the foundation of a vast spiritual autocracy in the person of the Pope, who was to rule mankind by the consentient, but subordinate authority of the clergy throughout the world. For this end the clergy were to become still more completely a separate, inviolable caste; their property equally sacred with their persons. Each in his separate sphere, the Pope above all and comprehending all, was to be sovereign arbiter of all disputes; to hold in his hands the supreme mediation in questions of war and peace; to adjudge contested successions to kingdoms; to be a great feudal lord, to whom other kings became Beneficiaries. His own arms were to be chiefly spiritual, but the temporal power was to be always ready to execute the ecclesiastical behest against the ungodly rebels who might revolt from its authority; nor did the Churchman refuse altogether to use secular weapons, to employ armies in its own name, or even to permit the use of arms to the priesthood.

For this complete isolation of the hierarchy into a peculiar and inviolable caste was first necessary the reformation of the clergy in two most important preliminary matters; the absolute extirpation of the two evils, which the more rigid churchmen had been denouncing for centuries, to the suppression of which Hildebrand had devoted so much of his active energies. The war against simony and against the concubinage of the clergy (for under this ill-sounding name was condemned all connexion, however legalised, with the female sex), must first be carried to a triumphant

Hierarchical
caste.

issue, before the Church could assume its full and uncontested domination.

Like his predecessors, like all the more high-minded Churchmen, Hildebrand refused to see that simony was the inevitable consequence of the inordinate wealth of the clergy. It was a wild moral paradox to attempt to reconcile enormous temporal pos-
Simony
sessions and enormous temporal power, with the extinction of all temporal motives for obtaining, all temptations to the misuse of, these all-envied treasures. Religion might at first beguile itself into rapacity, on account of the sacred and beneficent uses to which it designed to devote wealth and power. Works of piety and charity might, for a short time, with the sacred few, be the sole contemplated, sole sought object. But rapacity would soon throw off the mask and assume its real character. Personal passions and desires would intrude into the holiest sanctuary. Pious works would become secondary, subordinate, till at last they would vanish from the view; ambition, avarice, pride, prodigality, luxury, would, by degrees, supplant those rare and singular virtues. The clergy had too much power over public opinion themselves to submit to its control; they awed mankind—were under awe to none. In the feudal system, which had been so long growing up throughout Western Europe, bishops had become, in every respect, the equals of the secular nobles. In every city the bishop, if not the very first of men, was on a level with the first: without the city he was lord of the amplest domains. Archbishops almost equalled kings; for who would not have coveted the station and authority of a Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, rather than that of the feeble Carolingian monarch? The citizen might well be jealous of the superior opulence and influence of

the priest; even the rustic, the serf, might behold, not without envy, his son or his brother (for from this sacerdotal caste there was no absolute exclusion either in theory or practice of the meanest) enjoying the security, the immunities, the respect paid even to the most humble orders of the clergy. And so it was throughout the whole framework of society. But if this was the nobler part of the democratic constitution of the Church, that it was a caste not of birth or race, it had its counter-vailing evils. There was a constant temptation; a temptation growing in proportion to its privileges and immunities; a temptation which overleaped, or trampled down every barrier, to enter the Church from unhallowed motives. The few who assumed the sacred office with high and pure and perfectly religious views, became comparatively fewer. Men crowded into it from all quarters, and seized at once on its highest and its almost menial offices. That which had been obtained by unworthy means, or for unworthy motives, would be employed for no higher ends. We have seen the Barbarians forcing their way into the sacred ranks, and bringing with them much of their barbarity. Charlemagne himself had set the example of advancing his natural sons to high ecclesiastical dignities. His feebler descendants, even the more pious, submitted to the same course from choice or necessity. The evil worked downwards. The Bishop, who had bought his see, indemnified himself by selling the inferior prebends or cures. What was so intrinsically valuable began to have its money-price; it became an object of barter and sale. The layman who purchased holy orders bought usually peace, security of life, comparative ease. Those who aspired to higher dignities soon repaid themselves for the outlay, however large and extortionate. For several

centuries, Pope after Pope, Council after Council, had continued to denounce this crime, this almost heresy. The iteration, the gradually increasing terrors of their anathemas, show their inefficacy. While the ambitious churchmen on the one hand were labouring to suppress it, by the still accumulating accessions to their power and wealth they were aggravating the evil. At this period, not merely the indignant satire of the more austere, but graver history and historical poetry, even the acts and decrees of Councils declare that, from the Papacy down to the lowest parochial cure, every spiritual dignity and function was venal. The highest bishops confessed their own guilt; the bishopric of Rome had too often been notoriously bought and sold. Sometimes, indeed, but not always, it condescended to some show of decency. Simony might veil itself under the appearance of ordinary and ancient usage. The universal feudal practice of making offerings to the sovereign, or to the liege lord, or even largesses to the people, at every act of promotion, grant, or enfranchisement, might seem to justify these donations, at first honorary and voluntary, at length exacted as a tribute, with unscrupulous rapacity. With this was connected the whole famous question of investiture.

But however disguised, simony from its odious name was acknowledged to be a crime and a sin.^c It undermined the power and authority of the clergy. The priest or bishop labouring under this imputation was held up, by the decrees of Popes and Councils, as an

^c Tedaldo, Bishop of Arezzo, so detested simony, that he would have become a simoniac Pope himself to root out the sin; at least, so says Donizo, the panegyrist of the Countess

Matilda :—

"Ipsos detestans dicebat mente modestâ
Mille libras certè pro Papatu dare vellem.
Ut quod ego glisco simoniacos maledictos
Ejicerem cunctos per totum denique mun-
dum."—1. 5.

object of hatred and contempt, rather than of respect. But beyond this the vast possessions which tempted to simony were endangered by its inevitable consequences. While the clergy were constantly working on the fears of men to increase their own wealth, the only reprisal in the power of the laity was through the venality of the clergy. It was their only means of rescuing some part of their property from the all-absorbing cupidity of those who made it their duty to secure, in theory for God and for pious uses, but too often for other ends, very large proportions of the land throughout Latin Christendom. According to the strict law, the clergy could receive everything, alienate nothing. But the frequent and bitter complaints of the violent usurpation, or the fraudulent alienation by the clergy themselves, of what had been church property, show that neither party respected this sanctity when it was the interest of both to violate it.^d While, on the one hand, the clergy extorted from the dying prince or noble some important grant, immunity, or possession, the despoiled heir would scruple at no means of resuming his alienated rights or property. The careless, the profligate, the venal, the warlike bishop or abbot, would find means, if he found advantage, to elude the law; to surrender gradually and imperceptibly; to lease out the land so as to annihilate its value to the Church; to grant in perpetuity for trifling compensations or for valueless service, the coveted estate; and so to relax the inexorable grasp of the

^d Muratori describes well this struggle: "Metebant jugi labore in sæcularium campis clerici, ac præcipue monachi; vicissim vero et sæculares nihil intentatum relinquebant, ut messes ab ecclesiasticis congestas, in

horrea sua leviori interdum negotio deducerent. Propterea quamvis universam pene tellurem absorbere posse ac velle videretur cleri utriusque industria, plura sacris locis erepta quam relictæ fuisse."—Ant. It. Diss. lxxxii.

Church. His own pomp and expenditure would reduce the ecclesiastic to the wants and subterfuges of debtors and of bankrupts; and so the estates would, directly or circuitously, return either to the original or to some new owner.

With this universal simony was connected, more closely than may at first appear, the other great vice of the age, as it was esteemed by Hildebrand and his school, the marriage of the clergy. Few of these men, actuated only by religious motives, by the stern, dominant spirit of monasticism in their refusal of this indulgence to the priesthood, may have had the sagacity to discern the real danger arising to their power from this practice. The celibacy of the clergy was necessary to their existence, at the present period, as a separate caste. The clergy, in an advanced period of civilisation, may sink into ordinary citizens; they may become a class of men discharging the common functions of life, only under a stronger restraint of character and of public opinion. As examples of the domestic, as of the other virtues; as training up families in sound morals and religion, they are of inappreciable advantage; they are a living remonstrance and protest against that licentiousness of manners which is the common evil of more refined society. But the clergy of this age, necessarily a caste, would have degenerated from an open, unexclusive caste, to a close and hereditary one.* Under the feudal system, everything, from the throne to the

* See in Damiani a frightful story of a bishop in Marsia, who had a son by a concubine, whom he substituted for himself in his bishopric. He himself coveted the monastery of Casino, hired assassins to pluck out the abbot's eyes, and send the reeking proofs of the murder to him. He died, however, suddenly at the moment that the abbot was being blinded. True or false, Damiani believed the story.—Epist. iv. 8.

meanest trade, had a hereditary tendency. The benefices, originally revocable at the will of the liege lord, were becoming patrimonies; rank, station, distinction, descended from father to son: the guilds, if they were beginning to be formed in towns, were likewise hereditary. The son followed the trade, and succeeded to the tools, the skill of his parent. But hereditary succession once introduced into the Church, the degeneracy of the order was inevitable; the title to its high places at least, and its emoluments, would have become more and more exclusive: her great men would cease to rise from all ranks and all quarters.^f

Hereditary succession, we have said, and the degeneracy of the order were inseparable. Great as were the evils inevitable from the dominion of the priesthood, if it had become in any degree the privilege of certain families that evil would have been enormously aggravated; the compensating advantages annulled. Family affections and interests would have been constantly struggling against those of the Church. Selfishness, under its least unamiable form, would have been ever counteracting the lofty and disinterested spirit which still actuated the better Churchmen; one universal nepotism—a nepotism, not of kindred, but of parentage—would have preyed upon the vital energies of the

^f “*Ampla itaque prædia, ampla patrimonia, et quæcunque bona possunt, de bonis ecclesiæ, neque enim aliunde habent, infames patres infamibus filiis acquirunt. Et ut liberi non per rapinam appareant, volunt enim in terrâ rapere libertatem, ut diabolus in cælis voluit detatam, in militiam eos mpx faciunt transire nobilium.*”—*Conc. Papiens. A.D. 1022.*

Mansi, xix.; Pertz, Leg. ii. 561. Compare Theiner, i. 457. It was prohibited, but vainly prohibited, to receive the sons of priests into orders. Gerhard, Bishop of Lorch, asks Pope Leo VII. whether it was lawful; the Pope decided that the sons must not bear the sins of their fathers.—Labbe, ix., sub. ann. 937. Compare Planck, iii. p. 601.

order. Every irreligious occupant would either have endeavoured to alienate to his lay descendants the property of the Church, or bred up his still more degenerate descendants in the certainty of succession to their patrimonial benefice.⁸

Yet celibacy may be the voluntary self-sacrifice of an individual, it may be maintained for a time by mutual control and awe; by severe discipline; by a strong corporate spirit in a monastic community. But in a low state of morals as to sexual intercourse, in an order recruited from all classes of society, not filled by men of tried and matured religion; in an order crowded by aspirants after its wealth, power, comparative ease, privileges, immunities, public estimation; in an order superior to, or dictating public opinion (if public opinion made itself heard); in a permanent order, in which the

⁸ RATHERIUS OF VERONA, a century earlier (he died 974), declaims against this hereditary priesthood. He had already asserted, "Quam perditâ tonsuratum universitas tota, ut nemo in eis qui non aut adulter aut sit arsenoquita. Adulter enim nobis est, qui contra canones uxorius est." He declares that there were priests and deacons not only bigami, but trigami et quadrigami. "Presbyter vero aut diaconus uxorem legitimam non possit habere. Si filium de ipsâ fornicatione, vel quod pejus est, adulterio, genitum facit presbyterum, ille iterum suum, suum alter iterum; pullulans illud usque in finem sæculi taliter adulterium, cujus est, nisi illius qui illud primitus seminavit? Quocirca monendi et obsecrandi fratres, ut quia prohiberi, proh dolor! a mulieribus valetis nullo modo, filios de vobis generatos dimitteretis saltem esse laicos, |

filias laicis jungeretis, ut vel in fine saltem vestro terminaretur, et nusquam in finem sæculi duraret adulterium vestrum."—De Nuptu cujusdam illicito, ap. d'Achery, i. pp. 370, 1. The Synod of Worms thus writes of the object of Hildebrand's law: "Causa legis est, ne ecclesiarum opes collectæ per sacerdotum matrimonia et liberos rursus diffluerent." The same complaints are made in England as late as the reign of Henry II. (Epist. Gul. Folliott, 361-362). So little effect had the measures of Gregory and his successors, that Folliott excuses Pope Alexander III. for not carrying out the law: "Si vero prorsus vitium extirpatum non est, id non imputandum sibi sed magis delinquentium multitudini, vixque, vel nunquam, abolendæ consuetudini."—Document Hist. apud Giles, vol. ii. p. 237.

degeneracy of one age would go on increasing in the next, till it produced some stern reaction; in an order comparatively idle, without social duties or intellectual pursuits; in an order not secluded in the desert, but officially brought into the closest and most confidential relations as instructors and advisers of the other sex, it was impossible to maintain real celibacy;^h and the practical alternative lay between secret marriage, concubinage without the form of marriage, or a looser and more corrupting intercourse between the sexes.

Throughout Latin Christendom, throughout the whole spiritual realm of Hildebrand, he could not but know there had been long a deep-murmured, if not an avowed doubt, as to the authority of the prohibitions against the marriage of the clergy; where the dogmatic authority of the Papal canons was not called in question, there was a bold resistance, or a tacit infringement of the law. Italy has been seen in actual, if uncombined, rebellion from Calabria to the Alps. The whole clergy of the kingdom of Naples has appeared, under Married clergy in Italy. Nicolas II., from the highest to the lowest, openly living with their lawful wives. Still earlier, we have seen Leo IX. contesting, and it should seem in

^h It is impossible entirely to suppress all notice of other evils which arose out of, and could not but arise out of the enforced celibacy of the clergy, a barbarous clergy, an unmarried clergy, not, throughout the order, under the very strong control of a vigilant and fearless public opinion. Damiani's odious book has been already named; its name is enough. Damiani saw not that, by his own measures, he was probably making such a book almost necessary in future times. In

the Council of Metz, 898, a stronger prohibition is needed than against wives and concubines. "Nequaquam in sua domo secum aliquam fœminam habeant, nec matrem, nec sororem; sed auferentes omnem occasionem Satanæ . . ." —Can. v. That of Nantes gives more plainly the cause of the prohibition: "Quia instigante diabolo, etiam in illis scelus frequenter perpetratum reperitur, aut etiam in pedissequis illorum, scilicet matrem, amitam, sororem." A.D. 895.

vain, this undisguised license in Rome itself.^l Milan and other Lombard cities, and Florence, had withstood authority, eloquence, popular violence, even the tribunitian fury of ecclesiastical demagogues; they were silenced, but neither convinced nor subdued. The married clergy were still, if for the present cowed, a powerful faction throughout Italy; they were awaiting their time of vengeance.^k Ravenna, if she had now fallen into comparative obscurity, and was not, as far as appears, so deeply committed in the strife, yet preserved in her annals (perhaps from the days of her Greek Exarchate) the memory of saintly prelates who had asserted the right of marriage.^m The memory of the married Pope, Hadrian II., was but recent.

In Germany the power and influence of the married clergy will make itself felt, if less openly proclaimed,

^l See quotation, vol. iii. p. 429, from Gulielmus Appulus. See pp. 440-474, with quotations from Peter Damiani and the biographer of S. Gualberto.

^k The best testimony for the whole of Italy, including Rome (even beyond the declamations of Damiani), is the statement of the more sober Pope Victor in his Dialogues. "Itaque cum vulgus clericorum per viam effrænata licentiæ, nemine prohibente, grade-retur, cœperunt ipsi presbyteri et diacones (qui tradita sibi sacramenta Dominica mundo corde castoque corpore tractare debebant), laicorum more uxores ducere susceptosque filios hæredes relinquere. Nonnulli etiam episcoporum, verecundiâ omni contemptâ, cum uxoribus domo simul in unâ habitare. Et hæc pessima et execranda consuetudo intra Urbem maximè pululabat, unde olim religionis norma ab ipso Apostolo Petro ejusque succes-

soribus ubique diffusa processerat."—Max. Biblioth. Patr. xviii. Compare Bonizo apud Œfel. Rer. Boic. Script. ii. 799.

^m Compare Agnelli, Vit. Pontif. Ravennat. "Sed quærendum nobis est cur iste conjugatus talem egregiam obtinuit sedem. Si intelligatis auctorem Apostolum dicentem, unius uxoris virum, et filios habentem, episcopos ordinari recte providetur, cum et hoc Canones præceperint."—P. 113. Saint Severus was married, when Archbishop of Ravenna, according to a life written about this time. "Sicut enim ciborum edulio non polluitur homo, nisi insidiatrix concupiscentia præcedit, sic quoque legali conjugio non inquinatur Christianus, qui se nullatenus vel virginitatis vel continentie alligavit."—Compare p. 192, where the example of Peter is alleged. The saint abstained when archbishop. —Ibid., p. 189.

as a bond of alliance with the Emperor and the Lombard prelates. The famous letter of Ulric, Married clergy in Germany. Bishop of Augsburg, to Pope Nicolas I.,^a had already boldly asserted the Teutonic freedom in this great question. Ulric had urged with great force the moral and scriptural arguments; and sternly contrasted the vices of the unmarried with the virtues of the married clergy. Adelbert, the magnificent Archbishop of Bremen, almost conceded the marriage of the clergy to avoid worse evils; the statesman prevailed over the prelate.^o Gregory himself had to rebuke the Archbishop of Saltzburg for his remissness in not correcting the uncleanness of his clergy (a phrase which may be safely interpreted, not separating them from their wives), the Bishop of Constance for being indulgent to such flagitious courses.^p

Among the detested and incorrigible offences which drove Saint Adalbert in indignation from his bishopric of Prague, were the marriage of the clergy, and the polygamy of the laity.^q

There is no reason to suppose the marriage of the

^a Apud Eccard, *Hist. Med. Ævi*, ii. p. 26. I see no just grounds to doubt the authenticity of this letter, though it contains a very foolish story. Compare Shroeck, xxii. p. 533. "Quid divinæ maledictioni obligatius, quam cum aliqui eorum episcopi videlicet et archidiaconi ita præcipites sint in libidinem, ut neque adulteria, neque incestus, neque masculorum, pro pudor! sciant abhorreere concubitus, quod casta clericorum conjugia dicunt foetere." Some assert this letter to be a forgery of this period.

• "Audivimus cum sæpenumero Adelbertus clerum suum de conti-

nentiam hortaretur, Admoneo vos, inquit, et postulans jubeo, ut pestiferis mulierum vinculis absolvamini, aut si ad hoc non potestis cogi, saltem cum verecundiam vinculum matrimonii custodite, secundum illud quod dicitur, Si non castè tamen cautè."—Scolia. in Adam. Brem. iii. 32, apud Lindembrog, p. 41.

^p Regest. i. 30, Nov. 15, 1073, and Udalric Bab. apud Eccard. "Quod poenam libidinis laxaverit, ut qui mulierculis se inquinaverint in flagitio persisterent."—Dec. 1074.

^q In 990. Cosmas Pragensis, v. S. Adalbert, p. 77.

clergy less common in France, though it had either the good fortune, or the prudence, not to come into such bold and open collision with the stern Reformer. The French councils denounce the crime as frequent, notorious. That of Bourges had threatened to deprive the married priests, deacons, and subdeacons, if they did not give up all connexion with their wives or concubines.^r Under Gregory VII. the Bishop of Toul is accused, it is true, by a refractory clerk, of living publicly with a concubine, by whom he had a son.^s

In France.

In Normandy—if there were priests so early of Norman descent—the fierceness of the conqueror, the Teutonic independence; if the priesthood were of the old Frankish race, the long years of anarchy, had broken down or so dissolved all the old bonds of law and order, that even bishops openly lived with their wives, and sate proudly in the midst of their sons and daughters.^t When Herluin, the founder of the monastery of Bec, betook himself to monastic life, an unmarried priest or bishop was hardly to be found in

In Normandy.

^r Canon. v. ^s Regest. ii. 10.

^t “Tunc quippe in Neustriâ post adventum Normannorum, in tantum dissoluta erat castitas clericorum, ut non solum presbyteri sed etiam præsules libere uterentur thoris concubinarum, et palam superbirent multiplici propagine filiorum et filiarum. Tunc ibidem (Remis) generale concilium tenuit (Leo IX.) et inter reliqua ecclesiæ commoda, quæ constituit, presbyteris arma ferre et conjuges habere prohibuit. Exinde consuetudo lethalis paulatim exinaniri cepit. Arma quidem ferre presbyteri jam patienter desiere; sed a pellicibus

adhuc nobunt abstinere, nec pudicitia inservire.”—Orderic. Vital., apud Duchesne, p. 372. “Rarus in Normanniâ tunc rectæ tramitis aut index aut prævius erat: sacerdotes et summi pontifices *libere conjugati*, et arma portantes, ut laici.”—Vit. S. Herluin, apud Lanfranc. Oper., p. 263. “Multum contra impudicos presbyteros pro auferendis pellicibus laboravit, a quibus dum in synodo concubinas eis sub anathema prohiberet, lapidibus percussus aufugit, fugiensque ab ecclesiâ, ‘Deus, venerunt gentes in hæreditatem tuam,’ fortiter clamavit.”—Orderic. Vital., A.D. 1069-1079.

Normandy. Leo IX., as has been seen, in vain denounced, at his Council at Rheims, the martial and married prelates. They gave up reluctantly their arms; nothing would induce them to yield their wives. The Archbishop of Rouen daring, in a public synod, to prohibit under anathema the priests to retain those whom he opprobriously called their concubines, was overwhelmed with a shower of stones, and driven out of the Church.

Among the Anglo-Saxon clergy before Dunstan, marriage was rather the rule, celibacy the exception.^a In older Anglo-Saxon Britain monasticism itself had but seldom aspired either to the dreamy quietude of the East, or the passionate and excessive austerity of the West: it was a religious profession, no more. The monks attached to most of the cathedrals lived under a kind of canonical rule, but were almost universally married. In the richer conventual foundations ruled mostly, as in France, noble and warlike abbots, and noble abbesses; they took no vow of chastity; they married or remained unmarried at their will.^x The only true monks were the Benedictines, who had been introduced by Bishop Wilfrid. They were chiefly in the northern kingdoms, but throughout England these monasteries had been mercilessly wasted by the Danes: a white cowl was as rare as a ghost. When Dunstan began his career there were true monks only at Abingdon and Glastonbury.

^a Kemble, ii. pp. 441-741.

^x "Monasteria nempe Angliæ ante Reformationem a Dunstano et Edgare rege institutam, totidem erant conventus clericorum sæcularium; qui amplissimis possessionibus dotati et certis sibi invicem regulis astricti,

officia sua in ecclesiis quotidie frequentarunt; omnibus interim aliorum clericorum privilegiis, *atque ipsâ uxores ducendi licentiâ gaudebant.*"—Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. p. 218.

^y Theiner, p. 530.

An English historian may be permitted to dwell somewhat more at length on this great question in Anglo-Saxon Britain. A century ^{In England.} before Gregory VII., the Primate Odo, and after him Dunstan, had devoted themselves to work that which they too deemed a holy revolution. Dunstan's ^{Dunstan.} life was a crusade, a cruel, unrelenting, yet but partially successful crusade against the married clergy, which in truth comprehended the whole secular clergy of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom. Dunstan was, as it were, in a narrower sphere, among a ruder people, a prophetic type and harbinger of Hildebrand. Like Hildebrand, or rather like Damiani doing the work of Hildebrand, in the spirit, not of a rival sovereign, but of an iron-hearted monk, he trampled the royal power under his feet. The scene at the coronation of King Edwy, excepting the horrible cruelties to which it was the prelude, and which belong to a more barbarous race, might seem to prepare mankind for the humiliation of the Emperor Henry at Canosa.

Archbishop Odo was the primary author, Dunstan the agent, in the outrage on the royal authority at the coronation of young Edwy. Odo was a Dane; had been a warrior: in him the conquering Dane and the stern warrior mingled with the imperious churchman.² Dunstan not from his infancy, but from his youth, had been self-trained as a monk. In Dunstan were moulded together the asceticism almost of an Eastern anchorite (his cell would hardly give free room for his body, yet

² Among the constitutions of Archbishop Odo was the emphatic one: "Ammonemus regem et principes et omnes qui in potestate sunt ut cum magnâ reverentiâ Archiepiscopo et omnibus aliis episcopis obediant."—Const. ii., Wilkins, sub ann. 943. "Nec alicui liceat censum ponere super ecclesiam Dei."

his cell was not only his dwelling, it was his workshop and forge), with some of the industry and accomplishments of a Benedictine. He wrought in iron, in ivory, in the precious metals; practised some arts of design; it is said that he copied manuscripts. Odo became Primate of England. Dunstan at first refused a bishopric: he was Abbot of Glastonbury. The admiring, the worshipping monkish biographers of Dunstan, while they have laboured to heighten him to the glory of a saint, have unconsciously darkened him into one of the most odious of mankind. Their panegyric and their undesigned calumny must be received with doubt and reservation. Among the perpetual miracles with which they have invested his whole career, some are so awkwardly imagined as to suggest to the most candid an inevitable suspicion of fraud.

With them it was holy zeal (and zeal it doubtless was, how far leavened with harshness and pride who shall know?) which sent Dunstan, at the Primate's order, to drag forth the boy monarch of sixteen from the arms of his wife, back into the banquet-hall of his nobles, who were said to have held themselves insulted by his early withdrawal from their boisterous conviviality. The searing the face of the beautiful Elgiva with a red-hot iron, on her return from her exile in all her beauty and influence; the ham-stringing the unhappy woman; the premature death of Edwy, are related, not merely without compassion, but with a kind of savage triumph, by men in whose hearts not only the affections, but the humanity of our nature have been crushed out by their stern discipline.^a

^a Even in our own day the sympathies of such a man as Dr. Lingard are not with the victims, but with the churchmen. He labours to show that Elgiva was not a wife, but a concubine (she was connected probably

The scene at Calne, when the great question between the monastic and secular clergy, it might almost be said the celibate and married clergy, was on the issue before the great national council; when the whole of the seats filled by the adverse party fell with a crash, and buried many of them in the ruins, was so happily timed, that although it might have been fortuitous (with the monks of course it was providential, miraculous), it is difficult not to remember Dunstan's mastery over all the mechanic skill of the day.^b

But whatever the apparent triumph of Dunstan and of monasticism, it needed all the power of Odo the Primate, all the commanding perseverance of Dunstan, when the King Edgar, who now held the throne, became the slave of their will, and the royal laws and royal authority might seem to have no aim but the proscription of the marriage of the clergy^c to obtain even transient conformity. It was not by law, but by armed invasion of cathedral after cathedral, that the married

with Edwy by some remote kindred). He relates as undoubted truth the monstrous charge, adduced by the gross imagination of the monkish party, of the criminal intimacy of the boy with the mother as well as the daughter. Mr. Hallam has weighed and summed up (in one of his Supplemental Notes) with his usual rigid candour, all the probabilities—they are hardly more—of this dark transaction.

^b "Omnibus ad terram elisis, solus Dunstanus, stans super unam trabem quæ superstes erat, probè evasit." Compare Osbern, in Vit. Dunstani. "Hoc miraculum archiepiscopo exhibuit pacem de clericis, omnibus Anglis tunc et deinceps in sententiam ejus

concedentibus." — Gul. Malmesb., p. 258.

^c Compare Edgar's Charta de Oswald's Lawe, A.D. 964. "Hoc est de ejiendis clericis uxoratis et introducendis monachis."—Ap. Harduin, vi. p. 637. Malmesbury writes of Edgar like a true monk. It was a glorious reign of sixteen years. "Nec ullus fere annus in chronicis præteritus est, quo non magnum et necessarium patriæ aliquid fecerit, quo non monasticum novum fundaverit." p. 236.—Edit. Hist. Society. See p. 237 on Dunstan, note, and on Dunstan's turning the secular priests of Worcester into regulars. "Tunc ordo monasticus jamdudum lapsus, præcipue caput erexit." p. 247.

clergy were ejected, the Benedictines installed in their places. Twice the seculars had influence enough to prevent the elevation of Dunstan: his pious ambition at last condescended to a bishopric, that of Worcester, then of Worcester and London together, finally to the Primacy. Dunstan welcomed, so said his admirers, by visible angels, died; Dunstan wrought countless miracles at his tomb. Dunstan became a Saint; and yet he had achieved no permanent victory. Hardly twenty years after the death of Dunstan, a council is held at Enham; it declares that there were clergy who had two, even more wives; some had dismissed their wives, and in their lifetime taken others. It might seem that the compulsory breach of the marriage bond had only introduced a looser, promiscuous concubinage; men who strove, or were forced, to obey, returned to their conjugal habits with some new consort.^d

Canute, the Dane, aspired to be a religious monarch; his laws are in the tone of the monastic hierarchy.

After the great revolution, which dispossessed the Saxon clergy of all the higher benefices, the Bishop of Lichfield is accused, before the Papal legate, of living in open wedlock and with sons by his wife.^e Archbishop Lanfranc is commanded, by Pope Gregory, to prohibit canons from taking wives; and if priests and deacons, to part them immediately from their wives, or to inflict the sentence of deprivation.^f

^d A.D. 1009. "In more est, ut quidam duas, quidam plures habeant, et nonnullus quamvis eam dimiserit, quam antea habuit, aliam tamen ipsa vivente accipit." This, although "certissime norint quod non debeant habere eam aliquam coitus causam . . . uxoris

consortium," the latter offence is "quod nullus Christianus facere debet."—Mansi, xxi. Wilkins, i. 287.

^e "Cui uxor publicè habita, filiique procreati testimonium perhibent."—Lanfranc. Epist. iv.

^f Regesta, Greg. vii. i. 30.

The strife throughout Christendom between the monks and the secular clergy, if it rose not directly out of, was closely connected with, ^{Monks and secular} clergy. this controversy. In the monks the severer ecclesiastics had sure allies; they were themselves mostly monks: nearly all the great champions of the Church, the more intrepid vindicators of her immunities, the rigid administrators of her laws, were trained in the monasteries for their arduous conflict. It was an arduous, but against the married clergy, an unequal contest. The monastic school were united, determined, under strong convictions, with undoubting confidence in broad and intelligible principles; the married clergy in general doubtful, vacillating, mostly full of misgiving as to the righteousness of their own cause; content with the furtive and permissive licence, rather than disposed to claim it boldly as their inalienable right. The former had all the prejudices of centuries in their favour, the greatest names in the Church, long usage, positive laws, decrees of Popes, axioms of the most venerable fathers, some seemingly positive texts of Scripture: the latter only a vague appeal to an earlier antiquity with which they were little acquainted; the true sense of many passages of the sacred writings which had been explained away; a dangerous connexion with suspicious or heretical names; the partial sanction of the unauthoritative Greek Church. Their strongest popular ground was the false charge of Manicheism against the adversaries of marriage.

The great strength of the monastic party was in the revival of monasticism itself. This had taken place, more or less, in almost every part of Christendom. The great monasteries had sunk on account of their vast possessions—too tempting to maintain respect—some into patrimonies of noble families—some into appanages,

as it were, of the crown. The kings granted them to favourites, not always ecclesiastical favourites. Many were held by lay abbots, who, by degrees, expelled the monks; the cloisters became the camps of their retainers, the stables of their coursers, the kennels of their hounds, the meutes of their hawks. In Germany we have seen the extensive appropriation of the wealthiest monasteries by the lordly prelates. But even now one of those periodical revolutions had begun, through which monasticism for many ages renewed its youth, either by restoring the discipline and austere devotion within the old convents, or by the institution of new orders, whose emulation always created a strong reaction throughout the world of Monachism. In France, William of Aquitaine, and Bruno of the royal house of Burgundy, began the reform. It had spread from Clugny under Odilo and his successors; in Italy from Damiani, and from S. Gualberto in Vallombrosa; Herlembald was still upholding the banner of monkhood in Milan; in England the strong impulse given by Dunstan had not expired. Edward the Confessor, a monk upon the throne, had been not merely the second founder of the great Abbey of Westminster, but had edified and encouraged the monks by his example. Even in Germany a strong monastic party had begun to form: the tyranny and usurpation of the crown and of the great prelates could not but cause a deep, if silent revulsion.

Almost the first public act of Gregory VII. was a declaration of implacable war against these his two mortal enemies, simony, and the marriage of the clergy. He was no infant Hercules; but the mature ecclesiastical Hercules would begin his career by strangling these two serpents; the brood, as he esteemed them, and parents of all evil. The decree

Gregory's
synod at
Rome.

of the synod held in Rome in the eleventh month of his pontificate is not extant, but in its inexorable provisions it went beyond the sternest of his predecessors. It absolutely invalidated all sacraments performed by simoniacal or married priests:^s baptism was no regenerating rite; it might almost seem that the Eucharistic bread and wine in their unhallowed hands refused to be transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ. The communicants guilty of perseverance at least in the sin, shared in the sacerdotal guilt. Even the priesthood were startled at this new and awful doctrine, that the efficacy of the sacraments depended on their own sinlessness. Gregory, in his headstrong zeal, was promulgating a doctrine used afterwards by Wycliffe and his followers with such tremendous energy. And this was a fearless, democratical provocation to the people; for it left to notoriety, to public fame, to fix on any one the brand of the hidden sin of simony, or (it might be the calumnious) charge of concubinage; and so abandoned the holy priesthood to the judgement of the multitude.^h

March 9, 10,
1074.

* "Gregorius Papa celebratâ synodo simoniacos anathematizavit, uxoratos sacerdotes a divino officio removit, et laicis missam eorum audire interdixit *novo exemplo* et (ut multis visum est) inconsiderato præjudicio contra sanctorum patrum sententiam qui scripserunt, quod sacramenta quæ in ecclesiâ fiunt, baptismus videlicet, crisma, corpus et sanguis Christi, Spiritu sancto latenter operante eorundem sacramentorum effectum seu per bonos, seu per malos intra Dei ecclesiam dispensentur. Tamen quia Spiritus Sanctus mystice illa vivificat, nec veritis honorum dispensatorum ampli-

ficantur, nec peccatis malorum extenuantur."—Sig. Gemblac. ad a. 1074. Matth. Paris sub eod. ann. West. Flor. Hist. *ibid.*

^h Floto (ii. pp. 45 et seqq.) has well shown the terrible workings of this appeal to the populace. The peasants held that an *accusation* of simony or marriage exempted them from the payment of tithe. Read the Letter of Theodoric of Verdun, Martene, Thes. 1. Compare, too, the "de Schismate Ildebrandi" (see on this book note farther on), in which are some frightful accounts of the ill-usage of the clergy by the rabble. One de-

But the extirpation of these two internal enemies to the dignity and the power of the sacerdotal order was far below the holy ambition of Gregory; this was but clearing the ground for the stately fabric of his Theocracy. If, for his own purposes, he had at first assumed some moderation in his intercourse with the Empire, over the rest of Latin Christendom he took at once the tone and language of a sovereign. We must rapidly survey, before we follow him into his great war with the Empire, Gregory VII. asserting his autocracy over the rest of Latin Christendom. In the monastery of Clugny, accompanying, or vigilantly watching the German pontiffs in their Transalpine spiritual campaigns, Gregory had taken the measure of the weakness which had fallen on the monarchy of France. The first kings of the house of Capet were rather the heads of a coequal feudal federalty than kings; their personal character had not raised them above their unroyal position. King Robert, the son of Hugh Capet, had abandoned his wife Bertha, to whom he was deeply attached, because the imperious Church had discovered some remote impediment, both of consanguinity and spiritual affinity.¹ He had undergone seven years' penance; the Archbishop of Tours, who had sanctioned the incestuous wedlock, must submit to deposition. But

graceful proceeding, not undeserved, had been witnessed at Cremona by the interlocutor. Gregory's advocate insists that the pope's churchmanship was grieved and offended at this desecration of the sacerdotal character. "Sicut a viris fidelibus didici, qui multum illo de talibus contulerunt, referre solitus erat, quod tam crudelia et gravia nunquam in presbyteros fieri maudavisset; plurimum etiam se

dolere solitum, quotiens imperitum vulgus hujusmodi novis injuriis moveretur; displicuisse semper verbera sacerdotum, cædes et vincula, cippos et carceres, si forte talia a laicis patebantur."—pp. 161, 162.

¹ She was his cousin in the fourth degree: he had been godfather to one of Bertha's children by her former marriage.

Robert aspired to be, and was, a saint. Leo IX. had held his council at Rheims in despite of Robert's successor (Henry I.), and compelled the prelates to desert the feudal banner of their king for that of their spiritual liege lord.^k Hildebrand's letters to Philip I., King of France, are in the haughtiest, most criminatory terms. "No king has reached such a height of detestable guilt in oppressing the churches of his kingdom as Philip of France." He puts the King to the test; his immediate admission of a Bishop of Macon, elected by the clergy and people, without payment to the Crown. Either let the King repudiate this base traffic of simony, and allow fit persons to be promoted to bishoprics, or the Franks, unless apostates from Christianity, will be struck with the sword of excommunication, and refuse any longer to obey him.^m In a later epistle to the Bishops of France, describing the enormous wickedness of the land, among other crimes the plunder and imprisonment of pilgrims on their way to Rome, he charges the King, or rather the tyrant of France, as the head and cause of all this guilt. Instead of suppressing, he is the example of all wickedness.ⁿ The plunder of all merchants, especially Italians, who visit France, takes place by royal authority. He exhorts the bishops to admonish him, rebukes their cowardly fears and want of dignity; if the King is disobedient, the Pope commands them to excommunicate him, and to suspend all religious services throughout France.^o At one time, in the affair of the Archbishop Manasseh of Rheims, all the Archbishops of France were under excommunication.

^k Concil. Rem., A.D. 998.

^m Ad Roderic. Cabillon, i. 35, Dec. 4, 1079.

ⁿ Ad Episcop. Franc. ii. 5, Sept. 10,

1074, still stronger, ii. 32, Dec. 8,

1074. Compare Letter to Philip, i

75, to the Count of Ponthieu, ii. 18

Nov. 13, 1074. ^o Regzt., v. 17

Whether as part of the new Roman policy, which looked to the Italian Normans as its body-guard in the approaching contest with the Transalpine powers, and therefore would propitiate that brave and rising race throughout the world, Hildebrand's predecessor (and Alexander II. did no momentous act without the counsel of Hildebrand) had given a direct sanction to the Norman Conquest of England.^p The banner of St. Peter floated in the van of the Bastard at Hastings. The reliques, over which Harold had been betrayed into the oath of abandoning his claims on the throne to William, were ostentatiously displayed. It was with the full papal approbation, or rather with the actual authority of the Pope, that Stigand, the Anglo-Saxon primate, was deposed, and the Anglo-Saxon hierarchy ejected from all the higher dignities, the bishoprics and abbacies. A papal bull declared it illegal to elect a Saxon to a high benefice. The holiness of the sainted Confessor was forgotten. The Norman abbey of Bec must furnish primates, the Norman hierarchy prelates, not all of the same high ecclesiastical character as Lanfranc and Anselm, for conquered England.

Hildebrand may have felt some admiration, even awe, of the congenial mind of the Conqueror. Yet with England the first intercourse of Gregory was an imperious letter to Archbishop Lanfranc concerning the Abbey of St. Edmondsbury, over which he claimed papal jurisdiction.^q To the King his language is courteous. He advances the claim to Peter's pence over the kingdom. William admits this claim: it was among the stipulations, it was the **price** which the Pope

^p Compare Letter to Lanfranc, Regest. v., also on England, viii. 1, ix. 5.

^q Alexandri Epist. apud Lanfranc, iv.

had imposed for his assent to the Conquest. But to the demand of fealty, the Conqueror returns an answer of haughty brevity: "I have not, nor will I swear fealty, which was never sworn by any of my predecessors to yours."^r And William maintained his Teutonic independence—created bishops and abbots at his will—was absolute lord over his ecclesiastical as over his feudal liegemen.^s

To the kings of Spain, in one of his earliest letters, Pope Gregory boldly asserts that the whole realm of Spain is not only within the spiritual ^{Gregory and Spain.} jurisdiction of the Holy See, but her property; whatever part may be conquered from the usurping infidels may be granted by the Pope, or held by the conquerors as his vassals. He reminds the kings of Spain, Alphonso of Castile, and Sancho of Arragon, of the ancient obedience of Spain to the Apostolic See, and exhorts them not to receive the services of Toledo, but that of Rome.^t

No part of Latin Christendom was so remote or so barbarous as to escape his vigilant determination to bring it under his vast ecclesiastical unity." While yet a deacon he had corresponded with Sweyn, king of Denmark; on him he bestows much grave and excellent advice. In a letter to Olaf, king of Norway, he dis-

^r "Fidelitatem facere nolui nec volo, quia nec ego promisi, nec antecessores meos antecessoribus tuis id fecisse comperio."—Lanfranc. Oper. Epist. x.

^s William's temper in such matters was known. An abbot of Evreux went to complain at Rome. William said, "I have a great respect for the Pope's Legate in things which concern religion. Mais, ajouta-t-il, si un moine le mes terres osait porter plainte contre

moi, je le ferai pendre à l'arbre le plus élevé de la forêt."—Depping, Hist. des Normands, p. 350.

^t Regest., i. 7, April 30, 1073, "regnum Hispaniæ ab antiquo proprii juris S. Petri fuisse." He appeals to a legend of St. Paul having sent seven bishops from Rome to convert Spain, i. 64, March 19, 1074. *Compare* iv. 28.

^u Regest., ii. 51.

suades him solemnly from assisting the rebellious brothers of the Danish king.^x

Between the Duke of Poland and the King of the Russians he interposes his mediation. The son of the Russian had come to Rome to receive his kingdom from the hands of St. Peter.^y

The kingdom of Hungary, as that of Spain, he treats as a fief of the papacy; he rebukes the King Solomon for daring to hold it as a benefice of the king of the Germans.^z

He watches over Bohemia; his legates take under their care the estates of the Church; he summons the Archbishop of Prágue to Rome.^a

Even Africa is not beyond the care of Hildebrand.^b The clergy and people of Carthage are urged to adhere to their archbishop—not to dread the arms of the Saracens, though that once flourishing Christian province, the land of Cyprian and Augustine, is so utterly reduced, that three bishops cannot be found to proceed to a legitimate consecration.^c

^x vi. 13.

^y Regest., ii. 73, 74, April 20, 1075.

^z “Regnum Hungariæ sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ proprium est,” ii. 13; compare ii. 63 (March 23, 1075), Geusæ. R. H., “consanguineus tuus Solomon) a rege Teutonico non a

Romano pontifice, usurpative obtinuit dominium ejus, ut credimus, divinum judicium impedivit.”

^a i. 45.

^b i. 23.

^c Regest., iii. 19, June, 1076. Compare a remarkable letter to Ahazir, King of Mauritania, iii. 21

CHAPTER II.

King Henry IV. Canossa.

BUT the Empire was the one worthy, one formidable antagonist to Hildebrand's universal theocracy, whose prostration would lay the world beneath his feet. The Empire must acknowledge itself as a grant from the papacy, as a grant revocable for certain offences against the ecclesiastical rights and immunities; it must humbly acquiesce in the uncontrolled prerogative of the Cardinals to elect the Pope; abandon all the imperial claims on the investiture of the prelates and other clergy with their benefices; release the whole mass of Church property from all feudal demands, whether of service or of fealty; submit patiently to rebuke; admit the Pope to dictate on questions of war and peace, and all internal government where he might detect, or suppose that he detected, oppression. This was the condition to which the words and acts of Gregory aspired to reduce the heirs of Charlemagne, the successors of the Western Cæsars.

These two powers, the Empire and the Papacy, had grown up with indefinite and necessarily conflicting relations; each at once above and beneath the other; each sovereign and subject, with no distinct limits of sovereignty or subjection; each acknowledging the supremacy of the other, but each reducing that supremacy to a name, or less than a name. As a Christian, as a member of the Church, the Em-

Gregory and
the Empire.

The Papacy
and the
Empire.

peror was confessedly subordinate to the Pope, the acknowledged head and ruler of the Church.^a As a subject of the Empire, the Pope owed temporal allegiance to the Emperor. The authority of each depended on loose and flexible tradition, on variable and contradictory precedents, on titles of uncertain signification, Head of the Church, Vicar of Christ; Patrician, King of Italy, Emperor; each could ascend to a time when they were separate and not dependent upon each other. The Emperor boasted himself the successor to the whole autocracy of the Cæsars, to Augustus, Constantine, Charlemagne: the Pope to that of St. Peter, or of Christ himself. On the one hand, when the Emperor claimed the right of nominating and electing the Pope, he could advance long, recent, almost unbroken precedent. The Pope, nevertheless, could throw himself still further back on his original independent authority, to the early times of the Church before the conversion of Constantine, and to the subsequent period before the election of the Pope had become of so much importance as to demand the constant supervision of the civil power; above all, to the nature of that power, of divine not of human institution. Besides, on their part, Charlemagne no doubt, and his Transalpine successors, had received both the Patriciate and the Imperial crown, if not as a gift, yet from the hands of the Popes, and had been consecrated by them; and so, if the imperial authority was not conferred, it was hallowed and endowed with a stronger title to Christian obedience by that almost indispensable ceremony. Yet the power of the Cæsars mounted far higher, to the times when they were the

^a Even Henry IV., perhaps in his despair, admitted that he might justly be deposed if he had abandoned the faith.—Henric. Epist. ad Pap. This was after the Council of Worms.

sole autocratic representatives of all-ruling Rome; Cæsars to whom the Apostles themselves had paid loyal, conscientious obedience. Nero had been the higher power to whom Paul had enjoined subjection; and the temporal power itself, so said the Scripture in words of emphatic distinctness, was likewise of divine appointment. The agency of either being requisite to complete and ratify the power of the other, the popular conception would construe that consent, concurrence, or approval, into an act of free will, therefore of superiority. The perplexity would be without end; perplexity from which men would escape only by closing their eyes, and choosing their course in the blindness of desperate partisanship. The loftiest minds might espouse either side on a great immutable principle; each cause became a religion. Nor would either Pope or Emperor be without precedent or groundwork in the theory of his power, if he claimed, as each did, the right of acting towards his adversary as a rebel, and of deposing that rebel; the Emperor the right of appointing an Anti-pope, the Pope of setting up a rival Emperor.^b

The strife, therefore, might seem at once internecine and interminable; and in this mortal warfare the powers, which each commanded, were strangely counterbalanced; though in this age the advantage was on the side of the Pope. The Emperor might seem to wield the whole force of the Empire, to command an irresistible army; the German soldiers were a terror to the Italians; often

^b "Dixerat enim ille Sarabaita" (this was an opprobrious term for Pope Gregory) "quod in suâ esset potestate, quem vellet ad imperium promovere, et quem vellet remove. Sed arguitur fœditatis testimonio libri pontificalis.

Ibi enim legitur, quod ordinatio papæ atque episcoporum sit, et esse debet, per manus regum et imperatorum." This declaration of Henry's panegyrist, Benzo (p. 1060), is fully confirmed by Gregory's acts and words.

had they marched, without encountering a foe, upon Rome itself. The Pope, on the other hand, was a defenceless prelate, by his character prohibited from bearing arms, without military force, without a defensible territory, with no allies on whom he could depend. Yet the Pope had no scruple in waging war by secular arms. War for the aggrandisement of the Church had no horrors for the vicegerent of Christ. Neither Gregory nor his successors, nor did the powerful Churchmen in other parts of the world, hesitate to employ, even to wield, the iron arms of knights and soldiery for spiritual purposes, as they did not to use spiritual arms for ends strictly secular. They put down ecclesiastical delinquents by force of arms; they anathematised their political enemies. The sword of St. Peter was called in to aid the keys of St. Peter. Leo IX. had set the example of a military campaign against the Normans; but these were thought at that time scarcely better than infidels. Neither the present nor the succeeding age would have been greatly shocked at the sight of a Pope, in complete armour, at the head of a crusade.^c Nor were allies wanting to counterbalance the armies of the Empire. The policy of Pope Nicolas had attached the Normans to the Roman cause: Gregory at one time had rashly cast off the Norman alliance; but he was strong in that of the house of Tuscany. The Countess Beatrice, and her daughter Matilda, were his unshaken adherents. But the great power of each lay in the heart of his adversary's territory. In Rome the Counts of Tusculum and the neighbouring barons were dangerous partisans

^c Gregory decides the cases in which a priest may bear arms. He is condemned "(si) arma militaria portaverit, excepto si pro tuendâ justitiâ suâ vel domini, vel amici, seu etiam pauperum, nec non pro defendendis ecclesiis," —Ad Britann., vii. 10.

of the Empire, because enemies of the Pope. At scarcely any period was the Emperor undisputed lord of Germany. Unwilling, if not rebellious subjects, princes, often as powerful as himself, were either in arms, or watching a favourable opportunity for revolt. Usually there was some ambitious house waiting its time to raise itself upon the ruins of the ruling dynasty. Nor was the Church more united than the Empire. If many of the great ecclesiastics of the Empire, from Churchmanship, from religious fear, or jealousy of the temporal power, maintained the Papal cause beyond the Alps, the Emperor was rarely without powerful prelates on his side, even in Italy. But though thus in some degree thwarted and opposed, even by his natural subjects, the spiritual power of the Pope was of tremendous efficacy. The anathema, which, in its theory at least, and in its unmitigated language, devoted its victim to eternal death, had hardly lost any of its terrors. In the popular belief, and that popular belief included the highest as well as the lowest, the actual doom of each man depended on the award of the clergy, that of nations on the supreme fiat of the Pope. The necessities of religious guidance and direction were far more deeply felt than those of temporal government. The world could do better without a Cæsar than without a Pope—at least without a priesthood, who at once, at the word of the Pope, suspended all their blessed offices. Without the Sacraments salvation was impossible; and these Sacraments ceased at once. If baptism was granted to infants, if to the dying the Eucharist was not absolutely denied; yet even these were conceded only as acts of mercy, and on ample submission: to the excommunicated they were utterly, absolutely refused.

Anathema became, without shaking the common

dread of its effects, the ordinary weapon employed by the Pope in his quarrels; by Hildebrand it was fulminated with all the energy of his character. The more religious, indeed, had been for some time shocked at the lavish frequency with which this last extremity of punishment was inflicted, even on refractory bishops, and for ecclesiastical offences.^d There might be some prudent apprehension, lest it should lose its force by familiarity. But Damiani argues against it, on the high religious ground of the utter disproportion of the punishment in many cases to the offence of the criminal. But it had long ceased to be confined to delinquencies against the faith or the practice of the Gospel.^e A new class of crimes was gradually formed, disobedience to the clergy or the See of Rome, in matters purely secular; encroachment, real or supposed, upon the property of the Church; the assertion of rights questioned by the Church; the withholding immunities claimed by the Church. It was not as infringing the doctrines of Christ as an infidel, or as a heretic; it was not as violating the great moral law of Christ, not as a murderer or an adulterer, that the baron, the King, or the Emperor, in general incurred the Papal ban and was thereby excluded from the com-

^d Damiani remonstrates against the perpetual affixture of the anathema to all papal, almost to all ecclesiastical decrees. He is afraid of impairing its solemnity: he would reserve it for more awful crimes, such as heresy. A man may almost inadvertently rush "in æternæ mortis barathrum," find himself, for some trivial offence, the consort of heretics—"continuo velut hæreticus et tanquam cunctis criminibus teneatur obnoxius, anathematis sententiâ condemnatur."—Epist. 1, xii.,

ad Alexan. Pap. Damiani has no doubt that the anathema eternally damns its victims!—Ep. 1, vii. and xiv.

^e Anathema even aspired to temporal effects, "Festinabimus a communione Christianæ societatis abscindere, ita ut nullam deinceps victoriam in bello, nullam prosperitatem habere possit in sæculo."—Ad Berengar. vi. 16. How, in a warlike and superstitious age, must this terrible omen have worked its own fulfilment!

munion of the faithful and from everlasting salvation ; it was as a contumacious subject of the worldly kingdom of the Supreme Pontiff.^f Even where moral or spiritual offences were mingled up with the general charge, that of contumacy to the ecclesiastical superior was placed in the same rank, and to the common feelings of mankind was the real, if not avowed, ground of the censure.

But not only was the excommunicated himself under this awful condemnation, the ban comprehended all who communicated with excommunicated persons. Every one in the councils, every one in the army, every one who obeyed, almost every subject who rendered allegiance to an excommunicated prince, was virtually under excommunication ; and under the weight of this censure, with this aggravation of death before their eyes, men were to go forth to battle against those who proclaimed themselves the champions of the Church, the armies of the faith. To these, if immediate transition from the battle-field to Paradise was not explicitly promised, as afterwards to the Crusaders in the Holy Land (Mohammedan rewards calculated to animate them against Mohammedan foes), yet they fought under consecrated banners, their heroes were compared with those of the Old Testament ; the grateful Church, the Dispenser of everlasting life and death, would not forget their services ; St. Peter would recognise the faithful servants of his successor ; their religious courage could not but rise to fanaticism ; they were warring for the Saints of God—for God himself.^g

^f The Norman princes, to whom the Pope had granted their great possessions and privileges, and on whom the papacy had for some time relied for its defence against the barons of the Campagna, having given offence, and Hilde-

brand being secure in the more powerful protection of Beatrice of Tuscany and her daughter, were excommunicated by the dauntless Pope.

^g Compare the elaborate argument of Bonizo, Bishop of Sutri, in favour

But if on this broad and general view the Pope stood thus on the vantage ground in his contest with the Emperor, never was a time in which the adversaries met on more unequal terms; the Papacy in the fullness of its strength, the Empire at the lowest state of weakness. The Pope, Hildebrand, mature in age, of undisputed title, with a name which imposed awe throughout Latin Christendom, and with the unswerving conviction that, in raising the Papal power to the utmost, he was advancing the glory of God; perhaps, if he stooped to think on such subjects, the welfare of mankind. The Emperor, a youth, with all the disadvantages of youth, the passions and weaknesses of a boy born to Empire, but with none of that adventitious and romantic interest which might attach the generous to his cause. He had been educated, if education it might be called, by a gentle and tender mother, by imperious Churchmen who had galled him with all that was humiliating with none of the beneficial effects of severe control.^h They had only been indulgent to his amuse-

of waging war against the adherents of Guibert the antipope. After reciting all the soldiers named with honour in the New Testament, he goes on to infer that if it is lawful ever to wage war, it is against heretics. Did not S. Hilary arm King Clovis against the Arians? Did not S. Augustine urge Count Boniface to hang and every way to persecute the Donatists and Circumcellions? Did not Augustine, in his Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount, on the text, "Blessed are ye who suffer persecution for righteousness' sake," say that those are equally blessed who *inflict persecution* for the sake of righteousness? He quotes

Jerome as saying, "Non est impietas pro Deo crudelitas" (ad Rustic. Narbon.) "Hear the teaching of the Fathers, look to the example of those who have fought for the truth!" He then triumphantly appeals to the burning of Hermogenes the Prefect at Constantinople by the orthodox, the battles waged by the Alexandrians against the Arians, which are "praised throughout the world." He concludes with Cyril's sanctification of the monk Ammonius, who had attempted the life of the Prefect Orestes, as a martyr; he ends with the example of Pope Leo and of Herlembald of Milan.

^h Stenzel, i. p. 249, has justly de-

ments; they had not trained him to the duties of his station, or the knowledge of affairs and of men. In his earliest youth, thus altogether undisciplined, he had been compelled to contract a marriage, for which he felt profound aversion; and the stern Churchmen, who had bound this burthen upon him, refused to release him.ⁱ He tried to bribe Siegfried of Mentz to sanction the divorce, by promising his aid in despoiling the abbots of Fulda and Herzfeld of the tithes of Thuringia,^k but the Pope sent the stern Peter Damiani to forbid the evil example. "Well then," said Henry, "I will bear the burthen which I cannot throw off." 1069.

And when, no doubt in consequence, he plunged with reckless impetuosity into the licentiousness which his station could command, this, unexcused, unpalliated, was turned to his shame and discredit by his inexorable adversaries. At length, indeed, his generous nature revolted at his ill-treatment of a gentle and patient wife. She bore him a son. From that time he was deeply attached to her. She was his faithful companion in all his trials and sorrows; she gave him four children. Thus with all the lofty titles, the pomp without the power, the burthen with nothing but the enervating luxuries, none of the lofty self-confidence of one born and fitly trained to Empire, the character of Henry was still further debased by the A.D. 1071.

scribed the character of Henry and the evil influences of the domination of this ambitious, rapacious, and unprincipled hierarchy. The great German ecclesiastics abandoned him to himself where they should have controlled—controlled where they should have left him free. It might almost seem that they had studied to shear him of

all his strength before he should be committed in his strife with Hildebrand.

ⁱ "Quam suasionibus principum invitatus duxerat." Bruno de Bello Saxonico, p. 176. He was but ten years old when he was forced to marry her: had never known her, as he declared.

^k Compare Stenzel, 254.

shame of perpetual defeat and humiliation. His greater qualities, till they were forced out by adversity, his high abilities, till gradually ripened by use and experience, were equally unsuspected by his partisans and by his enemies.

The great contest of Henry's reign found the Emperor with no part of his subjects attached to his person, with but few regarding the dignity of the Empire irrespective of their own private interests, and with the most powerful and warlike in actual rebellion. The day after the inauguration of Pope Gregory the Saxon princes met, and determined on their revolt. Nothing can show more clearly the strange confusion of civil and religious matters than the course of proceedings during this conflict. The Saxon insurrection takes the character of a religious war. The confederates first named by the historian are Wenzel Archbishop of Magdeburg, Burchard Bishop of Halberstadt, the Bishops of Hildesheim, Merseburg, Minden, Paderborn, and Meissen. The three ecclesiastics favourable to the cause of Henry, Licmar Archbishop of Bremen, the Bishops of Zeitz and Osnaburg, are obliged to fly the country. To the first imperative demand, the demolition of the castles which Henry had built on many of the hills and mountain fastnesses, to control these turbulent Saxon chieftains, they added these terms;—that he should dismiss his favourites, and commit the administration of affairs to his legitimate counsellors, the princes of the Empire; that he should disperse the bevy of concubines which he maintained, contrary to decency and to the canons of the Church, and reinstate his lawful wife in his bed and in his affections; and so altogether abandon the follies of his youth. "If he refused their just demands, they were

Saxon revolt
against
Henry.

June 29, 30,
1073.

Christians, and would not be defiled by communion with a man who insulted the Christian faith through such wickedness. They were bound by an oath of allegiance; and if he would rule for the edification, not the destruction of the Church, justly and according to ancient usage, maintain inviolate the law, rights, and liberties of all, their oath was valid; but if he first broke his oath they were absolved from theirs; they would wage war upon him, even to death, as a Barbarian, and as an enemy of the Christian name, for the Church of God, the faith of Christ, and their own liberties." It was well for Henry that this first Saxon revolt was quelled before the breaking out of direct hostilities with Gregory; for if his insurgent subjects could issue a manifesto so bold, and in some respects so noble, what had been the consequence if the Pope had supported their demands? Thuringia,^m as well as Saxony, was in arms, and Henry received his first bitter, if instructive lesson of humiliation. His revolted subjects had openly avowed the right of deposing him. "So great was his wickedness, that he ought not only to abdicate his throne, but be stripped of his military belt, and for his sins forswear the world."ⁿ He had been publicly accused by Reginer, a noble of high character, of conspiring basely to massacre the princes of the Empire;

^m A dispute concerning the tithes of that whole region, claimed and levied by the Archbishop of Mentz, was involved in the rebellion of Thuringia.

ⁿ "Militare cingulum et omnem prorsus sæculi usum quanto magis regnum abdicare." The Saxons fought "pro ecclesiâ Dei, pro fide Christianorum, pro libertate suâ," p. 197.—Lambert of Herzfeld. See on Lambert of

Herzfeld, improperly called of Aschaffenburg, the Preface of Pertz. It is fortunate that, for these critical times, we have perhaps the best of the monastic historians—he is our chief authority—with the "De Bello Saxonico" of Bruno, and Berthold. Floto's Heinrich IV. und seine Zeit is a constant, to me mostly unsuccessful, attempt to depreciate Lambert.—Note 1856.

and the challenge of Renger to make good his charge in single combat had been eluded rather than cheerfully accepted in bold defiance of its injustice. Henry, unequal to these adversaries, had been reduced to the utmost poverty, to abject flight and concealment. One city alone, Worms, adhered to the Emperor's waning fortune, and gave time for the formidable league to fall asunder. Henry found that there was still power in the name of the King and Emperor; many of the princes on the Rhine, with the great prelates, rallied around the sovereign; the battle of Hohenburg broke the Saxon power; the principal insurgents had been betrayed into his hands, for Henry scrupled not at perfidy to regain his authority.

Till the close of this Saxon war the Pope had maintained a stately neutrality; events had followed so rapidly, that even had he been disposed, he could scarcely have found time for authoritative interposition. The first overt act of Hildebrand relating to the Emperor,^o had been a general admonition to the King to return into the bosom of his mother, the holy Roman Church, and to rule the Empire in a more worthy manner; to abstain from simoniacal presentations to benefices; to render due allegiance to his spiritual superior. But when he spoke of Henry to his more confidential friends, it was in another tone. If his admonitions are treated with contempt, it will not move him. "It is safer for

^o Yet he meditated the coming strife. To Duke Godfrey he writes, that he would send envoys to Henry—"quod si nos audierit non aliter de ejus quam nostra salute gaudemus: sin vero nobis odium pro dilectione reddi-

derit, interminatio qua dicitur, maledictus homo qui prohibet gladium suum a sanguine, super nos, *Deo providente, non veniet*,"—May, 1073, Regest. i. 9. Compare letter to Rudolph of Suabia, 1, 19.

us to resist him for his salvation to the shedding of our blood, than by yielding to his will, to consent to his ruin." ^p The admonition probably reached Henry in the most perilous time of his war with the Saxons; he had hardly escaped from their hands, had either fled, or was meditating his ignominious flight from the castle in the Hartzberg. His reply, as suited his fortunes, was in the most submissive tone. He acknowledged his sins against Heaven and the Pope; he attributed them to his youth, to the intoxication of imperial power, to the seductions of evil counsellors. He had invaded the property of the Church; he had made simoniacal promotions of unworthy persons. He entreated the clemency of the Pope; he trusted that from henceforth the kingdom and the priesthood, bound together by the necessity of mutual assistance, might adhere to each other in indissoluble union. ^q Hildebrand was delighted with language more gentle and lowly than had ever been used by the predecessors of Henry to the pontiffs of Rome. Hildebrand even then had not confined himself to his admonition to Henry; he had already erected himself into supreme arbiter of the affairs of Germany. A letter to the insurgent prelates, the Archbishop of Magdeburg, the Bishop of Halberstadt, and the Saxon princes, commanded them to suspend their arms until he should have inquired into the justice of their quarrel with the King their Lord. ^r This was more than a solemn per-

Aug. 8, 1073.

About Aug. 18.

^p Gregor. Epist. ad Beatricem et Mathildam, 1, xi.

^q Epistola Henric. Regis. Mansi, date about Aug. 18, 1073. I refer to this letter Gregory's remarkable words.—“Henricum regem præterea scias dulcedinis et obedientiæ plena nobis verba

misisse, et talia, qualia neque ipsum neque antecessores suos recordamur Romanis Pontificibus misisse.”—Herlembaldo. Regest. i. 25, Sept. 27, 1073. On Henry's conduct in this affair Gregory lays great weight.

^r Regest. i. 39 Dec. 20, 1073.

suasive to peace, and a religious remonstrance on the homicides, conflagrations, the plunder of the churches and of the poor, and the desolation of the country (such language had been becoming in the vicar of Christ); he took the tone of a supreme judge. An act of sacrilege on the part of the Saxons gave Henry, as he supposed, a favourable opportunity for placing the spiritual power on his own side. While negotiations were proceeding, a rising of the Saxon people took place in the neighbourhood of Hartzburg. This was the strong fortress which commanded the whole country; from which Henry had made incursions to waste the district around, in which he had found secure refuge from the popular indignation, and from which he had but now been forced to fly. But so long as the Hartzburg remained impregnable, the Saxon liberties were insecure; with but a garrison there the Emperor might at any time renew hostilities. The insurgents surprised this stronghold, but were not content with levelling the military works to the ground. Henry had built a temporary church of timber, furnished with great elegance. The insurgents scrupled not to destroy this sacred edifice, to plunder the treasures, to break the altar to pieces. In wanton insult, or with a fixed design to break the bonds of Henry's attachment to the place, they dug up the bodies of a brother and a son whom he had buried there. The reliques of the Saints were saved with difficulty, and carried Feb. 24, 1074. by the trembling clergy to a neighbouring sanctuary. The Saxon chieftains shuddered at the consequences of this rash act; Henry's indignation knew no bounds. To that power which was to be used with such commanding energy against himself, he did not hesitate to appeal. He sent messages to Rome to demand the censures of the Pope against the Saxons, all

of whom he involved in the odious charge of burning churches, breaking down altars, violating Christian graves, and barbarously insulting the remains of the dead.

But the vengeance of Henry was fulfilled; the Saxon insurrection had been put down at Hohenburg (1075) without the interposition of the Pope, before indeed he could come to any decided resolution.

An embassy in the mean time had arrived in Germany from Rome—an embassy, it might seem, intended to work on the pious feelings as well as on the fears of the king. The mother of Henry had left her peaceful convent sanctuary, and accompanied the Papal legates, the Bishops of Præneste, Ostia, and Cumæ. Henry was accustomed from his youth to the overweening haughtiness—he had experienced the tyranny—of the prince prelates of Germany. The Italian bishops bred in the school of Hildebrand held even a more high and dictatorial tone. Their first demands were abject, unquestioning submission. They refused to communicate with the King till he had done penance for all his simoniacal acts, and had been absolved from the ban of the Church, under which he lay, either actually or virtually, as employing excommunicated persons for his counsellors. They demanded the dismissal of those persons against whom Pope Alexander had issued his censures, the bishops of Ratisbon, Constance, and Lausanne, the Counts Eberhard and Ulric. They required him also to summon a council of the prelates of Germany and Gaul, in which they were to preside, as representing the Pope. The avowed object of this council was the degradation of all the prelates who owed their rise to simoniacal means. Henry at this time hardly looked beyond his immediate advantages,

and the gratification of his passions. Partly yielding to the persuasions of his mother, partly out of revenge against some of the Saxon prelates, obnoxious to censure, especially from hatred of the Bishop of Worms, who alone opposed his unbounded popularity in that city, he was disposed to acquiesce in the convocation of the Council, and to allow full scope to its proceedings.

But most of the bishops dreaded this severe inquisition into their titles ; others, of whom the chief was Licmar, the learned and sagacious Archbishop of Bremen, stood upon the privileges of the German Church. It was determined that, unless the Pope appeared in person, his representative, and the only lawful president of such a council, was the primate of Germany. Siegfried, Archbishop of Mentz, a man of timid and vacillating character, was as ill-qualified to be the representative of Hildebrand in Germany, as boldly to oppose his ambitious encroachments. He feared alike the Pope and the King. The fate of some of his brother prelates might well make him tremble, if the King, notwithstanding his seeming acquiescence, should enter into the contest, and the popular favour take the part of the King. The Bishop of Worms had been driven from his city with the utmost indignity ; and it was doubtful whether it was not a faction, eager to avenge the royal cause, which had endangered the life of Hanno, the great Archbishop of Cologne, expelled him from the city, and maintained Cologne for some time in a state of defiant rebellion.^s The origin of this tumult may show the haughty tyranny of these kingly prelates.

^s " Incertum levitate vulgi, an factione eorum qui vicem regis in archiepiscopum ulcisci cupiebant," &c.—Lambert, sub ann. 1074.

The Archbishop was about to leave the city after the celebration of Easter. A vessel was wanted for his voyage. His people, after examining all that were in the port (this purveyance, it must be presumed, was of ancient usage), chose that of a rich merchant, cast the valuable lading on the shore, and proceeded to seize the bark for the Archbishop's use. The merchant's men resisted, headed by his son: it ended in a furious fray. When the Archbishop heard of it, he threatened summary punishment against the seditious youths. "For," proceeds the historian, "he was a man endowed with every virtue, and renowned for his justice in civil, as well as in ecclesiastical causes." Lambert admits, indeed, "that he was liable to transports of ungovernable anger." The whole city rose in insurrection; the Archbishop was hurried, to save his life, to the church of St. Peter. His palace, his cellars were plundered: his chapel, with the pontifical robes, and even the sacred vessels, destroyed; one of his attendants, mistaken for the Archbishop, was killed: the Archbishop hardly made his escape in disguise. But the country people were attached to Hanno, perhaps hated the citizens; a military force sprang up among his vassals; the city was forced to surrender. Six hundred of the wealthiest merchants withdrew to the court of King Henry to implore his intercession. The soldiers of the Archbishop, it was given out without his sanction, plundered and committed horrible cruelties. The Archbishop wreaked a terrible vengeance on the first movers in the tumult; the son of the merchant and many others were blinded, many scourged, and the city, the richest and most powerful north of the Alps, was a long time before it recovered its former prosperity.

Siegfried of Mentz might well quail before the difficulties of his position. Not merely was he called upon to summon this dreaded Council, but to carry at once into effect the stern and peremptory decrees of Hildebrand, and of the councils which he had held at Rome for the suppression of the married clergy. Throughout Western Christendom these decrees had met with furious, or with sullen and obstinate opposition. In Lombardy not all the preaching of Ariald, nor his martyrdom; not all the eloquence of Damiani, not all the tyranny of Herlembald, nor even the fanaticism of the people, who were taught to abstain from the unholy ministrations of this defiled priesthood, had succeeded in extirpating the evil. Herlembald was now about to suffer the miserable or glorious destiny of Ariald.

March 18,
1074. Siegfried knew the state of the German clergy; it was not till he was formally threatened with the Papal censure that he consented to promulgate the decree of Gregory.^t Even then he attempted to temporise. He did not summon the clergy at once to show their obedience; he allowed them six months of delay for consideration—six months employed by the clergy only to organise a more obstinate opposition.

October,
1074. A synod met at Erfurt. The partisans of the marriage of the clergy assembled in prevailing numbers. Their language among themselves had been unmeasured. "The Pope," they said, "must be a heretic or a madman. Has he forgotten the saying of the Lord? All cannot fulfil his word. The apostle says, 'Let him that cannot contain marry.' He

^t Siegfried had been already rebuked for other causes by the Pope.—Regest i. 60.

would compel all men to live like angels. Let him take care, while he would do violence to nature, he break not all the bonds which restrain from fornication and every uncleanness. They had rather abandon their priesthood than their wives, and then let the Pope, who thought men too grovelling for him, see if he can find angels to govern the Church."^u Siegfried could not but betray that he was acting a part in opposition to his own judgement; his arguments, therefore, had little effect. The clergy withdrew to deliberate. Some proposed quietly to return to their own homes. Some of the more violent, with confused but intelligible menace, called for vengeance on him who dared to promulgate this execrable decree; they threatened to depose the Archbishop, and even to put him to death, as a warning to his successors not to publish such statutes, which they strangely affected to treat as calumnious to the priesthood. The affrighted primate expressed his readiness to appeal to Rome, and to endeavour to obtain some mitigation at least of the obnoxious law. Either to distract the assembly from the main subject in debate, or from mere folly or rapacity, he suddenly revived an old question of his claim on the tithes of Thuringia. These claims had been settled in the treaty at Gerstungen; and the enraged Thuringians, at first with sullen murmurs, at length with open violence, so terrified the Archbishop, that he was glad to make his way, environed by his own soldiers, out of the town. So closed the synod of Erfurt.

But the impatient zeal of Hildebrand would brook no delay. At the head of the Roman clergy, men vowed by conscience and religion, by interest and pride,

^u Lambert, sub ann.

to his cause (Guibert of Ravenna, the Emperor's representative, the representative of the German party in Italy, as yet ventured no opposition), he determined at all hazards, even that of changing the yet obsequious, or at least consenting, Emperor, from an ally in the subjugation of the simoniacal and married clergy into an implacable antagonist,^x to strike at the root of all these abuses, comprehended under the opprobrious name of simony. He might justly apprehend that the total suppression of the evil was absolutely impossible, while the temporal sovereign possessed the power of conferring spiritual benefices. As long as the greater dignities, the rich abbeys, or even stations of inferior rank and authority, coveted for their wealth, their dignity, or even their ease or quiet, were in any way at the disposal of the laity, so long would an impoverished sovereign traffic in these promotions, or an ambitious sovereign crowd them with his creatures—each regardless of the worthiness of those elevated to the sacred offices, either looking for remuneration out of the actual revenues of the see, or in servile adherence to his commands.^y But the Church, as a great proprietor of lands, originally granted and mostly held on the common feudal tenure, was bound by the laws which regulated other benefices. It had been content to receive these estates with their secular advantages and their secular services. The temporal power through-

^x In a letter to King Henry (Dec. 7, 1074) he praises him for his amicable reception of his envoys, rejoices that he had determined to destroy simony and the fornication of the clergy.—ii. 30. Compare 31, where he proposes a crusade against the infidels.

^y But were the Popes guiltless?

Herman of Bamberg had bought his bishopric; he was accused as a Simoniac, and summoned to Rome. By large gifts to Alexander II. he not only obtained pardon under a covenant not to sell any church preferments—he returned in honour with an archbishop's pall.—Lambert, sub ann. 1070.

out declared that it did not bestow, or if it sold for any stipulated gift or service the benefice attached to the see, the abbacy, or the prebend, it did not presume to sell the spiritual function, but only the property of the endowment. The sovereign was the liege lord, not of the bishop or the abbot in his hierarchical, solely in his feudal rank.

The form of investiture, indeed, was in favour of Gregory's views; the ring and the staff which the bishop received from the temporal sovereign. The ring, the symbol of his mystic marriage with his diocese; the staff, the sceptre of his spiritual sway, might seem to belong exclusively to his holy function. But this investiture conveyed the right to the temporal possessions or endowments of the benefice; it assigned a local jurisdiction to the bishop; it was in one form the ancient consent of the laity to the spiritual appointment; it presumed not to consecrate, but permitted the consecrated person to execute his office in a certain defined sphere, and under the protection and guarantee of the civil power. This was only the outward mark of allegiance; the acknowledgment of the secular supremacy as far as the estate or its feudal obligations.

In a council held at Rome at the beginning of the year 1075, Gregory abrogated by one decree the whole right of investiture by the temporal sovereign.^z

Synod of Rome, Feb. 24-28 about investitures.

^z "Si quis deinceps episcopatum vel abbatiam de manu alicujus laicæ personæ susceperit, nullatenus inter episcopos vel abbates habeatur, nec ulla ei ut episcopo aut abbati audientia concedatur. Insuper ei gratiam beati Petri, et introitum ecclesiæ interdicimus, quoad usque locum, quem sub crimine tam ambitionis quam inobedientiæ, quod est scelus idololatriæ,

deseruerit. Similiter etiam de inferioribus ecclesiasticis dignitatibus constituimus. Item, si quis Imperatorum, Ducum, Marchionum, Comitum, vel quilibet sæcularium potestatum, aut personarum, investituram episcopatus, vel alicujus ecclesiasticæ dignitatis dare præsumperit, ejusdem sententiæ vinculo se strictum sciat." — Labbe. Concil., p. 342.

The prohibition was couched in the most imperious and comprehensive terms. It absolutely deposed every bishop, abbot, or inferior ecclesiastic who should receive investiture from any lay person. It interdicted him, whosoever should be guilty of this act of ambition and rebellion (which was the sin of idolatry) until he should have abandoned the benefice so obtained, from all communion in the favour of St. Peter, and from admission into the Church. And if any Emperor, duke, marquis, count, or secular potentate or person should presume to grant such investiture of bishopric or inferior dignity, he was condemned to the same sentence. This statute made a revolution in the whole feudal system throughout Europe as regarded the relation of the Church now dominant to the State. In the empire it annulled the precarious power of the Sovereign over almost half his subjects. All the great prelates and abbots, who were at the same time the princes, the nobles, the councillors, the leaders in the Diets and national assemblies, became to a great degree independent of the crown: the Emperor had no concern, unless indirectly, in their promotion, no power over their degradation. Their lands and estates were as inviolable as their persons. Where there was no fealty there could be no treason. Every benefice, on the other hand, thus dis severed from the Crown was held, if not directly, yet at the pleasure of the Pope. For as with him was the sole judgement (the laity being excluded) as to the validity of the election, with him was the decision by what offences the dignity might be forfeited; and as the estates and endowments were now inalienable, and were withdrawn from the national property and became that of the Church and of God, the Pope might be in fact the liege lord, temporal and spiritual, of half the world.

From this time the sudden and total change takes place in the courteous and respectful, if still jealous and guarded, intercourse between Henry and the Pope. Till now Henry was content to sacrifice the simoniacal and the married clergy and to be the submissive agent of the Pope in their degradation. They are now, with short intervals but of seeming peace, resolute, declared, unscrupulous, remorseless enemies. Each is determined to put forth his full powers, each to enlist in his party the subjects of the other. If Gregory had condescended, which he did not, to dissemble his deliberate scheme, his avowed sacred duty to subject the temporal to the spiritual power, a man of Henry's experience, even if without natural sagacity, could not but perceive what was now at issue. This act despoiled the Emperor of one of his most valuable prerogatives; a prerogative indispensable to his authority.

Breach between the Pope and the Emperor.

Nor was Henry now in a condition tamely to endure the aggression even of the Pope. The sudden revolution in the German mind in his favour, the victory of Hohenburg, the submission of the Saxons, the captivity of their chiefs (the fruits of that victory) might have intoxicated a mind less unused to success. Nor was he without powerful allies, pledged by their interests to his cause, and incensed by the bold and uncompromising manner in which the Pope asserted and seemed determined to enforce his supremacy.^a The German Church, as shown at Erfurt, had still a strong inclination to independence. Of the more powerful prelates, some indeed were old, some irresolute; but some, sharing in his condemnation, were committed to his side. Hanno of Co-

^a See the additions made to the Regesta of Gregory VII., in Mabillon Correspondence, ii. 143.

logne died^b during the early part of the contention. Siegfried of Mentz was timid, wavering, consciously oppressed by the fearful responsibility of his position. By the same Roman synod, Licmar, Archbishop of Bremen, Werner of Strasburg, Herman of Bamberg, Henry of Spire, William of Pavia, Cunibert of Turin, Dionysius of Piacenza, besides the three bishops of Constance, Zeitz, and Lausanne, the proscribed counsellors of Henry, were interdicted from the performance of their functions. The Saxon prelates were now conquered rebels; the Bishop of Worms an exile from his city. Few were disposed by denying the legality of lay investiture to imperil their own right to the estates of their churches. But the more determined and reckless resistance was among the partisans of the married clergy. Siegfried, yielding to the urgent commands, to the menaces of the Pope, called a second synod at Mentz.^c The Papal Legate was present; he displayed the mandate of the Apostolic See, that the bishops in their several dioceses should compel the priests to renounce their wives or abstain altogether from their sacred ministry. The whole assembly rose; so resolute was their language, so fierce were their gestures, that the Archbishop again trembled for his life. He declared that from henceforth he would take no concern in such perilous matters, but leave the Pope to execute his own decrees.

At Passau the Bishop Altman had already not only published the papal prohibition against the marriage of

^b Dec. 4, 1075. According to Lambert he went "ad angelos." Miracles were wrought at his tomb. See his high character, a sort of ideal of a prelate of those days. "If austere,

magnificent; lavish 'o monasteries;" of his ambition and worldly pride not a word! Compare Berthold, sub ann.

^c Lambert.

the clergy; he interdicted the married clergy from the altar. He had met with stubborn, sullen resistance. On St. Stephen's day he ascended the pulpit, and read the Pope's brief; he would have been torn in pieces but for the intervention of some of the powerful citizens. Bishop Henry of Coire hardly escaped with his life.^d

A.D. 1074.

No doubt it was this which raised a fixed and determined opposition to Hildebrand in a large party of the clergy throughout Latin Christendom, more especially in Italy and in Germany.^e

Effects of decree against married clergy.

The manner in which the Pope commanded the execution of the decree aggravated its harshness and cruelty. The Pope deliberately sacrificed the cherished sanctity, the inviolability of the priesthood; or rather he disowned as a priesthood, and cast forth to shame and ignominy those whom he branded as unworthy of its privileges. The personal exposure and degradation could not be more galling. By the judgement of the laity, by force employed against them by unhallowed hands, they were not merely to be prohibited from their sacred functions; they were expelled from the choir, and thrust down into the place of the penitents. Even bishops were to be summarily degraded, or rather not recognised as bishops.^f Who may imagine the fierceness of the more rude and profligate, thus sternly and almost suddenly interrupted in their licentiousness; whose secret but ill-concealed voluptuousness was

^d Lambert, sub ann. 1074. Compare Vit. Altmanni, apud Pertz, xiv. p. 232.

^e Berthold (sub ann. 1075) says of the edict against the marriage of the clergy, that it caused "maximam

odium in dominum apostolicum, et per paucos eos qui consentirent ei."—Apud Pertz, p. 278. Yet Berthold was an Hildebrandist.

^f Letter to Adela Countess of Flanders, iv. 10, and to Robert, iv. 11.

dragged to light and held up to shame and obloquy, perhaps to the now unawed vengeance of the injured husband or father. In proportion to their unprincipled looseness would be the passion of their resentment, the depth of their vindictiveness. But these, it may be charitably, and as far as the documents show, justly concluded, were the few. What must have been the bitterness of heart of those, the far larger part of the clergy, whose marriage, or at least an implied and solemn engagement almost as sacred as marriage, had been endeared by the sweet charities of life, by the habits of mutual affection, the common ties of parental love. Their wives were to be torn from them and treated with the indignity of prostitutes; their children to be degraded as bastards. In some cases these wretched women were driven to suicide; they burned themselves, or were found dead in their beds from grief, or by their own hands; and this was proclaimed as the vengeance of God upon their sins.⁵ With some of the married clergy there may have been a consciousness, a mis-giving of wrong, at least of weakness inconsistent with the highest clerical function; but with others it was a deliberate conviction, founded on the authority of St. Paul; on the usage of the primitive Church, justified by the law of Eastern Christendom, and in Milan asserted to rest on the authority of St. Ambrose; as well as on a

‡ Paul Bernried triumphs in the misery of these women, many of them the wives, as he acknowledges, of the clergy. "Interea super ipsas quoque uxores, seu concubinas Nicolaitarum sævit divina ultio. Nam quædam illarum in reprobum sensum traditæ, semetipsas incendio tradiderunt; aliquæ dum sanæ cubitum essent mortuæ re-

pertæ sunt in matutino absque ullo præeunte infirmitatis indicio: aliquarum etiam corpora, post evulsas animas, maligni spiritus rapientes et in sua latibula reponentes, humanâ sepulturâ privaverunt." In what shape did these malignant spirits appear? Vit. Gregory VII. Murat. S. I. iii.

conscientious assurance of the evils, the manifest and flagrant evils, of enforced clerical celibacy. And these men, even when they acknowledged their weakness, and were content with the lower stations in religious estimation, were to be mingled up in one sweeping anathema with the worst profligates; to be condemned to poverty and shame, to be thrown loose to the popular judgement, the popular jealousy, the popular fury.

It was not indeed in Germany or Lombardy alone that the opposition to one or both the Hildebrandine decrees against lay investiture and the marriage of the clergy encountered fierce opposition. The latter, as of more immediate operation, excited the most furious passion. It was about this time that the Archbishop of Rouen, venturing to read the decree in his cathedral, was driven from the pulpit with a shower of stones. At the Council of Paris,^h when the decree was read, there was a loud outcry of appeal to St. Paul's Epistle to Timothy. The Abbot of Pont-Isère,ⁱ dared to say that the Pope's commands, just or unjust, must be obeyed. He was dragged out of the assembly, spat upon, struck in the face by the King's servants, hardly rescued alive.^k Everywhere in Italy, in Rome itself, in France, throughout Germany, the decrees were received with the most vigorous or stubborn oppugnance; Gregory acknowledges the reluctance with which it was submitted to by

^h Mansi, sub ann. Orderic. Vital.

ⁱ If the bishops of France, writes Gregory, are lukewarm in enforcing these decrees, we hereby interdict the people from attending the ministrations of such false priests.—iv. 20.

^k Epist. Theodor. Viridunens. ad Gregor. VII. Martene et Durand. i. 218. *Epistola cujusdam*, p. 231. The

populace sometimes took the other side. The people of Cambray burned a man for venturing to say that the Simoniac or married clergy were not to be allowed to say mass. So writes Gregory. The clergy of Cambray were generally married. Gregory would make this man a martyr.

the great mass of the clergy, the tardiness of the bishops to enforce its penalties.^m This, doubtless, more than the strife with the empire, and the collision between the Italian and German party, was the chief source of the deep and wide-spread rancour excited in the hearts of men, rancour almost unprecedented, against Gregory VII. Later history shows Hildebrand, if not

Hatred
against
Hildebrand. an object of admiration, of awe. Those who most deprecate his audacious ambition, his assumption of something bordering on divinity, respect the force and dignity of his character. The man who by the mere power of mind, by spiritual censures, without an army, except that which he levied by his influence over others, with enemies in his own city, aspired to rule the world, to depose the mightiest sovereigns, to raise up a barrier against the dominion of mere brute force and feudal tyranny, is contemplated, if by some with enthusiastic veneration, by others if with aversion, as the Incarnation of anti-Christian spiritual pride, nevertheless not without the homage of their wonder, and wonder not unmingled with respect. But in his own day the hostility against his name did not confine itself to indignant and vehement invectives against his overweening ambition, severity, and imperiousness; there is no epithet of scorn or debasement, no imaginable charge of venality, rapacity, cruelty, or even licentiousness, which is not heaped upon him, and that even by bishops of the opposite party.ⁿ The wilful promoting of un-

^m "Ad hæc tamen inobedientes, *exceptis perpaucis, tam execrandam consuetudinem*" (simony and marriage) "nullâ studuerunt prohibitionibus decidere, nullâ districtione punire."—Ad Rodolph. ii. 45.

ⁿ That which in the poetical invective (I am ashamed to abuse the word poetry) of Benzo, apud Menckenium, p. 975 (be it observed a bishop), takes the coarsest and plainest form, is noticed also by the grave Lambert of Herzfeld,

natural sins is retorted by the married clergy on the assertor of clerical chastity; even his austere personal virtue does not place him above calumny; his intimate alliance with the Countess Matilda, the profound devotion of that lofty female to her spiritual Father, his absolute command over her mind is attributed at one time to criminal intercourse,^o at another to magic.

Even at the time at which Hildebrand was thus declaring war against the empire, and precipitating the inevitable conflict for supremacy over the world, he was not safe in Rome. It cannot be known whether Guibert of Parma, the Archbishop of Ravenna, the representative of the imperial interests in Italy, who in Rome had opposed all that he dared—a sullen and dissembled resistance to the Pope—was privy to the daring enterprise of Cencius. That leader and descendant of the old turbulent barons of Romagna had old scores of vengeance to repay against Hildebrand, the adviser of that policy which had brought down the Normans for their subjugation.

^o “Hæc est mulier illa, de qua ab obtrektoribus fidei et conculatoribus veritatis crimen incestus sancto Pontifici objiciebatur.” — Hugon. Chron. apud Pertz, x. p. 462. His defenders, singularly enough, think it necessary to appeal to miracle to explain this domination of a powerful and religious mind like Hildebrand’s, over perhaps a weakly religious one like Matilda’s. This scandal appears in its grossest and most particular form in Cosmas of Prague, who adds, “hæc sufficit breviter dixisse, quæ utinam non dixissem.” Apud Menckenium, p. 39. The age of one of the two might be enough to contradict those foul tales, if they were worth contradiction. Yet

was the charge publicly made in the address of the German Bishops in the Synod at Mentz. Thus writes a bishop. “Qui etiam fetore quodam gravissimi scandali totam ecclesiam replesti de conventu et cohabitatione alienæ mulieris, familiariori quam necesse est. In quâ re verecundia nostra magis quam causa laborat, quamvis hæc generalis querela ubique personuerit omnia judicia omnia decreta per fœminas in sede apostolicâ actuari; denique per fœminas totum orbem ecclesiæ administrari.” Udatrici Cod. apud Eccard. ii. p. 172. I believe this as little as the incests, violation of nuns and virgins charged by one or two writers against Henry.

Cencius had been master of the castle of St. Angelo, and the master of the castle of St. Angelo was an important partisan for the Pope. The Normans might now seem to have done their work; for some offence they were excommunicated in their turn by the fearless Gregory; the Counts of Tusculum were to be the protectors of the Roman See. But Cencius was afterwards suspected of dealings with the excommunicated Guibert. He was attacked and taken; the castle of St. Angelo for a time dismantled; the life of Cencius was spared only on the merciful intervention of the Countess Matilda.^p Cencius therefore had long arrears of revenge; success would make him an ally who might dictate his own terms to those who had a common interest in the degradation of Gregory. Master of the Pope's person, he might expect not merely not to be disowned, but to claim whatever reward might be demanded by his ambition.

On the eve of Christmas-day the rain had poured
A.D. 1075. down in torrents. The Romans remained
Pope seized in their houses; the Pope, with but a few
by Cencius. ecclesiastics, was keeping the holy vigil in the remote church of Santa Maria Maggiore. The wild night suited the wild purpose of Cencius. The Pope was in the act of administering the Holy Communion, when a fierce shout of triumph and a shriek of terror sounded through the church. The soldiers of Cencius burst in, swept along the nave, dashed down the rails, rushed to the altar, and seized the Pontiff. One fatal blow might have ended the life of Hildebrand and changed the course of human events; it glanced aside, and only wounded his forehead. Bleeding, stripped of his holy

^p Cencius, according to Lambert, had been excommunicated by the Pope.

vestments, but patient and gentle, the Pope made no resistance; he was dragged away, mounted behind one of the soldiers, and imprisoned in a strong tower.^a The rumour ran rapidly through the city; all the night trumpets pealed, bells tolled. The clergy who were officiating in the different churches broke off their services, and ran about the streets summoning the populace to rescue and revenge; soldiers rushed to the gates to prevent the prisoner from being carried out of the town. At the dawn of morn the people assembled in the Capitol, ignorant whether the Pope was dead or alive. When the place of his imprisonment was known, they thronged to the siege; engines were brought from all quarters; the tottering walls began to yield. Cencius shuddered at his own deed. One faithful friend and one noble matron had followed the Pope into his dungeon. The man had covered his shivering body with furs, and was cherishing his chilled feet in his own bosom; the woman had staunched the blood, had bound up the wound in his head, and sat weeping beside him. Cencius, cowardly as cruel, had no course left but to throw himself at the feet of the Pontiff, and to implore his mercy. In the most humiliating language he confessed his sins, his sacrilege, his impiety. The Pope, thus insulted, thus wounded, thus hardly escaped from a miserable death, maintained throughout the mild dignity and self-command of a Christian Pontiff. His wisdom might indeed lead him to dread the despair of a ruffian. "Thine injuries against myself I freely pardon. Thy sins against God, against his mother, his apostles, and his whole Church must be expiated. Go on a pilgrimage to

Rescue.

^a Bonizo.

Jerusalem, and if thou returnest alive, present thyself to us, and be reconciled with God. As thou hast been an example of sin, so be thou of repentance!" Christ himself might seem to be speaking in his Vicegerent.^r

Gregory was brought out; he made a motion to the people to arrest the fury with which they were rushing to storm the tower; it was mistaken for a sign of distress. They broke down, they clambered over, the walls. Gregory, yet stained with blood, stood in the midst of his deliverers; he was carried in triumph to the church from which he had been dragged, finished the service, and returned to the Lateran. Cencius and his kindred fled; their houses and towers were razed by the indignant populace.

This adventure showed to Hildebrand at once his danger and his strength. It was not the signal for, it was rather simultaneous with, the final and irreparable breach with the King—a breach which, however, had been preparing for some months. Guibert of Ravenna was allowed to depart unquestioned, if not unsuspected as the secret author of this outrage, suspicions which were not lightened by one of his acts which took place some time after—the burial of Cencius, which he celebrated with great magnificence in Pavia. But even against Guibert Hildebrand now countenanced no such charge, still less against Henry himself. Nothing of

the kind is intimated in the letter addressed
Jan. 8.

but two weeks after to the King of Germany, which, if not the direct declaration of war, was the sullen murmuring of the thunder before the storm.

It is important carefully to observe the ground which

^r Paul. Bernried, Vit. Greg. Lambert. Berthold sub ann. 1076. Arnulf. v. 6, apud Pertz. Bonizo. Lib. ad Amic.

Hildebrand took in that manifesto of war--of war disguised under the words of reconciliation: whether the lofty moral assertion that he was placed on high to rebuke the unchristian acts of kings, or even to assert the liberties of their oppressed subjects; or the lower, the questionable right to confer benefices, and the King's disobedience in ecclesiastical matters to the See of Rome.⁵

“Deeply and anxiously weighing the responsibilities of the trust committed to us by St. Peter, we have with great hesitation granted our apostolic benediction, for it is reported that thou still holdest communion with excommunicated persons. If this be true, the grace of that benediction avails thee nothing. Seek ghostly counsel of some sage priest, and perform the penance imposed upon thee.” He proceeds to reprove the King for the hypocritical submissiveness of his letters, and the disobedience of his conduct. The grant of the archbishopric of Milan without waiting the decision of the apostolic see, the investiture of the bishoprics of Fermo and Spoleto made to persons unknown to the Pope, were acts of irreverence to St. Peter and his successor. “The apostolic synod over which we presided this year, thought fit in the decay of the Christian religion to revert to the ancient discipline of the Church, that discipline on which depends the salvation of man. This decree (however some may presume to call it an insupportable burthen or intolerable oppression) we esteem a necessary law; all Christian kings and people are bound directly to accept and to observe it. As thou art the highest in dignity and power, so shouldest thou surpass others in

⁵ This missive must have been received early in January, when Henry was at Goslar.—Stenzel. *in loc.*

devotion to Christ. If, however, thou didst consider this abrogation of a bad custom hard or unjust to thyself, thou shouldest have sent to our presence some of the wisest and most religious of thy realm, to persuade us, in our condescension, to mitigate its force in some way not inconsistent with the honour of God and the salvation of men's souls. We exhort thee, in our parental love, to prefer the honour of Christ to thine own, and to give full liberty to the Church, the Spouse of God." Hildebrand then alludes to the victory of Henry over the Saxons, with significant reference to the fate of Saul, whom success in war led into fatal impiety.

The date of this letter, when written, and when received, is not absolutely certain;† it was coupled with Henry summoned to Rome on Feb. 22. or immediately followed by a peremptory summons to Henry to appear in Rome to answer for all his offences before the tribunal of the Pope, and before a synod of ecclesiastics; if he should refuse or delay, he was at once to suffer the sentence of excommunication. The 22nd of February was the day appointed for his appearance.

Thus the King, the victorious King of the Germans, was solemnly cited as a criminal to answer undefined charges, to be amenable to laws which the judge had assumed the right of enacting, interpreting, enforcing by the last penalties. The whole affairs of the Empire were to be suspended while the King stood before the bar of his imperious arbiter; no delay was allowed; the stern and immutable alternative was humble and instant obedience, or that sentence which involved deposition from the Empire, eternal perdition.^u

† It is dated by Jaffé Jan. 8.

• "Aderant præerea Hildebrandi Papæ legati, denunciante Regi ut secundâ feriâ secundæ hebdomadæ in

In this desperate emergency one course alone seemed left open. In Germany the idea of the temporal sovereign was but vague, indistinct, and limited; he was but the head of an assemblage of independent princes, his powers, if not legally, actually bounded by his ability to enforce obedience. The Cæsar was but an imposing and magnificent title, which Teutonic pride gloried in having appropriated to its sovereign, but against which the old Teutonic independence opposed a strong, often invincible resistance. The idea of the Pope was an integral part of German Christianity; dread of excommunication part of the faith, to question which was a bold act of infidelity.

It was only then by invalidating the title of the individual Pope that he could be lawfully resisted, or his authority shaken in the minds of the multitude. It was a daring determination, but it was the only determination to which Henry and his ecclesiastical counsellors could well have recourse, to depose a pope who had thus declared war, even to the death, against him. Not a day was to be lost; if the Pope were still Pope on the fatal 22nd of February, the irrevocable excommunication would be passed. The legates who brought this denunciatory message were dismissed with ignominy. Messengers were despatched with breathless haste to summon the prelates of Germany to meet at the faithful city of Worms, on Septuagesima Sunday, January 24th. After the death of Hanno of Cologne, Henry, knowing too well the danger from that princely see in able hands, had forced into it a monk

A.D. 1076.

quadragesimâ ad synodum Romæ occurreret, de criminibus quæ objicerentur, causam dicturus: alioquin sciret se absque omni procrastinatione | eodem die de corpore sanctæ ecclesiæ apostolico anathemate abscindendum esse."—Lambert.

named Hildorf, of obscure birth, insignificant in person, feeble in mind.

On the appointed day, besides the secular partisans of Henry, the bishops and abbots of Germany obeyed the royal summons in great numbers. Synod of Worms. Siegfried of Mentz^x took his seat as president of the synod. Cardinal Hugo the White, the same man who had taken the lead in the election of Hildebrand, and commended him by the glowing panegyric on his virtues to the Roman people, came forward, no doubt, as pretending to represent the clergy of Rome, and arraigned Pope Gregory before the synod as the worst and wickedest of men. His extravagant and monstrous charges dwelt on the early life of Gregory, on the bribery and violence by which he had gained the Papacy, the licentiousness, the flagitiousness of his life as Pope, his cruelty, his necromancy. He demanded the deposition of Gregory VII. With loud unanimous acclamation the synod declared that a man guilty of such crimes (crimes of which no shadow of proof was adduced, and which rested on the assertion of one himself excommunicated, it was averred, for simony) had forfeited the power of binding and loosing, he was no longer Pope. The renunciation of allegiance was drawn up in the strictest and most explicit form. "I, * * * bishop of * * *, disclaim from this hour all subjection and allegiance to Hildebrand, and will neither esteem nor call him Pope." Two bishops only, Adelbert of Wurtzburg and Herman of Metz, hesitated to sign this paper. They argued that it was unjust and uncanonical to condemn a bishop without a general council, without accusers and defenders, and without communicating the charges against

^x He had been degraded by the Pope.—Lambert, sub ann.

him, how much more a pope, against whom the accusation of a bishop, or even an archbishop, was not valid. But William of Utrecht, the boldest, the most learned, and the staunchest partisan of Henry, offered them the alternative of disclaiming their allegiance to the King, or affixing their signature. To this force they yielded an unwilling approbation.^y

The letter of Henry to the Pope, conveying the decree of the council, was couched in the most arrogant and insulting terms, and so neutralised the bitter truths which, more calmly expressed, might have wrought on impartial minds, if such there were. "Henry, not by usurpation but by God's ordinance, King, to Hildebrand, no longer Pope, but the false monk." It accused him of the haughtiness with which he tyrannised over every order of the Church, and had trampled archbishops, bishops, the whole clergy, under his feet. He had pretended to universal knowledge as to universal power. "By the authority of the priesthood, thou hast even threatened to deprive us of our royal authority, that priesthood to which thou wast never called by Christ." "By craft thou hast got money, by money influence, by influence the power of the sword; by the sword thou hast mounted the throne of peace, and from the throne of peace destroyed peace, arming subjects against their rulers, bringing bishops appointed by God into contempt, and exposing them to the judgement of the laity. Us, too, consecrated of God, amenable to no judge but God, who can be deposed for no crime but absolute apostacy, thou hast ventured

Letter to the
Pope an-
nouncing his
deposition.

^y The Chronicle of Hildesheim says that the bishop of that city signed only from fear of death, "sed quod scripserat, ut homo sagacissimi ingenii obelo supposito damnavit." This bishop stood on dangerous ground as a leader in the Saxon insurrection.

to assail, despising the words of that true pope St. Peter, 'Fear God! honour the King!' Thou that honourest not the King fearest not God! St. Paul held accursed even an angel from heaven who should preach another Gospel: this curse falls upon thee who teachest this new doctrine." "Thus accursed then, thus condemned by the sentence of all our bishops, and by our own, down! Leave the apostolic throne which thou hast usurped. Let another take the chair of St. Peter, one who preaches not violence and war, but the sound doctrine of the holy Apostle. I, Henry, by the grace of God King, with all the bishops of my realm, say unto thee, 'Down! down!'"

Another letter was addressed to the clergy and people of Rome. In this the King accuses the Pope To clergy and people of Rome. of having sworn to deprive him of the kingdom of Italy. "Gregory would hazard his own life, or strip the King of his life and kingdom." As patrician, therefore, Henry had deposed the Pope, and now commands them on their allegiance to rise up against him. "Be the most loyal the first to join in his condemnation. We do not ask you to shed his blood; let him suffer life, which, after he is deposed, will be more wretched to him than death; but if he resist, compel him to yield up the apostolic throne, and make way for one whom we shall elect, who will have both the will and the power to heal the wounds inflicted on the Church by their present pastor."

The German Church seemed to enter into the bold and open revolt of Henry; in Lombardy the old party Early in February. of Cadalous and of the married clergy, maintained and guided by Guibert of Ravenna, showed equal resolution. A synod at Piacenza ratified the decree of Worms.

Gregory in the mean time had summoned his third council in the Lateran. He sat among his assembled bishops. The hymn had ceased which implored the descent of the Holy Ghost on this great Christian assembly. The bold and sudden entrance of Roland, a priest of Parma, was hardly perceived amid the grave occupation to which (as genuine descendants of the old Romans who, when the fate of kings and nations depended on their vote, usually commenced their solemn council by consulting the augurs, and waiting for some significant omen) they had surrendered their absorbed attention. An egg had been found which, by its mysterious form, portended the issue of the conflict. What seemed a black serpent, the type of evil, rose as it were in high relief and coiled around the smooth shell; but it had struck on what seemed a shield, and recoiled, bruised and twisting in a mortal agony. On this sight sat gazing the mute ecclesiastical senate.²

But the voice of Roland made itself heard. "The King and the bishops of Germany send this mandate. Down at once from the throne of St. Peter! yield up the usurped government of the Roman Church! none must presume to such honour but those chosen by the general voice, and approved by the Emperor." He turned to the amazed assembly—"Ye, my brethren, are commanded to present yourselves at the Feast of Pente-

¹ "Incipiens synodum pastor Gregorius, ovum Gallinæ sculptum, gestans in cortice scutum Et colubrum nigrum qui tendebat caput, ictu Qu'ppè repercussus quodam, pertingere sursum Non potuit, caudamque plicans dabat sinuatam. Non erat hæc plana, sed erat sculptura levata.

Ad Synodum fertur, nunquam par ante repertum.

Quod dum miratur, prædictus et ecce Robertus" * * *

DONIZO.

This, be it remembered, is history not poetry. Robert is called elsewhere Roland.

cost before the King my master, there to receive a Pope and Father; for this man is no Pope, but a ravening wolf."

The fiery Bishop of Porto sprung from his seat, and shouted with a loud voice, "Seize him!" Cencius, the governor of the city,^a and his soldiers sprung forth to hew the audacious envoy in pieces. Gregory interposed his own person, protected the King's ambassador, and with difficulty restored order. He received the documents presented by Roland, and with his wonted calm dignity read the acts of the councils, with the taunting letter of the King.

Murmurs of vehement indignation burst forth from the whole synod; they sank again as Gregory commenced his address, urging them to respect the sanctity of the place. In his speech, skilfully it may hardly be said, yet naturally, his own cause was assumed to be that of the clergy, of the Church, of Christianity. "These were the coming and predicted days in which it behoved the clergy to show the innocence of the dove, blended with the wisdom of the serpent. The forerunner of Anti-Christ had risen against the Church; the dry harvest was about to be wet with the blood of the saints. Now is the time when it will be shown who is ashamed of his Lord, of whom the Lord will be ashamed at his second coming. Better is it to die for Christ and his holy laws, than, by shamefully yielding to those who violate and trample them under foot, to be traitors to the Church: not to resist such impious men were to deny the faith of Christ." With the gravity of an ancient augur he proceeded to interpret the sign of the egg. The serpent

^a Stephen Cencius, another of the same family, according to Bonizo, brother of the famous Cencius, a partisan of the Pope. He was afterwards put to a cruel death by the Imperialists.—Bonizo, p. 816.

was the dragon of the Apocalypse raging against the Church; and in the same old Roman spirit he drew the omen of victory from its discomfiture. "Now, therefore, brethren, it behoves us to draw the sword of vengeance; now must we smite the foe of God and of his Church; now shall his bruised head, which lifts itself in its haughtiness against the foundation of the faith and of all the Churches, fall to the earth; there, according to the sentence pronounced against his pride, to go upon his belly, and eat the dust. Fear not, little flock, saith the Lord, for it is the will of your Father to grant you the kingdom. Long enough have ye borne with him; often enough have ye admonished him: let his seared conscience be made at length to feel!"

The whole synod replied with one voice, "Let thy wisdom, most holy Father, whom the divine mercy has raised up to rule the world in our days, utter such a sentence against this blasphemer, this usurper, this tyrant, this apostate, as may crush him to the earth, and make him a warning to future ages. . . . Draw the sword, pass the judgement, *that the righteous may rejoice when he seeth the vengeance, and wash his hands in the blood of the ungodly.*"^b

The formal sentence was delayed, to prepare it in more awful terms, till the next day. On the morning arrived letters from many prelates and nobles of Germany and Italy, disclaiming the acts of the synods at Worms and Piacenza, and imploring the forgiveness of the Pope for their enforced assent to those decrees. The Pontiff again took his seat in the Lateran, encircled

^b Psalm lviii. 10. Paul Bernried, show that they occupied two; but the fullest authority on this period, distribution of the business between gives the whole as the proceedings of those two days is somewhat conjectural. Other writers seem to

by 110 bishops and abbots. The first sentence fell on Siegfried of Mentz, and the prelates who had concurred in the proceedings at Worms. They were suspended from their episcopal functions, interdicted from the holy Eucharist, unless in the hour of death, and after due and accepted penance. Those who had assented from compulsion were allowed time to make their peace with the apostolic see. The prelates who met at Piacenza were condemned to the same punishment. Some other censures were spoken against other prelates and nobles of the empire; but the awe-struck assembly awaited in eager expectation that against the arch-criminal King Henry. The Empress Agnes was among the audience; the stern stoicism of the monastic life had even wrought a mother's heart to listen to the sentence, perhaps of eternal damnation, against her son.^c

Hildebrand commenced his sentence with an address to St. Peter, and renewed protestations of the reluctance against which he had been compelled to ascend the pontifical throne. "In full confidence in the authority over all Christian people, granted by God to the delegate of St. Peter, for the honour and defence of the Church, in the name of Almighty God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and by the power and authority of St. Peter, I interdict King Henry, son of Henry the Emperor, who in his unexampled pride has risen against the Church, from the government of the whole realm of Germany and of Italy. I absolve all Christians from the oaths which they have sworn or may swear to him; and forbid all obedience to him as King. For it is just that he who impugns the honour of the Church should him-

Henry de-
posed.

^c Berthold, p. 283.

self forfeit all the honour which he seems to have; and because he has scorned the obedience of a Christian, nor returned to the Lord, from whom he had revolted by holding communion with the excommunicate, by committing many iniquities, and despising the admonitions which, as thou knowest, I have given him for his salvation, and has separated himself from the Church by creating schism: I bind him, therefore, in thy name, in the bonds of thy anathema; that all the nations may know and may acknowledge that thou art Peter, that upon thy rock the Son of the living God has built his Church, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."^d

When the Senate or the Emperors of Rome issued their mandates to the extremity of the world, they were known to be supported by vast and irresistible armies. The mandates of Hildebrand were to promulgate, to execute themselves. He was master indeed in Rome; he might depend, perhaps, on the support of his ally,

^d For the modern views on the subject of deposing kings, see perhaps the ablest work, Gosselin, *Pouvoir du Pape au Moyen Age*. The foundation of Fenelon's theory, embraced partially by M. De Maistre, fully by M. Gosselin, is that the Pope's power of de-throning sovereigns rested on a "droit public," acknowledged throughout Europe. But whence this droit public, but from the exaggerated claims of the Pope and the clergy, beaten by superstitious terrors into the minds of men? The whole argument of Gosselin's book is, that the power existed and was acknowledged, therefore it was absolute law. De Maistre has said that possession on one hand,

consent (assentiment) on the other, is the foundation of all power; but what tyranny does not this justify and eternalise? The first premise nobody will deny in one sense; and we even may admit the conclusion, so far as it may mitigate the attributing the growth of such principles to deliberate, far-seeing, conscious ambition on the part of the clergy and the Pope; but it will not absolve them from having been unconsciously influenced by the desire of corporate or personal aggrandisement, or from their abuse of those principles, when admitted, by making them subservient to their own passions and to their own temporal ends.

the Countess Matilda; he might, possibly, as a last refuge, summon the Normans, an uncertain trust, to his succour. But on these things he seemed to disdain to waste a thought; on himself, on his censures, on the self-assured righteousness of his cause, on the fears of men, and doubtless on what he believed the pledged and covenanted protection of the Saints, of Christ, of God, he calmly relied for what he would not doubt would be his final triumph.

King Henry heard in Utrecht, March 27, the sentence of the Pope. His first impression was that of dismay; but he soon recovered himself, affected to treat it with contempt, and determined to revenge himself by the excommunication of the Pope. The Bishops of Toul and Verdun, though attached to Henry, had disapproved of the condemnation of the Pope; they secretly withdrew from the city to escape the perilous office now demanded of them. In William of Utrecht fidelity to the King had grown into a fierce hatred of the Pope. Not merely did he utter the sentence of excommunication, but followed it up with busy zeal. At every opportunity, even when performing the sacred office, he broke forth against the perjurer, the adulterer, the false apostle; and pronounced him excommunicated, not by himself alone, but by all the bishops of Germany.^e Nor was William absolutely alone: a council at Pavia, summoned by the indefatigable Guibert, met and anathematised Gregory.

But while these vain thunders had no effect on the rigid churchmen and the laity who adhered to the Pope, the excommunication of Henry was working in the

^e "Omnibus pæne diebus solemniter, rabido ore declamavit.—Lambert."

depths of the German mind, and mingling itself up with, and seeming to hallow all the other motives for jealousy, hatred, and revenge which prevailed in so many parts of the empire. A vast and formidable conspiracy began to organise itself, hardly in secret. The Dukes Rudolph of Swabia, Guelf of Bavaria, Berthold of Carinthia, with the Bishops of Wurzburg and Metz, were at the head of the league, which comprehended men knew not whom, there was no one whom it might not comprehend. The King summoned a diet at Worms, but the prudent and those conscious of sinister designs, kept away: it separated without coming to any conclusion. A second was summoned for St. Peter's day, to meet at Mentz.

April 28

But even before the diet at Worms an event had taken place which had appalled all Germany—the sudden death of William of Utrecht. Terrible rumours of the circumstances of his fate spread throughout the land, darkening, no doubt, as they went on. In the delirium of his mortal sickness he had reproached himself for his wicked and impious conduct to the Pope, entreated his attendants not to weary themselves with fruitless prayers for a soul irrecoverably lost. He had died, it was said, without the Holy Communion. The blasphemer of Hildebrand had perished in an agony of despair; and God had not only pronounced his awful vengeance against the blasphemer himself, the cathedral which had witnessed the ceremony of Gregory's excommunication had been struck by the lightning of heaven.

Death of
William of
Utrecht.

Even after death the terrible power of Gregory pursued William of Utrecht. In answer to an inquiry of the Bishop of Liège, the Pope sternly replied, that, if William of Utrecht had knowingly communicated with

the excommunicated Henry (and of this fact and of his impenitence there could be no doubt), the inexorable interdict must follow him beyond the grave. Unabsolved he lived and died, there was no absolution after death; no prayers, no sacrifices, no alms could be offered for the soul of William of Utrecht.^f

Henry looked abroad into the Empire, which, but the year before, his victory at Hohenburg had awed at least into outward peace, and where the obsequious clergy at Worms had seemed to join him almost with unanimity in his defiance of Hildebrand. On every side he now saw hostility, avowed or secret, conspiracy, desertion; the princes meditating revolt; the prelates either openly renouncing or shaken in their allegiance. Herman of Metz had released some of the Saxon chieftains committed to his charge; he was evidently assuming the rank of head of the Hildebrandine party among the ecclesiastics of Germany. Henry had threatened to revenge himself by marching at once and occupying Metz, but had been obliged to abandon that decisive measure. The defection of Otho of Nordheim, to whom the final suppression of the Saxon rebellion had been entrusted, and who at least had listened to the overtures of the insurgents, was still more embarrassing, and broke up all his warlike plans.

At Mentz the assembly both of prelates and nobles was more numerous than at the second assembly summoned at Worms; but the leaders of the opposition whom Henry hoped either to gain or to overawe, and whose attendance, sinking from the imperious language of command, he had condescended

^f Regest. iv. 6. Godfrey of Lorraine too had fallen by the hands of murderers in Friesland.

to implore, still kept aloof, and, without declaration of hostility, maintained a sullen but menacing neutrality. Yet enough appeared at the Diet to show the dreadful effects to be apprehended from the approaching conflict, and the nature of the resistance which was to be encountered by the King. Throughout Germany house was divided against house, family against family, kindred against kindred. Udo, Archbishop of Treves, the third of the great Rhenish prelates, had passed the Alps to make his peace with Gregory; he had been received with courtesy, and had yielded himself up absolutely to the spell of Hildebrand's commanding mind. His conduct on his return was sufficiently expressive. With cold determination he refused to hold any intercourse with his brother metropolitans, the excommunicated Siegfried and Hildorf of Cologne, and with the other bishops of Henry's party. Only by the express permission of the Pope would he venture into the infected presence of the excommunicated King himself, in order to give him good counsel. He shrank from the sin and contamination of eating with him or joining him in prayer. The contagion of fear and aversion spread into the palace of Henry. The ecclesiastics shrank away one by one, lest they should be defiled by the royal intercourse. To the King's repeated commands, to his earnest entreaties that they would return, they answered, that it was better to lose the royal favour than endanger their souls.⁵ The more ardent and resolute of Henry's party were excited to the utmost fury; they urged the King to draw at once the sword, committed to him by God, to chastise the rebellious prelates and his other contumacious subjects.

⁵ Lambert, sub ann.

But Henry felt the ebbing away of his strength. Everything seemed blasted with a curse and turned against him. His last hold on the fears of the Saxons was that he still had in his power some of their more formidable leaders. He issued orders to use the utmost vigilance for their detention. Of these the most dangerous, and, as most dangerous, most hateful to Henry was

Escape and liberation of Saxon prisoners.
June 24.

Burchard, Bishop of Halberstadt, whom Henry determined to send to Hungary for safer custody. On his descent of the Danube a bold and adventurous partisan contrived the liberation of the bishop: Burchard found his way to Saxony. The King's measures began to be those of a man in utter despair, wild, inconsistent, passionate. He at once changed his policy. He determined to have the merit of granting freedom to those whom he could not hope to detain in prison. To the bishops of Magdeburg, Merseburg, and Meissen, to Duke Magnus and the Palatine Frederick, he sent word that, though by the laws of the empire he would be justified in putting them to death, yet, out of respect for their exalted rank, he would not merely release them on the promise of their fidelity, but reward that fidelity with the utmost liberality. They met hypocrisy with hypocrisy, and solemnly swore fidelity. They were brought to Mentz to receive their liberation from Henry himself; but he was defeated

even in this measure.^h A fray took place in the city between the followers of the Bishop of Bamberg, and those of a rival ecclesiastic; the prisoners escaped in the confusion.

June 29.

An expedition into Saxony, through Bohemia, ended in total and disgraceful failure. The King, instead

^h Lambert, sub ann. : Benzo, 33-36.

of quelling his rebellious subjects, only by good fortune effected an ignominious retreat, and fled to July.
Worms.

Hildebrand in the mean time neglected none of his own means of warfare, that warfare conducted July 25.
Letters of
the Pope. not in the battle-field, but in the hearts and souls of men, which he felt himself to command, and knew how to sway to his purpose. Words were his weapons, but words which went to the depths of the human mind, and shook almost every living man with fear. There were two classes, the churchmen, and the vulgar, which comprehended the larger part of the human race; to both he spake the fit and persuasive language. He addressed a spiritual manifesto to all Christendom, but more especially to the bishops and clergy. He reverted to his former affection for Henry; the love with which even when a deacon he had warned his youth; he had continued his earnest admonitions in mature age. But Henry had only returned evil for good; had lifted up his heel against St. Peter. He commanded the bishops to urge the contumacious King to repentance, but "if he prefers the devil to Christ, and adheres to his simoniacal and excommunicated counsellors, the bishops, the Pope himself, must manfully discharge their duty. They must enforce upon all, clergy and laity, the peremptory obligation of avoiding all intercourse whatever with the excommunicated; all intercourse which was death to the souls of those wretched men and to their own."¹

In a letter to Herman of Metz he presses this doctrine with more relentless rigour. "All who had communicated with the excommunicated king, if king he might

¹ Regest. iv. 1.

be called, by that act had themselves incurred excommunication." Such were the doctrines of him
 July 25. who assumed to represent the Prince of Peace!
 Aug. 25. "But there were those who denied his right to excommunicate a king: though their folly deserved it not, he would condescend to answer." ^k What then was his answer? One of the most audacious fictions of the Decretals; an extract from a charge delivered by St. Peter to Clement of Rome; the deposition of Childebert by Pope Zacharias; certain sentences of Gregory the Great intended to protect the estates of the Church, and anathematising all, even kings, who should usurp them; finally the memorable example of St. Ambrose and Theodosius the Great. "Why is the King alone excepted from that universal flock committed to the guardianship of St. Peter? If the Pope may judge spiritual persons, how much more must secular persons give an account of their evil deeds before his tribunal? Think they that the royal excels the episcopal dignity? —the former the invention of human pride, the latter of divine holiness: the former ever coveting vain glory, the latter aspiring after heavenly life. 'The glory of a king,' St. Ambrose says, 'to that of a bishop is as lead to gold.' Constantine the Great took his seat below the lowest bishop, for he knew that God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble." —The humility of Hildebrand! He then peremptorily forbade all bishops to presume to grant absolution to Henry, or to enter into communion with him. "The consecration of a bishop who communicates with the excommunicate is an execration."

A third letter, to the German people, commanded

^k Licet pro magnâ fatuitate nec etiam eis respondere debeat.

them, if the King did not immediately repent, dismiss his evil counsellors, acknowledge that the Church was not subject to him as a handmaid, Sept. 3. but superior as a mistress, and abandon those usages which had been established in the spirit of pride against the liberty of the holy Church (the investiture), to proceed at once to the election of a new sovereign, a sovereign approved by the Pope. He anticipates the embarrassment of their oath sworn to the Empress Agnes. She, no doubt, when Henry shall be deposed, will give her consent; the Pope would absolve them from their oath.

The diet met at Tribur near Darmstadt. Thither came Rudolph of Swabia, Otho of Saxony, Oct. 16. Guelf of Bavaria, the two former rivals for the throne if it should be vacant by the deposition of Henry. All the old enemies, all the revolted friends, the bishops who had opposed, the bishops who had consented, some even who had advised his lofty demeanour towards the Pope, appeared drawn together by their ambition, by their desire of liberty or of power, by their fears and by their hopes of gain or advancement, by their conscientious churchmanship, or their base resolution to be on the stronger side. Already in Ulm, where the diet at Tribur had been agreed upon, Otho of Constance had made his peace with the Church; In September the feeble Siegfried of Mentz did the same. The Bishops of Verdun, Strasburg, Liège, Munster, and Utrecht obtained easier absolution, some of them having from the first disapproved of the King's proceedings.

The legates of the Pope, Sighard Patriarch of Aquileia, and Altman Bishop of Passau, whose life had been endangered in the suppression of the married clergy, with

many laymen of rank who had embraced the monastic life, appeared to vindicate the Pope's right to excommunicate the King, and to sanction the election of a new sovereign. These men kept themselves in severe seclusion from all who, since his excommunication, had held the slightest intercourse by word or deed with the King. They avoided with equal abhorrence all who communicated, even in prayer, with married or simoniacal clergy.

For seven days the conclave sat in high and independent, and undisturbed deliberation on the crimes of the Emperor; the sins of his youth, by which he had disgraced the majesty of the Empire; the injuries which he had inflicted on individuals and on the public weal; his devotion to base-born counselors, and his deliberate hostility to the nobles of the realm; his having left the frontiers open to barbarous enemies, while he was waging cruel war on his subjects; the state of the Empire which he had inherited flourishing in peace and wealth, but which was now in the most wretched condition, laid waste by civil wars; the destruction of churches and monasteries and the confiscation of their estates for the maintenance of a lawless army; and the building fortresses to reduce his freeborn liegemen to slavery. Widows and orphans were without protection; the oppressed and calumniated without refuge; the laws had lost their authority, manners their discipline, the Church her power, the State her dignity. Thus by the recklessness of one man things sacred and profane, divine and human, right and wrong, were in confusion and anarchy. For these great calamities one remedy alone remained, the election of another king, who should restrain the general license, and bear the weight of the tottering world. The right of the Pope

Diet at Tri-
bur

to separate the King from the communion of the faithful was fully recognised ; even if the Pope had passed such sentence unjustly, no Christian could communicate with the interdicted person till reconciled to the Church.

On the other side of the Rhine, at Oppenheim, the deserted Henry, with a few armed followers, a ^{Henry at} very few faithful nobles, and still fewer bishops, ^{Oppenheim.} kept his diminished and still dwindling court. The Rhine flowed between these strangely contrasted assemblies. The vigour of Henry's character seemed crushed by the universal defection. There was no dignity in his humiliation. Even with his imperfect sense of kingly duty, and his notions of kingly power, the terrible truth of some of these accusations may have depressed his conscience. Whatever his offences against the Pope, he could not wonder at the alienation of his subjects. He sank to abject submission. Day after day came his messengers offering concession on concession, the redress of all grievances, the amendment of all errors, the promise to efface by his future benefits the memory of all past injuries. He was ready to do no public act without consulting the great Council of the realm ; he would even surrender up his power, place the government in other hands, if they would leave him the royal name and dignity, which could not be taken away without degrading the crown of Germany in the eyes of men. For the fulfilment of these terms he offered any oaths and any hostages demanded by the Diet.

The conclave coldly replied that they could have no faith in his promises ; on every favourable opportunity he had broken, like spiders' webs, the solemn oaths which he had pledged before God. They had been patient too long. Their religious reverence for their

allegiance had made them endure the dissolution of all order in the state, the loss of peace in all the churches of the realm, the majesty of the empire subverted, the dignity of the public morals debased, the laws suspended, the ruin of justice and piety. As long as his temporal life was concerned, they had borne all this out of respect for their oath of fealty; but now that he was cut off by the sentence of the Pope from the Church of God, it would be madness not to seize the hour of deliverance. It was their fixed determination, therefore, without delay to provide "a man to go before them, and to wage the war of the Lord," to the destruction of his pride who had lifted himself against the justice and truth of God and the authority of the Roman Church.

The treacherous Archbishop of Mentz had given orders to collect all the boats upon the Rhine, in order to attack Henry at Oppenheim, to seize his person, disperse his followers, and by one decisive blow to end the contest. But the partisans of Henry and Henry himself drew courage from the desperate state of their affairs. They boldly manned the shores, and bade defiance to their enemies. The confederates shrank from the conflict; some were not prepared for the last extremity of arms; others, remembering Hohenburg, might dread the issue of a battle even at such advantage. But this was a transient gleam of courage and success; the consciousness of his weakness returned; Henry was at the mercy of his revolted subjects. He had but to accept the hard terms which they might be pleased to impose. The terms were these: the whole affair was to be reserved for the decision of the supreme Pontiff, who was to hold a council at Augsburg on the feast of the Purification in the ensuing year. In the mean time

Henry was to declare his unreserved subjection and submission to the Pope, to dismiss his army, and live as a private man at Spires, with no ensigns of royalty, performing no act of kingly authority, not presuming to enter a church, and holding no intercourse with his excommunicated counsellors. He was to deliver the city of Worms to its bishop, to disband the garrison, and to bind the citizens by an oath to commit no act of insult or rebellion against their prelate. If the King was not absolved from the ban of excommunication before the full year expired from the date of his sentence (in that same month of February in which fell the feast of the Purification), he forfeited irrevocably all right and title to the throne; his subjects were released from their allegiance.

Henry bowed his head before his fate. He dismissed his counsellors; the Bishops of Cologne, Stras-
burg, Bamberg, Basle, Spires, Lausanne, Zeitz, Henry submits.
and Osnaburg were left to make their peace as they could with the Pope. Even his favourite counts, Ulric of Cosheim, and Eberhard of Nellenburg, were obliged to depart. He disbanded his troops, yielded up faithful Worms to its triumphant bishop, retired to Beginning of November.
Spires, and he who had been born, as it were, a king, who could have had no recollection of the time in which he was not honoured with the name and ensigns of royalty, sank into a private station.

But in that intolerable condition he could not remain; he must determine on his future course. Whatever might be the end, it was better to confront the inexorable Pope; to undergo, if it must be undergone, the deep humiliation of submission in Italy rather than in the Diet of the Empire, in the face, amid the scorn and triumph, of his revolted subjects. He resolved to anti-

cipate the journey of the Pope to Germany. Udo of Treves, his adversary, consented to be his messenger to solicit the Pope's permission to make his act of submission in Rome rather than at Augsburg. Udo's journey was stopped at Piacenza; the enemies of Henry had anticipated his message to the Pope. Hildebrand declared his intention to hold the court at Augsburg; however difficult and inconvenient the journey, before the 8th of January he should be at Mantua.

Nature seemed to conspire with the Pope and with his enemies against the fallen King. So hard a winter had not been known for years; from Martinmas to the middle of April the Rhine was frozen, so as to be passable on foot. The Dukes of Bavaria and Carinthia, the enemies of Henry, commanded and jealously watched the passes of the Alps. With difficulty Henry collected from still diminishing partisans sufficient money to defray the expenses of his journey. With his wife and infant son, and one faithful attendant, he left Spire, and turned aside into Burgundy, in hopes of finding hospitality and aid. He reached Besançon before Christmas day. William of Burgundy entertained him with courtesy.^m He passed Christmas in Besançon with something approaching to royal state. From Besançon he made his way to Geneva, and crossed the Rhone, to the foot of Mont Cenis. There he was met by his mother-in-law Adelaide, the powerful Marchioness of Susa, and her son Amadeus. They received him with an outward show of honour; but, taking advantage of his extreme necessity, they demanded the cession of five rich bishoprics as the price of his free passage through their territories. This demand might

A few days
before Christ-
mas.

^m "Satis magnifice pro suâ calamitate susceptus et habitus."

seen an insidious endeavour to commit him still further with the Pope, by forcing him to exercise or to transfer, in a simoniacal manner, the contested power of investiture. Henry was glad to extricate himself by the sacrifice of a rich district which he possessed in Burgundy.

But the Alps were still between him and Italy. The passage of Mont Cenis, notwithstanding the hardier habits of the time, was always a work of peril and difficulty; the unusual severity of the winter made it almost desperate. Vast quantities of snow had fallen; the slippery surface, where it had hardened, was not strong enough to bear; the ascent seemed impracticable. But the fatal day was hastening on; the King must reach Italy or forfeit his crown for ever. At a large cost they hired some of the mountaineers well acquainted with the paths, to go before and cut something like a road through the snow for the King and his few followers. So they reached with great labour the summit of the pass. The descent seemed impossible; it looked like a vast precipice, smooth, and almost sheer. But the danger must be overcome; some crept down on their hands and knees; some clung to the shoulders of the guides, and so sliding and at times rolling down the steeper declivities, reached at length the bottom without serious accident. The queen and her infant son were drawn down in the skins of oxen, as in sledges. Some of the horses were lowered by various contrivances—some with their feet tied allowed to roll from ledge to ledge. Many were killed, many maimed; few reached the plain in a serviceable state.

No sooner was the King's unexpected arrival made known in Italy than the princes and the bishops assem-

bled in great numbers, and received him with the highest honours; in a few days he found himself at the head of a formidable army. The great cause of his popularity with so many of the Lombard nobility and the prelates was the notion that he had crossed the Alps to depose the Pope. All, and they were neither few nor without power, who were excommunicated by Hildebrand, looked eagerly for vengeance. But Henry could not pause to plunge into this new warfare, where even in Lombardy he would have encountered half the magnates and people. He could not imperil the throne of Germany. He must obtain the absolution from his excommunicator before the fatal 25th of February.

The Pope meantime, accompanied by his powerful protectress Matilda of Tuscany, and by the Bishop of Vercelli, had crossed the Apennines on his way to Mantua. The news of Henry's descent into Italy arrested his march. Uncertain whether he came as a humble suppliant or at the head of an army
January. (Gregory well knew the state of Lombardy), he immediately turned aside, and took up his abode in Canossa, a strong fortress belonging to Matilda.

To Canossa first came in trembling haste many of the nobles and prelates who had been included under the ban of excommunication, and whom Henry had been forced to dismiss from his service. Most of them had been so fortunate as to elude the guards set to watch the passes of the Alps. Dietrich, Bishop of Verdun, one of the most faithful and irreproachable of Henry's partisans (he had not concurred in his more violent proceedings), had been seized by Adelbert, Count of Calw, plundered, imprisoned, forced to promise a large ransom, and not to revenge this cruel outrage. Rupert

of Bamberg, still more odious to the adverse party, was taken by Guelf, Duke of Bavaria, stripped of all his treasures, even to his pontifical robes, and kept in close captivity; neither his own entreaties, nor those of his friends, could obtain his liberation. With naked feet, and in the garb of penitents, the rest appeared before the Pope. To them Gregory tempered his severity by mildness. He would not refuse absolution to those who confessed and lamented their sins; but they must be purified as by fire, lest by too great facility of pardon, the atrocious and violent crime of which they had been guilty to the apostolic see should be regarded as a light sin, or as no sin at all. The bishops were shut up in separate and solitary cells, with but a scanty supply of food till the evening. The penance of the laity was apportioned with regard to their age and strength. After this ordeal of some days, they were called before the Pope, and received absolution, with a mild rebuke, and repeated injunctions to hold no communion with their master till he should be reconciled to the Holy See.

The lenity of the Pope to his adherents may have decided the wavering mind of Henry; it may have been designed to heighten by contrast the haughty and inexorable proceedings towards the King. Hildebrand would be content with the moderate chastisement of the inferiors, from the King he would exact the most degrading humiliation. Henry first obtained an interview with Matilda of Tuscany. He sent her to the Pope, loaded with prayers and promises. She was accompanied by Adelaide of Susa, the Marquis Azzo, and Hugh, the Abbot of Clugny,^a who was supposed to possess great influence over the mind of Gregory. He

^a Hugh of Clugny had been the godfather of Henry.—Dach. Spic. iii. p. 441.

entreated the Pope not too rashly to credit the jealous and hostile charges of the German princes, but to absolve the King at once from his excommunication. The Pope coldly replied, that it was inconsistent with the ecclesiastical laws to pass judgement, except in the presence of the accusers; "let him appear on the appointed day at Augsburg, and he shall receive rigid and impartial justice." The ambassadors of Henry urged that the King by no means declined, he humbly submitted to the judgement of the Pope, but in the mean time earnestly desired to be released from the excommunication. The possession of his crown depended on his immediate absolution; he would undergo any penance, and be prepared to answer hereafter before the Pope to any charges advanced against him. The implacable Pope would yield no step of his vantage ground. He might indeed dread the versatility of Henry's character, and his ready assent to the advice of flattering and desperate counsellors. "If he be truly penitent, let him place his crown and all the ensigns of royalty in my hands, and openly confess himself unworthy of the royal name and dignity." This demand seemed too harsh even to the ardent admirers of the Pope; they entreated him to mitigate the rigour of the sentence, "not to break the bruised reed." The Pope gave a vague assent to their representations.^o

On a dreary winter morning, with the ground deep in snow, the King, the heir of a long line of emperors, was permitted to enter within the two outer of the three walls which girded the castle of Canossa.^p He

^o It is fortunate that this scene, the most remarkable in the history of the middle ages, is related by that one of the monkish annalists who aspires to the character of a historian—Lambert of Hertzfeld.

^p Canossa, the ancestral fortress of the Countess Matilda, was planted on

had laid aside every mark of royalty or of distinguished station; he was clad only in the thin white linen dress of the penitent, and there, fasting, he awaited in humble patience the pleasure of the Pope. But the gates did not unclose. A second day he stood, cold, hungry, and mocked by vain hope. And yet a third day dragged on from morning to evening over the unsheltered head of the discrowned King. Every heart was moved except that of the representative of Jesus Christ. Even in the presence of Gregory there were low deep murmurs against his unapostolic pride and inhumanity.⁹ The patience of Henry could

Henry at
Canossa.

Jan. 25, 1077.

the summit of a craggy hill, a spur of the Apennines as they descend on the plain of the Po, about 20 miles S.E. of Parma. It is now entirely deserted, and every tradition of the great scene which it witnessed has perished. But its situation and the outline of its ruins agree with the notices in the contemporary chronicles. It stands on a rock of a white ashy colour, which probably gave it the name of *Canossa*, as the ruddy colour of the crags of a neighbouring fortress, also belonging to the Countess, is perpetuated in the name of *Rossina*. *Alba Canossa* is the designation given to it by *Donizo*, who puts into the mouth of the castle a long panegyric on the family of *Matilda*, and a proud remonstrance with the neighbouring *Mantua*: "Sum petra non lignum." "Nuda silex" well describes its bare, stony eminence. The only habitations near the place are a few cottages gathered round a church at the foot of the hill, dedicated to *S. Biaggio*. Of the church of *S. Nicolas*, where the Emperor had his interview with the

Abbot of *Clugny*, no vestige remains, nor is it possible to ascertain distinctly the chapel within the castle where the absolution took place. Indeed, the space is so narrow on the crest of the rock that it is difficult to imagine how the Countess and her illustrious guest could have found room. But the "triple wall" mentioned by *Lambert* can easily be traced. The first surrounds the foot of the hill. The next, which contained a drawbridge over a chasm, is half-way up. The archway of the third, or topmost wall, is still standing; and it must have been in front of this that the Emperor passed his three miserable days. The localities are all described in a romance published on the subject by the late *Padre Bresciani*, under the title of the '*Contessa Matilda di Canossa*.' Amongst the coins which I found within the ruins, two bore the dates of the emperors *Otho I.* and *Henry II.* The scene is carved on *Matilda's* tomb in *St. Peter's* at *Rome*.—*Arthur Penrhyn Stanley*. 1864.

⁹ "Nonnulli vero in nobis non apos-

endure no more ; he took refuge in an adjacent chapel of St. Nicolas, to implore, and with tears, once again the intercession of the aged Abbot of Clugny. Matilda was present ; her womanly heart was melted ; she joined with Henry in his supplications to the Abbot. "Thou alone canst accomplish this," said the Abbot to the Countess. Henry fell on his knees, and in a passion of grief entreated her merciful interference. To female entreaties and influence Gregory at length yielded an ungracious permission for the King to approach his presence. With bare feet, still in the garb of penitence, stood the King, a man of singularly tall and noble person, with a countenance accustomed to flash command and terror upon his adversaries, before the Pope, a grey-haired man, bowed with years, of small unimposing stature.

The terms exacted from Henry, who was far too deeply humiliated to dispute anything, had no redeeming touch of gentleness or compassion. He was to appear in the place and at the time which the Pope should name to answer the charges of his subjects before the Pope himself, if it should please him to preside in person at the trial. If he should repel these charges, he was to receive his kingdom back from the hands of the Pope. If found guilty, he was peaceably to resign his kingdom, and pledge himself never to attempt to seek revenge for his deposition. Till that time he was to assume none of the ensigns of royalty, perform no public act, appropriate no part of the royal revenue which was not necessary for the maintenance of himself and of his attendants ; all his subjects were

tolicæ severitatis gravitatem, sed quasi | words in his public account of the
 tyrannicæ feritatis crudelitatem esse | affair. — Ad Germanos. Regest. iv.
 clamant." These are Gregory's own | 12.

to be held released from their oath of allegiance; he was to banish for ever from his court Rupert Bishop of Bamberg, and Ulric Count of Cosheim, with his other evil advisers; if he should recover his kingdom, he must rule henceforward according to the counsel of the Pope, and correct whatever was contrary to the ecclesiastical laws. On these conditions the Pope condescended to grant absolution, with the further provision that, in case of any prevarication on the part of the King on any of these articles, the absolution was null and void, and in that case the princes of the empire were released from all their oaths, and might immediately proceed to the election of another king.

The oath of Henry was demanded to these conditions, to his appearance before the tribunal of the Pope, and to the safe-conduct of the Pope if he should be pleased to cross the Alps. But the King's oath was not deemed sufficient; who would be his compurgators? The Abbot of Clugny declined, as taking such oath was inconsistent with his monastic vows. At length the Archbishop of Bremen, the Bishops of Vercelli, Osnaburg, and Zeitz, the Marquis Azzo, and others of the princes present, ventured to swear on the holy reliques to the King's faithful fulfilment of all these hard conditions.

But even yet the unforgiving Hildebrand had not forced the King to drink the dregs of humiliation. He had degraded Henry before men, he would degrade him in the presence of God; he had exalted himself to the summit of earthly power, he would appeal to Heaven to ratify and to sanction this assumption of unapproachable superiority.

After the absolution had been granted in due form

the Pope proceeded to celebrate the awful mystery of the Eucharist. He called the King towards the altar, he lifted in his hands the consecrated host, the body of the Lord, and spoke these words:—"I have been accused by thee and by thy partisans of having usurped the Apostolic See by simoniacal practices,—of having been guilty, both before and after my elevation to the Episcopate, of crimes which would disqualify me for my sacred office. I might justify myself by proof, and by the witness of those who have known me from my youth, whose suffrages have raised me to the Apostolic See. But to remove every shadow of suspicion, I appeal from human testimony to divine. Behold the Lord's body; be this the test of my innocence. May God acquit me by his judgement this day of the crimes with which I am charged; if guilty, strike me dead at once." He then took and ate the consecrated wafer. A pause ensued; he stood unscathed in calm assurance. A sudden burst of admiration thrilled the whole congregation. When silence was restored, he addressed the King, "Do thou, my son, as I have done! The Princes of the German Empire have accused thee of crimes heinous and capital; such as in justice should exclude thee not only from the administration of public affairs, but from the communion of the Church, and all intercourse with the faithful to thy dying day. They eagerly demand a solemn trial. But human decisions are liable to error; falsehood, dressed out in eloquence, enslaves the judgement; truth, without this artificial aid, meets with contempt. As thou hast implored my protection, act according to my counsel. If thou art conscious of thy innocence, and assured that the accusations against thee are false, by this short course free the Church of

The Sacrament at Canossa.

God from scandal, thyself from long and doubtful trial. Take thou too the body of the Lord, and if God avouches thy innocence, thou stoppest for ever the mouths of thy accusers. I shall become at once the advocate of thy cause, the assertor of thy guiltlessness, thy nobles will be reconciled to thee, thy kingdom restored, the fierce tumult of civil war which destroys thy empire be allayed for ever." ^r

Was this a sudden impulse or a premeditated plan of Gregory? Was it but a blind determination to push his triumph to the utmost; or was it sincere confidence in the justice and certainty of this extraordinary ordeal? Had he fully contemplated the dreadful alternative which he offered to the King—either boldly to deny the truth, to the smallest point, of charges not like those against himself, clear and specific, but vague, undefined, including his whole life? In that case, did he not discern the incredible wickedness of thus tempting the King, in his stupor and confusion, to reckless perjury? Or should the King, so adjured, prostrate himself at the feet of the Pope, and by acknowledging his guilt, deprive himself at once and for ever of his crown? Or did he suppose that God would indeed interpose, and as tradition reported of Lothair of Lorraine, who had been put to the same test by Hadrian II. and met with a speedy and miserable death, so would the perjured Henry, by a still more striking example, rivet for ever the bonds of ecclesiastical power upon the hearts of kings?

^r Waltram either knows nothing of this part of the scene or passes it over. "Ad comprobandum ecclesiasticæ reconciliationis testimonium, sacram communionem corporis et sanguinis Domini de manu ejus accepit."—De

Unit. Ecces. ii. 15. But he attributes this almost diabolical speech to Gregory, as addressed to Henry's enemies, "ne solliciti sitis, quoniam culpabiliorem eum reddo vobis."

Henry, in his amazement, hesitated, and stood in visible agitation. He then retired to a short distance to consult with his few followers how he should escape this terrible "judgement of God." He then summoned his courage, and declared that he must first obtain the opinion of those princes who had adhered to his cause; that though this trial might be satisfactory to the few present, it would not have any effect on the obstinate incredulity of his absent enemies: he adjured the Pope to reserve the whole question for a General Council, in whose equitable decision he would acquiesce. The Pope hardly consented to this request; but as if conscious that he had himself gone too far, he now condescended to receive the King at a banquet, treated him with courtesy, and gave him much grave advice.

Gregory had sent, in the mean time, Eppo, Bishop of Zeitz, to announce to the Italian nobles the absolution of the King. But the Lombards had come not to see the King, but the Pope humbled. When they heard the history of Henry's debasement, they broke out into furious indignation, glared on the Bishop with fierce and menacing looks, and loaded him with insulting and contumelious language. They openly avowed their contempt for the Pope's excommunication, denied his right to the Papacy, renewed all the opprobrious accusations of adultery and other capital offences against the Pontiff. Of the King they spoke with contemptuous bitterness; he had dishonoured the royal dignity by his submission to a man, a heretic and loaded with infamy; they had followed him as the avenger of their wrongs, as the assertor of justice and of ecclesiastical law; he had deserted them in the hour of trial, and made his own peace by a base and cowardly reconciliation. Their angry discontent spread through the camp.

There was a general cry that the King should be compelled to abdicate the throne of which he was so unworthy, and that his son Conrad should be instantly proclaimed. With him at their head they would march to Rome, elect another Pope, who should crown the infant Emperor, and annul all the acts of this apostate Pontiff.

Henry sunk at heart, and perhaps now imagining that he had underrated his own power, did not dare to confront the tumult. He sent out some of the nobles around him to assuage the dissatisfaction, to explain the stern necessity to which he had bowed, and to assure them that hereafter he would apply all his thoughts to the assertion of their rights. The tumult was stilled; but many of the more powerful Lombards retired in disgust to their strongholds. The rest received him as he came forth from that fatal Canossa with cold and averted looks: no one approached him, but they stood apart in small knots, discussing, in hardly suppressed murmurs, his weakness and his disgrace. He retired in shame and sorrow to Reggio.

Jan. 28.

The triumph of sacerdotal Christianity, in the humiliation of the temporal power, was complete, but it was premature. Hildebrand, like other conquerors, must leave the fruits of his victory to later times. He had established in the face of Europe the great principle, the Papal power of judging Kings. Henry himself seemed at first stunned by the suddenness, the force of the blow; Christendom had in like manner been taken by surprise. But the pause of awe and reverence was but brief and transitory; a strong recoil was inevitable; the elements of resistance were powerful, and widely spread. The common hatred of Hildebrand brought

together again all who, from lower or from loftier motives, abhorred his tyranny: the Germans, who resented the debasement of the Empire; the Italians, who dreaded the ascendancy of the house of Tuscany; the clergy, who, more or less conscientiously, were averse to the monastic rigour of Hildebrand—those who had felt or who dreaded his censures.

CHAPTER III.

Continued Strife with King Henry. Berengar of Tours. Death of Gregory.

AROUND the fallen King in Reggio assembled almost all the distinguished prelates and laity who had formed his small court at Oppenheim. They ^{Henry in Reggio.} were released from their excommunication, and prepared, with greater prudence, perhaps, but with unmitigated hostility, to resume the contest: Licmar Archbishop of Bremen, the Bishops of Zeitz, Osnaburg, Lausanne, and Basle, Ulric of Cosheim, Eberhard of Nellenburg, and Berthold, the proscribed counsellors of the King; above all, Guibert of Ravenna, whose ambition aspired to the seat of Hildebrand, with many other Italian bishops.

The two parties remained for a time watching, it might seem, each other's movements; neither could trust the other. Henry, still wearing the outward show of submission, advanced from Reggio to Ravenna. There he sent a message to the Pope, requesting that the General Council might be held in Mantua rather than in Augsburg. To this Gregory, dreading, perhaps, the passage of the Alps, and uncertain or unwilling to commit himself too far with the German adversaries of the King, now he had withdrawn the excommunication, gave an ambiguous assent. Henry, after an interview with his mother at Piacenza, where he was said to have held secret and nightly conferences with the enemies of

Gregory, approached Mantua.^a But either secret intelligence, or not unnatural suspicion that Henry had laid a deep plot to surprise the person of the Pope in that city, alarmed the partisans of Gregory.

A.D. 1077.
March 1.

Matilda hurried the Pope back, through by-roads, to the Apennines; and again entrenched him in her impregnable fortress at Canossa. Henry, during this time, was making a progress through the cities of Lombardy. Everywhere he encountered the same sullen and contemptuous indignation. There were no deputations of the magistrates—no processions of the people to meet him; the gates were closed; he was left to lodge in the suburbs. Provisions were doled out just sufficient for his maintenance, but altogether unbecoming his royal station; guards were posted to watch his followers, lest they should dare to maraud in the neighbouring villages. Henry beheld all this not without some satisfaction; if it showed aversion and contempt for him, it showed still more profound hatred of the Pope. From Monza he sent to demand permission for his coronation as King of Italy by certain other bishops, the Archbishop of Milan and the Bishop of Pavia being still under the Papal interdict. Gregory eluded this request, which might have the appearance of a public acknowledgment of Henry's still unquestioned, uncontested title to his crown.

Slowly, as he felt his growing strength, Henry began to throw off the ill-worn mask of submission. He in-

^a According to Berthold, Henry was to have been visited at Pavia by the famous Cencius, who surprised Gregory in Rome. The king refused him the kiss as being excommunicate! Cencius

died the day they were to have met, "morte damnandus æternâ. In puncto descendit ad inferna," adds Berthold, sub ann: 1077.

veighed publicly against the harshness—the tyranny of the Pope. He openly reinstated his old counsellors, especially the obnoxious Ulric of Cosheim; Henry grows in power. he was in more and more open communication with the declared foes of the Pope; still there was no outward breach to justify Hildebrand in renewing the excommunication—in declaring the solemn and hard-wrung absolution null and void; and Henry was now too strong to be safely driven to despair. He was in Italy amid potentates ready to hazard everything in their own cause—not in his: not in Germany with almost the whole empire in rebellion.

The revolted German Princes had gone too far to retreat. The few who aspired to the throne—the many who dreaded the vengeance of Henry—the Dukes of Swabia, Bavaria, and Carinthia, with some of the Saxon chiefs; Siegfried of Mentz, who was now too deeply committed, the Hildebrandine Bishops of Wurtzburg and Metz—had no course but to advance boldly to the deposition of the King. They Beginning of February. had met at Ulm, but the unusual cold of the season compelled them to disperse. The snow had prevented the arrival of many. They appointed the decisive Diet on the 13th of March at Forcheim.

For Gregory the position of affairs had become embarrassing to the utmost. By his severity, not Embarrassment of the Pope. merely had he not conciliated, he had degraded too deeply for reconciliation—debased, trampled upon the King. Christian forgiveness might seem to be too high a virtue to be expected from any man after such an example of implacability, least of all from a king like Henry. But yet he had released him from the ban of excommunication. Before the appointed day of trial Henry stood absolved; the fact was public and noto-

rious, the conditions hardly known or forgotten. The magician had dissolved his own spell. The strong ground on which the adversaries of Henry stood crumbled beneath them; they had lost the great excuse which justified them in the eyes of men for their revolt, for the deposition of Henry, for the election of a new King. Gregory conducted himself with that subtle policy in which he was as great a master as in bold resolve. He left free course to the fears and passions of the Germans hostile to Henry, yet took no step which would prevent him from disclaiming, in the face of the world, the election of Rudolph, now put openly forward as the intended successor of the deposed Henry. He

Sept. 16,
1077.

retired to his safer sanctuary at Rome, where he resumed his state. Count Maingold, the brother of the historian Herman the Lame, had been despatched to Gregory with the account of the proceedings at Ulm, and a respectful invitation

March 1.

to the Pope to attend in person at the Diet at Forcheim. The Pope sent a message to the confederate Princes, advising them to delay (if it could be done without danger, of which he would not take the responsibility) their final decision concerning the throne. At the same time he sent Count Maingold to Henry, to demand a safe-conduct for himself across the Alps.

About
March 7.

This was to be the test of Henry's fidelity. At the same time with the embassy of the Pope, Henry had received a summons to Forcheim, and also an insidious admonition from his rival Rudolph, not to enter into Germany until his mother or the Pope should have prepared the way for his reception.

Henry met subtlety with subtlety. He excused himself from appearing at Forcheim on the appointed day. "He had newly taken upon himself the functions

of King of Italy; he was overwhelmed with business. The Italians would be offended at his sudden departure before he had settled their affairs." To Gregory he replied that it was beyond his ability to pledge himself for the security of the Pope; he was himself in the power of the Lombards, of whose profound hatred Gregory was aware. These ungovernable men might not respect his safe-conduct, and he might but be betraying the Pope into personal danger. Gregory did not think fit to question the truth or sincerity of these representations. He sent his two legates—the Abbot Bernhard of Marseilles, and Bernhard the Cardinal Deacon—as his representatives to the Diet.

The Diet met at Forcheim; the Papal Legates appeared. They made at first some show of moderation, which soon gave way before the Diet at Forcheim. March 13. resolute and not unexpected determination of the confederates to proceed at once to the election of a new Sovereign. The Legates mildly suggested the expediency of giving Henry another chance, and of awaiting the arrival of the Pope; but, with convenient modesty, they intimated doubts whether it could be done without danger. With the same unusual deference, they said that the possession of the throne depended not on their counsels, but on the decision of the Princes: it was for the Princes to judge what was best for the public weal: ^b but they expressed their astonishment that the German nation should so long have endured such a King. Determined, though the Legates of the Pope thus dexterously shrunk from responsibility, to have the Pope's name on their side, the confederates

^b "Si hoc sine periculo fieri posse perpenderent." Bernried. "Cæterum provisionem regni non tam in eorum consilio, quam in principum arbitrio sitam."—Ibid.

declared that before, and independent of Henry's excommunication, Gregory had annulled their oaths of allegiance; themselves would be under the Apostolic censure if they should remain any longer subject to the King.

The election fell upon Rudolph of Swabia; the Papal Legates interfered to assuage some fierce jealousies which threatened to break out among the rival Princes. Among the terms to which Rudolph swore was—I., to leave the choice of the Bishops free; and II., not to endeavour to make the throne hereditary in his family. He was at once consecrated at Mentz by Archbishop Siegfried and the Archbishop of Magdeburg. The Papal Legates gave the sanction of their presence to the ceremony.

Thus was civil war proclaimed throughout Germany. A writer on the Imperial side describes its guilt and misery. For seventeen years wars and seditions raged throughout the Roman Empire. Bishop rose against Bishop;^c the clergy against the clergy; the people against the people; father against son, son against father, brother against brother. He deliberately charges Gregory with the guilt of all this unchristian fraternal hatred—of all this unchristian bloodshed.^d Is posterity to allow itself to be overawed

^c In a battle (Aug. 7, 1078) the Saxon battle-word was St. Peter; but the bishops on St. Peter's side ran away. "Quos omnes, quia melius sciebant psalmos cantare eo quod nutriti sub religione essent, quam legiones armatas ad bella disponere, solo visu præliantium in fugam conversi sunt." Magdeburg, in his flight, was killed by

the peasants; Merseburg fled naked: Siegfried of Mentz (he was retaken); Bernard, Archdeacon of Rome, Adelbert of Worms, were brought before Henry.—Bruno, c. 96.

^d Waltram de Unit. Eccles. apud Freber, p. 251. See, too, the very curious tract of Wipo, Bishop of Ferrara, published in the last volume of

by the grandeur of Gregory's character, his inflexible adherence to what he supposed to be right, his conscientious conviction that he was maintaining the cause of God—and to dismiss this grave contemporary charge from the bar of its judgement? To take refuge in the high predestinarianism that it was the inevitable collision of two great principles—that much eventual good arose out of the maintenance of the high ecclesiastical principle—does not solve the moral difficulty. It is not sufficient to say that the good survived and the evil passed away,—that the clergy maintained a power beneficial—greatly beneficial on the whole, to civilisation—while the earth drank up the blood that was shed, and the grave closed alike over those who suffered and those who inflicted misery. Was Gregory right in the assertion of the subordination of the temporal to the spiritual power? Even if right, was civil war, with all its horrors, the legitimate means of maintaining it—legitimate to a Christian Pontiff? Was not Gregory, as the vicegerent of Christ, bound to have that deep abhorrence for human misery (and of the sins as well as the misery of civil war he could not be ignorant), so as to use every means to avert it? Did he attempt to allay the storm, or allow his own pride and passions to embark in it?

Pertz, *Scriptores* pp. 148, 179 (1856), *De Schismate Hildebrandi*. It contains a discussion between an Imperialist and a Papalist, an enemy and an advocate of Hildebrand, in which his whole conduct is argued on as by plaintiff and defendant. The author sums up at the end against Hildebrand in these words: "Duo sunt quæ damnatione dignum Hildebrandum ostendunt: quod Rodolfum in regem creari fecit, et Teutonicum bellum fieri non

prohibuit, in quo sanguis octo millium hominum fusus fuit. In eo etiam perjurii reatum incurrit, quod juramenti vinculis obligatos Teutonicos sacramenti religionem violare fecit. In eo etiam schismaticus extitit, quod indignorum ministrorum et excommunicatorum sacramenta polluta docuit, non accipienda mandavit, nec sacramenta quidem dici debere perhibuit, in quibus a sanctorum patrum regulis omnino dissensit."—P. 179.

Did not his subtle policy protract wilfully—knowingly protract for his own ends—the doubtful conflict? Were the liberties of the German people, the beneficent exercise of the power of the clergy—not the power itself—the leading incentives in his thoughts? How far was the supreme Christian law sacrificed, and by him who proclaimed himself Christ's representative on earth?

The inauguration of Rudolph was in blood. No sooner had he been crowned, than a fierce tumult broke out, from an accidental cause, between the followers of some of his partisans and those of Henry. Though they succeeded in restoring quiet, the Archbishop and the new King left the Imperial city, never to return.⁹

It might seem that the assumption of the throne by a rival monarch called into action all the slumbering forces of Henry's cause. Now rallied the conviction that the royal authority was, no less than that of the Pope, the ordinance of God. Loyalty, submissive conscientious loyalty, had been the boasted attribute of the primitive Christians. The watchword of the party was that St. Peter himself had connected in indissoluble union the two unrepealed truths, "Fear God" and "Honour the King." The populace of Mentz had broken out in a sudden access of fidelity to the King. Rudolph and his followers next proceeded to Worms, but Worms again cast out her tyrannous and rebel bishop, and closed her gates. Everywhere a large part of the clergy, even in Swabia, refused to break their oath of fealty. The three Hildebrandine Bishops of Wurtzburg, Metz, and Passau, alone adhered to Rudolph: some, like Otho of Constance, at once declared for

⁹ "Peractâ electione simul et sanguineâ illius ordinatione."—Waltram, p. 275

Henry; others, like Emmeric of Augsburg, only awaited a favourable time to renounce the Swabian cause.

No sooner had the news of the rival Emperor's election reached King Henry in Italy, than he sent to the Pope to demand Rudolph's excommunication as an unauthorised usurper. Gregory had recourse to his usual subterfuge—the injustice of condemnation without regular investigation of the cause.

Henry with no longer delay than was necessary to collect some forces, which rapidly increased as he proceeded, left the care of his son Conrad and the government of Italy to the Bishops of Milan and Piacenza, and crossed the Alps. He was received with ardour by his partisans. Swabia first paid the penalty for the ambition of her prince. From the Necker to the Main all was laid waste. The fierce Bohemian half-pagan allies, who had joined the standard of Henry, treated churches with no more reverence than stables; women were violated on the altars. The war at once took its most ruthless and exterminating character.

The confederates looked in vain to Rome, which at least had not forbidden, which, it could hardly be denied, had fomented, had encouraged, had justified the rebellion.^f Gregory now assumed the lofty tone of arbiter,

^f At the synod at Rome, March 3, 1078, Gregory anathematised the Archbishops of Ravenna and Milan, the Bishops of Cremona and Treviso, the Cardinal Hugo of St. Clement. He decreed as to the disturbances of the kingdom of Germany—"nuncii a latere apostolicæ sedis ad partes illas mittantur, qui omnes religiosos et justitiæ amantes, clericalis et laicalis

ordinis viros convocent cum quibus aut finem aut pacem juste componant, aut veritate percognitâ, cui parti magis justitia faveat, ad plenum addiscere valeant: quatenus pars injusta respiscat et apostolicâ auctoritate munita justitia vigoris et auctoritatis robur obtineat."—Mansi, xx. p. 503. See, however, forward for further proceedings.

and commanded them to lay aside their arms, and await

his sublime award. The Saxons addressed him

May 31.

in strong remonstrances; he had excited them to revolt by his excommunication of Henry; he had absolved them from their oaths, and now he affected to speak with equable impartiality. The heavens, they had thought, would stand still, earth move like the heavens, ere the throne of St. Peter would lose the firmness of Peter.^s Thrice they wrote in grief, in remonstrance, in indignation. Thrice must the cock crow to remind St. Peter of his weakness. At one juncture,

Oct. 12.

indeed, at Goslar, the Legate, who had made common cause with the confederates, ventured to renew the excommunication; he was neither avowed nor disclaimed by the Pope, and the interdict, therefore, had no great effect.

The character of Gregory cannot claim the excuse of irresolution. Yet for nearly two years did Hildebrand, while the war raged fiercely, maintain this doubtful policy, holding the language of peace, but claiming the right which could not but be inadmissible, to dictate that peace. Wherever the final Council or Diet of the Empire was to meet and adjudicate on the conflicting titles of the two sovereigns, there he was to be present, to preside in person or by his legates, and pronounce his

award. Total submission to the Roman see
March, 1078.

was the first preliminary admitted in the Court of the Pope. "If either of these Kings (thus he writes to the German nation), inflated by pride, shall in any way impede our journey to you, and conscious of his

¶ Bruno. They complained that he was "apostolici vigoris oblitus . . . at nostrates . . . a magnâ spe, quam in apostolicâ petrâ posuerant, exciderunt, quia prius cælum stare, vel terram crediderunt cœli modo moveri, quam cathedram Petri amittere constantiam Petri."—c. 107.

unjust cause, decline the judgement of the Holy Ghost, resisting in his disobedience his Holy Mother the Catholic Church, him despise ye as a brood of anti-Christ, a destroyer of the Christian religion, and respect any sentence which our legates may pronounce against him. To those, on the other hand, who shall humbly submit to our judgement, pay all reverence and honour.”^b

But Henry’s submission to any arbitration, even if the scene at Canossa had not taught him mistrust of the Pope’s equity, of the Pope’s justice, had invalidated his title. That he was the actual, undeposed, undeposable King, his rival a rebel and an usurper, was the strength of his cause. Gregory’s words of peace therefore, however lofty, could not be expected even by himself to overawe the civil war, of which his own pretensions were one of the causes. His language, indeed, was appalling enough. In a second address to the German nation, he anathematises all who shall impede the assembling a general Diet to judge between the two kings, whether king, archbishop, duke, marquis, or of whatsoever station or dignity. Nor does he confine his denunciations to the remote spiritual state of the transgressor; he imprecates vengeance on his body as on his soul. “In all his acts may he feel (the imprecation, no doubt, was intended as a prediction) the vengeance of Almighty God; in every battle may he find his strength fail; may he never obtain a victory, but, prostrate in humble contrition, be abased and confounded, till he is brought to true repentance.” Such was the Papal address, sanctioned by a great synod at Rome.¹

Policy of
Gregory.

March 3.
1078.

^b Ad Germanos, iv. 24.

¹ Ibid. Regest. v. 15

But in the midst of this conflict with the temporal power, it might seem for the life or death of Papal, of sacerdotal Christianity, the doctrinal antagonist of that power had risen again, still pertinaciously determined to know no defeat. Berengar of Tours demands another solemn condemnation.

Feb. 11,
1079.
Berengar of
Tours.

In vain had three Councils—at Paris, at Rome, at Vercelli—issued their decrees; Berengar either treated them with scorn, or with his subtle logic attempted to prove that while they censured they acceded to his doctrines. He had recanted all his enforced recantations, or denied that he had in truth recanted. In vain had one Pope (Leo) committed himself, committed the Papal authority, to the actual censure; in vain his successors, Victor, Nicolas, Alexander, had at least acquiesced in the repudiation of the perilous tenet. In vain had Lanfranc, now Primate of Norman England, and esteemed among the first, if not the first theologian of Christendom, promulgated his refutation. The mere fact that at such a crisis a new council must be held at Rome, that the heresiarch dares again appear to answer for his doctrine, manifests the obstinate vitality, if not the increasing power and expanding influence of Berengar.

But the conduct of Gregory at this council, his treatment of the great heresiarch, is in the strangest contrast with that to his imperial antagonist. Hildebrand, on all questions of Church power so prompt, decisive, instantaneous in his determinations; so impatient of opposition, so merciless to a foe within his power; so pertinacious to crush out the last words of submission where he feels his superiority; so utterly, it should seem conscientiously, remorseless, when the most remote danger can be apprehended or warded off from the vast fabric of the theocracy, from the universal, all-

embracing, as he hoped, eternal ecclesiastical dominion—is now another man. Compare Gregory VII. in the condemnation of Investitures and Gregory in defence of Transubstantiation: Gregory with King Henry at Canossa, and with Berengar at Tours, or at Rome. Hildebrand, it might almost seem for the first time, on this cardinal doctrine, is vacillatory, hesitating, doubtful. He will recur to the Blessed Virgin^k to enlighten him, and the Blessed Virgin appears to acquit Berengar of any dangerous heresy.^m He even bears the clamour of the populace.ⁿ He lays himself open to the bitter taunts which he must well have known that his enemies would seize every opportunity to heap upon him, to protect Berengar from an unjust or too rigorous sentence. He dismisses the heresiarch, it might seem

^k “Ego planè te de Christi sacrificio secundum Scripturas bene sentire non dubito, tamen quia consuetudinis mihi est ad B. Mariam de his quæ me movent, recurrere, ante aliquot dies imposui religioso cuidam amico jejuniis et orationibus operam dare, atque ita a B. Maria obtinere, ut per eum mihi non taceret.” How strange is this! The Pope propitiating the Virgin by another’s fasts and prayers, and receiving the oracle, not directly, but through him. His religious friend heard from the Virgin—“a B. Maria audivit”—that Berengar’s views were Scriptural. This is Berengar’s statement.—Acta Berengarii, Mansi, xix. p. 766.

^m This vague oath of Berengar was accepted as orthodox. “Profiteor panem altaris post consecrationem esse verum corpus Christi, quod natum est de Virgine, quod passum est in cruce, quod sedet ad dexteram Patris; et

vinum altaris, postquam consecratum est, esse verum sanguinem qui manavit de latere Christi. Et sicut ore pronuncio, ita me corde habere confirmo, sic me adjuvet Deus et hæc sacra.” There is no word of *transubstantiation*. Luther and the Anglican Church might subscribe this; perhaps, even under the ambiguous *verum*, many other believers. Gregory not only declares that himself, but that Peter Damiani had rejected the views of Lanfranc.—Berengarii Act. Roman. Concil., Mansi xix.

ⁿ Berengar asserts that he lived a year with the Pope, who supposed that by this creed, and by the assertion of the authority of Damiani, he had restrained or silenced the rabble (*turba*), but his hopes were vain: the tumult began again, “et ita circa quædam per Papæ incorsantiam” (is this Hildebrand?) “quoad sperabat turba, rei exitus habuit.”

uncondemned, or even with honour. Berengar, already censured by former Popes, bears with him in triumph recommendatory letters from Gregory VII.^o Berengar dies in peace, in full possession of his ecclesiastical dignities.

Was it that from the first the bold logical mind of Berengar at Tours had cast a spell upon Hildebrand? Was it a calm, stern sense of justice, which believed, and dared to assert, that Berengar's opinions had been misrepresented by his blind or malignant enemies? Was it that he was caught in the skilful web of Berengar's dialectics? Was his sagacity at fault for once; and was his keen foresight obtuse to the inevitable consequences which the finer instinctive dread of the greater part of the religious world felt to its very heart, that from the doctrine of Transubstantiation, in its hardest, most material form, once defined, once avowed, once established by the decrees of Popes and Councils, there was no retreat without shaking the sacerdotal power to its base—that bolder men would inevitably either advance on Berengar's opinions, or teach undisguised that which Berengar concealed under specious phraseology? The priest's power, as it was afterwards intrepidly stated, of making God; the miracles which became, or had become so common, to prove, not the spiritual, but the grosser material transmutation, fell away at once: and with it how much of sacerdotal authority, sacerdotal wealth, sacerdotal dominion!—some might suppose of true and humble reverence for the mystery of the Eucharist! With the whole religion, now and for

^o Literæ commendatitiæ Gregorii VII. datæ Berengario, d'Achery Spicileg. iii. 413. He anathematizes those who call Berengar, the son of the Roman Church, a heretic. Gieseler, ii. p. 1, p. 293-4, has quoted the passages with his usual accuracy and copiousness.

some centuries become materialism more or less refined, how perilous spiritualism in its holiest, most august rite! Gregory can hardly have supposed that by mildness, moderation, candour, he could propitiate to silence or to inactivity, the busy, vain heresiarch. Be it as it may, Gregory had to bear, and he can hardly but have foreseen that he should have to bear the reproach that he himself doubted the real presence of the body and blood of the Redeemer in the Sacrament—that he was an infidel.^p

In the same year with the council which arraigned Berengar, Gregory was reduced, by the increasing successes of Henry, to disavow his legates: the war went on, unheeding his commands, his rebukes, his menaces; even his thunders were drowned in the din of arms; fiercer passions had quelled for a time even religious fears. October, 1079.

It was not till the unwearied activity, enterprise, courage, and craft of Henry had given him great hopes of final triumph,^q and the cause of Rudolph, from the divisions which Henry had artfully sowed among his formidable partisans the Saxons, seemed desperate, that Gregory abandoned his temporising policy. Up to this time his ambition might still hope that he might be recognised by the two weary and exhausted parties as the irrefragable arbiter, in the Diet of Germany, of their quarrels; and his prerogative of adjudicating the

^p “En verus pontifex et verus sacerdos qui dubitat, si illud quod sumitur in dominicâ mensâ, sit verum corpus et sanguis Christi.” See writes Egilbert, Archbishop of Treves.—In Eccard. C. H. Medii Ævi, ii. 170. “Jejunium indixit cardinalibus, ut Deus ostenderet,

quis rectius sentiret de corpore Domini, Romanave ecclesia an Berengarius—dubius in fide, infidelis est.”—Benno in Goldast, p. 3.

^q Bonizo owns Henry to have been “magni consilii et mirabiliter sagax.”

crown might be admitted in the face of Christendom by the consentient Teutonic nation.

But the low state of Rudolph's affairs compelled him now to a more decided course. To surrender Rudolph was to surrender himself. If he allowed Rudolph to be utterly crushed, the conqueror of Germany, the head of Northern Italy, with an army flushed with victory, and inured to contempt of things sacred, might descend, irresistible as Charlemagne or Otho, but with far other designs, on Rome; scatter the Tuscans—win, perhaps, the Normans by a share of the plunder—the Normans whom Gregory now held in excommunication, and now in close alliance. A decision in favour of Henry would only increase his strength without in the least slaking his inveterate, treasured, long-provoked vengeance. Hildebrand's old resolution returned. He determined again to wield that weapon which had before served him with such tremendous force: he might almost seem to have reserved the last resource of excommunication for such a perilous crisis.

At Rome, with no solemn trial, on the earnest supplication of Rudolph's ambassadors, notwithstanding the hardy protests from those of Henry, the Archbishop of Bremen and the Bishop of Bamberg, the Pope proceeded again to this terrific sentence; again he pronounced against King Henry the decree of excommunication—of deposition.

A.D. 1080.
March 7.
Henry again
excommunicated.

The Council commenced its proceedings with a strong prohibition against lay investiture, against the acceptance of it by the clergy, the grant by the laity. It then went on to the excommunication of Tedaldo claiming to be Archbishop of Milan, of Guibert of Ravenna, and Roland Bishop of Treviso. The anathema against King Henry was worded with great care and solemnity.

It began with prayer to St. Peter and St. Paul. It repeated the usual declaration of Gregory as to the reluctance with which he had entered into public affairs, and the compulsion which had forced him into the Papacy. It recited the former excommunication, the submission of Henry; declared that the Pope had taken no part in the election of Rudolph, but that Rudolph, thus freely elected, had professed unlimited obedience to the Roman See; that Henry likewise had implored his support against Rudolph; that he had consented to hold a council to decide on their conflicting claims, and anathematised all who should impede the meeting of that Council. The guilt of impeding the Council, and all the crimes and miseries of the civil war, are charged against Henry alone. "Wherefore, trusting in the justice and mercy of God, and of his blessed Mother, the ever-blessed Virgin Mary, on your authority (that of St. Peter and St. Paul), the above-named Henry and all his adherents I excommunicate and bind in the fetters of anathema; on the part of God Almighty, and on yours, I interdict him from the government of all Germany and of Italy. I deprive him of all royal power and dignity. I prohibit every Christian from rendering him obedience as king. I absolve all who have sworn or shall swear allegiance to his sovereignty from their oaths.^r In every battle may Henry and his

^r Bernried shows the manner in which the papal power of deposing kings was interpreted by his adherents. In all his extreme acts of power Gregory was under the direct inspiration of the Holy Ghost. "Nemo autem Romanorum Pontificum Reges a regno deponere posse denegabit, quicunque decreta sanctissimi Papæ Gregorii non

proscribenda judicabit. Ipse enim vir apostolicus, cui Spiritus Sanctus in aurem decernenda dictavit, in apostolicâ sede constitutus, irrefragabiliter decrevit reges a suis dignitatibus cedere, et participatione Dominici corporis et sanguinis carere, si præsumerent jussa apostolicæ sedis contemnere."—Vit. Gregor. vii. c. xcviij.

partisans be without strength, and gain no victory during his life. And that Rudolph, whom the Germans have elected for their king, may he rule and defend that realm in fidelity to you! On your part, I give and grant to those who shall faithfully adhere to the said Rudolph full absolution of all their sins, and in entire confidence blessing in this life and in the life to come. As Henry, for his pride, disobedience, and falsehood, is justly deposed from his royal dignity, so that royal power and dignity is granted to Rudolph, for his humility, obedience, and truth." The censure did not conclude without the personal sentence upon Henry. It proceeded to the broad, bold assertion of more than the absolute supremacy of the ecclesiastical over the civil power; it declared all possessions, all dignities, all powers, to be at the sole disposition of the Church. "Come, then, ye fathers and most holy prelates, let all the world understand and know, that since ye have power to bind and loose in heaven, ye have power to take away and to grant empires, kingdoms, principalities, duchies, marquisates, counties, and the possessions of all men according to their deserts. Ye have often deprived wicked and unworthy men of patriarchates, primacies, archbishoprics, bishoprics, and bestowed them on religious men. If ye then judge in spiritual affairs, how great must be your power in secular! and if ye are to judge angels, who rule over proud princes, what may ye not do to these their servants? Let kings, then, and all the princes of the world learn what ye are, and how great is your power, and fear to treat with disrespect the mandates of the Church; and do ye on the aforesaid Henry fulfil your judgement so speedily that he may know that it is through your power, not by chance, that he hath fallen

—that he be brought to repentance by his ruin, that his soul may be saved in the day of the Lord.”

Not content with this tremendous excommunication, Gregory ventured to assume the prophetic office. He declared publicly, and either believed himself, or wished others to believe, with the authority of divine revelation, that unless Henry made his submission before the Festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, the 29th of June, he would be deposed or dead; and if his vaticination failed, men were to cease to believe in the authority of Gregory.

War was thus declared. Gregory, it is said, sent a crown to Rudolph, with an inscription that it was the gift of St. Peter.^s Henry and the Bishops of his party heard not now with cowering fear, with disordered minds, and distracted counsels, but with the strongest indignation—with the most resolute determination to run all hazards—the anathema of the Pope. It seemed to have lost all its terrors even on the popular mind: no defections took place; no desertions from the court, the council, or the army. All disclaimed at once further allegiance to Gregory. Henry, in a letter to Dietrich, Bishop of Verdun, issued his commands that the princes and prelates of the empire should be summoned to Mentz on the 31st of May to depose the Pope, and to elect a new Head of the Church. At Mentz April 12. nineteen Bishops met, and with one voice determined to renounce Hildebrand as Pope. To this decree it was important to obtain the assent of the Lombard prelates. The Bishop of Spire crossed the Alps; the Archbishops of Milan and Ravenna assembled their suffragans at

^s “Petra dedit Petro, Petrus d’adema Rudolfo.”

Brixen, in the Tyrol. There, in a synod of thirty bishops, they confirmed the deposition of the false monk Hildebrand, called Gregory VII.* To the charges of licentiousness, bribery, and disturbance of the peace of the empire, they added accusations of heresy and necromancy. "We, assembled by the authority of God in this place, having read the letter from the synod of nineteen bishops held at Mentz against the licentious Hildebrand, the preacher of sacrilegious and incendiary doctrines; the defender of perjury and murder; who, as an old disciple of the heretic Berengar, has endangered the Catholic and Apostolic doctrine of the Body and Blood of Christ:" the worshipper of divinations and of dreams; the notorious necromancer; himself possessed with an evil spirit, and therefore guilty of departing from the truth; him we adjudge to be canonically deposed and expelled from his see, and unless, on hearing our judgement, he shall descend from his throne, to be condemned for everlasting." x

* "Quod a sæculo non est auditum, ut tot uno tempore inimicus humani generis mente captos contra sanctam Romanam ecclesiam armasset episcopos." —Bonizo, p. 815.

x This charge no doubt arose from his acceptance of the ambiguous confession from Berengar (see p. 86); and

no doubt much was made of the declaration which Berengar asserted him to have made, that he had received a special message from the Virgin Mary, testifying that the doctrine of Berengar was consonant with the Scriptures. —Acta Concil. in caus. Berengar.; Martene et Durand Thesaur. Anecd. iv. p. 103.

IMPERIAL PRELATES.

PAPALISTS.

Siegfried, Archbishop of Mentz, at first,	then	neutral, driven by his fears to be an ardent Hildebrandine after the excommunication.
Udo	„ „	Treves, first Papalist, afterwards an Imperialist at the Elster
Hildorf	„ „	Cologne. Wezelin, Archbishop of Magdeburg, killed 1078.
Licmar	„ „	Bremen. Gebhard „ „ Salzburg.
Rupert, Bishop of Bamberg.		Burchard, Bishop of Halberstadt.
William	„ „	Utrecht. „ „ Hildesheim.
Eppo	„ „	Zeit. Adalbero „ „ Wurtzburg.
Otho	„ „	Constance. Herman „ „ Metz.
Burchard	„ „	Lausanne. Altman „ „ Passau.
Burchard	„ „	Basil. Adalbert „ „ Worms.
Henry	„ „	Spires. Werner „ „ Merseburg.

SAXON INSURGENTS.

And now Guibert of Ravenna attained the object of his ambition; he was elected Pope by the unanimous voice of the assembly. But Christendom had submitted too long to the supremacy of Hildebrand to disbelieve or to question his title to the Popedom. This proceeding would appear to the world, not as a solemn decree of the Church, but as a passionate act of revenge, inflaming both the King and the prelates to overstep their powers. It neither shook the faith of his partisans, nor strengthened in their animosity the enemies of Hildebrand. Guibert was probably more dangerous as Archbishop of Ravenna and Chancellor of Italy than as the Anti-pope Clement III.

June 25.
Guibert
Anti-pope.

The horrors of civil war might appear to be drawing to a close in Germany. The two armies met for a decisive battle near the Elster. It might seem a religious no less than a civil war. Henry was accompanied to the battle by the Archbishops of Cologne and Treves and fourteen other prelates. The Saxons advanced to the charge, with the bishops of their party and the clergy chanting the eighty-second psalm, "God standeth in the congregation of the princes." At the first

Battle of the
Elster

IMPERIALIST PRELATES.

- Werner .. Strasburg.
- Emmeric .. Augsburg.
- Poppo .. Toul.
- Dietrich .. Verdun.
- Benzo .. Osnaburg.

Italians.

- Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna.
- Tedaldo .. Milan.
- William, Bishop of Pavia.
- Arnulf .. Cremona.
- Alexander .. Piacenza.
- .. Spoleto.
- Grisforano .. Fermo.
- Roland .. Treviso.
- Cunibert .. Turin.
- Stegfried .. Bologna.
- Heribert .. Modena.
- Elimpert .. Arezzo.

PAPALISTS.

- Hugh, Bishop of Lyons.

Italians.

- Anselm, Bishop of Lucca.
- Gregory .. Vercelli.
- Otto .. Ostia.
- Reginald .. Como.

Desiderius, Abbot of Monte Cassino

gleam of success, the army of Henry broke out into the "Te Deum laudamus," and when, after the great reverse

Oct. 13. in the battle, their camp at Erfurt was surprised, they were singing a triumphant *Kyrie Eliéson*.

The defeat of Henry was more than counterbalanced by the fall of his rival. Rudolph, notwithstanding that he was the champion of the Pope, the subject of his triumphant vaticination, was mortally wounded in the battle. Some misgiving as to the justice of his cause embittered his last moments. His hand had been struck off by a sabre: as he gazed on it, he said, "With this hand I ratified my oath of fealty to my sovereign Henry; I have now lost life and kingdom. Bethink ye, ye who have led me on, in obedience to whose counsels I have ascended the throne, whether ye have guided me right."

The death of Rudolph, though it did not restore peace to Germany—though the fatal strife was yet to last many years—paralysed the adversaries of Henry for a time, and gave him leisure to turn his forces against his more irreconcilable enemy.

In the spring of the year 1081 Henry crossed the Alps in far different condition from that in which four years before he had stolen, a deserted and broken-spirited suppliant, to the feet of the Pope. Gregory had been shown in the face of the world a false prophet: Heaven had ratified neither his anathema nor his predictions. Instead of his defeat and death, Henry came in the pride of conquest; and it was his adversary who had fallen, as his friends declared, by the manifest judgement of God, in the battle-field by the Elster. There was now no reluctance to follow him in a war which before seemed sacrilegious and impious: no desertion from his ranks—no defection

Henry in Italy.

Death of Rudolph.

from his councils.^y All Lombardy was zealous in his cause : on the same day that the battle was fought on the Elster the troops of his partisans had defeated those of the Countess Matilda ; the allegiance of her subjects was shaken.

The only protectors to whom Gregory could now look were the Normans ; but even the Normans, on account of some border disputes about territories, which they refused to abandon at the word of the Pope, were under the ban of excommunication. With them, however, he made a hasty treaty, withdrawing May, 1081. the interdict on the first seeming concession, and condescended to leave in abeyance the contested claims to Fermo. But the Normans, instead of marching, as Gregory proposed, with the Pope at their head, against Ravenna,^z had embarked on a wild enterprise July, 1081. against the Greek empire, and were besieging Durazzo on the other side of the Adriatic.

Still Gregory was as firm in danger and adversity as he had been imperious and disdainful in the height of his power. The very depth of his soul was filled with confidence in the justice of his cause, and the certainty of divine favour. The way to Rome lay open to the army of Henry ; the Countess Matilda could not venture on resistance in the field ; she retired for security to her fortresses in the Apennines. By Pentecost the Germans and Lombards might be at the gates of Rome, the Germans infuriated by the hard measure dealt to their master ; the Lombards by religious as well as by civil animosity. But the inflexible Gregory refused all concession ; he indignantly rejected the

^y All the Italians, Gregory himself repeatedly says, were for Henry — Regest. ix. 3.

^z Epist. viii. 7.

advice, the supplications of his adherents, at least to make a show of submission. Even at the time when the vengeance of Henry was rapidly advancing against his undefended foe, he renewed his most imperious proclamations; he wrote to the leader of his partisans in language even for him unprecedentedly bold and contemptuous. The secular power is no longer admitted as, with the sacerdotal, a coincident appointment of God. It has its origin in human wickedness and diabolic suggestion; in blind ambition and intolerable presumption; kingship is an audacious usurpation on the natural equality of man.^a

But Rome was under the absolute control of Gregory; it was not merely faithful, it was firm, united, courageous. Cencius had died in exile, and, though magnificently buried by Guibert of Ravenna, his faction seemed to have died with him. The city must have been well provisioned, the fortifications had been strengthened, and more than its outward strength, the old Roman energy and determination, appears to have revived in the hearts of its defenders.^b

^a To Herman of Metz. "Quis nesciat reges et duces ab iis habuisse principium, qui Deum ignorantes superbiâ, rapinis, perfidiâ, homicidiis, postremo universis pæne sceleribus, mundi principe diabolo scilicet aptante *super pacis scilicet homines*, dominari cæcâ cupiditate et intolerabili præsumptione affectaverint." Are we reading a journalist of Paris in 1791? Every king, he proceeds, on his death-bed, as a humble and pitiful suppliant implores the assistance of a priest to save him from the eternal dungeon of hell. Can a king baptize? Can a king make the body and blood of Christ by a word

(quis eorum potest proprio ore corpus et sanguinem Domini conficere)? What king has ever wrought miracles (we say not as the apostles or the martyrs) but as St. Martin, St. Anthony, or St. Benedict? Could Constantine, Theodosius, Honorius, Charles, or Louis, the most Christian kings?—Ibid.

^b Two senators of Rome, according to Benzo, had been present in the Council at Brixen, and promised to surrender Rome. They termed the Pope's supporters "prevaricatores," but they admit that Gregory had *fascinated* the Romans—Introduct. ad Lib. vi. p. 1044.

For three successive years Henry encamped under the walls of Rome, while the Pope within those impregnable walls, which the Germans did not venture at first even to attempt to storm, held him at defiance, and all this time the Romans, for once, maintained their fidelity. The wealth of Matilda, it is said, assisted in securing their loyalty.

May, 1081.

Year after year, summer, by its intolerable heats, and by the sickness, which constantly spread among the German troops, relieved the Pope and his city from the presence of his enemies. In the first year the army broke up in the beginning of July; the next the siege or blockade lasted no longer than Easter. In the third Henry lay encamped against the Leonine city, on the right bank of the Tiber, from Christmas to the beginning of June. All his attempts to storm the city or to make a practicable breach in the walls had been in vain. An accident made him master of this part of Rome. While both parties were in profound repose, two followers of the Archbishop of Milan stole under a part of the walls which had been slightly broken. They climbed up, found the sentinels asleep, killed them, got possession of a tower, and made a signal to the royal army, which advanced rapidly to their support. The Leonine city was thus lost; but the Pope threw himself into the castle of St. Angelo, and the whole of Rome on the left bank of the Tiber still defied the enemy.^c

Three years' siege.
July 7, 1081
Christmas, 1081, to Easter (April 24), 1082.
1083.

June 9, 1083.

The Romans at length grew weary of enduring the miseries of a siege; there seemed no hope of speedy relief from the Normans. The resources of Gregory,

^c Bernold, Chronicon. sub ann.

which as yet had been amply supplied by Matilda, began to fail. The Eastern Emperor Alexius, attacked in his own dominions by Robert Guiscard, had entered into close alliance with Henry, and supplied him with large sums of money, which were unscrupulously distributed among the wavering Romans.^d

At this juncture negotiations were commenced, but with profound mistrust, and undissembled conviction that Henry on his side would observe no oaths. The Pope had openly asserted his own prerogative of releasing from all oaths. Henry offered to accept the imperial crown from the hand of Hildebrand. By this proposition he recognised the right of Gregory to the papal see, and threw aside his own anti-pope, Guibert of Ravenna. But under this lurked subtle policy. If he accepted these terms, Gregory annulled at once all his former acts, pronounced his own excommunication unjust, and that he who had been declared unworthy to rule as king, was now fit to receive from the hands of the Pope the imperial crown. If he rejected these overtures, which wore the appearance of moderation, on him lay all the blame of the prolonged contest; the charge of inexorably pursuing his own imperious views, even in these desperate times, at any cost of human bloodshed and misery, even at the hazard of endangering the Papacy itself.

Not less sagacious than intrepid and inflexible, Gregory maintained as lofty a tone as if Henry were still at his feet at Canossa. He demanded unconditional submission: "Let the King lay down his crown, and give satisfaction to the Church."

Firmness of Gregory.

^d "Cumque pecuniâ et terrore et vi omnes fere sibi acquisivisset Romanos."
—Bonizo.

The clergy and the laity — bishops, abbots, monks, entreated him to have mercy on the afflicted city. The Romans, implored, clamoured, murmured, menaced his unyielding obstinacy. Hildebrand despised alike supplications, murmurs and menaces.

The Romans at length, at once assailed by bribes and fears, declared in favour of Henry. They took the management of the treaty into their own hands. The Pope was to summon a General Council for the middle of November; the Emperor to grant safe-conduct to all who might attend it. Rome, in the mean time, was to observe a kind of independent neutrality. But the Roman leaders agreed, at the same time, on a separate, perhaps a secret article, that at the appointed time, either Gregory himself, or another Pope elected for that purpose, should present Henry with The Romans waver. the imperial crown. They gave twenty hostages for the fulfilment of this treaty.

The troops of Henry were suffering from heat and from fevers. He hastily ran up a fort on a small hill called the Palatiolus, left a garrison of one hundred knights, with Ulric of Cosheim, which commanded the Leonine city, and departed to subdue the fortresses of Gregory's faithful ally the Countess Matilda.* He wasted Tuscany with fire and sword. The Henry in Tuscany. subjects of Matilda, even some of the strongest episcopal partisans of Hildebrand, began either openly to revolt, or to make separate terms with Henry. Adelheid, the Marchioness of Susa, attempted to negotiate a treaty between the King and the Papalist Countess. The Anti-Pope assailed her with flattering letters. But Anselm, Bishop of Lucea, counteracted

* Compare throughout Benzo apud Mencken.—Lib. vi.

all the intrigues of the royal party: he raised troops to revenge the burning of Matilda's castles by burning those of the chieftains who had revolted to the King. He bribed as boldly as he fought; and if the womanly fears of Matilda, or her gentler feelings towards her afflicted subjects had shaken her steadfast mind, she neither dared nor wished to shake off the commanding control of the martial Bishop.^f

The Council met on the 20th of November: but it was not a full assembly of stately prelates, but a few, and those exclusively of Hildebrand's party. Those who had already committed themselves by acknowledging the Anti-Pope could not obey the summons of Hildebrand, as they could hardly hope on his own ground to overbear him by numbers. They stood aloof; and moreover, the titles of most of these would have been called in question. Henry, on his side, foreseeing the predominance of the Papal party prevented some of Hildebrand's avowed partisans, Anselm of Lucca, Hugh of Lyons, Reginald of Como, and Otto of Ostia, from approaching Rome. Gregory displayed his highest eloquence in his address to this assembly, which sat for three days in melancholy deliberation. He spake, it is said, with the voice of an angel, not of a man; and the groans and sobs of almost all present acknowledged his still prevailing power over their hearts and minds. Their prudence, however, restrained them from repeating, in this trying hour, the sentence of excommunication. The censure of the Church was only uttered against those who had presumed to prevent the prelates from attending the council, and, as in the case of the Bishop of Ostia, to seize their persons.

Nov. 20,
1083.

^f There is a Life, or rather a legend, of Anselm of Lucca, in Pertz, *xiv.* 1.

But a more seasonable succour arrived: a gift of 30,000 pieces of gold (Eastern plunder) from Robert Guiscard. The mercenary Romans were again faithful subjects of the Pope; and when Henry, once more under the walls, demanded the fulfilment of the treaty, they evaded their oaths both by the most insolent mockery and pitiful casuistry. They had promised that the Pope should *give the crown*, not that he should crown and anoint the King. They proposed, and the Representative of all Truth sanctioned their proposition, that if penitent, and his penitence implied his resignation of his authority into the hands of the Pope, he should receive the crown, with the Papal benediction. If not, he should still receive the crown—it was to be let down upon a rod from the Castle of St. Angelo. Such was the power and holiness of oaths!

Henry renewed the siege with the resolute determination to hear no further terms from his stubborn and treacherous foe. But the city still held out. His garrison had been obliged by sickness to abandon the fort on the Palatiolus and his other works. All was to recommence anew. He made some predatory incursions into Campania, and, perhaps to watch any hostile movements of Robert Guiscard, into Apulia. But Germany imperatively required his presence; his interests there were in peril; and in despair of success against Rome, he was actually about to give orders for his retreat. Suddenly an embassy arrived from the Romans (the gold pieces of Guiscard were now, no doubt, exhausted, and those of Henry more lavishly distributed), offering to surrender the city. Hildebrand hastily retired into the Castle of St. Angelo; and from its walls the haughty Pope might behold far off the excommunicated King and his rival

Succours of
money from
the Normans.

Henry master
of Rome.
Christmas,
1083.

Pope entering in triumph through the Lateran gate. He saw the procession pass, as it were, under his feet, first to an assembly of prelates to elect the Pope. He had to endure the mockery of a summons to this hostile Council, which affected to wait three days for his appearance;⁸ and then again on Palm Sunday he saw them

A.D. 1084.
March 29.

pass, to the consecration of Guibert of Ravenna in the Church of St. Peter. Guibert was consecrated by the Bishops of Modena, Bologna, and Arezzo. On Easter Day the King, with his wife Bertha, passed in state to the Vatican, to receive the imperial crown from the hands of Clement III. A few feeble attempts by his adherents to excite tumult, and to maintain some strongholds in the city, were suppressed by the troops of Henry. Gregory was a prisoner—a prisoner who, it might seem, must soon be compelled by despair, by famine, or by treachery, to yield himself up to the unslaked vengeance of the King.

Tidings, however, soon arrived which at once changed the aspect of affairs. Desiderius, the Abbot of Monte Casino, arrived in Rome, and communicated both to the Emperor and to the Pontiff that Robert Guiscard was rapidly advancing at the head of 6000 knights and 30,000 foot. It was a strange army of the faith: from every quarter men had rushed to his banner, some to rescue the Pope, others from love of war. The Saracens had enlisted in great numbers.

The news was as appalling to Henry as welcome to the Pope. His army was not strong enough to cope

Early in
May.

with this formidable host. He made the Romans swear fidelity to their Cæsar; he took forty hostages; he destroyed part of the fortifications

⁸ "Expectatur per triduum delitescendo."—Benzo, proleg. ad l. vii.

which had resisted his power, the Castle on the Capitoline Hill, and some of the walls of the Leonine city. He then retired towards Civita Castellana.

Three days after he had evacuated the city, appeared the Norman army under the walls. The Romans had reason to dread—they cordially hated (their hatred affected the tone of contempt) these barbarous Northmen. The gates were closed; the walls manned for defence. But on the first day the Normans surprised the gate of St. Lorenzo: the city, which had for three years defied the besieging army of Henry, was at once in their power.^h The first act of the dutiful son of the Church was to release the Pope from his imprisonment in the Castle of St. Angelo. He conducted him with the utmost respect to the Lateran Palace. But Gregory must now witness those horrors which, as long as they afflicted Germany or Northern Italy, he had contemplated unmoved, intent on building up his all-ruling Theocracy. From the feet of the Pope, having just received his blessing, the Normans spread through the city, treating it with all the cruelty of a captured town, pillaging, violating, murdering, wherever they met with opposition. The Romans had been surprised, not subdued. For two days and nights they brooded over their vengeance; on the third day they broke out in general insurrection,^{Insurrection.} rushed armed into the streets, and began a terrible carnage of their conquerors. The Normans were feasting in careless security; but with the discipline of practised soldiers they flew to arms; the whole city was one wild conflict. The Norman horse poured into the

^h "Non per triennium ut Henricus, sed sequente die, quam venit, perfidam civitatem cepit."—Bonizo.

streets, but the Romans fought at advantage, from their possession of the houses and their knowledge of the ground. They were gaining the superiority; the Normans saw their peril. The remorseless Guiscard gave the word to fire the houses. From every quarter the flames rushed up—houses, palaces, convents, churches, as the night darkened, were seen in awful conflagration. The distracted inhabitants dashed wildly into the streets, no longer endeavouring to defend themselves, but to save their families. They were hewn down by hundreds. The Saracen allies of the Pope had been the foremost in the pillage, and were now the foremost in the conflagration and the massacre. No house, no monastery, was secure from plunder, murder, rape. Nuns were defiled, matrons forced, the rings cut from their living fingers.¹ Gregory exerted himself, not without success, in saving the principal churches. It is probable, however, that neither Goth nor Vandal, neither Greek nor German, brought such desolation on the city as this capture by the Normans. From this period dates the desertion of the older part of the city, and its gradual extension over the site of the modern city, the Campus Martius.

Guiscard was at length master of the ruins of Rome, but the vengeance of the Pope's deliverer was yet unappeased. Many thousand Romans were sold publicly as slaves—many carried into the remotest parts of Cala-

¹ "Itaque gens diversa, de Deo ignara, sceleribus ac homicidiis edocta, adulteriis variisque fornicationibus assuefacta, omnibus criminibus quæ ferro et igne, talibus agi solet negotiis, sese furialiter immererat: quin etiam virgines sacratas corruptentes, miserorumque Romanorum uxores incestantes

ac annulos earum digitis, detruncantes." —Landulph Sen. iv. 3. The hostile writer lays all to Gregory's charge. "Cum Roberto exiliens, Salernum profectus est. Ubi per pauca vivens tempora tanquam malorum panam emerit, interiit."

bria.* We have heard no remonstrance from the Bishop, from the Sovereign of Rome, on this hateful alliance with the enemies of the faith, the Saracens. Of this, perhaps, he was ignorant when in the Castle of St. Angelo. No powerful intercession is now made—no threatened excommunication is now menaced—in behalf of his rebellious, his perfidious, yet subdued subjects—most of the sufferers, no doubt, guiltless and defenceless. The ferocious Guiscard is still recognised as his ally, his deliverer, his protector, perhaps his avenger.

Unprotected by his foreign guard the Pope could not now trust himself in the city, which would, no doubt, and not without justice, attribute its ruin and misery to his obstinaey. In the company of Robert Gregory retires from Rome. Guiscard, oppressed with shame and affliction, he retired from the smoking ruins and the desolated streets of the city of St. Peter, first to the monastery of Monte Casino, afterwards to the Norman's strong castle of Salerno. From Salerno, unshaken by the horrors which he had witnessed or the perils he had escaped, Hildebrand thundered out again the July, 1084. unmitigated excommunication against Henry, the Anti-Pope Clement, and all their adherents.^m

* Bonizo relates and triumphs in this act of vengeance. "Dehinc apud Lateranense palatium per multos dies degens" (the Pope, too, was in the Lateran palace) "multa millia Romanorum vendidit ut *Judeos*; quosdam vero captivos duxit usque Calabriam; et tali penâ digni erant multari, qui ad similitudinem *Judeorum* pastorem suorum tradiderant."

^m "At quia Normannorum instabilitas urbe capta, et prædæ data, multa

mala perpetraverit, nobilium Romanorum filias stuprando et nocentes pariter innocentesque pari penâ affligendo, nullumque modum, uti victoribus mos est, in rapinâ, crudelitate, direptione habendo . . . veritusque ne duce recedente infidelitas Romana exagitata recrudesceret, et quos antea habuerit quasi fidos amicos, pateretur infidos, cedendum tempori arbitratus, Salernum se contulit." — Hugon. *Cron.* ii.; *Pertz*, viii. p. 462.

To Rome Gregory never returned : death came slowly upon him at Salerno. He spoke even to the
His death. end with undoubting confidence on the goodness of his cause, and his assurance that he was departing to Heaven. He gave a general absolution to mankind ; but from this all-embracing act of mercy he excepted his deadly enemies, and those of the Church, Henry so called the King, the usurping Pontiff Guibert, and those who were their counsellors and abettors in their ungodly cause. His last memorable words have something of proud bitterness : "I have loved justice and hated iniquity, and therefore I die in exile." The words might not be intended as an arraignment of Divine Providence, but where was the beauty of resignation ? or was it a Pharisaic reproach on the wickedness of mankind, blind and ungrateful to his
May 25, 1085. transcendant virtues ? "In exile," said a Churchman of congenial feelings, whose priestly pride was not rebuked by that spectacle of mortality, "in exile thou couldst not die ! Vicar of Christ and his Apostles, thou hast received the nations for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession !" ⁿ

Gregory is the Cæsar of spiritual conquest ; the great
Character of Gregory. and inflexible assertor of the supremacy of the sacerdotal order. The universal religious Autocracy, the Caliphate, with the difference that the temporal power was accessory to the spiritual, not the spiritual an hereditary appendage to the temporal supremacy, expanded itself upon the austere yet imaginative mind of Gregory as the perfect Idea of the Christian Church. The theory of Augustine's City of God,

ⁿ Bernried, 109, 110.

no doubt, swam before the mind of the Pontiff, in which a new Rome was to rise and rule the world by religion. Augustine's theory, indeed, was aristocratic rather than monarchical, or rather the monarchical power remained centred in the Invisible Lord—in Christ himself. To the Pope there could be no Rome without a Cæsar, and the Cæsar of the spiritual monarchy was himself: in him was gathered and centred all power, that of the collective priesthood and episcopacy; it flowed from him with a kind of Pantheistic emanation, and was reabsorbed in him. But, unhappily, that ideal Pope is as purely imaginary as an ideal King, or an ideal Republic governed by virtue alone. The Pope was to be a man elected by men. If this spiritual monarchy either could confine, or had attempted to confine that universal authority to which it aspired, or that vast authority which it actually obtained over the hopes and fears of men, to purposes purely and exclusively spiritual: if it could have contented itself with enforcing, and by strictly religious means, an uniformity—a wise and liberal uniformity—an uniformity expanding with the expansion of the human intellect, of Christian faith and practice and Christian virtue throughout the whole Christian community; if it had restrained itself, in its warfare, to the extirpation of evil, to the promotion of social and domestic virtue; if in its supremacy over kings, to the suppression of unchristian vices, tyranny, injustice, inhumanity; over mankind at large, to moral transgressions and infringements on the rights and persons and property of others: if it had taught invariably by Christian means of persuasion; if it had always kept the ultimate end of all religion in view, the happiness of mankind through Christian holiness and love: then pos-

terity might wisely regret that this higher than Platonic vision was never realised; that mankind are receding further than ever from the establishment in this form of the Christian commonwealth of nations. But throughout the contest of many centuries the sacerdotal supremacy was constantly raising the suspicion, too well grounded, that power, not the beneficial use of power, was its final object. It was occasionally popular, even democratic, in assisting the liberties of men, as in later times, in its alliance with the Italian republics; but it was too manifestly not from the high and disinterested love of freedom, but from jealousy of any other Lord over the liberties of men but itself. In this respect Gregory was the type, the absolute model and example of the spiritual monarch. Posterity demands whether his imperial views, like those of the older Cæsar, were not grounded on the total prostration of the real liberty of mankind; even in the prostration of the liberty of the subordinate sacerdotal order. It was a magnificent Idea, but how was it reconcileable with the genuine sublimity of Christianity, that an order of men—that one single man—had thrust himself without authority, to an extent men began early to question, between man and God—had arrayed himself, in fact, in secondary divinity? Against his decrees every insurrection of the human mind was treason; every attempt to limit his power impiety. Even if essentially true, this monarchical autocracy was undeniably taught and maintained, and by none more than by Hildebrand, through means utterly at variance with the essence of Christianity, at the sacrifice of all the higher principles, by bloody and desolating wars, by civil wars with all their horrors, by every kind of human misery. Allow the utmost

privilege of the age—of a warlike, a ferocious age, in which human life had no sanctity or security—yet this demand of indulgence for the spirit of the times is surely destructive of the claim to be immutable Christianity: the awful incongruity between the Churchman and the Christian, between the Representative of the Prince of Peace and the Prince of Peace himself, is fatal to the whole.

Yet in a lower view, not as a permanent, eternal, immutable law of Christianity, but as one of the temporary phases, through which Christianity, in its self-accommodation to the moral necessities of men, was to pass, the hierarchical, the Papal power of the Middle Ages, by its conservative fidelity as guardian of the most valuable reliques of antiquity, of her arts, her laws, her language; by its assertion of the superiority of moral and religious motives over the brute force of man; by the safe guardianship of the great primitive and fundamental truths of religion, which were ever lurking under the exuberant mythology and ceremonial; above all by wonderful and stirring examples of the most profound, however ascetic devotion, of mortification and self-sacrifice and self-discipline, partially, at least, for the good of others; by splendid charities, munificent public works, cultivation of letters, the strong trust infused into the mind of man, that there was some being even on earth whose special duty it was to defend the defenceless, to succour the succourless, to be the refuge of the widow and orphan, to be the guardian of the poor; all these things, with all the poetry of the Middle Ages, in its various forms of legend, of verse, of building, of music, of art, may justify, or rather command mankind to look back upon these fallen idols with reverence, with admiration, and with

gratitude. The hierarchy of the Middle Ages counterbalances its vast ambition, rapacity, cruelty, by the most essential benefits to human civilisation. The Papacy itself is not merely an awful, but a wonderful institution. Gregory VII. himself is not contemplated merely with awe, but in some respects, and with great drawbacks, as a benefactor of mankind.

CHAPTER IV.

Gregory's Successors.

GREGORY VII. had died in exile, overpowered, if unsubdued; a fugitive before the face of his enemies, yet disdainingly yielding one point of his lofty pretensions. But who would take his place and maintain with equal vigour and intrepidity the imperilled Papacy? The last of that race of men who had laboured with Hildebrand for the establishment of the Italian, monastic, Hildebrandine Papacy, was Desiderius, the Abbot of Monte Casino:^a the sharer in his counsels, his supporter in all his difficulties. Gregory had already designated, on one occasion, Desiderius as the future Pope; and when his faithful adherents pressed around him, to endeavour to obtain from his dying lips the nomination of his successor, he had in the first instance named Desiderius; in default of his acceptance of the office (which Gregory seems to have anticipated) he added three Prelates, Otto of Ostia, Hugh of Lyons, and Anselm of Lucca. Even in Salerno Desiderius was urged to accept the Pontificate; but he was advanced in years; he was determined not to abandon the holy quiet of Monte Casino. He retired to his monastery, and was followed by the Cardinals and Bishops of the party, still pressing upon him the onerous distinc-

^a On Desiderius, his wealth and magnificence, his splendid buildings and pomp at Monte Casino, see Tosti, lib. iii.

tion.^b His obstinate humility resisted their flattering importunities. But he acquiesced in the necessity of taking measures to elect a legitimate Pope, under the protection of the Countess Matilda. The summer heats prevented any approach to Rome. In the autumn, apprehending that they were about to compel him to assume the office, he exacted a promise from the Roman Cardinals and Bishops, from the Norman Princes, from Jordano of Capua, and Count Rainulf, that they would neither themselves use any violence to compel him to be Pope, nor permit others to do so. Thus May 25, 1085. May 24, 1086. passed a year. In the mean time, the Anti-Pope, Clement III., ruled in part of Rome; his progress excited increasing apprehension. At Easter many Cardinals and Prelates ventured to enter Rome from different quarters; they sent to summon Desiderius, and the Bishops and Cardinals who had taken refuge in Monte Casino, with Gysulf, Prince of Salerno. Desiderius, not suspecting any design upon himself, hastened with his Bishops to Rome. On the eve of Pentecost there was a great assemblage of the clergy, and the diaconate in the Church of Saint Lucia; again the Pontificate was pressed on Desiderius by the unanimous voice; again he refused it, and threatened to return to Monte Casino. A private meeting was held between the leaders of the ecclesiastical party and Cencius, the Consul of Rome (a Cencius now on the high Papalist side); it was determined to elect the Bishop of Ostia, with the singular provision that Desiderius should pledge himself to receive the new Pope in his impregnable

^b Waltram de Unit. *Eccles.* gives a list of the German bishops on each side after Gregory's death in 1085. Some bishops, Aldelbero of Wurtzburg, gave up their sees. Henry filled up all these vacancies: 1. Metz, however, there was no episcopal function performed for ten years. — P. 315.

fortress convent of Monte Casino, to assist his cause, and protect him from all his enemies. Desiderius consented at once; and with the abbot's crosier, which he held in his hand, pledged the fealty of his people. Another public assemblage took place, more crowded, more imposing; the suffrages were nearly all united in favour of the Bishop of Ostia; when a Cardinal arose, and urged the objection which had so often before been overruled, that the translation of a Bishop from one see to another was against the Canons. The whole assembly rose, seized the struggling Desiderius, hurried him into the Church of Saint Lucia, A. D. 1087. and proclaimed him Pope, under the name of Victor III. Desiderius, to show his unyielding reluctance, though arrayed in the scarlet cope, refused to put on the alb.

The Imperial Prefect, overawed by the Norman forces, which, under Gysulf, Prince of Salerno, had accompanied Desiderius to Rome, and by the powerful Cencius, had not ventured to disturb these proceedings. But the Prince of Salerno seized the opportunity of demanding the consecration of a creature of his own as the Archbishop of that city; this was sternly refused by Desiderius and his Bishops. The Prefect seized the opportunity of the defection of Gysulf; collected some troops, seized the Capitol, and threatened the safety of the New Pope. Four days after his election Desiderius fled from Rome; he remained three days at Ardea; at Terracina he put off all the Papal insignia, returned to Monte Casino, the simple Abbot, May 27.

as if determined to close his days in peace in his humbler sphere: no remonstrances, no representations of the desolate condition of the Church, could induce him to resume his state; for nearly a whole year the Church remained without an ostensible head; the Anti-

Pope Guibert without a rival. Otto, Bishop of Ostia, had quietly submitted to the loss of the tiara, which had so nearly fallen upon his head, and thus paved the

Hugh of
Lyons.

way for his own speedy election as Urban II. Hugh of Lyons has left a bitter record of his disappointed ambition: he was absent from Rome at the time of the election, but acquiesced in the inauguration of Desiderius. He visited Monte Casino; and if there be the shadow of truth in the incredible scheme which, writing to the Countess Matilda, he declares that he heard from the lips of Desiderius, and from other bishops to whose testimony he refers the Countess, Desiderius must have contemplated a total departure from the policy of Pope Gregory. He openly asserted that Victor III. had consented to crown King Henry; more incredible still, he averred that the invasion of the patrimony of St. Peter by Henry was with Victor's cognisance and assent. Pope Victor III. was guilty of other acts of treason against the memory of Gregory: he declared one Bishop elect, though absolved by Gregory, still under excommunication; Atto of Milan, though he had died

March 21.

impenitent, unabsolved from his excommunication, to be among the blessed; and that himself should desire no higher place in glory than that of Atto.^c His ordinary conversation was a continued reproof of the acts of Gregory; he had even proposed the election of a German Pope, Herman of Metz. These are either calumnies, utterly groundless and sheerly mendacious, or exaggerations of some peaceful counsels which Desiderius, weary of strife, and under the fond hope of restoring peace to the Church, may have ventured to suggest in his holy solitude.

Mid-Lent,
1087.

^c The two letters of Hugh of Lyons, to Matilda in Labbe's Concil.—P. 414.

Early in the spring, not two weeks after his retirement, assembled at Capua many Bishops and Cardinals; among the latter, Otto of Ostia and Hugh of Lyons, Cencius the Consul of Rome, Jordano Prince of Capua, and Roger Duke of Apulia, with other Norman princes, as Hugh of Lyons no doubt hoped, to elect a new Pope. But the partisans of Desiderius, at his own secret suggestions (according to the malicious statement of Hugh of Lyons), or rather the whole assembly, urged Desiderius, even with prayers and tears, to resume his Pontificate. After two days' resistance, he yielded at length; and notwithstanding the remonstrances of Otto and the stricter Cardinals, submitted to pay what seemed the price of hearty support from the Norman Princes; he submitted to the consecration of Alfanus, who was accused of aspiring to the see by unlawful means, as Archbishop of Salerno. He returned on Palm Sunday to Monte Casino, where he celebrated Easter. He then advanced, under the escort of the Princes of Capua and Salerno, crossed the Tiber near the city of Ostia, which perhaps its Bishop maintained in his allegiance; and pitched his tents before the Church of St. Peter, now occupied, or rather garrisoned by the Anti-Pope Guibert. A sudden attack of the Norman soldiery made him master of the Church. On the Sunday after Ascension, in the presence of multitudes of the Normans, chiefly from the Transteverine region, where his party predominated, he was consecrated by the Roman Bishops of Ostia, Porto, Tusculum, and Alba, with many other Cardinals and Prelates. But he ventured on no long stay in the insecure capital; after eight days he retired to Bari, and thence to Monte Casino.

Desiderius
resumes the
Pontificate.

May 9.

Shortly afterwards the Countess Matilda entered

Rome; she sent earnest messages to the Pope; it was chiefly to see and to enjoy the converse of the Holy Pontiff, that she had gone to Rome. Victor, though labouring under the infirmities of age and sickness, embarked on the coast, and landed at Ostia. He was received with the utmost respect by the Countess Matilda. His partisans were still in possession of St. Peter's; on St. Barnabas' Day he celebrated mass on the high altar. The day closed with a sudden irruption of the forces of Matilda and the Pope into the city itself, which was chiefly in the possession of the Anti-Pope. Victor was master of the whole Transteverine region, of St. Peter's, of the Castle of St. Angelo, and considerable part of Rome, with the cities of Ostia and Porto. But on St. Peter's Eve an Imperial messenger arrived; he summoned the Senators, the Consuls, and the people of Rome, on their allegiance to the crown, to abandon the cause of Victor. The versatile people rose on his side, drove out the troops of Matilda, who still from the heights above maintained possession of the Church of St. Peter. This became the centre of the bloody strife; men warred with the utmost fury as to who should celebrate the Apostle's holyday in his great church.^d Neither party obtained this triumph; the altar remained the whole day without light, incense, or sacrifice; for the discomfited troops of the Pope were forced to take refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo; those of the Anti-Pope did not yet venture to take possession of the Church. Guibert cele-

^d According to the Chronicon Augustense Guibert was absent from Rome when it was thus surprised by his rival Victor. That Chronicle gives the darker and Imperialist character of

Desiderius and his proceedings. He is accused of buying the Norman aid, and by that purchased aid alone he obtained a triumph for the monkish party.—Apud Freher., vol. i.

brated high mass in the neighbouring Church of Santa Maria with the two towers or belfries, from both of which he had just smoked or burned out the garrison. The next day the partisans of Guibert took possession of St. Peter's, washed the altar clean from the pollution of the hostile mass, and then celebrated the holy Eucharist. But their triumph, too, was short; the following day they were again driven out; and Pope Victor ruled in St. Peter's.

Yet Victor dared not remain in Rome; he retired again to his Monte Casino.^e In August a council was held at Benevento. Pope Victor III. presided in the assembly, and renewed in the strongest terms the excommunication of Guibert the Anti-Pope, who, by the aid of the Imperial arms, not fearing the judgement of the great Eternal Emperor, had filled Rome with every kind of violence, crime, and bloodshed, invaded the pontifical throne, and driven forth the rightful Pope. To his excommunication was subjoined another against Hugh of Lyons and the Abbot of Marseilles. The abbot had been party to the election of Pope Victor. The archbishop had offered his allegiance, implored and received from him the legation to France. Yet their ambition, disappointed of the Papacy, had driven them into open schism; they had cut themselves off from the Roman Church, and therefore, as self-condemned heretics, were excluded from that communion. The

^e The monks of Monte Casino boasted of a wonder which took place at the shrine of St. Benedict. Among the pilgrims who approached the altar was one in ecclesiastical attire. He was asked who he was; he replied, "St. Peter. I am come to celebrate the day of my martyrdom at the altar of my brother Benedict; since I cannot stay at Rome, where my church is desecrated by strife and war." The monks of Monte Casino celebrated from thenceforth St. Peter's day with the same solemnity as that of St. Benedict, a comparison which provokes the indignant remonstrance of Cardinal Baronius

condemnation was renewed of all who should receive the investiture to any ecclesiastical benefice whatever from the hands of the laity. But even before the close of the council Victor was seized with a mortal malady. He had hardly time to retire to Monte Casino, to order the affairs of his monastery, to commend Oderisi as his successor to the abbacy of Monte Casino, the Bishop of Ostia to the throne of the Pontificate. He died in three days.

Death of
Victor III.

A.D. 1087.
Sept. 16.

In those times of blind and obstinate mutual hostility no rapid death, common enough, especially in that climate, could take place without suggesting a providential judgement, or something out of the course of nature. In Germany it was rumoured and believed that the Pope, while celebrating mass, in ratification of the excommunicating decrees of the council, was seized with his mortal pains,^f and that his foetid body was hardly removed from the church. Later writers, with no ground whatever, imputed his death to poison administered in the sacred chalice.^g

^f *Chronicon Augustense sub ann.*

^g *Dandulus in Chronic. T. xii. Rev. Ital. Martinus Polonus.*

CHAPTER V.

Urban II.

THE Pontificate of Urban II. is one of the great epochs in the history of the Papacy and of Latin Christianity. The first Crusade united Christendom in one vast warlike confederacy; and at the head of that confederacy the Pope, by common consent, took his proper place. The armies were the armies of the faith, and therefore the armies of him who represented the chief apostle of the faith. From the Pope they derived, what they believed their divine commission; they were his martial missionaries to recover, not for any one Christian prince, but for Christianity itself, that territory to which it asserted an indefeasible title. The land in which the Saviour of mankind was born and died, could not but be the domain, the seignorial possession of the Christian Church.

But the Crusade belongs to the later period of Urban's Pontificate.

On the death of Victor III. the scattered and disorganised monastic or Hildebrandine party was struck almost with despair: yet messengers were sent on all sides to rally their ecclesiastical forces. It was not till above five months had elapsed, that a Council, summoned by a number of bishops, assembled at Monte Casino, and by the counsel of Oderisi, the Abbot, the successor of Desiderius, met at Terracina; for Rome was in the power of the enemy. The number of

A.D. 1088.
March 12.

archbishops, bishops, and abbots was forty. The Bishop of Porto, with the Bishop of Tusculum, represented the Roman clergy; the Prefect Benedict appeared, and boasted that he bore the unanimous suffrage of the Roman people. There were ambassadors from some

March 13,
1088.

Ultramontane prelates, and from the Countess Matilda. After a solemn fast of three days the Bishop of Ostia was elected by acclamation, arrayed in the pontifical robes, and placed on the pontifical throne.

Otto, Bishop of Ostia, was by birth a Frenchman, of Rheims or of some town in the neighbourhood. He had been brought up under the severe monastic discipline of Clugny: to embrace this rule he had surrendered the dignity of a canon at Rheims. His instructor had been the famous Bruno, the founder of the Carthusian Order. There was no more bold or sincere assertor of ecclesiastical power; his hostility towards the Emperor had been embittered by his imprisonment and hard usage during the time that he was in the power of Henry. Urban lost no time in proclaiming himself as the elected Pope to the sovereigns of Christian Europe.^a

Some sudden and unexplained revolution enabled Urban to hold a council at Rome in the year after his election. It is probable that the reconciliation, through his intervention, between the sons of Robert Guiscard, Roger and Bohemond, may have placed some Norman forces at his command. One hundred and fifteen bishops ventured to assemble around the Pope.^b The excommunication against the Simonians and the Anti-

^a Urbani Epist. apud Martene et Durand, A. C. i. 520.

^b Among Urban's first acts was the elevation of the Archbishop of Toledo,

now won from the Saracens, to the primacy of Spain.—Florez, España Sagrada, vi. 347.

Pope was renewed in unmitigated rigour: on the Emperor he seems to have preserved a cautious silence. Guibert, shut up by the Romans in one of the strong fortresses of the city, began to enter into negotiations for his peaceful departure. But neither did Urban venture to take up his residence in Rome. He retired to the faithful south: at Amalfi he summoned another council, the decrees of which were marked by the sternly monastic character of the Hildebrandine school.^c

Urban had all the resolute firmness of Gregory, but firmness less aggressive, and tempered with the wisdom of the serpent. His subtler policy was more dangerous, and eventually more fatal, to the Imperial cause, than the more bold and violent oppugnancy of Hildebrand. The times needed consummate prudence. Even in the south the Normans were but uncertain allies, and protectors who rarely failed to exact some grant or privilege in return for their protection. Rome was on that party which at the time could awe her with the greatest power or win her by the most lavish wealth. The Countess Matilda still faithfully maintained the Papal interests in the north of Italy; she still firmly rejected the claims of the Anti-Pope; and had taken great part in the election, first of Victor III., now of Urban II. But Anselm of Lucca, who had ruled her mind with his religious authority, was now dead; the firmness, even the fidelity, of Matilda might yield to the overpowering strength of the Imperial party. A terrible event showed the ferocity with which the hatred of the conflicting factions raged in those cities. Bonizo, the expelled Bishop of Sutri (who had written with great vehemence in defence of Hildebrand) was received in Parma as

^c Bernold, Chron. A.D. 1089 (see Stenzel). Jaffé, in the Regesta, assembles the 115 bishops at Amalfi.

bishop by the Papal party; the Imperial faction seized him, threw him into prison, plucked out his eyes, and put him to a horrible death by mutilation.

Though in this model of female perfection the clergy, especially the monastic clergy, might, in ordinary times, have expected and admired the great crowning virtue of the sex, virginity, yet it was for the Pope, with his approbation if not in obedience to his commands, that she yielded to what at first at least seemed feminine weakness. She consented, at the age of forty-three, to marry a youth of eighteen. Even this sacrifice was to be made

for the welfare of the Church.^d Matilda wedded Guelf the younger, the son of the powerful Duke of Bavaria, from the family most equal to cope with the Imperial power. This alliance not merely might give manly strength to her counsels, and a warlike leader to her arms in Italy, but it secured her an alliance in Germany itself, dangerous and menacing to King Henry. The marriage was at first kept secret from the Emperor. No sooner was it announced than

A.D. 1090. Henry found it necessary to march into Italy to crush this powerful confederacy. He laid siege to Mantua; after eleven months' resistance he became master of the town by treachery. For two years the war continued, so greatly to the advantage of the Emperor that the vassals of Matilda began to re-

monstrate against her obstinate hostility. She was compelled to open negotiations for peace at Carpineto, not far from Canossa. The recognition of

^d A.D. 1089. "Tam pro incontinentiâ, quam pro Romani pontificis obedientiâ, videlicet ut tanto virilius sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ contra schismaticos posset subvenire."—Berthold.

Const. in Chronic. Thus the marriage appeared at first sight to the monastic writers: the close of this connexion perhaps showed the injustice of their tears.

the Anti-Pope was the stern and inexorable demand of Henry. The pious Matilda assembled the bishops, the abbots, and the holy hermits, many of whom had taken refuge in her strong fortress from the wild soldiery. She declared herself ready to make peace on just terms. The Bishop of Reggio and the other prelates advised submission, and the abandonment of Urban and his hopeless cause.* But a hermit named John sprang up, and declared, with all the fire of an inspired prophet, that peace with Henry on such terms would be sin against the Holy Ghost. The treaty was broken off; the war raged again, October. but Henry miscarried in an attack on the strong castle of Montorio; his besieging engines were burned; one of his natural sons slain in the trenches. He made an attempt to surprise Canossa; the scene of his humiliation he hoped to make the scene of his revenge. The troops of Matilda not only succeeded in relieving Canossa, but, covered by a thick fog, fell on the rear of Henry's army: the Imperial banner was trailed in the dust, taken, and hung up as a trophy by the victorious Matilda in the church of St. Apollonia at Canossa.

But Urban and Matilda found more useful allies in the bosom of the king's own family. The terrible and revolting tragedy in his own household combined with the unfavourable circumstances in Germany and in Northern Italy to subdue the haughty spirit of Henry. In Germany the elder Guelf, the Duke of Bavaria, thwarted all his measures. Swabia refused allegiance to Frederick of Hohenstaufen, and chose for her prince Berthold, the brother of Gebhard Bishop of Constance,

* See authorities in Stenzel, p. 547.

one of Henry's implacable enemies. At a diet in Ulm the States, rejecting Arnold, the bishop named by the Emperor and the Anti-Pope, submitted to Gebhard of Constance as the legate of Pope Urban. They proclaimed a Truce of God until Easter, 1096, for the protection of the estates of the bishops, churches, and monasteries, and of the merchants. The cities eagerly embraced the boon; it was accepted through almost the whole of Southern Germany from the borders of Hungary to Alsace. These were difficult and embarrassing measures; but it was the revolt of his beloved son Conrad which crushed Henry to the earth.

Conrad was a youth of great beauty, gentle disposition, with profound religious impressions, a weak and dreamy character. His sensitive piety surrendered him to the influence of the more austere clergy, who found means of access to his inmost heart. He was shocked with the horrors, with the sacrilegious evils of war, the desecration of churches, the ruin of monasteries. If such were his feelings, his acts were those of unmeasured and unscrupulous ambition. His piety was soon taught to spurn the vulgar virtues of love and obedience to his father. Henry, perhaps on a somewhat questionable title, had endeavoured to obtain for him the rich inheritance of his grandmother, Adelheid of Susa. With this view he had carried him to Italy, and left him there to prosecute his claim, but exposed to those fatal influences of the papal clergy. His father's enemies held out a nobler prize—the immediate possession of the kingdom of Italy. For neither did the devout Matilda nor the austere Pope decline this unnatural alliance, though it may be doubtful how far they secretly prompted and encouraged at

Prince
Conrad.

first this breach of the laws of nature.^f But it is curious to observe how constantly that proverbial hostility of the heirs of kings to their fathers was sanctioned by those who were bound by their station to assert the loftiest Christian morality and the strictest adherence to the commandments of God. So completely was the churchman's interest to absorb all others, that crimes thus against nature, not only were excused by the ordinary passions of men, but by those of the highest pretensions to Christian holiness. What Pope ever, if it promised advantage, refused the alliance of a rebellious son?

A.D. 1093.

The cause which Conrad assigned, or which was assigned by Conrad's new friends, for his revolt, was too monstrous to obtain credit except with those whose minds were prepared to receive it by long and bitter hatred: it is altogether irreconcilable with the conduct of Henry. It was no plea of deep religious scruple at the disobedience of his father to the Church, or his sacrilegious destruction of holy things and holy places. It was an accusation against his father connected with that foul story of the Empress which ere long obtained such appalling publicity at the council of Piacenza. On Conrad's refusal to commit incest with his mother-in-law, it is even said with the sanction of Henry (the revolting history must be given in plain words), the Emperor had threatened to stigmatise and disinherit him as a bastard, on no other evidence than the want of likeness to himself, and so to insult the memory of his mother Bertha, which nevertheless Henry cherished with tender reverence to the close of his life. And

^f The honest Muratori observes, "Un grande incanto ai figliuoli d'Adamo è la vista d'una corona."—Ann. d'Italia.

even at that time the father was striving by violence to put him in possession of the territory of Susa. The effect too, almost the fatal effect, of Conrad's conduct on the king his father, can only be ascribed to profound affection, deeply, cruelly, wantonly wounded. It is true that on the discovery of his treasonable intrigues Henry had placed his son under arrest; but Conrad found means to escape, and was received with open arms by the triumphant Matilda. His new allies kept their faith with the revolted son, under whose banner they might now contend with renewed hope, and whom it was their interest to commit irreparably with his father. Conrad was crowned King of Italy, first at Monza, afterwards at Milan in the Ambrosian Church. Anselm, the archbishop, hitherto on the Imperial side, embraced the stronger party: Milan, Cremona, Lodi, and Piacenza fell off at once from the cause of Henry, and signed a treaty of mutual defence for twenty years against the Empire.^g

The revolt of Conrad seemed to crush the Emperor to the earth.^h He had borne all the vicissitudes of his earlier life with unbroken courage; he had risen from his humiliation at Canossa with refreshed energy: he now abandoned himself to despair, threw off the robes and insignia of royalty, and was hardly prevented by his friends from falling on his own sword.

As the affairs of the Empire became more dark, the Pope emerged from his place of refuge in the convent fortress of Monte Casino, or in some one of the Norman cities under Norman protection.ⁱ The temporary success

^g Anselm died Dec. 4, 1093.

^h Even the monkish historian, as Stenzel observes, almost feels compassion, "nuncio dolore afflictus."—Berbold.

ⁱ Urban is at different times at Bari, Brundisium, Capua, Benevento, Troja, Salerno, Anagni, and other less known places.—See Jaffé, Regesta.

of Henry had emboldened the Roman party of Guibert. He had returned to Rome. But Urban ventured to approach and to celebrate Christmas, ^{March 26, 1094.} 1093, in that city. He took up his abode in the palace of one of the Frangipanis. The Anti-Pope held the Vatican, the castle of St. Angelo, and the Lateran; the rest of the city rendered its allegiance to Urban. Early in the following year (Guibert had then fled to Henry, and had even expressed his readiness, if peace could be restored on no other terms, to lay down his papal dignity), fifteen days before Easter, Ferruccio, who occupied the Lateran for the Anti-Pope Guibert, offered to surrender his charge for a large sum of money. But Urban, whose only resources had been the devotional offerings of the churches and convents in Southern Italy, and of those who came from more distant regions to acknowledge his supremacy or to bring their affairs before his tribunal, was too poor to pay the price. Fortunately Godfrey, the wealthy Abbot of Vendôme on the Loire, was at Rome; he had brought with him considerable treasures; besides these he sold his mules and horses, and laid the whole sum at the feet of the Pope. The Christmas of the same year (1094) Urban kept in Tuscany. On the 1st of March he advanced, and at the Council of Piacenza struck the last mortal blow at the fame and popularity of Henry, at the Anti-Pope, and the party of the ^{Council of Piacenza, March 1-7, 1095.} married clergy. It was not, however, the expectation of this triumph of the Pope over the Empire, or even the exhibition of the Empress as the accuser of her husband, but rather the universal pre-occupation with the proposed appeal to Christendom on behalf of their eastern brethren, the proclamation of a Crusade for the conquest of the Holy Land, which swelled the enormous

multitudes assembled at the Council of Piacenza. Bishops and abbots crowded from Italy, France, Bavaria, Burgundy, and most parts of Germany. There were 3000 of the clergy, 30,000 of the laity; no church or public building could contain the vast host. They met in the great plain outside of the city: the ambassadors of the Emperor of the East were present to implore the aid of Christendom against the Unbelievers, who were before the gates of Constantinople.

The Pope would have been more than man not to have seized this opportunity of obtaining the sanction of this vast Christian assembly to his condemnation of his enemies—of compelling them to witness the humiliation of the Emperor. Before this assembly appeared Adelaide, or Praxedes (as she is also named), the daughter of a King, the widow of a powerful Prince of Germany, the wife of the Emperor, to accuse her husband of enormities better, it might have seemed, concealed in the sanctuary of the confessional than proclaimed aloud in all their loathsome detail, to infect the ears of Christendom.^k These charges had already been rehearsed in a Council at Constance, before the Bishop Gebhard, the implacable enemy of Henry. The Empress had been left in prison at Verona; a party of Matilda's soldiers surprised the guards, and rescued the captive Princess. It is almost incredible, that even in a coarse age, with that deadness to delicacy which belongs to mo-

March 7,
1095.

Charges
made by the
Empress.

April, 1094.

^k Donizo relates, to the praise of Matilda, her share in this transaction. He has misplaced the revolt of the son, which he relates after the flight of the empress. That revolt he compares to the just judgement of God on the

Egyptians by the loss of their first born.

‘ Illius tractat patrem (*Matilda*) sic Hester ut Aman. Abstulit uxorem sibi primitus, ut mox prolem.’—Vit. *Matild.* ii. xi.

nastic life, and to the now almost universal practice of confession, that the clergy should institute, an ecclesiastical assembly listen without repugnance to the public depositions, or at least to the attestation of depositions publicly read by a wife against her husband, so loathsome, so unnatural. The Empress accused her husband of abandoning her, or rather of compelling her to submit to promiscuous violation by his court and camp; of urging her to incest with his own son. After times are left to some one of these wretched alternatives—to believe in dissoluteness almost bestial, without any motive but absolute depravity, and with some of the circumstances which form an integral part of the story absolutely contradictory; or in an almost inconceivable depth of malignity in Henry's enemies—malignity too much, indeed, betrayed during the proceedings of the Council; or in the most wicked and shameless unprompted falsehood in the Empress, shameless enough, even if all were true; or (I fear it is but a subterfuge to find a merciful construction) some insanity on her part, which the simple believed, the crafty made use of for their own purposes.

But without waiting any reply or defence from the Emperor, the Pope and the Assembly admitted the whole charges as undeniable, unexaggerated truth. With an ostentatious leniency the Empress was excused from all penitential discipline, as having been the unassenting victim of the crimes with which she charged herself. She retired to spend the rest of her days in a monastery. The reception of these charges was almost the total ruin of the Imperial party in Lombardy, which was all but abandoned by Henry himself. Some of his most faithful partisans went over to his son and to the Countess Matilda.

The Council of Piacenza, in all its other decrees, obeyed the dictation of Pope Urban. Canons were passed against the Simoniacs and the married clergy. The Faithful were forbidden to be present at any sacred functions performed by the clergy who had not parted with their wives, branded by the name of concubines. The usual anathemas were uttered with lighted candles against the usurper Guibert, and all who abetted his usurpation. Orders conferred by him, or by Bishops excommunicated by the Pope, were declared null; the opinion of Berengar on the Sacrament was pronounced a heresy.^m

Urban, triumphant in Italy, went on to France, to consummate his more perfect victory over the mind of Christendom in the Council of Clermont. He was met at Cremona by Conrad, King of Italy, who paid him the most humble and obsequious homage.ⁿ The Pope promised to maintain him as King of Italy, but exacted his cession of the right of investiture. To complete the alienation of Conrad from his father, and to attach him more closely to the Papal party, a marriage was arranged between him and the youthful daughter of the Norman, Roger Count of Sicily. She brought him a rich dowry.

Pope Urban had hardly crossed the Alps, when an unexpected revolution in Italy awoke the Emperor again from his prostration and despair. Marriages contracted under the auspices and at the instigation of the Pope himself seemed not to secure conjugal happiness. No sooner had the party of Matilda gained this uncontested superiority, than a sudden sepa-

April 10.
Urban in
France.

Imperial in-
terests revive
in Italy.

^m Bernoldi Chronicon. 1095.

ⁿ "Rex Conrhadus II. obviam procedens stratoris officio usus est."—Cod Mus. Brit. apud Pertz, viii. 474.

ration took place between the Countess and her youthful husband.^o Guelf declared that he had never asserted a husband's privilege; he had respected either her age or her religious scruples. Matilda, whether from some lingering womanly vanity, or from humility which shrunk from that fame she would have acquired from her connubial continency, had kept the secret which her husband disclosed in his indiscreet anger. But there were other reasons for this mutual estrangement. So long as she needed his valour and military aid to protect her dominions, she had treated him with respect and affection; on her triumph she needed him no longer, and began to show coldness and indifference. The young and ambitious Bavarian might bear with patience the loss of some of his conjugal rights, but there were others, no doubt his chief temptations, which were refused, to his infinite disappointment. The vast possessions to which, by his marriage, he had supposed himself the undoubted successor, had already been made over by a solemn donation to the Church. The Duke of Bavaria, the father of the younger Guelf, made a hasty journey into Italy and endeavoured in vain to work up a reconciliation. In his indignation at his ill-success, he threw himself again into the party of the Emperor, and appealed to Henry to compel the Countess to alter the disposition of her dominions in favour of his son. Henry arose from his retreat in the territory of Padua; he summoned his faithful Veronese, and laid siege to Matilda's strong town Nogarà. Matilda rallied her forces to the rescue, and Henry had not strength to maintain the siege. The Guelfs retired to Germany;

^o Donizo, the panegyrist of Matilda, maintains a prudent silence as to this marriage: he does not even name Guelf.

followed not long after by Henry himself. Matilda, strong in the alliance of Conrad, now connected by marriage with the Norman Roger, and the Papal party, with the King of Italy in the North, the Normans in the South, bade defiance to the enfeebled and disorganised Imperialists, and hoped finally to crush the obstinate Anti-Pope. Yet it was not till two years after that a party of Crusaders, on their way through Rome, reduced the whole city, except the Castle of St. Angelo, to obedience to the Pope. Guibert was at length dispossessed even of the Castle of St. Angelo.^P

Pope Urban, in the mean time, had passed on to accomplish, in a more congenial land, his great purpose, the proclamation of the Crusade. He knew that Italy was not the land which would awaken to a burst of religious enthusiasm at the summons of a Pope; one, too, with a contested title. The maritime cities, Pisa, Genoa, Venice might be roused, as they had been by Victor III., to piratical expeditions against the Mohammedans of Africa, where their pious zeal might be rewarded by rich plunder. But the clergy were too much engrossed and distracted by their own factions, the laity too much divided between the Papal and Imperial interests, with the exception of the Normans were by no means so rudely enamoured of war as to embark, on an impulse of generous or pious feeling, in a dangerous and unpromising cause. At Piacenza the cold appeal met with a cold reception; the Council came to no determination; even the Pope, occupied with his own more immediate objects, the degradation of the Emperor, the subjugation of the Anti-Pope and the hostile clergy, displayed none of that fiery energy, that

^P He held it in 1097.

kindling eloquence, which he reserved for a more auspicious occasion.

Urban entered France; he celebrated the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin at Puy, in Velay; he visited many other cities—Tarrascon,^q Avignon,^r Macon on the Saone;^s retired to his beloved monastery of Clugny, to await the Council summoned for the 18th of November at Clermont, in Auvergne. There Oct. 18, 1095. he remained occupied in confirming and enlarging the privileges conferred by his predecessor on this great centre of the monastic religious movement of the age, and in consecrating the high altar of the church. On his entrance into France he was met by a happy omen and manifestation of his increasing power—the acknowledgment of his title to the Papacy by England. This had been accomplished by Anselm the Norman, the learned Primate of the island.

Urban entered his native France, not deigning to consider that it was the realm of a king whom, if of more daring character, he might have tempted to hostility. But over Philip of France the sentence of excommunication was but suspended; and he cowered before the condemnation of the Pope.

Philip I., a sovereign of weak character, and not less weak in authority over his almost coequal nobles, having grown weary of his wife Bertha, Philip I. of France. the daughter of the Count of Holland, had endeavoured to divorce her on some frivolous plea of consanguinity not admitted by the clergy. His seduction of Beltrada, the wife of a powerful noble, was an offence against the feudal honour of his great vassals and the duty of a sovereign, as well as against the Church and the religion

^q Sept. 11.

^r Sept. 12.

^s Oct. 17.

of Christ. The clergy of France refused to solemnise the unlawful and adulterous marriage. A Norman or a French bishop^t had been tempted by gratitude for actual favours, and by the hope of future advantage, to desecrate the holy ceremony. Hugh of Lyons, the rival of Urban for the Pontificate, had been restored to favour, and reinvested in the legatine authority in France. He summoned a National Council at Autun, which ventured to anticipate that sentence which could not but be approved and ratified by the Pope. Philip had implored delay, his ambassadors had appeared at Piacenza, and the Pope had consented for a time to suspend the sentence; an act not perhaps uninfluenced by his desire of humiliating Hugh of Lyons, who had eluded or disregarded the Pope's summons to the Council at Piacenza. But the case was too glaring to escape the censure; the monarch too impotent to demand further delay. In the preliminary business of the Council of Clermont, despatched with haste, hardly noticed, passed the excommunication of the greatest sovereign of Christendom, at least in rank, except the Emperor, the ruler of the country in which the Council sate.^u So completely were men's minds absorbed by the expectation of that great event for which they had been so long in preparation, and concerning which they were now wrought to the utmost height of eagerness, the Crusade for the conquest of the Holy Land.

Excommunicated.

^t Some authorities assert Odo, Bishop of Bayeux; others the Bishop of Senlis.

^u Philip covered under the ecclesiastical censure. He gave up his royal state. "Nunquam diadema portavit, nec purpuram induit, neque solennitatem aliquam regio more celebravit."—Orderic. Vit. lib. 8.

CHAPTER VI.

'The Crusades.

THIS vast subject, the Crusades, with all its causes and consequences, demands its place in the History of Latin Christianity, but must submit to be limited to an extent perhaps not quite commensurate to its importance.

The sanctity of the Holy Land, the scene of the Saviour's life and death, untraceable in the first records of the religion, had grown up, as the faith became the mistress of the whole inward nature of man, of the imagination as well as the moral sentiment, into almost a part of the general, if undefined, creed. Pilgrimage may be considered as belonging to the universal religion of man. Some sacred spots, connected either with the history of the faith or with some peculiar manifestation of the Deity, have ever concentrated the worshippers within their precincts, or drawn them together at periodical intervals to revive their pious emotions, to partake in the divine influences still supposed to be emanating from the holy ground, or to approach nearer to the present and locally-indwelling godhead. From the lowest Fetichism up to Christianity itself this general and unconquerable propensity has either been sanctioned by the religion or sprung up out of it. Like the other more sublime and purely spiritual truths of the Gospel, the impartial ubiquity of God, the equable omnipresence of the Redeemer and the Holy Spirit throughout the

whole universe and in the soul of every true believer, became too vague and unsubstantial, at least for the popular faith. It might seem an inevitable consequence of the Incarnation of the Godhead in human nature, that man should lean, as it were, more strongly on this kindred and comprehensible Saviour than on the same Saviour when retired into his remoter divinity. Everything which approximated the human Saviour to the heart and understanding was cherished with deep reverence. Even in the coldest and most unimaginative times the traveller to the Holy Land seems to enjoy a privilege enviable to the Christian, who, considering its natural effects on the religious emotions, will not venture to disdain the blameless at least, if not beneficial, excitement. The objective reality which arises from the actual places where the Saviour was born, lived, rose from the grave, ascended into heaven, works back upon the inward or subjective faith in the heart of the believer. Where the presence, the being of the Redeemer, is more intensely felt, there it is thought to dwell with greater power.

The Holy Land was very early visited by Christian pilgrims. The supposed discovery of the sacred sepulchre, with all the miraculous legend of the Emperor's vision, the disinterment of the true cross, the magnificent church built over the sepulchre by the devout Helena and her son Constantine, were but the consequences and manifestations of a pre-existent and dominant enthusiasm. This high example immeasurably strengthened and fed the growing passion.

It is remarkable, however, to find among those who yielded in other respects to the more materialising influences of the dominant Christianity some who attempted to maintain on this point a lofty

spirituality. Gregory of Nyssa, Augustine,^a even Jerome, remonstrated against the dangerous and unnecessary journey to such remote lands; dangerous to the virtue especially of the female sex, unnecessary to him who might worship God with equal fervour in every region. Others of the Fathers during the fourth century strongly opposed the more sublime tenet of the divine omnipresence to the sanctity of peculiar places; the superiority of a quiet holy life in any part of the world, to the wandering over sea and land, east or west, to seek more intimate assurance of the divine presence.

Jerome, as is not unusual with him, is vehement on both sides of the question. While he himself was revelling, as it were, in all the luxury of this religious excitement, and, by his example, drawing multitudes, especially the noble females of Rome, who followed his steps and would not be divided from the object of their pious friendship, to the Holy Land; at the same time he dissuades his friend Paulinus from the voyage, declares that heaven is equally accessible from Britain as from Palestine,^b and laments with a kind of selfish querulousness the crowds which from all quarters throng the sacred places. His example was more powerful than his precept.

During the following centuries pilgrimage became the ruling passion of the more devout. The lives of Saints teem with accounts of their pious journeys. Itineraries were drawn up by which pilgrims might direct

^a Compare the celebrated letter of Gregory of Nyssa. "Dominus non dixit, vade in Orientem, et quære justitiam; naviga usque ad Occidentem, ut accipias indulgentiam."—Augustin. Sermo. de Martyr. Verb. "Noli longa itinera meditari: ubi credis, ubi (ibi) venis:

ad eum enim qui ubique est, amando venit non navigando."—Serm. i. de Verb. Apost. Petri.

^b "De Hierosolymis et de Britannia æqualiter patet aula cælestis."—Epist. ad Paul.

their way from the banks of the Rhine to Jerusalem. It was a work of pious munificence to build and endow hospitals along the roads for the reception of pilgrims. These pilgrims were taken under the protection of the law; they were exempt from toll, and commended by kings to the hospitality of their subjects. Charlemagne ordered that through his whole realm they were to be supplied at least with lodging, fire, and water.^c In some religious houses the statutes provided for their entertainment. In Jerusalem there were public caravansaries for their reception. Gregory the Great sent money to Jerusalem to build a splendid hospital. The pilgrim set forth amid the blessings and prayers of his kindred or community, with the simple accoutrements which announced his design—the staff, the wallet, and the scallop-shell: he returned a privileged, in some sense a sanctified being.^d Pilgrimage expiated all sin. The bathing in the Jordan was, as it were, a second baptism, and washed away all the evil of the former life. The shirt which he had worn when he entered the holy city was carefully laid by as his winding-sheet, and possessed, it was supposed, the power of transporting him to heaven. Palestine was believed to be a land not merely of holy reminiscences, and hallowed not only by the acts of the Saviour, but by the remains also of many saints. Places had already, by the pious invention and belief of the monks been set apart for every scene in the Gospels or in early Christian history—the stable in Bethlehem, the garden of Gethsemane, the height

^c Capitul. A.D. 802. “Ut in omni regno nostro neque dives, neque pauper, peregrinis hospitia denegare audeat: id est sive peregrinis propter Deum ambulantes per terram, sive

cuilibet itineranti. Propter amorem Dei et propter salutem animæ suæ tectum et focum et aquam nemo illi denegat.”

^d Compare Wilken, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, i. p. 10.

where the Ascension took place; the whole land was a land of miracle, each spot had its wonders to confirm its authenticity. From an early period the descent of the fire from heaven to kindle the lights around the holy sepulchre had been played off before the wondering worshippers. The privilege of beholding Jerusalem and the sacred places was not the only advantage of the pilgrim. There was the great emporium of reliques; and the pilgrim returned bearing with him a splinter of the true cross, or some other memorial of the Saviour, of the Virgin Mother, the apostles, or some earlier saint. The prodigal demand did not in the least drain the inexhaustible supply. These reliques bore a high price in the West. At a later period commercial speculation in less sacred goods mingled with the devout aspirations after the Holy Land; and the silks, jewels, spices, paper, and other products of the East, were brought home from Palestine by the pious but not unworldly merchants of Venice, Pisa, Marseilles, and even of France and Germany.

Down to the conquest of Jerusalem by Chosroes the Persian, the tide of pilgrimage flowed uninterrupted to the Holy Land. The victory of Pilgrimages
unchecked. Heraclius and the recovery of the true Cross from the hands of the fire-worshippers re-established the peaceful communication; and throughout this whole period the pilgrims had only to encounter the ordinary accidents, privations, and perils of a long journey.

Nor did the capture of Jerusalem by the Mohammedans at first break off this connexion between Christendom and the birth and burial-place of the Redeemer. To the Mohammedans Jerusalem was no indifferent possession; it was sacred, if in a less degree than Mecca. It had been visited by their prophet; once, according to

their legend, in a mysterious and supernatural manner. The prophet had wavered between Jerusalem and Mecca as the Kebla of prayer for his disciples. The great religious ancestor of the Jews was also that of the Arabs; the holy men and prophets of Israel were held in honour by the new faith; the Korân admitted the supreme sanctity, though not the divinity, of Jesus. On the surrender of Jerusalem to the Caliph Omar, Christianity was allowed to perform all its rites though shorn of their pomp and publicity.^o Their bells might no longer peal over the city; their processions were forbidden; they were to allow without resistance the conversion of Christians to Islamism; to keep themselves distinct by name, dress, and language; to pay tribute and to acknowledge the sovereign power of the Caliph. They were constrained to behold the mosque of Omar usurp the site of the ancient Temple of Jerusalem. Yet pilgrimage was not as the worship of images to those stern Iconoclasts. It was a part of religion so common with their own belief, that they were rather disposed to respect than to despise this mark of attachment in the Christians to their own prophet. The pious, therefore, soon began to flock again in undiminished numbers to Mohammedan as to Christian Jerusalem.

In the plan of his great Christian Empire Charlemagne threw the shadow of his protection over the Christians in the remotest parts of the world. Not merely did he assist the churches in Syria with large alms, he entered into treaties for their protection with the Mohammedan rulers. In his amicable intercourse with Haroun Al-Raschid, the courteous Caliph bestowed on him no gift more precious than the keys of the holy sepulchre. At

^o They might not speak Arabic, the holy language. Compare vol. ii. p. 211.

the great millennial period, the close of the tenth and the commencement of the eleventh century, the strong religious movement, which arose from the expectation of the Lord's coming to judgement, wrought with no less intensity on the pilgrimages to the Holy Land than on the other religious services. Men crowded to Jerusalem, as to the scene of the Lord's revelation in glory, to be witnesses of the great assize in the valley of Jehoshaphat. They were eager not merely to visit, but, if their death anticipated the Last Day, to die in the Holy Land.

The wars which followed the fall of the Caliphate had towards this time made Syria less secure; more than once it had been the field of battle to contending parties; and in the year 1010 there was a fierce persecution of the Christians by Hakim, the fanatic Sultan of Egypt. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and other Christian buildings in Jerusalem and the neighbourhood, were razed to the ground. The persecution of the Christians in Palestine led to a furious persecution of the Jews in France. Rumours spread abroad that the Jews of Orleans had sent intelligence to Sultan Hakim of a meditated invasion of the Holy Land by the Christians; and this had stirred up his slumbering fanaticism. It was an awful omen to the Jews, probably had some effect in producing those more terrible calamities which awaited them at the commencement of the actual Crusades. Hakim, however, himself repented or grew weary of the persecution, or perhaps dreaded the vengeance of the maritime powers of Italy, now becoming formidable to all the coasts of the Mediterranean. The pilgrims were permitted to resume their interrupted devotions; they had no great peril to encounter and no degrading indignity to undergo, except

Increasing
danger of
pilgrimages.

the payment of a toll on the entrance to Jerusalem, established soon after this time by the Mohammedan rulers. This might sometimes be a grievous affliction to the poorer pilgrims, but it gave an opportunity for the more wealthy to display their pious munificence by defraying the cost of their admission.

Throughout the earlier half of the century men of all ranks, princes like Robert of Normandy, lordly bishops like those of Germany, headed pilgrimages. Humble monks and even peasants found their way to the Holy Land, and returned to awaken the spirit of religious adventure by the account of their difficulties and perils—the passionate enthusiasm by the wonders of the Holy Land.

Now, however, the splendid, polished, and more tolerant Mohammedanism of the earlier Caliphs had sunk before the savage yet no less warlike Turks. This race, of the Mongol stock, had embraced all that was enterprising, barbarous, and aggressive, rejecting all that was humane or tending to a higher civilisation in Mohammedanism. They were more fanatic Islamites than the followers of the Prophet, than the Prophet himself. The Seljukians became masters of Jerusalem, and from that time the Christians of Palestine, from tributary subjects became despised slaves; the pilgrims, from respected guests, intruders whose hateful presence polluted the atmosphere of pure Islamism. But neither the tyranny nor the outrages perpetrated by these new lords of Jerusalem arrested the unexhausted passion for pilgrimage, which became to some even a more praiseworthy and noble act of devotion from its perils.^f The pilgrim might

^f Lambert the historian performed a furtive pilgrimage. He was much alarmed lest his abbot (of Hertzfeld), without whose permission he set forth, should die without having forgiven him. He speaks of having incurred

become a martyr. Year after year came back the few survivors of a long train of pilgrims, no longer radiant with pious pride at the accomplishment of their holy purpose, rich in precious reliques, or even in the more costly treasures of the East ; but stealing home, famished, wounded, mutilated, with lamentable tales of their own sufferings and of those who had died of the ill-usage of the barbarous unbelievers.

At length the afflictions of the Christians found a voice which woke indignant Europe—an apostle who could rouse warlike Latin Christendom to encounter with equal fanaticism this new outburst of the fanaticism of Islam. This was the mission of the hermit Peter.

Latin Christendom was already in some degree prepared for this great confederacy. A league of the whole Christian world against the Moham- Earlier schemes of Crusades. medans had expanded before Gerbert, Silvester II. The Cæsar of the West, his master Otho III., was to add at least Palestine to the great Christian realm.^g It was among the bold visions which had floated before the imagination of Gregory VII.^h His strong sagacity, aided no doubt by good intelligence, had discerned the revolution in the spirit of Mohammedanism from the Turkish superiority. Hildebrand's more immediate object, however, was not the recovery of the Holy Land, but the defence of the Greek Empire, which was now threatened by the advance of the irresistible Seljukians into Asia Minor. The repression of Mohammedanism on all sides, in Italy, especially, where it had more than

extreme peril, and of having returned

to his monastery, "quasi ex impiis redi-
vividus." We should have been glad to
have heard his own perils described
by so powerful a writer.—Sub ann.

1059.

^g Gerbert's letter in the name of
Jerusalem. In Murat. R. I. S. iii. 400

^h Compare Gregory's Regesta, i. 30
i. 49, ii. 31.

once menaced Rome itself, conspired with the one paramount object of Hildebrand, the subjugation of Christendom to the See of Rome, and the unity of the Church under the supremacy of the Pope, to whom all temporal powers were to own their subordination. The Greek Empire was to render its allegiance to the Pontiff as the price of its protection from the Turks; it was to become an integral and essential part of the spiritual Empire. Gregory had intimated his design of placing himself at the head of this Crusade, which was at once to consolidate and secure from foreign and infidel aggression the ecclesiastical monarchy of the West. But the deliverance of the decrepit, unrespected, and often hostile Empire of the East would have awakened no powerful movement in Latin Christendom: the fall of Constantinople would have startled too late the tardy fears and sympathies of the West. The ambassadors of Alexius Comnenus at Piacenza were received with decent respect, but with no passionate impulse. The letters from the East, imploring aid, had no power to hush and suspend the hostilities which distracted the West. If not heard with indifference, they left but superficial and evanescent impressions on the minds even of those who had most reason to dread the progress of the Mohammedan arms.

For the conquest of the Holy Land a zealous Pope might alone in favourable times have raised a great Christian army; he might have enlisted numbers of warlike and adventurous nobles, even sovereigns, in the cause. But humbler and more active instruments were wanting for a popular and general insurrection in favour of the oppressed and afflicted pilgrims, for the restoration of the Holy Land to the dominion of the Cross. All great convulsions of society are from below.

Pèter the Hermit is supposed, but only supposed, to

have been of gentle birth. He was of ignoble stature, but with a quick and flashing eye; his spare, Peter the Hermit. sharp person seemed instinct with the fire which worked within his restless soul. He was a Frank (of Amiens in Picardy), and therefore spoke most familiarly the language of that people, ever ready for adventurous warfare, especially warfare in the cause of religion. Peter had exhausted, without satisfying the cravings of his religious zeal, all the ordinary excitements, the studies, the austerities and mortifications, the fasts and prayers of a devout life. Still yearning for more powerful emotions, he had retired into the solitude of the strictest and severest cloister. There his undoubting faith beheld in the visions of his disturbed and enthralled imagination revelations from heaven. In those days such a man could not but undertake a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, more especially in times when martyrdom might be his reward. The deeper his feelings at visiting the holy places, the more strong would be his sorrow and indignation at their desecration by their rude and cruel masters. Peter saw with a bleeding heart the sufferings and degradation of his brethren; his blood turned to fire; the martial Frank was not extinct within him. In an interview with Simeon, the persecuted patriarch, Peter ventured to rebuke his despondency. When Simeon deplored the hopeless weakness of the Byzantine Empire, the natural lords and protectors of the Christians in Syria, Peter fearlessly promised him the succour of Western Christendom. His vow seemed to obtain the ratification of God. Prostrate in the temple he heard, as it were, the voice of our Lord himself, "Rise, Peter, go forth to make known the tribulations of my people; the hour is come for the delivery of my servants, for the recovery of the Holy places!"

Peter fully believed in his own mission, and was therefore believed by others. He landed in ^{A.D. 1094.} Italy, he hastened to Rome. The Pope, Urban, was kindled by his fervour, acknowledged him as a Prophet, and gave full sanction to his announcement of the immediate deliverance of Jerusalem.

The Hermit traversed Italy, crossed the Alps, with indefatigable restlessness went from province to province, from city to city. His appearance commanded attention, his austerity respect, his language instantaneous and vehement sympathy. He rode on a mule, with a crucifix in his hand, his head and feet bare; his dress was a long robe girt with a cord, and a hermit's cloak of the coarsest stuff. He preached in the pulpits, in the roads, in the market-places. His eloquence was that which stirs the heart of the people, for it came from his own, brief, figurative, full of bold apostrophes; it was mingled with his own tears, with his own groans; he beat his breast; the contagion spread throughout his audience. His preaching appealed to every passion, to valour and shame, to indignation and pity, to the pride of the warrior, the compassion of the man, the religion of the Christian, to the love of the Brethren, to the hatred of the Unbeliever, aggravated by his insulting tyranny, to reverence for the Redeemer and the Saints, to the desire of expiating sin, to the hope of eternal life. Sometimes he found persons who, like himself, had visited the Holy Land; he brought them forth before the people, and made them bear witness to what they had seen or what they had suffered. He appealed to them as having beheld Christian blood poured out wantonly as water, the foulest indignities perpetrated on the sacred places in Jerusalem. He invoked the Holy Angels, the Saints in Heaven, the Mother of God,

the Lord himself, to bear witness to his truth. He called on the holy places—on Sion, on Calvary, on the Holy Sepulchre, to lift up their voices and implore their deliverance from sacrilegious profanation: he held up the Crucifix, as if Christ himself were imploring their succour.

His influence was extraordinary, even beyond the immediate object of his mission. Old enemies came to be reconciled; the worldliest to forswear the world; prelates to entreat the hermit's intercession. Gifts showered upon him; he gave them all to the poor, or as dowries for loose women, whom he provided with husbands. His wonders were repeated from mouth to mouth; all ages, both sexes, crowded to touch his garments; the very hairs which dropped from his mule were caught and treasured as reliques.

Western Christendom, particularly France, was thus prepared for the outburst of militant religion. Nothing was wanted but a plan, leaders, and Council of Clermont. organisation. Such was the state of things when Pope Urban presented himself to the Council of Clermont, in Auvergne.

Where all the motives which stir the mind and heart, the most impulsive passion, and the profoundest policy, conspire together, it is impossible to discover which has the dominant influence in guiding to a certain course of action. Urban, no doubt, with his strong religiousness of character, was not superior to the enthusiasm of his times; to him the Crusade was the cause of God. This is manifest from the earnest simplicity of his memorable speech in the Council. No one not fully possessed by the frenzy could have communicated it. At the same time, no event (to this his discerning mind cou'd not be blind) could be more favourable, or more

opportune for the advancement of the great Papal object of ambition, the acknowledged supremacy over Latin Christendom; or for the elevation of Urban himself over the rival Pope and the temporal Sovereigns his enemies. Placing himself at the head of this vast popular movement, he left his rival at an immeasurable distance below him in general reverence. He rose to no less a height over the temporal Sovereigns. The author of the Crusades was too holy a person, too manifest a vicegerent of Christ himself, for men either to question his title or circumscribe his authority. Thus the excommunication of the King of France, like the earthquake during the victory of Hannibal at Thrasy-mene, passed almost without notice.

Never, perhaps, did a single speech of man work such extraordinary and lasting results as that of Urban II. at the Council of Clermont. Urban, as a native of France, spoke, no doubt, the language of the country; ¹ his speech has survived only in the colder and more stately ecclesiastical Latin; and probably has preserved but few of those pathetic and harrowing details of the cruelty, the licentiousness, the sacrilege of the Turks, which told most effectively on his shuddering and maddening audience.^k He dwelt on the sanctity, on the wonders of the land of promise; the land chosen of God, to whom all the earth belonged as his own inheritance; the land of which the history had been recorded both in the Old and New Testament; of this land the foul Infidels were now the lords—of the

ⁱ "Certatim currunt Christi purgare sepulchrum
francigenus cunctus populus, de quo
fuit ortus
Urbanus Pastor."—Donizo.

^k There are three copies of Urban's speech, unless they are, as is most pro-

bable, different speeches delivered on different occasions: one in William of Tyre, one in William of Malmesbury, one printed from a *ms.* in the Vatican in the *Concilia*.

Holy City itself, hallowed by the Life and Death of the Saviour. Whose soul melted not within? whose bowels were not stirred with shame and sorrow? The Holy Temple had become not only a den of thieves, but the dwelling-place of Devils. The churches, even that of the Holy Sepulchre itself, had become stalls for cattle, and Christian men were massacred and Christian women ravished within the holy precincts. The Heavenly fire had ceased to descend; the Lord would not visit his defiled sanctuary. While Christians were shedding Christian blood, they were sinfully abandoning this sacred field for their valour, and yielding up their brethren in Christ to the yoke, to the sword of the Unbeliever: they were warring on each other, when they ought to be soldiers of Christ. He assured them that the Saviour himself, the God of armies, would be their leader and their guide in battle. There was no passion which he left unstirred. "The wealth of your enemies shall be yours; ye shall plunder their treasures. Ye serve a commander who will not permit his soldiers to want bread, or a just reward for their services."¹ He offered absolution for all sins (there was no crime—murder, adultery, robbery, arson—which might not be redeemed by this act of obedience to God); absolution without penance to all who would take up arms in this sacred cause. It was better to fall in battle than not to march to the aid of the Brethren; he promised eternal life to all who should suffer the glorious calamity of death in the Holy Land, or even in the way to it. The Crusader passed at once into Paradise. For him-

¹ "Facultates etiam inimicorum nostrorum vestræ erunt: quoniam et illorum thesauros exspoliabitis. . . . Tali Imperatori militare debetis cui panis deesse non potest, cui quæ rependat, nulla desint stipendia." This is from the Vatican speech. I have taken the liberty of compiling from all three.

self, he must remain aloof; but, like a second Moses, while they were slaughtering the Amalekites, he would be perpetually engaged in fervent and prevailing prayer for their success.^m

The Pontiff could scarcely conclude his speech; he was interrupted by ill-suppressed murmurs of grief and indignation. At its close, one loud and simultaneous cry broke forth: "It is the will of God! it is the will of God!" All ranks, all classes, were seized with the contagious passion; the assembly declared itself the army of God. Not content with his immediate success, the Pope enjoined on all the Bishops to preach instantly, unremittingly, in every diocese, the imperative duty of taking up arms to redeem the Holy Sepulchre. The epidemic madness spread with a rapidity inconceivable, except from the knowledge how fully the mind and heart of man were prepared to imbibe the infection. France, including both its Frank and Norman population, took the lead; Germany, of colder temperament and distracted by its own civil contentions, the Imperialist faction from hatred of the Pope, moved more tardily and reluctantly; in Italy it was chiefly the adventurous Normans who crowded to the war; in England the Normans were too much occupied in securing their vast possessions, the Anglo-Saxon population too much depressed, to send large numbers of soldiers. All Europe, however, including the Northern nations, except Spain, occupied with her own crusade in her own realm, sent their contingent, either to the wild multitudes who swarmed forth under Walter the Pennyless, or the more regular army under Godfrey of Boulogne. The Crusade was no national

Crusade
determined.

^m This likewise is from the Vatican speech.

war of Italy, France, or Germany against the Egyptian Empire of the Fatimites, or the Seljukian Sultan of Iconium : it was a war of Christendom against Mohammedanism. No government hired the soldiers, unless so far as the feudal chief summoned his vassals to accompany him ; nor provided transports and the artillery and implements of war, or organised a commissariat, or nominated to the chief command. Each was a volunteer, and brought his own horse, arms, accoutrements, provisions. In the first disastrous expeditions, under Peter the Hermit and Walter the Pennyless, the leaders were designated by popular acclamation or by bold and confident self-election. The general deference and respect for his admirable character and qualifications invested Godfrey of Boulogne in the command of the first regular army. It was fortunate, perhaps, that none of the great Sovereigns of Europe joined the first Crusade ; the Emperor and the King of France were under excommunication ; Conrad, King of Italy, too necessary to the Pope to be spared from Italy ; in William Rufus was wanting the great impulse, religious faith. The ill success of the later Crusades, undertaken by Emperors and Kings, their frequent want of ability for supreme command when alone, their jealousies when allied, show that a league of princes of the second rank, though not without their intrigues and separate interests, was better suited for this kind of expedition.

The results of these wars, rather than the wars themselves, must find their place in the history of Christianity. Urban II. lived to hear hardly Results of Crusades. more than the disasters and miseries of his own work. His faith had the severe trial of receiving the sad intelligence of the total destruction of the myriads who marched into Hungary and perished on the way, by

what was unjustly considered the cruelty of the Hungarians and treachery of the Greeks; scarcely one of these ever reached the borders of the Holy Land. His depression may have been allayed by the successes of the army under Godfrey of Boulogne; he heard of the capture of Antioch, but died before the tidings of the fall of Jerusalem on the 15th of July, 1099, could reach Rome.

The Crusades—contemplated not with cold and in-
Causes of Crusades. different philosophy, but with that lofty spiritualism of faith which cannot consent to limit the ubiquitous God, and Saviour, and Holy Spirit to any place, or to any peculiar mountain or city, and to which a war of religion is essentially, irreconcilably oppugnant to the spirit of Christianity—may seem the height of human folly. The Crusades, if we could calculate the incalculable waste of human life from first to last (a waste without achieving any enduring result), and all the human misery which is implied in that loss of life, may seem the most wonderful frenzy which ever possessed mankind. But from a less ideal point of view—a view of human affairs as they have actually evolved under the laws or guidance of Divine Providence—considerations suggest themselves which mitigate or altogether avert this contemptuous or condemnatory sentence. If Christianity, which was to mould and fuse the barbarous nations into one great European society—if Latin Christianity and the political system of the West were to be one in limits and extent, it was compelled to assume this less spiritual, more materialistic form. · Reverence for holy places—that intense passion which first showed itself in pilgrimages, afterwards in the Crusade—was an inseparable part of what has been called mediæval Christianity. Nor was this age less inevitably an age of war—an age in which human life,

even if it had not been thrown away on so vast a scale on one object, would hardly have escaped other (probably hardly less extensive) destruction. It would be bold to say how much the Crusades, at such a time, enhanced the mass of human suffering. Those who strewed the plains of Hungary or of Asia Minor with their bones—who for above a century watered the soil of Palestine with their blood—would probably have fallen in great numbers in nearer and more intestine wars; wars waged for a less generous and unselfish end. The Crusades consummated, and the Christian Church solemnly blessed and ratified, the unnatural it might be, but perhaps necessary and inevitable, union between Christianity and the Teutonic military spirit. Yet what but Christian warlike fanaticism could cope with the warlike Mohammedan fanaticism which had now revived by the invasion of the Turks, a race more rude and predatory and conquering than the Arabs of the Prophet, and apparently more incapable of yielding to those genial influences of civilisation which had gradually softened down the Caliphs of Damascus, Bagdad, Cairo, and Cordova, to splendid and peaceful monarchs? Few minds were, perhaps, far-seeing enough to contemplate the Crusades, as they have been viewed by modern history, as a blow struck at the heart of the Mohammedan power; as a politic diversion of the tide of war from the frontiers of the European kingdoms to Asia. Yet neither can this removal of the war to a more remote battle-field, nor the establishment of the principle, that all Christian powers were natural allies against Mohammedan powers (though this principle, at a later period, gave way before European animosities and enmities), have been without important influence on the course of human affairs.

To this union of the military spirit of Europe and of Christianity each brought its dowry—the military spirit its unmitigated ferocity, its wild love of adventure, its licentiousness, its contempt for human life, at times its generosity, and here and there touches of that chivalrous respect for females which had belonged to the Teutonic races, and was now mingled up with the religion. Christianity was content to bring its devotional without any of its humanising influences, its fervent faith, which was assured of its everlasting reward, its strict obedience to all the outward ceremonial of religion, its earnest prayers, its profound humility. But it left out all restraining discipline of the violent and revengeful passions; it checked not the fury of conquest; allayed in no way the miseries of the strife. The knight, before the battle, was as devout as the bishop; the bishop, in the battle, no less ferocious than the knight. No one denied himself the full privilege of massacre or of plunder; it was rather a duty against unbelievers: the females of a conquered town had no better fate with a crusading than with a Mohammedan soldiery.

The Crusades have been called, and justly, the heroic age of Christianity—the heroic age in the ordinary, not the Christian sense, that of the Gospel—which would seek her own heroes rather among the martyrs and among the benefactors of mankind. It had all the violence, the rudeness, but also the grandeur, the valour, daring, endurance, self-sacrifice, wonderful achievements, the development of strength, even of craft, which belongs to such a period: the wisdom of Godfrey of Boulogne, the gallantry of Tancred of Hauteville, the subtlety of Raimond of Toulouse; in later times the rivalry of the more bar-

Alliance of
religious and
military
spirit.

Heroic age of
Christianity.

barous Richard of England with the more courteous and polished Saladin. But in no point are the Crusades more analogous to the heroic ages of other times than in the elevation of the heroes of the war above the common herd of the soldiery.ⁿ In all wars the glory of the few is bought by the misery of the many. The superior armour and weapons, the fighting on horseback, as well as the greater skill in managing the weapons and the horse, no doubt the calmer courage, maintained the nobles as a martial and feudal aristocracy, who obtained all the glory and the advantages of their transient successes. Never, perhaps, were expeditions so utterly, hopelessly disastrous, so wildly prodigal of human life, as the *popular* Crusade, which set off first under Peter the Hermit. Of all this the blind enthusiasm of that day took as little notice as in later times did Godfrey's Frank knights in their poetic admiration of his exploits. In the fame of Godfrey's conquest of Jerusalem, in the establishment of that kingdom, no one under the rank of knight acquired honour, power, emolument. But since, in the account of the Crusades, even more than in other parts of the Christian annals, the life, the

ⁿ The crusades ought to have been the heroic age of Christianity in poetry; but their Homer arose too late. At the time of the Crusades there was wanting a common language, or indeed any language already formed and approaching to the life and energy of the Homeric Greek; at the same time sufficiently vernacular and popular not to become antiquated in the course of time. Before the polite and gentle Tasso, even the Italian had lost the rudeness and picturesque simplicity of its Dantesque form; the religious en-

thusiasm had been subdued to a timorous orthodoxy, which trembled before the Inquisition; the martial spirit was that of the earlier romantic poems rather than the Crusader's fanatic love of battle and hatred of the Unbeliever. With all its exquisite and pathetic passages, the 'Jerusalem Delivered' is no Crusader's epic. Beautiful as a work of art, it is still a work of art. It is suited to the court of Ferrara rather than to the castle-hall of a chieftain returned after years of war from the Holy Land.

reality, the character, even the terror and beauty, the poetry of the whole period, consists in the details, it is only in the acts and words of individuals that clearly transpire the workings of the religion of the times. The History of Christianity must leave those annals, as a separate province, and content itself with following out some of the more general results of those extraordinary and characteristic events. I will only relate two incidents: one illustrative of the frightfulness of this Holy War; one of the profound religion which, nevertheless, lay in the hearts of its leaders.

No barbarian, no infidel, no Saracen, ever perpetrated such wanton and cold-blooded atrocities of Incidents of the Crusades. cruelty as the wearers of the Cross of Christ (who, it is said, had fallen on their knees and burst into a pious hymn at the first view of the Holy City), on the capture of that city. Murder was mercy, rape tenderness, simple plunder the mere assertion of the conqueror's right. Children were seized by their legs, some of them plucked from their mothers' breasts and dashed against the walls, or whirled from the battlements. Others were obliged to leap from the walls; some tortured, roasted by slow fires. They ripped up prisoners to see if they had swallowed gold. Of 70,000 Saracens there were not left enough to bury the dead; poor Christians were hired to perform the office. Every one surprised in the Temple was slaughtered, till the reek from the dead bodies drove away the slayers. The Jews were burned alive in their synagogue. Even the day after, all who had taken refuge on the roofs, notwithstanding Tancred's resistance, were hewn to pieces. Still later the few Saracens who had escaped (not excepting babes of a year old) were put to death to avenge the insults to the dead, and lest they should swell the

numbers of the advancing Egyptian army. The ghost of Bishop Adhemar de Puy, the Legate (he had died of the plague at Antioch) was seen in his sacerdotal habits partaking in the triumph, and it appears, not arresting the carnage.^o

Yet when Godfrey was unanimously saluted as sovereign of the conquered realm, to the universal admiration, he refused to be king: he would only be administrator, where the Saviour had been called a servant; he would wear no golden crown where the Redeemer had worn a crown of thorns.^p

Return we to the effects of the expeditions to the Holy Land.

I. The first and more immediate result of the Crusades was directly the opposite to that which had been promised, and no doubt expected, by the advisers of these expeditions. Though not the primary, the security of the Eastern Christian Empire, and its consequent closer alliance with Latin Christendom, was at least a secondary object. Latin and Greek Christendom would become, if not one Empire, one indissoluble league; the Greek Church would become part of the kingdom of St. Peter. But instead of the reconciliation of the Byzantine Empire with the West, the Crusade led to a more total estrangement; instead of blending the Churches into one, the hostility became more strong and obstinate. The Emperors of

Estrangement of the East.

^o "Mulieres mucrone perfoderunt, infantes adhuc sugentes per plantam pedis e sinu matris aut cunabulis arreptos muris vel ostiorum liminibus allidentes fractis cervicibus, alios armis trucidarunt."—Albert. Aquens. p. 281.
^p Alii illorum quos levius erat capitibus abtruncabantur; alii autem sagittati

de turribus saltare cogebantur, alii vero diutissime torti et ignibus adusti."—Hist. B. Sacri, p. 179. Compare the later historians of the Crusades, Wilken, Michaud, i. 411; Von Raumer (Hohenstaufen), i. 216.

^p All the later authorities.

the East found their friends not less dangerous and destructive than their enemies could have been. Vast hordes of disorderly and undisciplined fanatics came swarming across the frontiers, trampling down everything in their way, and spreading desolation through the more peaceful and flourishing provinces. Already the Hungarians had taken up arms against these unwelcome strangers; and a Christian power had been the first to encounter the champions of the Cross. The leaders of the Crusade, the Hermit himself, and a soldier of fortune, Walter, who went by the name of the Pennyless, were altogether without authority, and had taken no steps to organise or to provide food for this immense population which they had set in motion. This army mainly consisted of the poorer classes, whose arms, such as they were, were their only possession. The more enthusiastic, no doubt, vaguely trusted to the protection of Providence; God would not allow the soldiers of His blessed Son to perish with want. The more thoughtful calculated on the hospitality of their Christian brethren. The pilgrims of old had found hospitals and caravanseries established for their reception; they had been fed by the inexhaustible bounty of the devout. But it had occurred to none that, however friendly, the inhabitants of Hungary and the Provinces of the Byzantine Empire, through which they passed, could not, without miracles, feed the swelling, and it seemed, never-ending swarm of strangers. Hunger led to plunder, plunder to hostility, hostility hardened and inflamed to the most bitter mutual antipathy. Europe rung with denunciations of the inhospitality, the barbarity of these more than unbelievers, who were accused of secret intelligence and confederacy with the Mohammedans against the cause of Christ. The subtle policy

of Alexius Comnenus, whose craft was in some degree successful in the endeavour to rid his subjects of this intolerable burthen, was branded as the most malignant treachery. Hence mistrust, hatred, contempt, sprang up between the Greek and Latin Christians, which centuries could hardly have eradicated, even if they had been centuries of friendly intercourse rather than of aggravated wrong and unmingling hostility. The Greeks despised the Franks as rude and savage robbers; the Franks disdained the Greeks as wily and supple slaves.

The conduct of the more regular army, which took another and less destructive course, was restrained by some discipline, and maintained at first some courtesy, yet widened rather than closed this irreparable breach. The Emperor of the East found that his Western allies conquered not for him, but for themselves. Instead of considering Syria and Palestine as parts of the Eastern Empire, they created their own independent principalities, and owned no sovereignty in him who claimed to be the legitimate lord of those territories. There was a singular sort of feudal title made out to Palestine: God was the Sovereign owner; through the Virgin, of royal descent from the house of David, it descended to our Lord. At a later period the contempt of the Franks reached its height in their conquest of Constantinople, and the establishment of a Latin dynasty on the throne of the Eastern Emperors; contempt which was amply repaid by the hatred of the Greeks, who, when they recovered the Empire, were only driven by hard necessity to cultivate any friendly alliance with the West.

This implacable temporal hostility did not tend to soften or reconcile the religious difference. The supremacy of the Pope became a sign, a bitter remembrancer of their subjugation. Even at the last hour, after the

Council of Florence, the Eastern Church refused to surrender its freedom or to accept the creed of the West.

II. The Pope, the clergy, the monastic institutions, derived a vast accession of power, influence, and wealth from the Crusades. Already Urban, by placing himself at the head of the great movement, had enshrined himself in the general reverence, and to the Pope reverence was power and riches.⁴ He had crushed his adversaries in the popular mind of great part of Christendom. He bequeathed this great legacy of pre-eminence to his successors. The Pope was general-in-chief of the armies of the faith. He assumed from the commencement, and maintained to the end of the Crusades, an enormous dispensing authority, to which no one ventured or was disposed to raise any objection; not a dispensing authority only from the penalties of sin in this world or the next, a mitigation of the pains of purgatory, or a remittal of those acts of penance which the Church commuted at her will: the taking the cross absolved, by his authority, from all temporal, civil, and social obligation. It substituted a new and permanent principle of obedience for feudal subordination. The Pope became the liege lord of mankind. His power commanded, though unhappily it could not enforce, a truce from all other wars throughout Christendom. The theory was the universal amicable alliance of all Christians against the common foe, the unbeliever: war therefore of Christian against Christian became treason against the sacred cause. The prince who took the cross left his dominions under

⁴ Compare Heeren's Essay on the influence of the Crusades, Werke, vol. ii., and Choiseul d'Aillecourt, who obtained the second prize from the French

Academy. To these writers I would refer for the general effects on commerce, arts, and literature.

the protection of the Holy See; but as the more ambitious, rapacious, and irreligious of the neighbouring sovereigns were those who remained behind, this security was extremely precarious. But the noble became really exempt from most feudal claims; he could not be summoned to the banner of his Lord: even the bonds of the villain, the serf, and the slave were broken or enfeebled; they were free, if they could extricate themselves from a power which, in the eye of the Church, as interfering with the discharge of a higher duty, was lawless, to follow the cross.^r Even the creditor could not arrest the debtor. The Crusader was the soldier of the Church, and this was his first allegiance which released him from all other. The Pope was thus invested in a kind of supremacy altogether new and unprecedented.

But though the acknowledged head and leader in this universal league, no Pope was so rash or so adventurous as to commit himself to the actual perils of an expedition to the Holy Land. Some pontiffs No Pope a Crusader. professed their intention, some made preparations, to place themselves at the head of a crusading army. But from prudence or timidity, from circumstances or from design, Christendom was spared what might have been almost the fatal humiliation of defeat and disaster, the seeming abandonment by God of his vicar upon earth, the desecration, it might be, of his person by the hands

^r Men were allowed to commute base or even capital punishments for perpetual exile to the Holy Land. James de Vitry complains bitterly of the degradation of the honour of the Crusades, and other evil consequences of this doctrine. "Viri sanguinum et filii mortis in patriâ suâ deprehensi in

iniquitatibus et maleficiis suis, mutilationibus membrorum vel suspendio adjudicati, prece vel pretio plerumque obtinebant, ut in terram promissionis sine spe revertendi, perpetuo condemnati exilio, remanerent. Hi autem non penitentiam compuniti," &c.—Hist. Orient. i. 82.

of barbarous unbelievers, his captivity in a foreign land—fiery trials which might end in glorious martyrdom, but if not in martyrdom, might it not be in weakness? dare it be supposed in apostacy? No devout mind could contemplate the possibility, under the most awful ordeal ever encountered by flesh and blood, of a renegade Pope; still it might be well that even the remotest peril of such an appalling event should be avoided. He was spared, too, from being an eye-witness of the indescribable calamities, the bootless carnage, the sufferings from plague and famine, as well as from the enemy, by which the Crusades were distinguished from almost all other wars; and the more unseemly spectacle of the crimes, the cruelties, the unbridled licentiousness, the strife, and jealousies, and treacheries, which prevailed too often in the Christian camp, and would hardly have been overawed by his presence. The Pope, however, though not personally mingled up in this humiliating it might be, no doubt almost inevitably disenchanting and too frequently debasing intercourse with the wild soldiery, was present by his Legate. Adhemar, Bishop of Puy, was the representative of the Pope in the first Crusade; and so, although the temporal princes assumed the right of election to the kingdom of Jerusalem, yet he was there to assert the right of ecclesiastical interference in the direction of a war waged for religious ends and under religious sanction.

But the hold on the human mind, which directly or indirectly accrued to the Pope in Europe from this right of levying war throughout Christendom against the unbeliever, of summoning, or at least enlisting, all mankind under the banner of the cross, could not but increase in its growth as long as the crusading frenzy maintained its power. The holy war was a means opened by God

of atonement for sins, besides sacerdotal sanctity or devotion to the monastic life; a lower and easier kind of atonement for the vulgar, incapable of that higher religiousness. Who was beyond or above this motive? Thus that which was at first a passion became a duty, and once recognised as a duty, it was a test by which the Pope could try the faith or the fidelity of his more contumacious spiritual subjects. To take the cross was the high price which might obtain absolution for the most enormous offence; and therefore, if the Pope so willed, he would be satisfied with nothing less. There were few sovereigns so cautious, or so superior to the dominant superstition, as not, in some period of enthusiasm or disaster, of ambition or affliction, either from the worldly desire of propitiating the favour of the Pope, or under the pangs of wounded conscience, to entangle themselves with this irrevocable vow; that vow at least which could only be annulled by the Pope, who was in general little disposed to relax his hold on his self-fettered subject. The inexorable taskmaster, to whom the king or prince had sold himself in the hour of need, either demanded the immediate service, or held the mandate in terror over his head to keep him under subjection. It will appear hereafter how the most dangerous antagonist of the papal power, the Emperor Frederick II., was trammelled in this inextricable bondage, from which he could not release himself even by fulfilling its conditions.

▪ “Dens nostro tempore prælia sancta instituit, ut ordo equestris et vulgus oberrans, qui vetustæ Paganitatis exemplo in mutuas versabatur cædes, novum reperirent salutis promerendæ genus: ut nec funditus electâ, ut fieri

assolet monasticâ conversatione, seu religiosâ quâlibet professione sæculum relinquere cogerentur; sed sub consueta licentiâ et habitu ex suo ipsorum officio Dei aliquatenus gratiam consequerentur.”—Guido Abbas, p. 1076.

The legatine authority of the Pope expanded to a great extent in consequence of the Crusades.^t Before this period an ecclesiastic, usually of high rank or fame, had been occasionally commissioned by the Pope to preside in local councils, to determine controversies, to investigate causes, to negotiate with sovereigns. As acting in the Pope's person, he assumed or exercised the right of superseding all ordinary jurisdiction, that of the bishops and even of the metropolitans. The Crusades gave an opportunity of sending legates into every country in Latin Christendom, in order to preach and to recruit for the Crusades, to urge the laity who did not take up the cross in person to contribute to the expenses of the war, to authorise or to exact the subsidies of the clergy. The public mind became more and more habituated to the presence, as it were, of the Pope by his representative, to the superseding of all authority in his name. The hierarchy, in such a cause, could not venture to resist the encroachment on their jurisdiction; the exactions from the clergy, though still disguised under the semblance of a voluntary contribution, furnished a dangerous precedent for demands on the revenues of other churches for the use of Rome. Not only the secular clergy but the monasteries were bound to assign part of their revenues for the conquest of the Holy Land; with them, too, the free-will offering became a tax, and the principle was thus established of taxation for foreign purposes and by a superior authority.^u The Pope became, to a certain

^t Compare Heeren, p. 147; Planck, ii. p. 631.

^u The bishops in partibus Infidelium had their origin in the Crusades;

as the Crusaders conquered, they founded or re-established sees. When their conquests fell back to the Mohammedans, the bishops were obliged

degree, the absolute supreme lord, as far as the right of assessing burthens, at first for a specific object, at length for his own objects (whatever might appear so to his wisdom must be a worthy object), on the whole ecclesiastical property of Latin Christendom.

But to the clergy and to the monastic institutions the vast increase in their wealth and territorial possessions more than compensated for this, at first, light taxation. There may have been few, but doubtless there were some of all ranks up to prince-doms, who in their reckless enthusiasm stripped themselves of all their goods, abandoned their lands and possessions, and reserved nothing but their sword, their horse, and a trifling sum for their maintenance, determined to seek either new possessions or a glorious and saintly grave in the Holy Land. If they had no heirs, it was a trifling sacrifice; if they had, it was a more praiseworthy and truly religious sacrifice to make over their estates to the Church; this consummated the merit of him who had sunk every duty and every tie in the character of champion of the cross. But all were suddenly called upon for a large expenditure, to meet which they had made no provision. The private adventurer had to purchase his arms, his Milan or Damascus steel, his means of transport and provision; the nobles and the princes, in proportion to their rank and territory, to raise, arm, and maintain their vassals. Multitudes were thus compelled to pledge or to alienate their property. The Jews were always at hand to receive in pawn or to purchase their personal possessions. But the Jews in most parts of Europe had no concern in the

Wealth of
the clergy.

to fly: many took refuge in Rome. These being already invested in episcopal power, they were often employed

as vicars-general in different countries, a new office of great importance to the Papal power.

cultivation of the soil, in some could not be landed proprietors. Here and there prudent nobles, or even kings, might watch this favourable opening, when estates were thrown so prodigally and abundantly on the market. So William Rufus bought his elder brother's dukedom of Normandy.

But there was one wealthy body alone which was not deeply embarked in these costly undertakings—the Church. The bishops who took up the cross might possibly burthen, they could not alienate, their estates. On the other hand, the clergy and the monasteries were everywhere on the spot to avail themselves of the embarrassments and difficulties of their neighbours. It was their bounden duty to increase to the utmost that which was called the property of God; rapacity had long been a virtue, it was thought to have lost all its selfishness when exercised in behalf of the Church. Godfrey of Boulogne alienated part of his estates to the Bishop of Verdun; he pledged another part to the Bishop of Liège. For at least two centuries this traffic went silently on, the Church always receiving, rarely alienating; and this added to the ordinary offerings of devotion, the bequests of deathbed remorse, the exactions for hard-wrung absolution, the prodigal bribes of superstitious terror, the alms of pure and self-denying charity.* Whoever during the whole period of the Crusades sought to whom he might entrust his lands as guardian, or in perpetuity if he should find his grave or richer possessions in the Holy Land, turned to the Church, by whose prayers he might win success, by whose masses the sin which clung to the soul even of

* On sale or alienation of lands, see Robertson, Introduction to Charles V.; Choiseul d'Aillecourt, note 80.

the soldier of the cross might be purged away. If he returned, he returned often a disappointed and melancholy man, took refuge from his despondent religious feelings in the cloister, and made over his remaining rights to his brethren. If he returned no more, the Church was in possession. The churchman who went to the Holy Land did not hold in himself the perpetual succession to the lands of his see or of his monastery; it was in the Church or in the fraternity.^y Thus in every way the all-absorbing Church was still gathering in wealth, encircling new lands within her hallowed pale, the one steady merchant who in this vast traffic and sale of personal and of landed property never made a losing venture, but went on accumulating and still accumulating, and for the most part withdrawing the largest portion of the land in every kingdom into a separate estate, which claimed exemption from all burthens of the realm, until the realm was compelled into measures, violent often and iniquitous in their mode, but still inevitable. The Church which had thus peaceably despoiled the world was in her turn unscrupulously despoiled.

III. The Crusades established in the Christian mind the justice and the piety of religious wars. Holliness of religious wars. The history of Christianity for five centuries is a perpetual Crusade; in this spirit and on these principles every war against unbelievers, either in the general doctrines of Christianity or in the dominant

^y Heeren, Werke, p. 149. "Rapelons-nous l'encan général des fiefs et de tous les biens des Croisés. Au milieu de tant de vendeurs empressés, il se présentait peu d'acquéreurs, autre que les Eglises et les Communautés religieuses, qui n'abandonnaient pas

leur patrie, et qui pouvoient placer des sommes considérables." They gained the direct domain of many fiefs, by failure of heirs to those who perished in the Holy Land.—Choseul d'Aillecourt, p. 90.

forms, was declared, waged, maintained. The cross was almost invariably the banner, the outward symbol; the object was the protection or the enlargement of the boundaries of the Church. The first Crusades might be in some degree vindicated as defensive. In the long and implacable contest the Mohammedan had no doubt been the aggressor; Islam first declared general and irreconcilable war against all hostile forms of belief; the propagation of faith in the Korân was the avowed aim of its conquests. The extent and rapidity of those conquests enforced toleration; conversion could not keep pace with subjugation; but the unconverted, the Jewish, or the Christian sank to an inferior, degraded, and tributary population. Nor was the spirit of conquest and invasion either satiated by success or broken by discomfiture. Neither the secure possession of their vast Asiatic dominions of Egypt, Africa, and Spain, nor their great defeat by Charles Martel, quelled their aggressive ambition. They were constantly renewing hostilities in every accessible part of the East and West, threatening or still further driving in the frontier of the Byzantine Empire, covering the Mediterranean with their fleets, subduing Sicily, and making dangerous inroads and settlements in Italy. New nations or tribes from the remoter East, with all the warlike propensities of the Arabs, but with the fresh and impetuous valour of young proselytes to the Korân, were constantly pouring forth from the steppes of Tartary, the mountain glens of the Caucasus or the Himalaya, and infusing new life into Mohammedanism. The Turks had fully embraced its doctrines of war to all of hostile faith in their fiercest intolerance; they might seem imperiously to demand a general confederacy of Christendom against their declared enemy. Even the oppressions of their

Christian brethren, oppressions avowedly made more cruel on account of their religion, within the dominions of the Mohammedans, might perhaps justify an armed interference. The indignities and persecutions to which the pilgrims, who had been respected up to this period, were exposed, the wanton and insulting desecration of the holy places, were a kind of declaration of war against everything Christian.

But it is more easy in theory than in fact to draw the line between wars for the defence and for the propagation of the faith. Religious war is too impetuous and eager not to become a fanaticism. From this period it was an inveterate, almost uncontested tenet, that wars for religion were not merely justifiable, but holy and Christian, and if holy and Christian, glorious above all other wars. The unbeliever was the natural enemy of Christ and of his Church; if not to be converted, to be punished for the crime of unbelief, to be massacred, exterminated by the righteous sword.

Charlemagne indeed had already carried simultaneously conquest and conversion into the forests of Germany; but the wars against the Saxons still pretended to be defensive, to be the repulse of invasions on their part of the territories of the Empire, and the wanton destruction of churches within the Christian frontier. Baptism was among the terms of capitulation offered to conquered tribes, and accepted as the only secure guarantee for their future observance of peace.

But the actual crusades against Mohammedanism had not begun before they were diverted from their declared object—before they threw off all pretence to be considered defensive wars. The people had no sooner arms in their hands than they turned them against the first enemies, according to the

Crusades
aggressive.
The Jews.

new code of Christ and of the Church, the unfortunate Jew. The frightful massacre of this race in all the flourishing cities in Germany and along the Rhine by the soldiers of the Cross seemed no less justifiable and meritorious than the subjugation of the more remote enemies of the Gospel. Why this fine discrimination between one class of unbelievers and another? Shall zeal presume to draw distinctions between the wicked foes of the Church? Even in the later Crusades it was an act of heroic Christian courage: no one but a St. Bernard would have dared, or dared with success, to distinguish with nice justice between the active and passive adversaries of the faith, the armed Saracen and the defenceless Jew. Long-suppressed hatred, jealousy of their wealth, revenge for their extortions, which probably, when almost every one was at their mercy, were intolerable enough (the Jew perhaps might, on his side, consider the invasion of the Holy Land an usurpation of his inalienable territory by the Christian, and might impose harder terms for his assistance in the purchase of arms and other provisions for that end); many old and many recent feelings of antipathy might still further designate the Jew as the enemy of the Christian cause; but it was as the Unbeliever, not the wealthy extortioner, that he was smitten with the sword. The Crusaders would not go in search of foreign foes of the Gospel, and leave in their homes men equally hateful, equally obstinate, equally designated for perdition in this world and in the next.

That which was lawful, just, and meritorious against the Jew and Mohammedan was so against the idolater. Out of Orders of Christian Knights for the defence of the Christian conquests in Palestine arose Orders of armed apostles, for the conversion of the Heathen in

the North of Germany. The Teutonic Knights were the brethren in arms of the Templars and Hospitallers of the Holy Land.

The heretic was no less odious, and therefore no less dangerous an enemy to the faith: he was a renegade to the true creed of the Gospel, a revolted subject of the Church. Popular opinion, as well as the decrees of the Pope, hallowed the exterminating wars against the Albigenes and other schismatics of the South of France, as undertaken for the cause of God. They were openly designated as Crusades. Simon de Montfort was as much the champion of the true faith as Godfrey of Boulogne. The Inquisition itself was a Crusade in a more peaceful and judicial form; it rested on the same principles, and executed against individuals that punishment which the Crusades accomplished by the open and indiscriminate carnage of war. Crusades were even preached and proclaimed against persons not charged with heresy. The Popes scrupled not to unfold the banner of the Cross against any of their disobedient sons. The expedition against John of England by Philip of France, to reduce the refractory King to his obedience under his Papal liege-lord, was called a Crusade. Philip of France was summoned to take arms as a true vassal of the Church against a rival Sovereign. At length every enemy of the political power of the Pope in Italy became as a heretic or an unbeliever. Crusades will hereafter be levied against those who dared impiously to attempt to set bounds to the temporal aggrandisement of the Roman See, or to the personal or nepotic ambition of the ruling Pontiff.

Crusades
against
heretics.

Against
the Pope's
enemies.

A new world of heathens was opened before this great dominant principle was effaced or weakened, at

least in the Spanish mind. Spain had owed almost her national existence, her supremacy within America. her own peninsula to crusades of centuries with the Mohammedans. The conquest of Mexico by Cortes was a crusade; the rapacity, and avarice, and passion for adventure in his followers, disguised itself, even to them, as a pious act for the propagation of the Gospel.

Philip II. Philip II. justified his exterminating wars in the Low Countries and his hostilities against England on the same principle as his ancestor Ferdinand the Catholic the expulsion of the Moors from Spain. That expulsion of the Moors was almost the last impulse of the irreconcilable hostility which had been kindled in the heart of Christendom by the speech of Pope Urban at Clermont. The wars of the Low Countries were crusades, and finally the Spanish Armada—the last crusade—was swallowed up, we trust but we dare not vaticinate, with the crusading spirit, for ever in the Ocean.

IV. A fourth result of the Crusades, if in its origin Chivalry. less completely so and more transitory and unreal yet in its remote influence felt and actually living in the social manners of our own time, was Chivalry; or at least the religious tone which Chivalry assumed in all its acts, language, and ceremonial. The Crusades swept away, as it were, the last impediment to the wedlock of religion with the warlike propensities of the age. All the noble sentiments, which blended together are chivalry—the high sense of honour, the disdain of or passion for danger, the love of adventure, compassion for the weak or the oppressed, generosity, self-sacrifice, self-devotion for others—found in the Crusades their animating principle, perpetual occasion for their amplest exercise, their perfection and consumma-

tion. How could the noble Christian knight endure the insults to his Saviour and to his God, the galling shame that the place of his Redeemer's birth and death should be trampled by the scoffer, the denier of his Divinity? Where were adventures to be sought so stirring as in the distant, gorgeous, mysterious East, the land of fabled wealth, the birthplace of wisdom, of all the religions of the world; a land only to be approached by that which was then thought a remote and perilous voyage along the Mediterranean Sea, or by land through kingdoms inhabited by unknown nations and people of strange languages; through Constantinople, the traditions of whose wealth and magnificence prevailed throughout the West? For whom was the lofty mind to feel compassion, if not for the down-trodden victim of Pagan mockery and oppression, his brother-worshipper of the Cross, who for that worship was suffering cruel persecution? To what uses could wealth be so fitly or lavishly devoted as to the rescue of Christ's Sepulchre from the Infidel? To what more splendid martyrdom could the valiant man aspire than to death in the fields which Christ had watered with his own blood? What sacrifice could be too great? Not even the absolute abnegation of home, kindred, the proud castle, the host of retainers, the sumptuous fare, for the tent on the desert, the scanty subsistence it might be (though this they would disdain to contemplate), the dungeon, the bondage in remote Syria. Lastly, and above all, where would be found braver or more worthy antagonists than among the Knights of the Crescent; the invaders, too often it could not be denied, the conquerors of the Christian world? Hence it was that France and Spain were pre-eminently the crusading kingdoms of Europe, and, as it were, the birthplace of

chivalry: Spain as waging her unintermitting crusade against the Saracens of Granada and Cordova, France as furnishing by far the most numerous, and it may be said, with the Normans, the most distinguished leaders of the Crusades, from Godfrey of Boulogne down to Saint Louis; so that the name of Frank and of Christian became almost equivalent in the East.

This singular union, this absolute fusion of the religion of peace with barbarous warfare; this elevation of the Christian knighthood, as it were, into a second hierarchy (even before the establishment of the military orders), had already in some degree begun before the Crusades. The ceremonial of investing the young noble warrior in his arms may be traced back to the German forests. The Church, which interfered in every human act, would hardly stand aloof from this important rite. She might well delude herself with the fond trust that she was not transgressing her proper bounds. The Church might seem to enter into this closer if incongruous alliance with the deliberate design of enslaving war to her own beneficent purposes. She had sometimes gone further; proclaimed a Truce of God; and war, at least private war, had ceased at her bidding.² The

* The whole question of the Treuga Dei is exhausted in the work of Datt. He thus describes (quoting de Marca de lib. Eccl. Gall.) and dates the first Treuga Dei. "Pacem et Treugam dici hanc a bellis privatis feriationem, quod ratione clericorum omnium, peregrinorum, mercatorum, agricolarum cum bobus aratoriis, Dominarum cum sociis suis omnibus, mulierum omnium, rerum ad clericos monachosque pertinentium, et molendinarum pax ista omni tempore indulgetur est, ratione cæte-

rorum vero Treuga, tantum, id est induciæ aliquot dierum. Primordia hujus ad annum 1032 aut 1034 referunt." — Radulf. Glaber, v. Datt, p. 11. Read also the excellent Geschichte des Gottenfriedes von Dr. August. Kluckhorn. Leipsic: 1857. The earlier Truce of God in Southern France, proclaimed four days in the week, from Wednesday noon to Monday noon as holy, from respect to the institution of the Eucharist, the passion and resurrection of

clerk, the pilgrim, the merchant, husbandman, pursued his work without fear ; women were all secure ; all ecclesiastical property, all mills, were under special protection

But in such an age it could but be a truce, a brief, temporary, uncertain truce. By hallowing war, the Church might seem to divert it from its wanton and iniquitous destructiveness to better purposes, unattainable by her own gentle and persuasive influences ; to confine it to objects of justice, even of righteousness ; at all events, to soften and humanise the usages of war, which she saw to be inevitable. If, then, before the Crusades, the Church had thus aspired to lay her spell upon war ; to enlist it, if not in the actual service of religion, in that of humanity, defence of the oppressed, the widow, the orphan, the persecuted or spoliated peasantry, how much more so when war itself had become religious ! The initiation, the solemn dedication to arms, now the hereditary right, almost the indispensable duty, of all high-born men, of princes or nobles (except where they had a special vocation to the Church or the cloister), became more and more formally and distinctly a religious ceremony. The noviciate of the knight was borrowed, with strange but unperceived incongruity, from that of the monk or priest. Both were soldiers of Christ under a different form, and in a different sense. It was a proud day in the Castle (as it was in the cloister when some distinguished votary took the cowl) when

the Lord. How far was this, as well as the Truce of God proclaimed by the Popes (see forward p. 281) actually observed ? It is to be feared that the Church, when Popes became more warlike, abrogated or allowed the Truce to fall into desuetude. History hardly records its observance. See the

perplexity of the Glossators on the Decretals. Kluckhorn, p. 101. They began to wrangle as to what wars the Ordinance related. Compare also Giesebrecht *Deutsche Kaiserzeit*, where its origin is admirably developed.—ii. p. 350. &c.

the young heir assumed his arms. The vassals of all orders met around their liege lord; they paid, perhaps, on this joyous occasion alone, their willing and ungrudged fees; they enjoyed the splendour of the spectacle; feasted, if at lower tables, in the same hall; witnessed the jousts or military exercises, the gayer sports, the tricks of the jongleurs, and heard the romances of the Trouveurs. But the clergy were not absent; the early and more impressive solemnity was theirs. The novice, after bathing, bound himself by a vow of chastity (not always too rigidly observed), to shed his blood for the faith, to have the thought of death ever present to his mind. He fasted till the evening, passed the night in prayer in the church or the Castle chapel. At the dawn of morn he confessed; as the evening before he had purified his body by the bath, so now his soul by the absolution; he heard mass, he partook of the Holy Eucharist. He knelt before his godfather in this war-baptism. He was publicly sworn to maintain the right, to be loyal to all true knight-hood, to protect the poor from oppression. He must forswear all treason, all injustice. Where woman needed his aid, he must be ever prompt and valiant; to protect her virtue was the first duty and privilege of a true knight. He must fast every Friday, give alms according to his means, keep faith with all the world, especially his brethren in arms, succour, love, honour, all loyal knights. When he had taken his oath, knights and ladies arrayed him in his armour: each piece had its symbolic meaning, its moral lesson. His godfather then struck him with a gentle blow, and laid his sword three times on his neck—"In the name of God, St. Michael (or St. George, or some other tutelar Saint), and (ever) of our Lady, we dub thee knight." The

church bells pealed out ; the church rang with acclamations ; the knight mounted his horse, and rode round the lists, or over the green meadows, amid the shouts of the rejoicing multitude.

But what young knight, thus dedicated, could doubt that the conquest of the Holy Land was among his primary duties, his noblest privileges ? Every knight was a soldier of the Cross ; every soldier of the Cross almost enlisted for this great object. There could be no doubt of the justice of his cause, nor of the enemies whom it was his duty to attack and to slaughter without remorse. The infidel, as much as the giant or dragon of romance, was the natural foe of the Christian. Every oppressed Christian (and every Christian in the Holy Land was oppressed) was the object of his sworn protection. Slaying Saracens took rank with fastings, penitential discipline, visits to shrines, even almsgivings, as meritorious of the Divine mercy. So by the Crusades chivalry became more religious, religion more chivalrous ; for it was now no unusual, no startling sight, as the knight had become in one sense part of the hierarchy, to behold bishops, priests, serving, fighting as knights. In a holy war the bishop and the abbot stood side by side with the prince or the noble ; struck as lusty blows ; if they conquered, disdained not the fame ; if they fell, supposed that they had as good a right to the honour of martyrdom.

Even the most incongruous and discordant part of chivalry, the devotion to the female sex, took a religious tone. There was one Lady of whom, high above all and beyond all, every knight was the special servant. It has been remarked that in the French language the Saviour and his Virgin Mother are worshipped under

feudal titles (Notre-Seigneur, Notre Dame). If the adoration of the Virgin, the culminating point of chivalrous devotion to the female sex, is at times leavened with phrases too nearly allied with human passion, the general tone to the earthly mistress is purified in word, if not always in thought, by the reverence which belongs to the Queen of Heaven. This was the poetry of chivalry—the religious poetry; and in an imaginative age the poetry, if far, very far above the actual life, cannot be absolutely without influence on that life. If this ideal love, in general, existed only in the outward phrase, in the ceremonial address, in the sonnet, or in the song; if, in fact, the Christianised Platonic love of chivalry in real life too often degenerated into gross licentiousness; if the sanctity of marriage, which permitted without scruple, the homage, the adoration of the true knight in consideration of his valour and fidelity, was not only perpetually endangered, but habitually violated, and the violation became the subject of sympathy rather than of reprobation; yet, on the whole, the elevation, even the inharmonious religiousness of chivalry, must have wrought for the benefit of mankind. War itself became, if not less sanguinary, conducted with more mutual respect, with some restraint. Christian chivalry, in Spain and in the Holy Land, encountered Asiatic Mohammedan chivalry. For in the Arab, in most of the Oriental races, there was a native chivalry, as among the Teutonic or European Christians. If Achilles, as has been finely said, is a model of knighthood, so is the Arabian Antar. But both Achilles and Antar may meet in Richard Cœur de Lion; though Saladin, perhaps (and Saladin described by Christian as well as Mohammedan writers), may

transcend all three.^a Hence sprang courtesy, at least an initiatory humanity in war; hence that which proclaimed itself, which might have been expected to continue, the most bloody, remorseless, internecine strife, gradually became subject to the ordinary laws of war, in some respects to a restraint above the prevailing laws of war. Thus the most intolerant strife worked itself into something bordering on toleration. There was a contest of honour, as of arms.

If, finally, the Crusades infused into the mind of Europe a thirst for persecution long indelible; if they furnished an authority for persecution which wasted continents, and darkened centuries with mutual hostility; yet Chivalry, at once, as it were, the parent and the child of the Crusades, left upon European manners, especially in the high-born class, a punctilious regard for honour, a generous reverence for justice, and a hatred (perhaps a too narrow and aristocratical hatred) of injustice; a Teutonic respect for the fair sex; an element, in short, of true nobleness, of refinement, of gentleness, and of delicacy. The chivalrous word courtesy designates a new virtue, not ordained by our religion; and words are not formed but out of the wants, usages, and sentiments of men; and courtesy is not yet an obsolete term. Even gallantry, now too often sunk to a frivolous or unnatural sense, yet retains something of its old nobility, when it comprehended valour, frankness, honourable devotion to woman. The age of chivalry may be gone, but the influences of chivalry, it may be hoped, mingling with and softened by purer religion, will be the imperishable heir-loom of social man.

* Compare Mr. Hallam's passage on chivalry. It were presumption now to praise that book; but I may be per-

mitted to say, that this is one of the very best passages in the History of the Middle Ages.—ii. p. 450.

BOOK VII.



CHAPTER I.

End of the Emperor Henry IV.

THE hundred years which elapsed between the death of Urban II. and the accession of Innocent III. in whom the Papal power attained its utmost height, were nearly coincident with the twelfth century. Of the sixteen Popes who ruled during this period, the Pontificates of two, Paschal II. and Alexander III., occupy near forty years. The reigns of Calixtus II., of Innocent II., and of Adrian IV., are distinguished each by its memorable event; the first by the settlement of the dispute concerning the investitures in the compact of Worms; the second by the coronation of Lothair the Saxon, and the intimate alliance between the Papacy and the Empire; the third by the coronation of Frederick Barbarossa and the execution of Arnold of Brescia.

It was an age of great men and of great events, preparing the world for still greater. It was the age of the Crusades, not merely the expeditions of vast undisciplined hordes, or the leagues of knights, nobles, and princes, but of the regular armies of great sovereigns at the head of the powers of their kingdoms. Two Emperors of Germany, two Kings of France, and one of England, at different times led their forces for the recovery of

the holy sepulchre. The close of the last century beheld the rise, the present will behold the fall of the kingdom of Jerusalem; the vain attempt of Philip Augustus of France and of Richard of England to restore it; the rise of the military orders, the Knights of St. John and the Templars, their organisation, their long and stubborn resistance to Mohammedanism in its Asiatic territory; their retreat to take their defensive stand on the frontiers of Christendom; the final triumph of the unconquerable Saladin; after which the East settled down again under the scarce-disturbed and iron sway^d of Mohammedanism. The later Crusades were diverted to other quarters, to Constantinople and to Egypt; the Emperor Frederick II. alone visited the Holy Land, and by negotiation rather than by arms obtained better terms of capitulation for the Christians.

Western Christendom, in this age, beheld in France the growing power of the monarchy; in England the first ineffectual struggles of the nation and of the king for ecclesiastical freedom; in Germany the rise of the House of Hohenstaufen, the most formidable, for a time the most successful, antagonists of the Papacy; in Italy the foundation of the Lombard republics, the attempt to set up a temporal commonwealth in Rome; the still growing ascendancy of the Papacy, notwithstanding the perpetual or ever-renewed schism, and the aspiration of the Romans to share in the general establishment of republican institutions.

Nor was it only the age in which new political views began to develop themselves, and the temporal affairs of Christendom to take a more permanent form; a great intellectual movement was now approaching. Men appeared, whose thoughts and studies began to awaken the slumbering mind of Europe. Their own or after

ages have felt and recognised the power of Anselm, Abélard, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Arnold of Brescia. The religious republicanism of Arnold, the least intellectual impulse, was that which produced the most immediate but the least enduring effects: he was crushed by the uncongenial times. The strong arm of the temporal and ecclesiastical power combined to put down the rebel against both. To all outward appearance the doctrines of Arnold perished with him on his funeral pyre. They may have lurked among the more odious hidden tenets of some among the heretical sects which were persecuted so violently during the next century; kindred principles are so congenial to human nature, and so sure to be provoked into being by the inordinate wealth and ambition of the Church, that no doubt they were latent and brooding in many hearts: but Arnold founded no sect, left no writings, had no avowed followers. Those who in later times advanced similar tenets, Wycliffe, Huss, Savonarola, may never have heard of their premature ancestor. Of the other three great names, Bernard was the intellectual representative of his own age, Anselm the forerunner of that which was immediately to come, Abélard of one far more remote. Bernard has been called the last of the Fathers; Anselm was the parent of the schoolmen; Abélard the prophet of a bolder and severer philosophy, the distant harbinger of Descartes, of Locke, and of Kant. Each must find his proper place in our history.

Paschal II., another monk of Clugny, already a cardinal of the Church, succeeded Urban II. He had been bred in the school of Gregory VII., but with much of the ambition he possessed not the obstinate fortitude of his predecessors. The death of the Antipope Clement, expelled at length

Pope
Paschal II.
A.D. 1099.
Aug. 13, 14.

from Rome by Pope Paschal immediately on his accession, followed during the year after that of Urban. Guibert of Ravenna must have been a man of strong resolution, great capacity, and power of commanding respect and ardent attachment. He had not only an active and faithful party while he had hopes of attaining the ascendancy, but his adherents, many of whom no doubt could have made their peace by disloyalty to their master, clung fondly to him under the most adverse circumstances. His death did not extinguish their affections; the followers of the Antipope declared that many miracles were wrought at his tomb.

A.D. 1130.
September.

Christendom might hope that the schism would expire with this rival of so many Popes. The Imperial party in Italy whose interest it might have been, if still powerful, to contest the see, was utterly depressed, and indeed so nearly extinct that it might seem the better policy to conciliate the ruling Pontiff. The Emperor Henry had retired beyond the Alps, discomfited, broken in spirit by the revolt of his son, in affliction, in disgust, in despair. The affairs of Germany, as he descended the Alps, might appear no less dark and unpromising. His enemies had gained the ascendancy in almost all parts; they had established a truce throughout the Empire, which might seem to overawe any attempts on his part to resume his power, while it left them to pursue their intrigues and strengthen their alliances at their pleasure.

The presence of Henry in his native land appeared to work a sudden revolution in his favour. Germany, with a generous sympathy, seemed disposed to console her now aged Emperor for the wrongs and afflictions which he had suffered in Italy.

Strong reaction in favour of Henry.

In a few years he found himself sufficiently powerful to establish a more perfect, it might be hoped an enduring,

Peace of the Empire ; and Germany assented to his just revenge against his revolted son Conrad, by assenting to his demand to devolve the inheritance of his German crown on his younger son Henry.

Many circumstances conspired in favour of the Emperor. The German leagues seemed fated to fall asunder from the mutual jealousy of the princes. Duke Guelf of Bavaria had been driven into Henry's party by his indignation at the conduct of the Countess Matilda, and the fraud which he asserted she had practised on his son. She had tempted the youth to marriage by the hopes of her vast patrimony, which she had deliberately in broken faith settled on the Church. His only chance of wresting away the patrimony, to which he asserted his son's right, was by the aid of Henry. He became an ardent Imperialist.

The Crusades had not produced the same effects in Germany as in France, in Burgundy, and in other countries in Europe. They had not drained away and were not continuing to drain away to the same extent the turbulent and enterprising of the population. The more calm or sluggish German devotion had not kindled to the same violent enthusiasm. It was no less strong and profound, but was content with a more peaceful and, as it were, domestic sphere. Just before the Crusades the monastic system had shown a sudden and powerful impulse to development and extension. New monasteries had been founded on a magnificent scale ; knights and princes had retired into cloisters ; laymen by thousands, especially in Swabia, made over their estates to these religious institutions, and even where they did not take the vows, pledged themselves to live according to the rule, to forsake their secular employments, and devote themselves to the ser-

Effects of
Crusades.

vice of monks and ecclesiastics. The daughters of free peasants formed themselves into religious sisterhoods under the direction of some respected priest, and the inhabitants of whole villages embraced at once the religious life, and vied with each other in their austerities.*

Still the Crusades absorbed the public mind, and diverted it for a time from the internal feuds of the Empire. Germany, where not drawn away by the torrent of fanaticism, was suddenly called upon to defend itself against the lawless votaries of the cross. The crusading cause was by no means commended to respect or to emulation by the general sufferings witnessed or endured in many parts of the land from the Crusaders. The hordes of the first loose and ungoverned soldiers of the cross passed through Germany restrained by no discipline, and considering their holy cause not merely an expiation for their former sins, but a licence for sinning more freely, from the assurance of full pardon in the Holy Land. The first swarm under Walter Perejo and his nephew Walter the Pennyless, with eight knights to command 15,000 men, had straggled through the whole of Germany from Cologne, where they parted from Peter the Hermit, to the frontiers of Hungary. Then followed Peter the Hermit, whose eloquence was not without effect on the lower orders. His host gathered as it advanced through Bavaria, Swabia, Austria, till from 15,000 it had swollen to 40,000 followers, without the least attempt at array or organisation. Two other armies brought up the rear, one from Lorraine and the Lower Rhine, led by the ferocious Emico, Count of Leiningen, the other under the priests Folkmar and Gotschalk, a man whose fanaticism was suspected to be

* Stenzel, p. 560. Bernold, sub. ann. 1091.

subservient to baser sordid motives. The march of these formidable hosts spread terror throughout the whole land. They had begun by the massacre of the Jews in the great cities on the Rhine; their daily sustenance was by plunder, or from that compulsory provision for their necessities which was plunder in another form, and which was reluctantly doled out in order to get rid of the unwelcome guests. All this tended to quell rather than awaken the crusading enthusiasm among the Germans, who had few examples either among their princes or princely bishops to urge them into the tide. The aged Guelf of Bavaria, almost alone among the sovereign princes, the Bishops of Saltzburg, Passau, and Strasburg, among the great prelates, the two first strong anti-Imperialists, left their palaces; and, as of these not one returned to his native land, their example rather repressed than excited the ardour of others.

The secret of the Emperor's quiet resumption of power lay no doubt in a great degree in the pre-occupation of men's minds with this absorbing subject. His first act on his return to Germany was one of generous justice and humanity—the protection of the persecuted Jews. This truly imperial conduct was not without its advantage. He exacted severe restitution of all the wealth plundered from these unhappy men; that, however, of those who had been murdered was escheated, as without lawful owner, to the Imperial treasury. Some of the ecclesiastics had behaved with Christian humanity. The Bishops of Worms and of Spire ran some risk in saving as many as they could of this defenceless people. The Archbishop of Treves, less generous, gave them refuge in his palace on condition that they would submit to baptism. Some of the kindred of Ruthard, the Archbishop of

The Emperor
resumes his
power.

Mentz, had joined in the general pillage; the prelate was more than suspected of participation in the guilt and in the booty. When summoned to an account he fled from the city, and with his kindred shut himself up in the strong castle of Hardenberg in the Thuringian forest. The Emperor seized the revenues of the see, but took no steps to depose the Prelate. It was probably from this time that the Jews were taken under feudal protection by the Emperor; they became his men, owing to him special allegiance, and with full right therefore to his protection. This privilege, in after times, they bought dearly, being constantly subject to heavy exactions, which were enforced by merciless persecutions.

The Emperor had already reinstated Guelf of Bavaria in his dukedom, and entailed the inheritance on his sons. Henry held a Diet at Mentz to settle the contested claims of Swabia. A satisfactory arrangement was made, by which the rising house of Hohenstaufen became Dukes of Northern Swabia. For their rival, Berthold of Zahringen, a new dukedom was created, comprehending Zurich, the country between the Jura and the St. Bernard, with his patrimonial Countship of the Brisgau. Of all the great princes and prelates none were in hostility to the Emperor but the fugitive Archbishop of Mentz.

Dec. 1097.

Henry seized the favourable opportunity to compass the great object which he had at heart. He urged upon the princes and bishops, in public and in private, the unnatural rebellion of his son Conrad, who had conspired against the crown, and even the life of his father. He pressed the fatal example of such treason against a sovereign and a parent. Conrad had justly forfeited his claim to the succession, which fell of right to his younger brother Henry. To Conrad there could be no

attachment among the princes in Germany ; if known, he could only be known as a soft and fantastic youth. He had fallen into contempt, notwithstanding his royal title, in Italy, as a mere instrument in the hands of the crafty Matilda and of the Pope. Sympathy with the injured father, and prudent considerations for the interest of the Empire, as well as the urgent solicitations of the Emperor, swayed the majority of the princes. In

Jan. 6, 1099. a great Diet at Cologne, Conrad was declared to have forfeited his title. With unanimous consent the succession was adjudged to his younger brother Henry, who was anointed King at Aix-la-Chapelle. The suspicious father exacted a solemn oath from his son, that during his father's lifetime, and without his permission, he would neither claim the government of the Empire, nor even the patrimonial territories. As if oaths would bind a son who should despise the

July, 1101. affection and authority of a father ! The death of Conrad removed all fears of a contention between the brothers for the Imperial Crown.

All was prosperity with Henry : his turbulent and agitated life seemed as if it would close in an august and peaceful end. By skilful concessions, by liberal grants, by courteous demeanour, he reconciled, or more firmly attached the Princes of Saxony, Bohemia, and other parts of Germany to his cause. Even religious hatred seemed to be dying away ; his unrepealed excommunication was forgotten ; and some of the severest ecclesiastics of the Papal party condescended to accept promotion from the hands of the interdicted Sovereign.

The Emperor proclaimed Peace throughout the land and the realm for four years ;^b he required a solemn

^b Land und Reich's Friede. It comprehended private and public wars.

oath from the princes to maintain this peace; he imposed heavy penalties on its violation; and (in these times a wonderful and unprecedented event!) the Emperor was obeyed. The writers of the period speak of the effects of this peace on all classes and conditions, especially on the poor and defenceless, with admiring astonishment. The ways became safe, commerce began to flourish; the cultivation of the land went happily on. What seemed most astonishing was, that boats could descend the large rivers without being stopped and plundered by the great cities on the banks, who might be in want of their corn and other commodities; that the powerful were held in check; that might for a time ceased to be right. The truce of the Empire, though proclaimed by the excommunicated Henry, was as well observed and as great a blessing as the truce of God at times proclaimed by the Pope or the hierarchy.^c Still the fatal excommunication hung over the head of Henry. The golden opportunity was missed of putting an end to the schism, on the death of the Antipope Guibert, without loss of dignity; of obtaining from a Pontiff of Paschal's more pliant character less injurious terms. The miserable failure of the attempt to support a successor to Guibert ought to have urged the same policy. Three were appointed in succession: one, Theodore, fled from the city immediately that he was invested in his perilous honours. One hundred and five days after he was in the power of Paschal, condemned to be a hermit.^d The second, Albert, was chosen Pope and "dispoped" in the same day; dragged on a horse with his face to the tail before the Pope, who sat in state in the Lateran; he was thrust into the monastery of St.

Peace of the
Empire.
Jan. A.D. 1103

^c Vita Henrici, p. 386.

^d Pandulph Pisan., 1. Ann. Roman., 1.

Laurence in Aversa.^e The third, Maginolfo, who took the name of Silvester IV., had a longer Papal life. He

A.D. 1165.
Nov. 18.

had been raised by a strong party hostile to Paschal II., but was abandoned by all, and eventually deposed by the Emperor himself.^f To this more pacific course, the recognition of Paschal, the Emperor was strongly persuaded by his wiser friends: he even announced his intention of visiting Rome to effect a reconciliation of all parties by his personal presence; to submit to a General Council the whole dispute between himself and the Pope. It would have been well not to have announced this intention to which it was

A.D. 1101-2.

difficult to adhere, and which he had strong motives to renounce. Henry may naturally have shrunk from venturing again on the inhospitable soil of Italy, so fatal to his glory and his peace. He may have hesitated to leave the affairs of Germany in their yet precarious state; for the peace had neither been proclaimed nor accepted by the princes. Many of the Imperialist bishops may have been alarmed lest their titles, resting on the authority of the Antipope, might be shaken by any concession to that Pope who had condemned them as usurpers of their sees.

Henry appeared not in Italy; and Paschal proceeded

Paschal ex-communicates Henry.
A.D. 1102.

without delay to renew the Excommunication. This sentence is remarkable, as being recorded by one who himself heard it delivered by the Pope. "Because the King, Henry, has never ceased to rend the vesture of Christ, that is, to lay waste the Church by plunder and conflagration; to defile it by his sensualities, his perjuries, and his homicides; and hath

^e This was the one who, according to Muratori's expression, was dispoped, dispapato.—Annal. Roman. Pandulph Pisan.

^f Annal. Leodicen. apud Pertz.—Annales Roman.

therefore, first by Pope Gregory of blessed memory, afterwards by the most holy Urban, my predecessor, on account of his contumacy, been excommunicated and condemned: We also, in this our Synod, by the judgment of the whole Church, deliver him up to a perpetual anathema. And this we would have known to all, especially to those beyond the Alps, that they may abstain from all fellowship in his iniquity.”^s

This renewal of the excommunication had no immediate effect on the fidelity either of Henry's temporal or spiritual subjects. Many ecclesiastics of high rank and character were about his court; above all, Otho the Apostle of Pomerania. Otho had been compelled with difficulty to accept the bishopric of Bamberg. “The ambitious man,” said the Emperor to the Ambassadors from that city, “he has already refused two bishoprics, Halberstadt and Augsburg, and would now reject the third.” Otho accepted the investiture of the fief from Henry, but required the assent of the Pope to his consecration. In other respects this holy man was on the most intimate footing with the Emperor; his private chaplain, who instructed him in the Church psalmody. The Emperor even learned to sing and to compose Church music. Otho prepared for him a course of sermons for the whole year, so short as to be easily retained in the memory.

Nor did this violent measure of the Pope provoke the Emperor to hostility. At the same time that he established peace throughout the Empire, he endeavoured with apparent earnestness to restore peace to the Church. He publicly announced his intention, as soon

^s March 12. Urspergensis. See Mansi, Concil. Ann. 1102. Eccard Chronic. ap Pertz, vi. 224.

as he should be reconciled to the Pope, to make over the Empire to his son, and to undertake a Crusade to the Holy Land. Many of the more distinguished warriors of Germany were prepared to follow his footsteps.

But this most secure and splendid period in the life of Henry IV. was like one calm and brilliant hour of evening before a night of utter gloom. The greatest act of his power, the establishment of peace throughout the Empire, was fatal to that power. The proclamation of war against Mohammedanism was the triumph, the confirmation of the Pope's supremacy; the maintenance of peace the ruin of the Emperor. At the same time when the interdict seemed to sit so lightly upon him, it was working in secret, and reconciling his most faithful followers to treason and to rebellion.

The peace—so precious and so unwonted a blessing to the lower orders, to the peasant, the artisan, the trader, which made the roads and rivers alive with commerce—was not merely irksome, it was degrading and ruinous to the warlike nobles. The great feudatories more immediately around the court complained that the Emperor had not only deprived them of their occupation, of their glory, of their power; but that he was deluding them with a false promise of employing their eager and enterprising valour in the Holy Land. They were wasting their estates on soldiers for whom they had no use, and in idle but costly attendance on a court which dallied with their noble solicitude for active life. Throughout the Empire the princes had for thirty restless years enjoyed the proud privilege of waging war against their neighbours, of maintaining their armed followers by the plunder of their enemies, or of the peaceful commercial traveller. This source of wealth, of power, of busy

occupation, was cut off. They could no longer sally from their impregnable castles and bring home the rich and easy booty. While the low-born vulgar were rising in opulence or independence, they were degraded to distress and ruin and famine. Their barns and cellars were no longer stocked with the plundered produce of neighbouring fields or vineyards; they were obliged to dismiss or to starve their once gallant and numerous retinue.^h He who was accustomed to ride abroad on a foaming courser was reduced to a sorry nag; he who disdained to wear any robes which were not dyed with purple must now appear in coarse attire of the same dull colour which it had by nature. Among the princes of the Empire it was more easy to establish than to maintain peace. The old jealousies and animosities were constantly breaking out; the Bavarian house looked with suspicion on the favour shown to that of Saxony. Lawless acts were committed, either in popular insurrection or in sudden quarrels (as in the murder of Count Sighard near Ratisbon). Dark rumours were immediately propagated of connivance, at least of indolent negligence on the part of the Emperor. The dissatisfaction was deep, dangerous, universal. The rebellion was ripe, it wanted but a cause and a leader.

The Emperor had seen with delight the intimacy which had grown up between his son and the nobles in his court. This popularity might strengthen and secure his succession to the throne. The Prince, in all the ardour of youth, joined in their sports, their huntings, their banquets, and in less seemly diversions. The associates of a prince soon grow into a party. The older and more subtle enemies of Henry,

Unpopularity of peace.

The young Henry.

^h Vita Henrici apud Pertz.

the Papal or religious faction, saw this, too, with pleasure. They availed themselves of these younger agents to provoke and inflame his ambition. It was time, they suggested, that he should be released from the yoke of his weak and aged but severe father; that he should no longer live as a slave without any share or influence in public affairs; the succession, his lawful right, might now be his own, if he would seize it. What it might be after his father's death, what rivals might contest it, who could foresee? or even in his father's lifetime; for it depended entirely on his caprice. He had disinherited one son, he might another. The son's oath, his extorted oath of obedience, was itself invalid; for it had been pledged to an excommunicated person; it was already annulled by the sentence of the Church.

The Emperor was without the least apprehension, or even suspicion of this conspiracy. With his son he set out at the head of an army to punish a certain Count Theodoric, who had surprised Hartwig the Archbishop Elect and the Burgrave of Magdeburg on their way to Liège, where the Prelate was to receive his investiture from the Emperor. The Papal party had chosen another Revolt of Prince Henry. Archbishop, Henry, who had been already expelled from the see of Paderborn. They had reached Fritzlar, when the Prince Henry suddenly left his father's camp, fled to Ratisbon, where he was joined by many of the younger nobles and princes, and raised the standard of revolt.

No sooner had the Emperor heard of his son's flight than he sent messengers after messengers to implore him to respect his solemn oath, to remember his duty to his father, his allegiance to his sovereign, and not to expose himself to the scorn and hatred of mankind. The son sent back a cold reply, that he could have

nothing to do with one under sentence of excommunication. In deep sorrow Henry returned to Mentz; the Archbishop of Cologne and Duke Frederick of Swabia undertook the pious office of reconciling the son and the father. The son rejected all their advances until his father should be reconciled to the Church.

Dec. 1104.

No evidence implicates the Pope in the guilt of suggesting or advising this impious and unnatural rebellion. But the first act of the young Henry was to consult the Pope as to the obligation of his oath of allegiance. The holy father, daringly ascribing this dissension between the son and his parent to the inspiration of God, sent him without reserve the apostolic blessing, and gave him absolution, on condition that he should rule with justice and be faithful to the Church, for his rebellion against his father, an absolution in the final judgement of Christ!¹

So was Germany plunged again into a furious civil war. Everywhere in the State and in the Church the old factions broke out in unmitigated ferocity. The papal clergy were the first to show their weariness of the unwelcome peace. At a meeting at Goslar the clergy of Saxony resolved to expel all the intruding and Simoniac bishops (those who had received investiture from the Emperor), if alive, from their sees, if dead, to dig up their bodies and cast them out of the churches; to re-ordain by Catholic hands all whom those prelates had received into orders, to interdict the exercise of any function in the Church to the married clergy.

The young Henry conducted his own affairs with con-

¹ So writes an ecclesiastical chronicler. "Apostolicus, ut audivit inter patrem et filium dissidium, sperans hoc a Deo evenire . . . de hoc commissio sibi promittens absolutionem in judicio futuro."—Annal. Hildesheim.

summate vigour, subtlety, perfidy, and hypocrisy. In a great assembly of bishops, abbots, monks, and clergy, as well as of the people, at Nordhausen, he appeared without the dress or ensigns of royalty, and refused to ascend the throne; but while he declared himself ready to confirm all the old laws and usages of the realm, he dared to pray with profuse tears for the conversion of his father, protested that he had not revolted against him with any view to the succession or with any design to depose him; that on the instant of his reconciliation with the Pope he would submit in dutiful fidelity. The simple multitude were deluded by his tears; the assembly broke out into an unanimous shout of approbation; the Kyrie Eliéson was sung by priests and people with accordant earnestness.

The tragedy was hastening towards its close. In every quarter the Emperor found lukewarmness, treachery, and desertion. Prelates who had basked in his favour were suddenly convinced of their sin in communicating with an interdicted man, and withdrew from the court. The hostile armies were in presence not far from Ratisbon; the leaders were seized with an unwonted respect for human life, and with dread of the horrors of civil war. The army of the son retired, but remained unbroken, that of the father melted away and dispersed. He was obliged to take refuge in Mentz. Once before, young Henry had moved towards Mentz to reinstate the expelled Archbishop Ruthard, the man accused of the plunder and even of the massacre of the Jews. Thence he had retired, being unable to cross the Rhine; now, however, he effected his passage with little difficulty, having bribed the officer commanding in Spires. Before Mentz the son coldly rejected all propositions from his father to divide the Empire, and to

leave the decision of all disputes between them to the Diet. He still returned the same stern demand of an impossible preliminary to negotiation—his father's reconciliation with the Church: but as if with some lingering respect, he advised the Emperor to abandon Mentz, lest he should fall into the hands of his enemies. Henry fled to the strong castle of Hammerstein, from thence to Cologne. The Archbishop of Cologne had already taken the stronger side; the citizens were true to the Emperor. A diet was summoned at Metz, at which the legate of the Pope was to be present. The Emperor hastily collected all the troops he could command on the Lower Rhine, and advanced to break up this dangerous council. The army of the younger Henry having obtained some advantage stood opposed to that of the father on the banks of the Rhine not far from Coblantz. But the son, so long as he could compass his ends by treachery, would not risk his cause on the doubtful issue of a battle. An interview took place on the banks of the Moselle. At the sight of his son the passionate fondness of the father overpowered all sense of dignity or resentment. He threw himself at the feet of young Henry; he adjured him by the welfare of his soul. "I know that my sins deserve the chastisement of God, but do not thou sully thy honour and thy name. No law of God obliges a son to be the instrument of divine vengeance against his father." The son seemed deeply moved; he bowed to the earth beside his father, entreated his forgiveness with many tears, promised obedience as a son, allegiance as a vassal, if his father would give satisfaction to the Church. He proposed that both should dismiss their armies, each with only three hundred knights repair to Mentz to pass together the holy season of Christmas. There he

solemnly swore that he would labour for lasting reconciliation. The Emperor gave orders to disband his army. In vain his more cautious and faithful followers remonstrated against this imprudence. He only summoned his son again, who lulled his suspicions by a second solemn oath for his safety. At Bingen they passed the night together; the son showed the most profound respect, the father yielded himself up to his long-suppressed feelings of love. The night was spent in free and tender conversation with his son, not unmingled with caresses. Little thought he, writes the historian, that this was the last night in which he would enjoy the luxury of parental fondness. The following day pretexts were found for conveying the Emperor, not to Mentz, but to the strong castle of Bechelheim near Kreuznach. Henry could but remind his son of the perils and difficulties which he had undergone to secure him the succession to the Empire. A third time young Henry pledged his own head for the security of his father. Yet no sooner was he, with a few attendants,

Henry IV.
a prisoner.

within the castle, than the gates were closed—the Emperor Henry IV. was a prisoner! His gaoler was a churchman, his enemy the Bishop Gebhard of Spires, whom he had formerly expelled from his see. Either from neglect or cruelty he was scantily provided with food; he was denied a barber to shave his beard and the use of the bath. The inexorable bigot would not permit the excommunicated ministrations of a priest, still less the holy Eucharist on the Lord's Nativity. He was compelled by menaces against his life to command the surrender of all the regalia which had been left in the castle of Hammerstein.

The Diet, attended by almost all the magnates of the Empire, assembled at Mentz; but it was not safe to

bring the fallen Henry before that meeting, for there, as elsewhere, the honest popular sympathy was strong on the side of the father and of the Emperor. He was carried to the castle of Ingelheim in the Palatinate; there, stripped of every ensign of royalty, broken by indignities of all kinds, by the insolent triumph of his foes, the perfidy of his friends, the Emperor stood before a Diet composed entirely of his enemies, the worst of those enemies his son, and the Papal Legate at their head. He was urged, on peril of his life, to abdicate. 'On that condition,' he inquired, "will ye guarantee my life?" The Legate of the Pope replied, and demanded this further condition; he should publicly acknowledge that he had unjustly persecuted the holy Gregory, wickedly set up the Antipope Guibert, and oppressed the Church. In vain he strove for less humiliating terms, and even for delay and for a more regular judgement. His inexorable enemies offered him but this alternative or perpetual imprisonment. He then implored that, at least, if he conceded all, he might be at once released from excommunication. The Cardinal replied, that was beyond his powers; the Emperor must go to Rome to be absolved. All were touched with some compassion except the son. The Emperor surrendered everything, his castles, his treasures, his patrimony, his empire: he declared himself unworthy to reign any longer.

The Diet returned to Mentz, elected and invested Henry V. in the Empire, with the solemn warning that if he did not rule with justice and protect the Church, he must expect the fate of his father. A deputation of the most distinguished prelates from every part of Germany was sent to Rome to settle the terms of reconciliation between the Empire and the Pope.

But in the German people the natural feelings of justice and of duty, the generous sympathies with age and greatness and cruel wrong, were not extinguished, as in the hearts of the princes by hatred and ambition, in the ecclesiastics by hatred and bigotry. In a popular insurrection at Colmar, caused partly by the misconduct of his own troops, the new Emperor was discomfited and obliged to fly with the loss of the regalia of the Empire. The old Henry received warning from some friendly hand that nothing now awaited him but perpetual imprisonment or death. He made his escape to Cologne; the citizens heard the account of his sufferings with indignant compassion, and at once embarked in his cause. He retired to Liège, where he was received with the utmost honours by the Bishop Otbert and the inhabitants of the city.

The abdicated Emperor was again at the head of a powerful party. Henry of Lorraine and other princes of the Empire, incensed at his treatment, promised to meet him in arms at Liège, and there to celebrate the feast of Easter. The young Henry, intoxicated by his success, and miscalculating the strength of feeling aroused in his father's cause, himself proclaimed a Diet at Liège to expel his father from that city, and to punish those who had presumed to receive him. He rejected with scorn his father's submissive, suppliant expostulations. So mistrustful had the old man become that he was with difficulty prevailed upon to remain and keep his Easter at Liège. His friends urged the unseemliness of his holding that great festival in some wild wood or cavern. But the enemy approached; Cologne offered no resistance: there the young Emperor observed Palm Sunday in great state. He advanced to

People in
favour of
Henry IV.

A.D. 1106.

Aix-la-Chapelle, but in an attempt to cross the Maes his troops suffered a shameful defeat. He fled back to Cologne; that city now ventured to close its gates and drove the king and the archbishop from their walls. Henry V. retired to Bonn, and there kept his Easter, but without imperial pomp.

At Worms he passed Whitsuntide, and laid Henry of Lorraine and all his father's partisans under the ban of the Empire: he summoned all the feudatories of Germany to meet at Wurzburg in July. Once more at the head of a formidable army he marched to crush the rebellion, as it was called, of his father, and to avenge the shame of his recent defeat. But Cologne had strengthened her walls and manned them with a large garrison. The city resisted with obstinate valour. Henry V. was forced to undertake a regular siege, to blockade the town, and endeavour to reduce it by famine. His army advanced towards Aix-la-Chapelle; all negotiations failed from the mutual distrust and animosity; a battle seemed inevitable which should decide the fate of the father and the son.

But Henry IV. was now beyond either the melancholy triumph over a rebellious son or the shame of defeat, and of those consequences which might Death of Henry. have been anticipated if he had fallen again into those ruthless hands. On the 7th of August Erlembold, the faithful chamberlain of the Emperor, arrived in the camp of Henry with the diadem and sword of his father, the last ensigns of his imperial dignity. Worn out with fatigue and sorrow, Henry IV. had closed in peace his long and agitated life, his eventful reign of A.D. 1056-1106. near fifty years. His dying prayers to his son were for forgiveness on account of these last acts of hostility, to which he had been driven by hard ex

tremity, and the request that his earthly remains might repose with those of his ancestors in the cathedral of Spires.

No one can know whether any gentler emotions of pity, remorse, or filial love, in the tumult of rejoicing at this unexpected success, touched the heart of the son with tender remorse. The last request was inexorably refused; the Church continued its implacable warfare with the dead. The faithful Bishop of Liège, Otbert, conveyed the body of his sovereign in decent pomp to the church of St. Lambert. His nobler partisans had dispersed on all sides; but more true mourners, widows, orphans, the whole people crowded around as though they had lost a father; they wept, they kissed his bountiful hands, they embraced his cold body; they would scarcely permit it to be let down into the grave. Nor was this mere transient sorrow; they kept watch round the sepulchre, and wept and prayed for the soul of their deceased benefactor.^k

Nevertheless, haughtily regardless of this better testimony to the Christian virtues of the Emperor than all their solemn services, the bishops of the adverse party declared that he who was excommunicate in life was excommunicate in death. Otbert was compelled, as a penance for his precipitate act of gratitude and love, to disinter the body, which was placed in an unconsecrated building in an island on the Moselle. No sacred ceremonial was permitted; a single monk, just returned from Jerusalem, had the pious boldness to sing psalms beside it day and night. It was at length, by his son's permission, conveyed to Spires with a small attendance

^k Even Dodechin writes: "Enimvero ut de eo omnia loquar, erat valde | of his mercy, that he was "valde compatiens et misericors in eleemosynis pauperum."—Apud Struvium, p. 677.

of faithful servants. It was received by the people, and even the clergy, with great honour and conveyed to the cathedral. At this the implacable bishop was seized with indignation; he imposed penance on all who had attended the procession, he prohibited the funeral service, and ordered the body to be placed in an unconsecrated chapel within the cathedral. The better Christianity of the people again rebuked the relentlessness of the bishop. They reminded him how the munificent Emperor had enriched the church of Spire; they recounted the ornaments of gold and silver and precious stones, the silken vestments, the works of art, the golden altar-table, richly wrought, a present of the eastern Emperor Alexius, which had made their cathedral the most gorgeous and famous in Germany. They loudly expressed their grief and dissatisfaction, and were hardly restrained from tumult. But they prevailed not. Yet the bier of Henry was still visited by unbought and unfeigning witnesses to his still more Christian oblations, his boundless charities. At length after five years of obstinate contention Henry was permitted to repose in the consecrated vault with his imperial ancestors.

CHAPTER II.

Henry V. and Pope Paschal II.

IF it were ever unpresumptuous to trace the retributive justice of God in the destiny of one man, it might be acknowledged in the humiliation of Pope Paschal II. by the Emperor Henry V. The Pope, by his continual sanction, if not by direct advice, had trained the young Emperor in his inordinate ambition and his unscrupulous avidity for power. He had not rebuked his shameless perfidy or his revolting cruelty; he had absolved him from thrice-sworn oaths; he had released him from the great irrepeatable obligations of nature and the divine law. A rebel against his sovereign and his father was not likely, against his own interests or passions, to be a dutiful son or subject of his mother the Church, or of his spiritual superiors. If Paschal suffered the result of his own lessons, if he was driven from his capital, exposed to personal sufferings so great and menacing as to compel him to submit to the hardest terms which the Emperor chose to dictate, he had not much right to compassion. Paschal is almost the only later Pope who was reduced to the degrading necessity of being disclaimed by the clergy, of being forced to retract his own impeccable decrees, of being taunted in his own day with heresy, and abandoned as a feeble traitor to the rights of the Church by the dexterous and unscrupulous apologists of almost every act of the Papal See.

Hardly was Henry V. in peaceful possession of his

father's throne when the dispute about the investitures was unavoidably renewed. The humble ally of the Church was not more inclined to concede the claims of the Teutonic sovereign than his contumacious and excommunicated father. The implacable enmity with which the Pope had pursued the older Emperor turned immediately against himself. Instead of an adversary weary of strife, worn out with premature old age, under the ignominy not only of his former humiliation at the feet of Hildebrand, but of his recent expulsion from Italy, and with almost the whole of Germany in open arms or leagued by discontent against him, Paschal had raised up an antagonist, a youth of unrivalled activity and unbridled ambition, flushed with the success of his rebellion, holding that authority over the princes of the Empire which sprang from their common engagement in a daring and unjustifiable cause, unencumbered with the guilt of having appointed the intrusive prelates, who held their sees without the papal sanction, yet sure of their support if he would maintain them in their dignities. The Empire had thus become far more formidable; and unless it would humbly cede all the contested rights (at such a time and under such a king an event most improbable) far more hostile.

Pope Paschal held a synod chiefly of Lombard bishops at Guastalla.^a The first act was to revenge the dignity of Rome against the rival see of Ravenna, which for a century had set up an Antipope. Already, jealous no doubt of the miracles reported by his followers to be wrought at his tomb, Paschal had commanded the body of Guibert to be taken up from its sepulchre and cast into the Tiber. The metropolitan

Synod of
Guastalla.

^a Labbe et Mansi, Concil. sub ann. 1106, Oct. 18.

see of Ravenna was punished by depriving it of the province Æmilia, and its superiority over the bishoprics of Piacenza, Parma, Reggio, Modena, and Bologna. A prudent decree, which expressed profound sorrow for the divisions in Germany, acknowledged the titles of all those prelates who had been consecrated during the schism and had received the imperial investiture, in fact of the whole episcopacy with few exceptions, in the Empire. Those alone who were usurpers, Simoniacs, or men of criminal character, were excluded from this act of amnesty. But another decree condemned the investiture by lay hands in the strongest terms, deposed the prelates who should hereafter admit, and excommunicated the laymen who should dare to exercise, this authority. Ambassadors from the young Emperor, the Bishops of Treves and Halberstadt, courteously solicited the presence of Paschal in Germany. They proposed a council to be held at Augsburg to arrange definitively the ecclesiastical affairs of the Empire, at the same time expressing their hope that the Pope would fully concede all the rights of the Empire, an ambiguous phrase full of dangerous meaning!^b

The Pope acceded to the request, but the Emperor and the princes of the Empire held their Christmas at Augsburg, vainly awaiting his arrival. The Pope had advanced as far as Verona; a tumult in that city shook his confidence in the commanding sanctity of his presence. His more prudent counsellors suggested the unconquerable determination of the Germans to maintain the right of investiture, and the danger of placing himself in the power of a prince at once so daring and

^b "Quærens, ut Jus sibi regni
Concedat, sedi sanctæ cupit ipse fidelis
Esse velut matri, subici sibi vel quasi patri."—DONIZO

perfidious.^c He would be more safe in the friendly territory and under the less doubtful protection of the King of France. The acts of Henry might justify this mistrust. The king proceeded at once to invest the Bishops of Verdun and Halberstadt, and commanded the Archbishop of Treves to consecrate them; he reinstated the Bishop Udo, who had been deposed by the Pope, in the see of Hildesheim; he forced an abbot who was actually under an interdict in the monastery of St. Tron to violate his suspension. The Papal clergy throughout Germany quailed before these vigorous measures. So utterly were they prostrated that Gebhard of Constance, Oderic of Passau, under the specious pretence of avoiding all communion with the excommunicate, had determined to engage in a foreign pilgrimage. Paschal entreats them to remain as shining lights, and not to leave Germany a land of utter darkness.^d

The tone of Henry's ambassadors, before a Council held by Pope Paschal at Troyes,^e in Champagne, was as haughty and unyielding. He demanded his full privilege of electing bishops, granted, according to his assertion, by the Pope to Charlemagne.^f He would not condescend to permit questions which related to the German Empire to be agitated in a foreign country, in France. At Rome this great cause should be decided; and a year's truce was mutually agreed upon, to allow the Emperor to make his appearance in that city.

It was not, however, till the third year after this truce

^c Chronicon Ursbergense, sub ann. 1107.

^d Epist. Gebhard. Constant., &c. "Et in medio nationis prave et perverse tanquam luminaria lucere studeant."—Oct. 27, 1106.

^e May 23, 1107. The Archbishop of Mentz, Rothard, refused to be present at Troyes.

^f Chronicon Ursbergense, sub ann. 1107.

that Henry descended into Italy. These years were occupied by wars in Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland. Though not always or eventually successful, the valour and determination of Henry, as well as his unscrupulous use of treachery when force failed, strengthened the general dread of his power and his ambition.

In a great Diet at Ratisbon on the Feast of the Diet at Ratisbon. A.D. 1110. Epiphany, A.D. 1110, the Emperor announced his intention of proceeding to Rome—I. For his coronation; the Pope had already expressed to the King's ambassadors his willingness to perform that ceremony, if Henry would declare himself a faithful son and protector of the Church. II. To re-establish order in Italy. The Lombard Republics had now begun to assert their own freedom, and to wage furious battle against the freedom of their neighbours. Almost every city was at war with another; Milan with Lodi, Pavia with Tortona, Pisa with Lucca. III. To take measures for the protection of the Church in strict obedience to the Pope.^g He delayed only to celebrate his betrothal with Matilda, the Infant daughter of Henry I. of England.

The summons was obeyed in every part of the Henry's army. Empire. Above 30,000 knights, with their attendants, and the infantry, assembled under the Imperial banner, the most formidable army which for some centuries had descended from the Alps; and to be increased by the Italian partisans of the Emperor. Large contributions were made to defray the expenses of the expedition. In order to cope with the papal party, not in arms only, but likewise in argument, he was attended by the most learned of the Transalpine

^g "Ad nutum patris apostolici"

ecclesiastical scholars, ready to do theological battle in his cause.^h Though an angry comet glared in the heavens, yet the Empire seemed to adopt with eager loyalty this invasion of Italy.

The first act of Henry struck terror into all minds. With a considerable division of the army, the Emperor himself descended from Savoy upon Ivrea, and reached Vercelli. Novara presumed to resist. The unfortunate town was given up to the flames, its walls razed to the ground. All the other cities of Lombardy, appalled by this example, sent their plate and large contributions in money to the Emperor. The haughty and populous Milan alone refused this mark of subjection.¹ The other division of the army had descended by the valley of Trent; the united forces assembled in the plains of Roncaglia, near Piacenza. The proud and politic Matilda had entertained the Imperial ambassadors on their return from Rome with friendly courtesies. The Emperor knew too well her importance not to attempt to gain her neutrality, if not her support; she was too prudent to offend a warlike sovereign at the head of such a force. She swore allegiance, and promised fealty against all enemies except the Pope. Henry confirmed her in all her possessions and privileges.

The army advanced, but suffered great losses both of horses and men from continued heavy rains in the passes of the Apennines. The strong fortress of Pontremoli followed the example and shared the fate of

^h His chaplain, David the Scot, was to be the historian of the expedition. His work is lost, but was used by the author of the *Chronicon Ursbergense*, and by William of Malmesbury.

¹ "*Aurea vasa sibi, necnon argentea misit Plurima, cum multis urbs omnis denique nummis. Nobilis urbs solum Mediolanum populosa Non servivit ei, nummum neque contulit aëri*"—Dante.

Nóvara. At Florence Henry held his Christmas, and compelled Pisa and Lucca to make a treaty of peace. Such an army as Henry's was not likely to be restrained by severe discipline, nor was Henry likely to enforce discipline, unless from policy. Of many cities he gained possession by delusive offers of peace. No person or property was treated with respect; churches were destroyed: religious men seized and plundered, or expelled from their monasteries. In Arezzo Henry took the part of the clergy against the people, levelled the walls and fortifications, and destroyed great part of the city.^k

And still his march continued, unresisted and unchecked, towards Rome. He advanced to Aquapendente, to Sutri. There the Pope, utterly defenceless, awaited this terrible visit. He had endeavoured to prevail on his vassals, the Norman princes of Calabria and Apulia, to succour him in the hour of need; not a knight obeyed his summons.

From the ruins of Arezzo Henry had sent forward an embassy—the Chancellor Albert, Count Godfrey of Calw, and other nobles, to negotiate with the Pontiff. Peter, the son of Leo, a man of Jewish descent, once a partisan of the Antipope Guibert, now a firm supporter of the Pope, who had extraordinary influence over the people of Rome, was called in to assist the Cardinals in their council. The dispute seemed hopelessly irreconcilable. The Pope could not cede the right of investiture, which his predecessors and himself in every Council, at Guastalla, at Troyes, still later at Benevento, and in the Lateran,^m had declared to be a sacrilegious usurpation. Such an Emperor, at

Henry advances on Rome.

^k Annalist. Saxo., sub ann. 1111.

^m At Benevento, Oct. 1008; in the Lateran, 1110, March 7. Annalist Saxo. *adud* Pertz, vi. 748. Annal. Hildesheim., *ibid.* iii. 112.

the head of an irresistible army, was not likely to abandon a right exercised by his ancestors in the Empire since the days of Charlemagne.

To the amazement and indignation of that age, and to the wonder of posterity,^a the plain principles of right and equity began to make themselves heard. If the clergy would persist in holding large temporalities, they must hold them liable to the obligations and subordinate to the authority of the State. But if they would surrender all these fiefs, royalties, privileges, and immunities, by which they were perpetually embroiled in secular concerns, and return into their purely ecclesiastical functions, all interference of the State with the consecration of bishops became a manifest invasion on the Church. The Church must content herself with her tithes and offerings; so the clergy would be relieved from those abuses inseparable from vast temporal possessions, and in Germany in general so flagrantly injurious to the sacred character. Through their vast territorial domains, bishops and abbots were not only compelled to perpetual attendance in the civil courts, but even bound to military service, by which they could scarcely escape being partakers in rapine, sacrilege, incendiarism, and homicide. The ministers of the altar had become ministers of the court. Out of this arose the so branded monstrous claim of the right of investiture, which had been justly condemned by Gregory and by Urban. Remove the cause of the evil, the evil would cease.^o

^a "Anche oggidì si ha pena a credere, che un pontifice arrivassi a promettere una sì smisurata concessione."—Muratori, Ann. d' Italia, sub ann. 1111.

^o The Emperor recites the letter of

Paschal. "In vestri autem regni partibus episcopi vel abbates adeo curis secularibus occupantur, ut comitatum assidue frequentare, et militiam exercere cogantur, quæ nimirum aut vix aut nullo modo sine rapinis, sacrilegiis

Pope Paschal, either in his fear, and in the consciousness of his desperate and helpless position,^p or from some secret conviction that this was the real interest of the Church, as well as the most Christian course; or anticipating the unconquerable resistance of the clergy, which would release him from the fulfilment of his part of the treaty, and throw the whole prelacy and clergy on his side, suddenly acquiesced in this basis for the treaty.^q The Church surrendered all the possessions and all the royalties which it had received of the Empire and of the kingdom of Italy from the days of Charlemagne, Louis the Pious, and Henry I.; all the cities, duchies, marquisates, countships, rights of coining money, customs, tolls, advocacies,^r rights of raising soldiers, courts and castles, held of the Empire. The King, on his part, gave up the now vain and unmeaning form of Investiture.^s

Feb. 12, 1111.

The treaty was concluded in the porch of St. Peter's Church, it might seem, in the actual presence of the Apostle. The King pledged himself on the day of his coronation, in the sight of the clergy and the people, to grant the investiture of all the churches. The Pope, at the same time, was to confirm by an oath the surrender of all the royalties held by the

Treaty.

incendiis, aut homicidiis exhibitur. *Ministri vero altaris, ministri curie facti sunt, quia civitates, ducatus, marchionatus, monetas, turres, et cetera, ad regni servitium pertinentia a regibus acceperunt.*—Dodechin apud Struvium, p. 669.

^p He had already congratulated Henry, "quod patris nequitiam abhorreret." Paschal had been perplexed to show what wickedness of his father, as regards the Church, Henry abhorred.

—Chron. Casin.

^q There is much which is contradictory in the statements. According to the writer of the Chronicon Casinense, the treaty was concluded while Henry was still at Florence by Peter Leonis on the side of the Pope, and the ambassadors of Henry.

^r "Advocatas regum, jura centurionum."

^s The first convention in Pertz, *Leg. ii.* 68. Exard, *ii.* 270.

Church. On one point alone the Pope was inflexible. Henry entreated permission to bury his father in consecrated ground. The Pope, who had already significantly reminded Henry that he had acknowledged and professed to abhor the wickedness of his father, infamous throughout the world, declared that the Martyrs sternly exacted the expulsion of that guilty man from their churches; they would hold no communion in death with him who died out of communion with the Church.[†]

The King pressed this point no further; but he consented to swear never hereafter to intermeddle in the investiture of the churches, which clearly did not belong to the Empire, or to disturb them in the free possession of oblations or property. He was to restore and maintain to the Holy See the patrimony of St. Peter, as it had been granted by Pepin, by Charlemagne, and by Louis. He was to pledge himself neither in word nor thought to injure either in life or limb, or by imprisonment by himself or others, the Pope or any of his adherents, by name Peter, the son of Leo, or his sons, who were to be hostages for the Pope. All the great princes of the Empire, among them Frederick Prince of Swabia and the Chancellor Albert, were to guarantee by oath the fulfilment of the treaty. Both sides gave hostages: the Emperor his nephew Frederick of Swabia, Bruno Bishop of Spire, and three others; the Pope the sons or kindred of Peter, the son of Leo. The Pope not only consented on these terms to perform the rite of coronation, he also pledged himself never hereafter to

[†] "Hostis enim nequitiam, toto jam sæculo diffamatam, et interius cognosceret, et gravius abhorreret. . . . Ipsos etiam Dei Martýres jam in cœlestibus positos id terribiliter exegisse sciret, ut sceleratorum cadavera de suis Basilicis pellerentur, ut quibus viventibus non communicamus, nec mortuis communicare possumus." — Chron. Casin., cap. xxxvi.

disturb the Emperor or the Empire on these questions; to bind his successors by an anathema not to presume to break this treaty. And Peter the son of Leo pledged himself, if the Pope should fail in his part of the contract, to espouse the cause of the Emperor, and to be his faithful vassal.

Such was the solemn compact between the two great Powers of Latin Christendom. The oaths may still be read with which it was ratified by the contracting parties.^u

On Saturday, the 11th of February, Henry appeared on the Monte Mario. A deputation from the city met him, and required his oath to respect the liberties of Rome. Henry, perhaps from ignorance of the language, replied in German; a suspicion of treachery arose; the Romans withdrew in deep but silent mistrust. The hostages were exchanged on each side; Henry ratified his compact, and guaranteed to the Pope, besides the patrimony of St. Peter, that which belonged to neither, Apulia, Calabria, Sicily, and the principality of Capua.

The next day (Sunday) a magnificent procession of the authorities and of the people, under their different banners, escorted the King into the city. The standards of the old Republic and the new religion were mingled together. The torchbearers, the bearers of the Cross, the Eagles, the banners emblazoned with the Lion, the Wolf, and the Dragon.^x The people strewed flowers and palm-branches; all the guilds and schools marched in their array. According to usage, at two different places the Emperor took the oath to protect and maintain the franchises of the people. The Jews before the gate of the Leonine City, the Greeks in

Procession to
St. Peter's.

^u Apud Pertz. Mansi, sub ann.

^x Annalista Saxo.

the gate itself, the whole people as he passed through the streets, welcomed him with songs and hymns and all royal honours. He dismounted from his horse, ascended the steps of St. Peter's, approached the Pope, who was encircled by the cardinals, by many bishops, by the whole clergy and choir of the Church.[†] He kissed first the feet, and then the mouth of the Pontiff; they embraced three times, and three times in honour of the Trinity exchanged the holy kiss on the forehead, the eyes, and the lips. All without was the smoothest and most cordial harmony, but within there was profound misgiving. Henry had demanded that the gates and towers of the Vatican should be occupied by his soldiery.

The King took the right hand of the Pope; the people rent the air with acclamations. The King made his solemn declaration to observe ^{Henry} ^{Emperor.} the treaty; the Pope declared him Emperor, and again the Pope bestowed the kiss of peace. They now took their seats within the porphyry chancel.

But after all this solemn negotiation, this imposing preparation, which would trust the other? which would first venture to make the full, the irrevocable concession? The character of Henry justifies the darkest suspicion of his treachery, but the Pope must by this time have known that the Church would never permit him to ratify the rash and prodigal concession to which he was pledged so solemnly. All the more lofty Churchmen had heard with amazement that the successor of Hildebrand and of Urban had surrendered at once half

† The Chron. Casin. makes Henry mount his horse again, and as it should seem ride up the steps, for he dismounts again to greet the Pope. This is not unimportant, as the monk makes Henry hold the Pope's stirrup (*stratoris officium exhibuit*). But was the Pope on horseback?

of the dignity, more than half of the power, the independence, perhaps the wealth of the Church. The Cardinals, no doubt, as appointed by the late Popes, were mostly high Hildebrandines. Many of the Lombard bishops held rights and privileges in the cities which would have been at the least imperilled by this unlimited surrender of all royalties. But the blow was heaviest on the Transalpine prelates. The great prince bishops of Germany ceased at once to be princes; they became but bishops. They were to yield up all their pomp, all their vast temporal power. It was the avowed design to banish them from the camp, the council, and the court, and to confine them to the cathedral. They were no longer, as holding the most magnificent imperial fiefs, to rank with the counts, and dukes, and princes; to take the lead at the Diet; to grant or to withhold their contingent of armed men for service under the Imperial banner; to ride abroad with a splendid retinue; to build not only sumptuous palaces but strong castles; to be the great justiciaries in their cities, to levy tolls, appoint markets and havens. Their sole occupation henceforth was to be their spiritual cure, the services in their churches, the superintendence of their dioceses: the clergy were to be their only vassals, their honour only that which they might command by their sacerdotal character, their influence that only of the chief spiritual pastor within their sees. The Pope might seem deliberately and treacherously to sacrifice all the higher ecclesiastics, to strip them remorselessly of all those accessories of outward show and temporal influence (some of the better prelates might regret the loss of that power, as disabling them from the protection of the poor against the rich, of the oppressed against the oppressor): at the same time he

secured himself: to him the patrimony of St. Peter was to be confirmed in its utmost amplitude. He, and he only, was still to be independent of the tithes and oblations of the faithful; to be a sovereign, at least with all the real powers of a sovereign.

They sat, then, the Emperor and the Pope, watching each other's movements; each determined not to commit himself by some hasty word or act. The object of each was to throw upon the other the shame and obloquy of the violation of contract. Their historians have faithfully inherited their mistrust and suspicion, and cast the blame of the inevitable breach on either of the irreconcilable parties. Henry indeed is his own historian, and asserts the whole to have been a stratagem on the part of the Pope to induce him to abandon the claim to the investiture. And no doubt the advantage was so clearly on the side of the king that even some of his own seemingly most ardent adherents might dread, and might endeavour to interrupt, a treaty which threw such immense power into his hands. Not merely was he relieved from the salutary check of the ecclesiastical feudatories, but some of the superior nobles becoming his vassals, holding directly of the Emperor instead of intermediately of the Church, were less safe from tyranny and oppression. On the other hand, it is asserted that Henry had determined never to concede the investiture—that this was one more added to his acts of perfidy and falsehood.²

At length the king withdrew into a private chamber to consult with his nobles and his prelates: among these were three Lombard bishops, of Parma, Reggio,

² Annal. Roman., p. 474: Eccard, Chron.; Annal. Hildesheim., 1111 Pandulf. Pisan.; Chron. Cassin.

and Piacenza. His principal adviser was the Chancellor Albert, afterwards Archbishop of Mentz, a man of daring and ambition: of the secrets of this council nothing transpired.

Time wore away. The Transalpine prelates, to remonstrate (no doubt their remonstrance deepened into expostulation, into menace), threw themselves at the feet of the Pope. Paschal, if credit is to be given to the most full and distinct account, still held the lofty religious doctrine that all should be surrendered to Cæsar which belonged to Cæsar, that the clergy should stand altogether aloof from temporal concerns.^a This doctrine, it might have been supposed, would have been most acceptable to the ears of Cæsar, who had now resumed his place. But instead of the calm ratification of the treaty, the assembly became more and more tumultuous. Loud voices clamoured that the treaty could not be fulfilled.^b A partisan of Henry exclaimed, "What need of this dispute? Our Emperor shall receive the crown as it was received by Charlemagne, by Pepin, and by Louis!" The Pope refused to proceed to the ceremony. As it grew later he proposed to adjourn the meeting. The Imperialists, as the strife grew more hot, took measures to prevent the Pope from leaving the church until he should have performed the coronation. He and the clergy were surrounded by files of soldiers; they were scarcely allowed approach to the altar to provide the elements for the Eucharist or to celebrate the mass. After that mass they again sat under guard before the Confessional of St. Peter, and only at nightfall were permitted, under

^a Chronic. Casin.

^b The monk of Monte Casino would persuade us that this was a cry treacher

ously got up by the *partisans* of Henry; probably the loudest remonstrants were Transalpines.

the same strict custody, to retire into an adjacent building. Acts of violence were committed; some of the attendant boys and even the clergy were beaten and stripped of their vestments: two bishops, John of Tusculum and Leo of Ostia, made their escape in disguise.

The populace of Rome, as soon as they heard of the imprisonment of the Pope, indignant at his treatment, or at least hating the Germans, who had already given much cause for suspicion and animosity, rose in furious insurrection. They slew all the unarmed Teutons who had come up to the city for devotion or for trade. The next day they crossed the Tiber, attacked the army without the walls, and, flushed with some success, turned upon the Emperor and his troops, which occupied St. Peter's: they almost got possession of the porch of the church. The Emperor, who had mounted his horse half armed, and charged into the fray, having transfixed five Romans with his lance, was thrown from his horse and wounded in the face. A devoted adherent, Otho, a Milanese count, gave the Emperor his horse, but was himself taken prisoner, carried into the streets and torn limb from limb: his flesh was thrown to the dogs. The Emperor shouted to his knights in a tone of bitter reproach, "Will ye leave your Emperor to be murdered by the Romans?" The chivalrous spirit kindled at his voice; the troops rallied; the battle lasted till nightfall, when the Romans, having plundered the dead, turned back towards the city with their booty. But the Imperialists had now recovered from their surprise, charged the retreating enemy, and slaughtered a great number, who would not abandon their plunder to save their lives. The castle of St. Angelo alone, which was in the power of the Romans,

checked the Germans and protected the passage of the river.

All that night the warlike Bishop of Tusculum^e harangued the Romans, and exhorted them to rescue the Pope and the cardinals from the hands of their ungodly enemies; he lavished on all sides his offers of absolution. Henry found it prudent after three days to

Feb. 16. withdraw from the neighbourhood of Rome:

his army was on the wrong side of the Tiber, which lay between him and the city. He marched along the Flaminian Way towards Soracte, crossed the Tiber, and afterwards the Anio, and there joined his Italian adherents. On that side of Rome he concentrated his forces and wasted the whole territory. His prisoners, the Pope, the bishops, and the cardinals, were treated with great indignity, the Pope stripped of his robes of state, the clergy bound with ropes. The Pope, with two bishops and four cardinals, were imprisoned in the castle of Treviso; no one of his Roman adherents was permitted to approach him; the other cardinals were confined in the castle of Corcodilo.

The indefatigable Bishop of Tusculum showed the utmost energy in keeping up the resistance of the Roman people. But no help could be expected from the Normans. Duke Roger and his brother Bohemond were just dead; the Normans could only hope to protect their own territories against the advance of the Emperor. The Prince of Capua made an attempt to throw 300 men into Rome; at Ferentino he found the Count of Tusculum posted, with other Italian partisans of Henry: his troops returned to Capua.

^e The Bishop of Tusculum enhances the prowess and success of the Romans. Compare his letter to the Bishop of Alba.—Labbe, p. 775.

Two months passed away.^d The German army wasted the whole land with merciless cruelty up to the gates of Rome. But still the resolute Paschal refused to acquiesce in the right of investiture or to crown the Emperor. Henry is said, in his wrath, to have threatened to cut off the heads of the Pope and all the cardinals. In vain the weary and now dispirited cardinals urged that he gave up only the investiture of the royalties, not the spiritual powers; in vain they represented the danger of a new schism which might distract the whole Church. The miseries of his Roman subjects at length touched the heart of Paschal; with many tears he exclaimed, "I am compelled, for the deliverance of the Church and for the sake of peace, to yield what I would never have yielded to save my own life."^e

Near Ponte Mommolo over the Anio, this treaty was ratified. The Pope surrendered to the Emperor the right of investiture over the bishops and abbots of the Empire. He promised to take no revenge for what had passed, more especially he solemnly pledged himself not to anathematise Henry, but to crown him as King, Emperor, and Patrician of Rome, and to render him all due allegiance. The king on his part covenanted to set the Pope, the cardinals, and all his other prisoners at liberty, and not to take them again

April 11, 12.

^d The rest of February and the whole of March, with some days of April.

^e "Proponatur pontifici captivorum calamitates quod amissis liberis et uxoribus domo et patriâ exules durioribus compedibus adducebantur. Proponatur Ecclesiæ Romanæ desolatio, quæ pene omnes Cardinales amiserat. Proponatur gravissimum schismatis periculum, quod pene universæ Latine ecclesiæ immineret. Victus tandem

miseriis filiorum, laboranz gravibus suspiriis et gemitibus, et in lacrymis totus effusus ecclesiæ pro liberatione ac pace hoc pati, hoc permittere, quod pro vitâ meâ nullatenus consentirem."—Annal. Roman. p. 475. An Imperialist writer strangely compares the conduct of Henry, in thus extorting the surrender, with Jacob's wrestling for a blessing with the angel.—Chron. Ursbergense, *in loc.* Also Annalista Sax.

into captivity; to make peace with the Romans and all the adherents of the Pope; to maintain the ^{Treaty.} Pope in the possession of his sacred dignity, to restore all the property of which he had been despoiled, and, saving the dignity of the kingdom and of the Empire, to be obedient to the Pope as other Catholic sovereigns to other Catholic Pontiffs of Rome.

The Germans suspected that into the written treaty might furtively be introduced some protest that the Pope was under force. Count Albert Blandrade declared to Paschal that his concession must be unconditional. "If I may not add a written condition," replied the Pope, "I will do it by word." He turned to the Emperor: "So will we fulfil our oath as thou givest assurance that thou wilt fulfil thine." The Emperor could not but assent. Fourteen cardinals and ecclesiastics on the part of the Pope, fourteen princes of the Empire on that of Henry, guaranteed by oath the fulfilment of the treaty. The written compact menaced with the anathema of the Church all who should infringe, or contumaciously persist in infringing, this Imperial privilege. No bishop was to be consecrated till he had received investiture.

The army advanced again to Rome; they crossed the ^{April 13.} Salarian bridge and entered the Leonine city ^{Coronation of the Emperor.} beyond the Tiber. With closed doors, fearful of some new tumult of the people, the Pope, in the church of St. Peter, performed the office of coronation. Both parties seemed solicitous to array the treaty in the most binding solemnities. That there might appear no compulsion, the Emperor, as soon as he had been crowned, replaced the charter of his privilege in the Pope's hand, and received it a second time, contrary to all usage, from his hands. The mass closed the ceremony; the Pope brake the Host: "As this part of the living body

of the Lord is severed from the rest, so be he severed from the Church of Christ who shall violate this treaty."

A deputation of the Romans was then permitted to enter the church; they presented the Emperor with the golden diadem, the insignia of the Patriciate and Defensorship of the city of Rome. Yet Henry did not enter, as his predecessors were wont, the unruly city; he withdrew to his camp, having bestowed rich gifts upon the clergy and taken hostages for their fidelity: the Pope passed by the bridge over the Tiber into Rome.

The Emperor returned to Germany, having extorted in one successful campaign that which no power had been able to wring from the more stubborn Hildebrand and Urban. So great was the terror of his name that the devout defender of the Pope and of his supremacy, the Countess Matilda, scrupled not to maintain the most friendly relations with him. She would not indeed leave her secure fortress, but the Emperor condescended to visit her at Bianello; he conversed with her in German, with which, as born in Lorraine, she was familiar, released at her request the Bishops of Parma and Reggio, called her by the endearing name of mother, and invested her in the sovereignty of the province of Liguria.

It would be unjust to Paschal not to believe him sincere in his desire to maintain this treaty, so publicly made, so solemnly ratified. But he could no more resist the indignation of the clergy than the menaces of the Emperor. The few cardinals who had been imprisoned with him, as his accomplices, feebly defended him; all the rest with one voice called upon him immediately to annul the unholy, the sacrilegious compact; to excommunicate the Emperor who had dared to extort by violence such abandonment of

her rights from the Church. The Pope, who was omnipotent and infallible to advance the authority of the Church, when he would make any concession lost at once his power and infallibility. The leader of the old Hildebrandine party, more papal than the Pope himself, was Bruno, afterwards a saint, then Bishop of Segni and abbot elect of Monte Casino. He addressed the Pope to his face: "They say that I am thine enemy; I am not thine enemy: I owe thee the love and reverence of a father. But it is written, *he who loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me.* I love thee, but I love Him more who made both me and thee." He proceeded to denounce the treaty, to arraign the Pope for violation of the apostolic canons, for heresy. "If I do not deprive him of his Abbey," said the Pope in his bitterness, "he will deprive me of the Papacy."^f The

July 5. monks of Monte Casino, at the Pope's instigation, chose another abbot; and as the new abbot was supported by arms, Bruno gave up his claims and retired to his bishopric of Segni.

The oath which the Pope had taken, and ratified by such awful circumstances, embarrassed the Embarrassment of the Pope. Pope alone. The clergy, who had incurred no danger, and suffered no indignity or distress, taunted him with his weakness, contrasted his pliancy with the nobly obstinate resolution of Hildebrand and of Urban, and exhorted him to an act of perfidy and treason of which he would bear at least the chief guilt and shame. Paschal was sorely beset. He sought for reasons which might justify him to the world and to himself for breaking faith with the Emperor; he found none, except the refusal to surrender certain castles and strongholds in

^f *Chronica Casin.*

the papal territory, and some vague charges of ill-usage towards the hostages.^g At one time he threatened to lay down his dignity and to retire as a hermit to the desert island of Pontia. At length the violent and incessant reproaches of the cardinals, and what might seem the general voice of the clergy, overpowered his honour, his conscience, his religion. In a letter to the Archbishop of Vienne, he declared that he had acted only from compulsion, that he had yielded up the right of investiture only to save the liberties of the Church and the city of Rome from total ruin; ^h he declared the whole treaty null and void, condemned it utterly, and confirmed all the strong decrees of Gregory VII. and of Urban II. When this intelligence was communicated to the Emperor, his German nobles were so indignant that the legate, had he not been protected by the Emperor, would hardly have escaped with his life.

But more was necessary than this unauthoritative letter of the wavering Pope to annul this solemn treaty, to reconcile by a decree of the Church the mind of man to this signal breach of faith and disregard of the most sacred oath.

In March (the next year) a council assembled in the Lateran Palace. Almost all the cardinals, whether bishops, priests, or abbots, were present, more than a hundred prelates, almost all from the south of Italy, from the north only the Venetian patriarch, from France the Archbishops of Lyons and Vienne, from Germany none.

March 18,
1112.
Lateran
Council.

^g See his letter, apud Eccard, ii. 274 and 275. "Ex quo vobiscum illam, quam nostis, pactionem fecimus, non solum longius positi, sed ipsi etiam qui circa nos sunt, cervicem adversus

nos erexerunt, et intestinis bellis viscera nostra collacerant, et multo faciem nostram rubore perfundunt."—Oct. 26, 1111.

^h Card. Arragon. ap. Muratori.

The Pope, by a subtle subterfuge, endeavoured to reconcile his personal observance with the absolute abrogation of the whole treaty. He protested that, though the Emperor had not kept faith with him, he would keep faith with the Emperor; that he would neither disquiet him on the subject of the investitures, nor utter an anathema against him,¹ though he declared the act of surrender compulsory, and so not obligatory; his sole unadvised act, an evil act which ought by God's will to be corrected. At the same time, with consummate art, he made his profession of faith, for his act had been tainted with the odious name of heresy; he declared his unalterable belief in the Holy Scriptures, in the statutes of the Œcumenic Councils, and, as though of equal obligation with these, in the decrees of his predecessors Gregory and Urban, decrees which asserted lay investitures to be unlawful and impious, and pronounced the layman who should confer, or the churchman who should accept such investiture, actually excommunicate. He left the Council to do that which he feared or scrupled to do. The Council proceeded to its sentence, which unequivocally cancelled and declared void, under pain of excommunication, this privilege, extorted, it was said, by the violence of Henry. The whole assembly with loud acclamations testified their assent, "Amen! Amen! So be it! So be it!"^k

But Henry was still within the pale of the Church,

¹ "Ego eum nunquam anathematizabo, et nunquam de investituris inquietabo, porro scriptum illud, quod magnis necessitatibus coactus, non pro vitâ meâ, non pro salute aut gloriâ meâ, sed pro solis ecclesiæ necessitatibus sine fratrum consilio aut subscrip-tionibus feci, super quo nulla con-

ditione, nulla promissione constrin-gimur!—pravè factum confiteor, et omnino corrigi, domino præstante, desidero."—Cardin. Arragon. *loc. cit.*

^k "Neque vero dici debet privilegium sed pravilegium."—Labbe et Mansi, sub ann. 1112. *Acta Concilii, apud Pertz.*

and Paschal refused so flagrantly to violate his oath, to which on this point he had been specifically pledged with the most binding distinctness. The more zealous churchmen determined to take upon themselves this act of holy vengeance. A council assembled at Vienne, under the Archbishop Guido, afterwards Pope Calixtus II. The Emperor condescended to send his ambassadors with letters, received, as he asserted, from the Pope since the decree of the Lateran Council, in which the Pope professed the utmost amity, and his desire of peace. The Council were amazed, but not disturbed or arrested in their violent course. As they considered themselves sanctioned in their meeting by the Pope, they proceeded to their decree. One metropolitan Council took upon itself to excommunicate the Emperor! They declared investiture by lay hands to be a heresy; by the power of the Holy Ghost they annulled the privilege granted by the Pope, as extorted by violence. "Henry the King of the Germans, like another Judas, has betrayed the Pope by kissing his feet, has imprisoned him with the cardinals and other prelates, and has wrung from him by force that most impious and detestable charter; him we excommunicate, anathematise, cast out of the bosom of the Church, till he give full satisfaction." These decrees were sent to the Pope, with a significant menace, which implied great mistrust in his firmness. "If you will confirm these decrees, abstain from all intercourse, and reject all presents from that cruel tyrant, we will be your faithful sons; if not, so God be propitious to us, you will compel us to renounce all subjection and obedience." ^m

Council of
Vienne ex-
communicates the
Emperor.

^m Letter of Archbishop of Vienne, and the account of the Council, apud Labbe et Mansi, A.D. 1112.

To this more than papal power the Pope submitted; he ratified the decree of the Council of Vienne, Oct. 20. thus doing by others what he was solemnly sworn not to do himself; allowing what was usually supposed an inferior tribunal to dispense with the oath which he dared not himself retract; by an unworthy sophistry trying to obtain the advantage without the guilt of perjury.^a

But these things were not done without strong remonstrance, and that from the clergy of France. A protest was issued, written by the learned Ivo of Chartres, and adopted by the Archbishop of Sens and his clergy, denying the temporal claim to the investitures to be heresy, and disclaiming all concurrence in these audacious proceedings.^o

A good and prudent Emperor might have defied an interdict issued by less than the Pope. But the man who had attained his sovereignty by such violent and unjustifiable means was not likely to exercise it with justice and moderation. He who neither respected the authority nor even the sacred person of his father and Emperor, nor the more sacred person of the Pope, would trample under foot, if in his way, the more vulgar rights of vassals or of subjects. Henry condescended indeed to attempt a reconciliation with his father's friends, to efface the memory of his ingratitude by tardy piety. He celebrated with a mockery of splendour the funeral of his father (he had wrung at length the unwilling sanction of the Pope) in the cathedral of Spire; he bestowed munificent endowments and immunities on that church. The city of Worms was rewarded by special privileges for her long-

Discontent
and revolt
of the
German
prelates.

^a Mansi. Bouquet, xv. 52.

^o Apud Labbe et Mansi, sub ann. 1112

tried attachment to the Emperor Henry IV., an attachment which, if it could be transferred, might be equally necessary to his son. For while Henry V. aspired to rule as a despot, he soon discovered that he wanted despotic power; he found that the habit of rebellion, which he had encouraged for his own ends, would be constantly recoiling against himself. His reign was almost one long civil war. Prince after prince, either alienated by his pride or by some violent invasion of their rights, the seizure and sequestration of their fiefs, or interference with their succession, raised the standard of revolt. Instead of reconciling the ecclesiastical princes and prelates by a temperate and generous use of the right of investiture, he betrayed, or was thought to betray, his determination to re-annex as much of the ecclesiastical domains as he could to the Empire. The excommunication was at once a ready justification for the revolt of the great ecclesiastical vassals of the Empire, and a formidable weapon in their hands. From the first his acts had been held in detestation by some of the Transalpine prelates. Gerard, Archbishop of Salzburg, had openly condemned him; the holy Conrad retired into the desert, where he proclaimed his horror of such deeds. The monks of Hirschau, as their enemies the monks of Laurisheim declared, spoke of the Emperor as an excommunicated heretic. The Archbishop of Cologne almost alone defied the whole force of Henry, repelled his troops, and gradually drew into one party the great body of malcontents. Almost the whole clergy by degrees threw themselves into the papal faction. The Legates of the Pope, of their own authority it is true, and without the express sanction of the Pope, disseminated and even published the act of excommunication in many quarters. It was renewed in

a synod at Beauvais, with the sanction of the metropolitan; it was formally pronounced in the church of St. Geryon at Cologne. The inhabitants of Mentz, though imperialists at heart, rose in insurrection, and compelled the Emperor to release their archbishop Albert, once Henry's most faithful partisan, his counsellor throughout all the strong proceedings against Pope Paschal in Italy, but now having been raised to the German primacy by Henry's influence, his mortal enemy. Albert had been thrown into prison on a charge of high treason; he was worn to a skeleton by his confinement.^P He became an object of profound compassion to all the enemies of Henry; his bitter and powerful mind devoted itself to revenge. Erlang, Bishop of Wurtzburg, of whose fidelity Henry thought himself secure, was sent to negotiate with the revolted princes and prelates, and fell off at once to the papal party.

While half Germany was thus at open war with the Emperor, the death of the great Countess Matilda imperiously required his presence in Italy. If the Pope obtained peaceable possession of her vast inheritance, which by formal instruments she had made over on her death to the Apostolical See, the Pontiff became a kind of king in Italy. 'The Emperor immediately announced his claim not only to all the Imperial fiefs, to the march of Tuscany, to Mantua and other cities, but to all the allodial and patrimonial inheritance held by the Countess;^q and thus sprung up

Death of
Countess
Matilda.
July 24,
1115.

^P The Pope urged his release; his only fault had been too great love for Henry. "Quantum novimus, quantum experti sumus, testimonium fecimus, quia te super omnia diligebat."—Epist. Paschal, apud Eccard, ii. 276. Mansi, sub ann. 1113.

^q Muratori suggests that the Emperor put forward the claim of the house of Bavaria, insisting that they were settled on Duke Guelf the younger, on his marriage. This claim was acknowledged afterwards by the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa.

a new subject of irreconcilable strife between the Popes and Emperors. Henry expressed his determination to cross the Alps in the course of the following year.

At Rome the preparations of Henry for his second descent into Italy were heard by some with apprehension, by some with a fierce determination to encounter, or even to provoke his worst hostility in defence of the rights of the Church. Early in the spring which was to behold this descent, a Council was summoned in the Lateran. The clergy waited in jealous impatience, the Hildebrandine party mistrusting the courage of the Pope to defy the Emperor, the more moderate doubting his firmness to resist their more violent brethren. As yet the great momentous question was not proposed. There was first a preliminary one, too important, even in the present state of affairs, not to receive due attention; it related to the Archbishopric of Milan. Grossolano, a man of learning and moderation, had been elected to that metropolitan see; he had taken the cross and gone to the Holy Land. During his absence the clergy of Milan had, on some charge of simoniacal proceeding (he may not have been so austere as they might wish to the old unextinguished faction of the married clergy), or, as it is alleged, because he had been uncanonically translated from the see of Savona, declared him to have forfeited his see. They proceeded to elect Giordano, represented, by no friendly writer, as a man without education (perhaps of the monastic school) and of no great weight. Giordano had been consecrated by three suffragans: Landolf Bishop of Asti, who attempted to fly, but was brought back and compelled to perform the office; Arialdo Bishop of Genoa; and Mamardo Bishop of Turin. Mamardo hastened to Rome to de-

Lateran
Council.
March 6,
1116.

A.D. 1112.

mand the metropolitan pall for Giordano. The Archiepiscopate of Milan was of too great dignity and influence not to be secured at any cost for the high party. The Pope abandoned unheard the cause of Grossolano, and sent the pall to Giordano, but he was not to be arrayed in it till he had sworn fidelity to the Pope, and sworn to refuse investiture from the Emperor. For six months Giordano stedfastly declined to receive the pall on these terms. A large part of the people of Milan were still in favour of Grossolano, and seemed determined to proceed to extremities in his favour. The Bishops Azzo of Acqui, and Arderic of Lodi, strong Imperialists, took up the cause of Grossolano. Already was Giordano's determination shaken; when Grossolano, on his return from the Holy Land, having found his see occupied, nevertheless entered Milan. His partisans seized the towers of the Roman Gate; Giordano at once submitted to the Papal terms; and, arrayed in the pall, proclaimed himself Archbishop on the authority of the Pope. After some strife, and not without bloodshed of the people, and even of the nobles, Grossolano was driven from Milan; he was glad to accept terms of peace, and even pecuniary aid (the exhaustion of his funds may account for his discomfiture), from his rival; he retired first to Piacenza, afterwards to Rome, to submit to the decision of the Pope.^f

A.D. 1113.

But this great cause was first mooted in the Council of Lateran. There could be no doubt for which Archbishop of Milan—one who had sworn not to accept investiture from the Emperor, or one at least suspected of Imperialist views—it would

A.D. 1116.

^f Eccard, Chronic. Landulf junior, apud Muratori S. H. T. V. sub ann.

declare. Giordano triumphed; and, whether as part of the price stipulated for the judgement, or in gratitude and bold zeal for the cause which he had espoused, he returned rapidly to Milan. Henry was on the crest of the Alps above him; yet Giordano dared, with the Roman Cardinal John of Cremona, to publish from the pulpit of the principal church the excommunication of the Emperor. Even this affair of Milan, important as it was, had hardly commanded the attention of the Lateran Council. But when, after this had been despatched, some other questions were proposed concerning certain disputes between the Bishops of Pisa and Lucca, they would no longer brook delay, a Bishop sprang up and exclaimed, "What have we to do with these temporal matters, when the highest interests of the Church are in peril?"^s The Pope arose; he reverted, in few words, to his imprisonment, and to the crimes and cruelties to which the Roman people had been exposed at the time of his concession. "What I did, I did to deliver the Church and people of God from those evils. I did it as a man who am dust and ashes. I confess that I did wrong: I entreat you, offer your prayers to God to pardon me. That writing signed in the camp of the King, justly called an unrighteous decree, I condemn with a perpetual anathema. Be its memory accursed for ever!"^t The Council shouted their acclamation. The loudest voice was that of Bruno, the Bishop of Segni—"Give thanks to God that our Lord Pope Paschal condemns with his own mouth his unrighteous and heretical decree." In his bitter triumph he added, "He that uttered heresy is a heretic."

March 8.

^s It was rumoured in Germany that the Council had determined to depose the Emperor's charter of investiture. Paschal, if he refused to revoke the

^t Ursbergensis, and Labbe and Mansi sub ann.

“What!” exclaimed John of Gaeta, “dost thou presume in our presence to call the Roman Pontiff a heretic? What he did was wrong, but it was no heresy.” “It was done,” said another Bishop, “to deliver the people.” The Pope interposed with calm dignity: he commanded silence by his gesture. “Give ear, my brethren; this Church has never yielded to heresy. It has crushed all heresies—Arian, Eutychian, Sabellian, Photinian. For our Lord himself said, in the hour of his Passion, I have prayed for thee, O Peter, that thy faith fail not.”

But the strife was not over. On the following day, Paschal, with his more moderate counsellors, John of Gaeta and Peter the son of Leo, began to enter into negotiations with the Ambassador of Henry, Pontius Abbot of Clugny. The majesty of the Papal presence could not subdue the indignant murmurs of the more Papal party, who insisted on the Church holding all its endowments, whether fiefs of the temporal power or not, absolutely and without control. At length Conon,

Paschal afraid of his own act. Cardinal of Præneste, broke out, and demanded whether the Pope acknowledged him to have been his legate in Germany, and would ratify all that he had done as legate. The Pope acknowledged him in these terms: “What you have approved, I have approved; what you have condemned, I have condemned.” Conon then declared that he had first in Jerusalem, and afterwards five times, in five councils, in Greece, in Hungary, in Saxony, in Lorraine, in France, excommunicated the Emperor. The same, as appeared from his letters, had been done by the Archbishop at Vienne. That excommunication was now, therefore, confirmed by the Pope, and became his act. A feeble murmur of dissent soon died away; the Pope kept silence.

But Paschal's troubles increased. If the Emperor should again appear before Rome, in indignation at the brokered treaty, and, by temperament and habit, little disposed to be scrupulous in his measures against an enemy whom treaties could not bind, his only hope of resistance was in the attachment of the Roman people. That attachment was weakened at this unlucky moment by unforeseen circumstances. The Prefect of Rome died, and Paschal was persuaded to appoint the son of Peter Leonis to that office. The indelible taint of his Jewish descent, and his Jewish wealth, made Peter an object of envy and unpopularity. The vulgar called him a Jew, an usurer—equivalent titles of hatred. The people chose the son of the late Prefect, a boy, and presented him to the Pope for his confirmation. On the Pope's refusal, tumults broke out in all the city; skirmishes took place between the populace and the soldiers of the Pope during the Holy Week. The young Prefect was taken in the country by the Pope's soldiers, and rescued by his uncle, the Count Ptolemy. The contest thus spread into the country. The whole territory of Rome, the coast, Rome itself, was in open rebellion. The Pope was so alarmed that he retired to Sezza. The populace revenged themselves on the houses of Peter Leonis and those of his adherents.

The Emperor had passed the Alps; he was received in Venice by the Doge Ordelafo Faliero with loyal magnificence. Some of the other great cities of Lombardy followed the example. The Emperor had taken peaceable possession of the territories of the Countess Matilda: neither then, nor during his lifetime, did the Pope or his successors contest his title. Italy could not but await with anxious apprehension the crisis of this second, perhaps

March 29.

Henry in
Italy.
April 3.

personal strife between the Emperor and the Pope. But the year passed away without any attack on Rome. The Emperor was engaged in the affairs of Tuscany; the Pope by the rebellion of Rome. Early in the following year terrible convulsions of nature seemed to portend dire calamities. Earthquakes shook Venice, Verona, Parma, and Cremona; the Cathedral of Cremona, with many churches and stately buildings, were in ruins, and many lives lost. Awful storms seemed to join with civil commotions to distract and desolate Germany.

The Ambassadors of Henry, the Bishops of Asti, Piacenza, and Acqui, appeared at Rome, to which Paschal had returned after the cessation of the civil commotions, with a public declaration, that if any one should accuse the Emperor of having violated his part of the treaty with the Pope, he was ready to justify himself, and if guilty, to give satisfaction. He demanded the abrogation of the interdict. The Pope, it is said, with the concurrence of the Cardinals, declared that he had not sent the Cardinals Conon and Theodoric to Cologne or to Saxony; that he had given no authority to the Archbishop of Vienne to excommunicate the Emperor; that he had himself pronounced no excommunication; but he could not annul an excommunication pronounced by such dignified ecclesiastics without their consent. A general Council of the Church could alone decide the question. Henry had too many enemies in the Church of Germany as well as Rome to submit to such a tribunal.

A second time Henry V. advanced towards Rome, but this second time under very different circumstances. He was no longer the young and successful Emperor with the whole of Germany united

in his cause, and with an army of overwhelming numbers and force at his command. But with his circumstances he had learned to change his policy. He had discovered how to contest Rome with the Pope. He had the Prefect in his pay; he lavished gifts upon the nobles; he established his partisan Ptolemy, the Count of Tusculum, in all the old possessions and rights of that house, so long the tyrant, at one time the awarder, of the Papal tiara, gave him his natural daughter in marriage, and so established a formidable enemy to the Pope and a powerful adherent of the Emperor, within the neighbourhood, within the city itself. There was no opposition to his approach, to his entrance into Rome. He passed through the streets with his Empress, the people received him with acclamations, the clergy alone stood aloof in jealous silence. The Pope had retired, first to Monte Casino, then to Benevento, to implore, but in vain, the aid of the Normans. The Cardinals made an offer of peace if Henry would surrender the right of investiture by the ring and staff; but as on this point the whole imperial authority seemed at that time to depend, the terms were rejected. No one but a foreign prelate,^u Burdinus, the Archbishop of Braga,^x

March 16.

^u The Abbot of Farfa was a strong Imperialist.

^x Baluzius (*Miscellanea*, vol. iii.) wrote a life of Burdinus, to vindicate his memory from the sweeping censure of Baronius, with whom an Antipope was always a monster of iniquity. Maurice Bourdin was a Frenchman of the diocese of Limoges. When Bernard, Archbishop of Toledo, went to the Council of Clermont, he was struck with the learning and ability of the young French monk, and carried him

back with him to Spain. Bourdin became successively Bishop of Coimbra and Archbishop of Braga. While Bishop of Coimbra he went to the Holy Land, and passed three years in the East, in Jerusalem and Constantinople. On his return he was involved in a contest with his patron Bernard, resisting the claims of the archbishopric of Toledo to supremacy over the Metropolitan see of Braga. There is a decree of Pope Paschal favourable to Maurice, acknowledging

who had been Legate of Pope Paschal to Henry, and had been dazzled or won to the Imperial party, could be tempted to officiate in the great Easter ceremony, in which the Emperor was accustomed to take off his crown in the Vatican, to make a procession through the city, and to receive it again from the hands of the Pontiff.⁷

But no steps were taken to approximate the hostile powers. The Emperor remained in undisturbed possession of Rome; the Pope in his safe city of refuge in the south of Italy; from hence he fulminated an excommunication against the Archbishop of Braga. As the summer heats approached, the Emperor retired to the north of Italy.

Paschal was never again master of Rome. In the autumn he fell ill at Anagni, recovered, and early in the following year surprised the Leonine city and the Vatican. But Peter the Prefect and the Count of Tusculum still occupied the strongholds of the city. Paschal died in the Castle of St. Angelo, solemnly commending to the cardinals that firmness in the assertion of the claims of the Church which he alone had not displayed. He died leaving a great lesson to future Pontiffs, that there was no limit to which they might not advance their pretensions for the aggrandisement of the hierarchy, but to retract the least of these pretensions was beyond their otherwise illimitable power.

his jurisdiction over Coimbra. He was at present in Rome, in order, according to Baronius, to supplant his patron Bernard, who had been expelled from his see by Alfonso of Arragon. He was scornfully rejected by Paschal, of whom he became the deadly enemy. This, as Baluzius repeatedly shows, is directly contradicted by the dates;

for after this Paschal employed Maurice Bourdin as his Legate to the Emperor.

⁷ Henry had been already crowned by Paschal; this second coronation is probably to be explained as in the text; though some writers speak of it as his first coronation. Muratori says that he desired "di farsi coronare di nuovo." —Sub ann. 1017

The Imperialists made no opposition to the burial of Paschal II. in a great mausoleum in the Lateran Church. The Cardinals, in the utmost haste, before the intelligence could reach the Emperor, proceeded to fill the vacant See. John of Gaeta, though he had defended the Pope from the unseemly reproach of St. Bruno, and at one time appeared inclined to negotiate with the Emperor, seems to have commanded the confidence of the high party; he was of noble descent; the counsellor of more than one Pope, and had been a faithful partisan of Pope Urban against the Antipope Guibert; he had adhered in all his distresses to Paschal, and had shared his imprisonment. He was summoned from Monte Casino secretly, and without any notice Gelasius II.
Jan. 19, 1118. chosen Pope by the Cardinals and some distinguished Romans, and inaugurated in a Benedictine monastery near the Capitol.

The news reached the neighbouring house of Cencius Frangipani (this great family henceforward appears mingled in all the contests and intrigues of Rome), a strong partisan of the Emperor. In a sudden access of indignation he broke with his armed followers into the church, seized the Pope by the throat, struck him with his fists, trampled upon him, and dragged him a prisoner and in chains to his own strong house. Seized by
the Frangi-
pani.
Jan. 21. All the Cardinals were miserably maltreated; the more fortunate took to flight; some were seized and put into irons. But this atrocious act rekindled all the more generous sympathies of the Roman people towards the Pope. Both parties united in his rescue. Peter the Prefect and Peter the son of Leo, the captain of the Norman troops, who had accompanied Paschal to Rome, the Transteverines, and the twelve quarters of the city, assembled under their leaders; they

marched towards the Capitol and summoned Frangipani to surrender the person of the Pope. Frangipani could not but submit; he threw himself at the Pope's feet and entreated his forgiveness. Mounting a white horse, the Pope rode to the Lateran, surrounded by the banners of the people, and took possession of the papal palace. There he received the submission of the laity and of the clergy. The friends of the new Pope were quietly making arrangements for his ordination as a presbyter (as yet he was but a deacon), and his consecration as Pope. On a sudden, in the night, intelligence arrived that the Emperor had not merely set off from the north of Italy, but was actually in Rome, and master of the portico of St. Peter's. The Pope was concealed for the night in the house of a faithful partisan. In the morn-

March 1.

ing he embarked on the Tiber, but a terrible storm came on; the German soldiers watched the banks of the river, and hurled burning javelins at the vessel. At nightfall, the Germans having withdrawn, the fugitives landed, and the Pope was carried on the shoulders of Cardinal Ugo to the castle of Ardea. The next day the German soldiers appeared again, but the followers of the Pope swearing that he had escaped, they dispersed in search of him. He was again con-

March 9.

veyed to the vessel, and after a perilous voyage of four days, reached Gaeta, his native town. There he was ordained Presbyter, and consecrated Pope.

Henry endeavoured by repeated embassies to persuade Gelasius II., such was the name assumed by the new Pope, to return to Rome; but Gelasius had been a fellow-prisoner with Pope Paschal, and had too much prudence to trust himself in the Emperor's power.^z He met

^z Epist. Gelas. II. apud Labbe, Concil. Ann. 1118.

cunning with cunning; he offered to hold a council to decide on all matters in dispute, either in Milan or in Cremona, cities in which the papal interest now prevailed, or which were in open revolt against the Emperor. This proposal was equally offensive to the Emperor and to the Roman people. "What," was the indignant cry, "is Rome to be deserted for Milan or Cremona?" They determined to set up an Antipope; yet none appeared but Burdinus, now called Maurice the Portuguese, the Archbishop of Braga.^a This stranger was led to the high altar of St. Peter's by the Emperor; and it was thrice proclaimed to the people, "Will ye have Maurice for Pope?" and thrice the people answered, "We will." The Barbarian, as he was called by his adversaries, took the name of Gregory VIII. Of the Roman clergy only three adherents of the old unextinguished Ghibeline party, Romanus Cardinal of St. Marcellus, Cencius of St. Chrysogonus, and Teuzo, who had been long in Denmark, sanctioned this election. He was put in possession of the Lateran palace, and the next day performed the papal functions in St. Peter's.

March 8.

No sooner did Gelasius hear this than he thundered his sentence of excommunication against the perjurer Maurice, who had compelled his mother the Church to public prostitution.^b Now, however, his Norman vassals, as they acknowledged themselves, William, Duke of Apulia, and Robert, Prince of Capua, obeyed his summons; under their protection he returned towards Rome. Henry, who was besieging the papal castle Toricella, abandoned the siege, and retired on Rome. But almost

^a The famous Irnerius of Bologna, the restorer of the Roman law, was in Rome; the form of Election was sup-

posed to be regulated by his legal advice.

^b "Matris Ecclesie constupratorum publico."—Gelasii, Epist. ii.

immediately his presence was imperiously required in Germany, and he withdrew to the north of Italy.

Thence, leaving the Empress as Regent in
 April 7. Italy, he crossed the Alps. Gelasius had already at Capua involved the Emperor in the common excommunication with the Antipope. Some misunderstanding arose between the Norman princes and the Pope;^c they withdrew, and he could now only bribe his way back to Rome.

Gelasius entered Rome as a pilgrim rather than its
 master. He was concealed rather than hos-
 July 5. pitably entertained by Stephen the Norman, by Paschal his brother, and Peter with the ill-sounding name of the Robber, a Corsican.^d Thus were there again two Popes in the city, one maintained in state by the gold of the Emperor, the other by his own. But Gelasius in an imprudent hour ventured beyond the secure quarters of the Norman. He stole out to celebrate mass in the church of St. Praxede, in a part of the city commanded by the Frangipani. The church was attacked; a scene of fearful confusion followed; the Normans, under the Pope's nephew Crescentius, fought valiantly, and rescued him from the enemy. The Frangipani were furious at their disappointment, but when they found the Pope had escaped, withdrew. "O what a sight," writes a sad eye-witness,^e "to see the Pope, half clad in his sacred vestments, flying, like a mountebank,^f as fast as his horse could gallop!"—his cross-bearer followed; he fell; the cross, which it might seem that his enemies sought as a trophy, was picked up and concealed

^c It seemed to relate to the Circea arx, which the Pope having granted to the people of Terracina, repented of his rashness.—Vit. Gelas.

^d Latro Corsorum.

^e See the letter of Bruno of Treves, in Hontheim, Hist. Trevir. Pandulph. Pisan., p. 397. ^f Sicut scurra.

by a woman. The Pope himself was found, weary, sorrowful, and moaning^s with grief, in a field near the Church of St. Paul. The next day he declared his resolution to leave this Sodom, this Egypt; it were better to have to deal with one Emperor than with many tyrants. He reached Pisa, Genoa, Marseilles; but he entered France only to die. After visiting several of the great cities of the realm, Montpellier, Avignon, Orange, Valence, Vienne, Lyons, a sudden attack of pleurisy carried him off in the abbey of Clugny.

Jan. 29, 1119.
Death of
Gelasius.

^s His follower says, "ejulans."

CHAPTER III.

Calixtus II.—Concordat of Worms.

THE cardinals in France could not hesitate an instant in their choice of his successor. Gelasius had turned his thoughts to the Bishop of Palestrina, but Otho excused himself on account of his feeble health. Exiles from Rome in the cause of the Church, and through the hostility of the Emperor and his partisans, the Conclave saw among them the prelate who had boldly taken the lead in the excommunication of Henry; and who to his zeal for the Church added every other qualification for the supreme Pontificate. Guido, Archbishop of Vienne, was of more than noble, of royal birth, descended from the Kings of Burgundy, and so allied by blood to the Emperor; his reputation was high for piety and the learning of the age. But Guido, either from conscientious scruples, or in politic deference to the dominant opinion, refused to become the Pontiff of Rome without the assent of Rome. Messengers were speedily despatched and speedily returned with the confirmation of his election by the cardinals who remained at Rome, by Peter the son of Leo, by the prefect and consuls, by the clergy and people of Rome. It appears not how this assent was obtained in the presence of the Imperial garrison and the Antipope. Rome may have already become weary or ashamed of her foreign prelate, unconnected with the great families or interests of the city; but it is more probable that it

was the assent only of the high papal party, who still, under the guidance of Peter the son of Leo, held part of the city.

Germany had furnished a line of pious, and, on the whole, high-minded Pontiffs to the Roman see. Calixtus II., though by no means the first Frenchman, either by birth or education, was the first French Pontiff who established that close connexion between France (the modern kingdom of France as distinguished from the Imperial or German France of Pepin and Charlemagne) and the papacy, which had such important influence on the affairs of the Church and of Europe. From this period, of the two great kingdoms into which the Empire of Charlemagne had resolved itself, the Pope, who succeeded eventually in establishing his title, was usually connected with France, and maintained by the French interest; the Antipope by that of Germany. The anti-Imperialist republics of Italy were the Pope's natural allies against the Imperial power. For a time Innocent III. held his impartial authority over both realms, and acknowledged in turn the king of each country; but as time advanced, the Popes were more under the necessity of leaning on Transalpine aid, until the secession to Avignon almost reduced the chief Pontiff of Christendom to a French prelate.

Christendom could scarcely expect that during the pontificate of so inflexible an assertor of its claims, and during the reign of an Emperor so resolute to maintain his rights, the strife about the Investitures should be brought to a peaceful close with the absolute triumph of neither party, and on principles of mutual concession. Nor was the first attempt at reconciliation, which appeared to end in a more irreparable breach, of favour-

Calixtus
a French
Pope.

able augury to the establishment of unity. Yet many circumstances combined to bring about this final peace. The removal of the scene of strife into France could not but show that the contest was not absolutely necessary. The quarrel had not spread into France, though the feudal system prevailed there to the same if not greater extent. In France had been found no great difficulty in reconciling the free election of the bishops with their allegiance in temporal concerns to their sovereign. The princes of Germany began to discover that it was a question of the Empire, not of the Emperor. When in revolt, and some of them were always in revolt, the alliance of the clergy, and the popularity which their cause acquired by being upheld against an excommunicated sovereign, had blinded them at first. They were firm allies of the Pope, only because they were implacable enemies of the Emperor. The long controversy had partly wearied, partly exhausted men's minds. Some moderate views by prelates of authority and learning and of undoubted churchmanship had made strong impression. Hildebrand's vast plan of rendering the clergy altogether independent of the temporal power, not merely in their spiritual functions, but in all the possessions which they then held or might hereafter obtain, and thereby becoming the rulers of the world, was perhaps imperfectly understood by some of the most ambitious, and deliberately rejected by some zealous but less worldly ecclesiastics.

At first the aspect of affairs was singularly unpromising; the contending parties seemed to draw together only to repel each other with more hostile violence. The immediate recognition of Calixtus by the great German prelates, not his enemies alone but his adherents also, warned Henry of the now formidable antagonist

arisen in the new Pope. Henry himself, by treating with Calixtus, acknowledged his supremacy, and so abandoned his own unhappy pageant, the Archbishop of Braga, to his fate.

Calixtus summoned a council at Rheims, and never did Pope, in Rome itself, in the time of the world's most prostrate submission, make a more imposing display of power, issue his commands with more undoubting confidence to Christendom, receive, like a feudal monarch, the appeals of contending kings; and, if he condescended to negotiate with the Emperor, maintain a loftier position than this first great French Pontiff. The Norman chronicler beheld in this august assembly an image of the day of judgement.^a The Pope's consistorial throne was placed before the portal of the great church; just below him sate the cardinals, whom the annalist dignifies with the appellation of the Roman Senate. Fifteen archbishops, above two hundred bishops, and numerous abbots, and other ecclesiastical dignitaries, were present; Albert of Mentz was attended by seven bishops, and guarded by five hundred armed men.

The first part of the proceedings might seem singularly in accordance with true pacific Christianity. After some canons on simony, some touching lay investitures and the marriage of the clergy, had been enacted in the usual form and spirit, the Pope renewed in the strongest language the Truce of God, which had been proclaimed by Urban II. At certain periods, from the Advent of the Lord to the Octave of the Epiphany; from Quinquagesima to Pentecost, and on certain other fasts and festivals, war was to cease throughout Chris-

Council of
Rheims.
Nov. 19,
1119.

^a Orderic. Vital., i. 726; Mansi, sub *ann.*

tendom. At all times the Church took under its protection and commanded peace to be observed towards monks and their property, females and their attendants, merchants, *hunters*, and pilgrims. The chaplains in the army were to discountenance plunder under severe penalties. The violators of the Truce of God were to be excommunicated every Sunday in every parish church: unless they made satisfaction, by themselves or by their kindred, were to be held unworthy of Christian burial.^b

The King of France, Louis the Fat, appeared in person with his barons, and, as before a supreme tribunal, himself preferred his complaint against Henry I. King of England. His complaint related to no ecclesiastical matters; he accused King Henry of refusing the allegiance due from the Duke of Normandy to the King of France, of imprisoning his own brother Robert, the rightful Duke of Normandy, of many acts of hostility and persecution against the subjects of France. Geoffrey, Archbishop of Rouen, rose to defend King Henry. But the fierce tumult which broke out from the more numerous partisans of France compelled him to silence.

After the Countess of Poitou had brought a charge against her husband of deserting her and marrying another wife, there arose a new dispute between the Franks and Normans concerning the bishopric of Evreux. Audoin, the bearded bishop of Evreux, accused Amalric of expelling him from his see, and burning his episcopal palace. The chaplain of Amalric stood up and boldly replied, "It is thine own wickedness, not the injustice of Amalric, which has driven

^b Labbe, p. 684. *Datt. de Treuga Dei in Volum. Rer. German. Ulm, 1698. Ducange in voc 'Treuga.'*

thee from thy see and burned thy palace. Amalric, disinherited by the King through thy malignant perfidy, like a true Norman warrior, strong in his own valour and in his friends, won back his honours. Then the King besieged the city, and during the siege the bishop's palace and several of the churches were burned. Let the synod judge between Audoin and Amalric."

The strife between the French and the Normans was hardly appeased by the Pope himself. Calixtus delivered a long address on the blessings of peace, on the evils of war, war alike fatal to human happiness and to religion. But these beautiful and parental sentiments were jealously reserved for the faithful sons of the Church. Where the interests of the Church were involved, war, even civil war, lost all its horrors. The Pope broke off the council for a few days, to meet the Emperor, who had expressed his earnest desire for peace, and had apparently conceded the great point in dispute. It was no doubt thought a great act of con-
descension as well as of courage in the Pope
to advance to meet the Emperor. The character of Henry might justify the worst suspicions. He was found encamped at the head of 30,000 men. The seizure and imprisonment of Paschal was too recent in the remembrance of the Pope's adherents not to excite a reasonable apprehension. Henry had never hesitated at any act of treachery to compass his ends; would he hesitate even on the borders of France? The
Pope was safely lodged in the strong castle of
Moisson; his commissioners proceeded alone to the conference.

Interview
with the
Emperor.

Oct. 23, 25.

Their mission was only to give and to receive the final ratification of a treaty, already consigned to writing

Henry had been persuaded, in an interview with the Bishop of Châlons and Abbot Pontius of Clugny, that he might surrender the investiture with the ring and the pastoral staff. That form of investiture (argued the Bishop of Châlons) had never prevailed in France, yet as Bishop he had always discharged all the temporal claims of the sovereign, tribute, military service, tolls, and the other rightful demands of the State, as faithfully as the bishops of Germany, to whose investiture the Emperor was maintaining this right at the price of excommunication. "If this be so," replied the Emperor, with uplifted hands, "I require no more." The Bishop then offered his mediation on the condition that Henry should give up the usage of investitures, surrender the possession of the churches which he still retained, and consent to peace with all his enemies. Henry agreed to these terms, which were signed on the part of the Emperor by the Bishop of Lausanne, the Count Palatine, and other German magnates. The Pope on this intelligence could not but suspect the ready compliance of the Emperor; the Bishop of Ostia and the Cardinal Gregory were sent formally to conclude the treaty. They met the Emperor between Metz and Verdun, and drew up the following Concordat:—Henry surrendered the investiture of all churches, made peace with all who had been involved in war for the cause of the Church, promised to restore all the churches which he had in his possession, and to procure the restoration of those which had been granted to others. All ecclesiastical disputes were to be settled by the ecclesiastical laws, the temporal by the temporal judges. The Pope on his side pledged himself to make peace with the Emperor and with all his partisans; to make restitution on his part of everything gained in the

war. These terms by the Pope's orders had been communicated to the Council, first in Latin by the Bishop of Ostia, afterwards explained to the clergy and laity in French by the Bishop of Châlons. It was to ratify this solemn treaty that the Pope had set forth from Rheims; while he remained in the castle ^{Treaty} of Moisson, the Bishop of Ostia, John Cardinal of Crema, the Bishop of Vivarais, the Bishop of Châlons, and the Abbot of Clugny, began to scrutinise with more severe suspicion the terms of the treaty. They discovered, or thought they discovered, a fraud in the general concession of the investiture of all churches; it did not express the whole possessions of the churches. The Emperor was indignant at this new objection, and strong mutual recrimination passed between him and the Bishop of Châlons. The King demanded time till the next morning to consider and consult his nobles on the subject. But so little did he expect the sudden rupture of the treaty that he began to discuss the form of his absolution. He thought it beneath his dignity to appear with bare feet before the Pope. The legates condescended to this request, provided the absolution were private. The next day the Emperor ^{Oct. 26.} required further delay, and entreated the Pope to remain over the Sunday. But the Pope declared that he had already condescended too far in leaving a general Council to confer with the Emperor, and returned with the utmost haste to Rheims.

At first the conduct of the Pope by no means found universal approval in the council. As the prohibition of the investiture of all churches and ecclesiastical possessions in any manner by lay hands was read, a murmur was heard not merely among the laity, but even among the clergy. It seemed that the Pope would resume all

possessions which at any time might have belonged to the Church, and were now in lay hands; the dispute lasted with great acrimony till the evening. On the morning the Pope made a long speech so persuasive that the whole Council bowed to his authority. He proceeded to the excommunication of the Emperor, which he endeavoured to array in more than usual awfulness. Four hundred and thirty-seven candles were brought and held lighted in the hands of each of the bishops and abbots. The long endless list of the excommunicated was read, of which the chief were Henry the Emperor, and Burdinus the Antipope. The Pope then solemnly absolved from their allegiance all the subjects of the Emperor. When this was over he pronounced his blessing, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy

Nov. 20.

Ghost, and dismissed the Council. After a short time the Pope advanced to Gisors, and had an interview with King Henry of England. Henry boldly justified his seizure of the dukedom of his brother Robert, from the utter incapacity of that prince to administer the affairs of the realm. He had not imprisoned his brother; he had placed him in a royal castle, like a noble pilgrim who was broken with calamities; supplied him with food, and all that might suffice for a pleasant life. The Pope thought it wiser to be content with this hardly specious apology, and gently urged the Norman to make peace with the King of France.^c

Thus acknowledged by the greater part of Christendom, Calixtus II. determined, notwithstanding the unreconciled hostility of the Emperor, to re-occupy his see of Rome. He made a progress through France, distributing

^c Orderic. Vitalis, i. 2, 13; W. Malmesbury.

everywhere privileges, immunities, dignities; crossed the Alps, and entered Italy by the pass of Susa.^d

The journey of Calixtus through Italy was a triumphal procession. The Imperialists made no attempt to arrest his march. On his descent of the Alps he was met with loyal deputations from the Lombard cities. Giordano, the Archbishop of Milan, hastened to pay homage to his spiritual sovereign. Landulph, the historian, appeared before the Pope at Tortona to lodge a complaint against the Archbishop for unjustly depriving him of his church. "During the winter we tread not the grapes in the wine-vat," replied Lambert Bishop of Ostia;^e the Archbishop of Milan, he intimated, was a personage too important to run the risk of his estrangement. Piacenza, Lucca, Pisa, vied with each other in paying honours to the Pope.^f As he drew near to Rome the Antipope fled and shut himself up in the strong fortress of Sutri. Rome had never received a Pope with greater apparent joy or unanimity. After a short stay Calixtus visited Monte Casino and Benevento. The Duke of Apulia, the Prince of Capua, and the other Norman vassals of the Church hastened to do homage to their liege lord. His royal descent as well as his high spiritual office, gave dignity to the bearing of Calixtus II. He sustained with equal nobleness the part of King and Pope.

At the commencement of the following year he collected an army to besiege the Antipope Gregory VIII. in Sutri. Gregory in vain looked for succour, for rescue, to the Emperor, who had entirely abandoned, it might seem entirely forgotten, his cause. The Cardinal John

^d Compare the Regesta from Nov. 27, 1119, to March, 1120.

^e Landulph, *juv*, c. 35.

^f He was at Piacenza, April 17;

Lucca, early in May; Pisa, May 12; Rome, June 3; Monte Casino, July; Benevento, Aug. 8.

of Crema commanded the papal forces. The Pope himself joined the expedition. Sutri made no determined resistance; and either through fear or bribery the garrison, after eight days, consented to surrender the miserable Gregory. The cruel and unmanly revenge of Calixtus, if it were intended as an awful warning against illegitimate usurpers of the papal power, was a signal failure.⁸ The mockery heaped on the unsuccessful Gregory had little effect in deterring future ambitious prelates from setting up as Antipopes. Whenever an Antipope was wanted an Antipope was at hand. Yet degradation and insult could go no further. On a camel instead of a white palfrey, with a bristling hogskin for the scarlet mantle, the Archbishop of Braga was placed with his face towards the rump of the animal, holding the tail for a bridle. In this attire he was compelled to accompany the triumphant procession of the Pope into Rome. He was afterwards dragged about from one convent-prison to another, and died at length so utterly forgotten that the place of his death is doubtful.

Capture and degradation of the Anti-pope.

April 23,
1121.

Affairs of
Germany.

The Pope and the Emperor might seem by the sudden rupture of the negotiations at Moisson and the public renewal of the excommunication at Rheims, to be committed to more implacable hostility. But this rupture, instead of alienating still further the German princes from the Emperor, appeared to strengthen his party. His conduct in that affair excited no disapprobation, no new adversaries availed themselves of the Pope's absolution to renounce their allegiance. In the West of the Empire, when he

⁸ "Ut ipse in sua confunderetur erubescentiâ, et aliis exemplum præberet ut similia ulterius attemptare præsumant."—Cardin. Arragon, in Vit. Callist.

seemed most completely deserted, a sudden turn took place in his affairs. Many of the most powerful princes, even the Archbishop of Cologne, returned at least to doubtful allegiance. Saxony alone remained in rebellion, and in that province Albert, Archbishop of Mentz, having fled from his metropolitan city, was indefatigable in organising the revolt.

Henry, having assembled a powerful army in Alsace, and having expelled the rebellious Bishops of Worms and Spires, marched upon Mentz, which he threatened to besiege as the head-quarters of the rebellion.

Albert, as legate of the Pope, appealed to the religion of the Saxons; he appointed fasts, he ordered public prayers to be offered in all the churches: he advanced at length at the head of an army, powerful enough to cope with that of the Emperor, to the relief of Mentz. The hostile armies of Germany were commanded by the temporal and spiritual head, the Emperor and the Primate: a battle seemed inevitable.

But a strong Teutonic feeling had arisen in both parties, and a disinclination to shed blood in a quarrel between the Church and the Empire, which might be reconciled by their commanding mediation. The more extravagant pretensions of both parties were equally hostile to their interests. It was not the supreme feudal sovereign alone who was injured by the absolute immunity of all ecclesiastical property from feudal claims; every temporal prince had either suffered loss or was in danger of suffering loss by this slow and irrevocable encroachment of the Church. They were jealous that the ecclesiastics should claim exemptions to which they could have no title. On the other hand it could by no means be their desire that the Emperor should fill all the great ecclesiastical sees, the principalities, as some

were, either with his own favourites or sell them to the highest bidder (as some Emperors had been accused of doing, as arbitrary Emperors might do), and so raise a vast and dangerous revenue which, extorted from the Church, might be employed against their civil liberties. Both parties had gradually receded from their extreme claims, and the Pope and the Emperor had made such concessions as, but for mutual suspicion, might at Moisson have led to peace, and had reduced the quarrel almost to a strife of words.

After some negotiation a truce was agreed upon; twelve princes were chosen from each party to draw up the terms of a future treaty, and a Diet of the Empire summoned to meet at Michaelmas in Wurzburg.

The Emperor appeared with his more distinguished followers in Wurzburg, the Saxon army encamped at a short distance. Hostages were exchanged, and, as Wurzburg could not contain the throng, the negotiations were carried on in the plain without the city.

The Diet had full powers to ratify a peace for the Empire; the terms were simple but comprehensive. The Church and the Empire should each maintain its rights and revenues inviolable; all seized or confiscated property was to be restored to its rightful owner; the rights of each estate of the Empire were to be maintained. An Imperial Edict was to be issued against thieves and robbers, or they were to be dealt with according to the ancient laws; all violence and all disturbance of the peace to be suppressed. The King was to be obedient to the Pope, and with the consent and aid of the princes make peace with him, so that each should quietly possess his own, the Emperor the rights of the Empire, the Pope those of the Church. The bishops lawfully elected and consecrated retained

Treaty of
Wurzburg.

their sees till the arrival of the Pope in Germany, those of Worms and Spire were to be restored to their dioceses; hostages and prisoners to be liberated on both sides. But the dispute between the Pope and the Emperor concerning the investitures was beyond the powers of the Diet, and the papal excommunication was revocable by the Pope alone. These points therefore were reserved till the Pope should arrive in Germany to hold a General Council. But the Emperor gave the best pledge in his power for his sincerity in seeking reconciliation with the Church. He had granted a general amnesty to the rebellious prelates; he had agreed to restore the expelled Bishops of Worms and Spire. Even Conrad, Archbishop of Saltzburg, who had taken an active part in the war against Henry, had been compelled to fly, and to conceal himself in a cave for a year, returned to his bishopric. On their side the Saxon bishops did not decline to enter into communion with the Emperor; for even the prelates most sternly adverse to Henry did not condescend to notice the papal absolution from their allegiance; it was considered as something which had not taken place.

Notwithstanding an ill-timed dispute concerning the succession to the bishopric of Wurzburg, which led to some hostilities, and threatened at the last hour to break up the amicable settlement, affairs went smoothly on.

The Pope himself wrote with the earnestness and conciliatory tone of one disposed to peace. He reminded Henry of their consanguinity, and welcomed him as the dutiful son of St. Peter, worthy both as a man and as an Emperor of the more affectionate love and honour of the Holy See, since he had surpassed his later predecessors in obedience to the

Concordat of
Worms.

Feb. 19,
1122.

Church of Rome. He emphatically disclaimed all intention in the Church to trench on the prerogative of the Empire.^h

The treaty was framed at Mentz under the auspices of the papal legates, Lambert Bishop of Ostia, Saxo Cardinal of Monte Cælio, and the Cardinal Gregory. It was sealed with the golden seal of the Empire by the Chancellor, the Archbishop of Cologne; it was subscribed by the Archbishops of Cologne and Mentz, the Bishops of Bamberg, Spire, Augsberg, Utrecht, and Constance, and the Abbot of Fulda; by Duke Frederick of Swabia, Henry of Bavaria, the Margraves Boniface and Theobald, the Palsgrave of the Rhine, and some other princes.

So was it ratified at Worms by the papal legate and accepted by the German people.

These were the terms of this important treaty, which were read to the German nation amid loud applauses, and received as the fundamental principles of the Papal and Imperial rights.

The Emperor gives up to God, to St. Peter, and to the Catholic Church, the right of investiture by the ring and the pastoral staff; he grants to the clergy throughout the Empire the right of free election; he restores to the Church of Rome, to all other churches and nobles, the possessions and feudal sovereignties which have been seized during the wars in his father's time and his own, those in his possession immediately, and he promises his influence to obtain restitution of those not in his possession. He grants peace to the Pope and to all his partisans, and pledges himself to protect, whenever he

^h "Nihil de tuo jure vindicare sibi curat ecclesia; nec regni nec imperii gloriam affectamus; obtineat ecclesia, quod Christi est; habeat Imperator quod suum est."

shall be thereto summoned, the Church of Rome in all things.

The Pope grants that all elections of bishops and abbots should take place in the presence of the Emperor or his commissioners, only without bribery and violence, with an appeal in cases of contested elections to the metropolitan and provincial bishops. The bishop elect in Germany was to receive, by the touch of the sceptre, all the temporal rights, principalities, and possessions of the see, excepting those which were held immediately of the See of Rome; and faithfully discharge to the Emperor all duties incident to those principalities. In all other parts of the Empire the royalties were to be granted to the bishop consecrated within six months. The Pope grants peace to the Emperor and his adherents, and promises aid and assistance on all lawful occasions.

The treaty was ratified by the most solemn religious ceremony. The papal legate, the Bishop of Ostia, celebrated the mass, administered the Eucharist to the Emperor, declared him to be reconciled with the Holy See, and received him and all his partisans with the kiss of peace into the bosom of the Catholic Church. The Lateran Council ratified this momentous treaty, which became thereby the law of Christendom.

A. D. 1122.

Feb. 27,
1128.

So closed one period of the long strife between the Church and the Empire. The Christendom of our own calmer times, when these questions, excepting among rigid controversialists, are matters of remote history, may wonder that where the principles of justice, dominant at the time, were so plain and simple, and where such slight and equitable concessions on either side set this long quarrel at rest, Germany should be wasted by

civil war, Italy suffer more than one disastrous invasion, one Emperor be reduced to the lowest degradation, more than one Pope be exposed to personal insult and suffering, in short, that such long, bloody, and implacable warfare should lay waste a large part of Europe, on points which admitted such easy adjustment. But, as usual in the collision of great interests, the point in dispute was not the sole, nor even the chief object of the conflict: it was on one part the total independence, and through the independence the complete ascendancy; on the other, if not the absolute subjugation, the secret subservience of the spiritual power; which the more sagacious and ambitious of each party aimed eventually at securing to themselves. Both parties had gradually receded from this remote and unacknowledged purpose, and now contended on open and ostensible ground. The Pope either abandoned as unattainable, or no longer aspired to make the Church absolutely independent both as to election and as to the possession of vast feudal rights without the obligations of feudal obedience to the Empire. In Germany alone the bishops and abbots were sovereign princes of such enormous territorial possessions and exalted rank, that if constant and unswerving subjects and allies of the Pope, they would have kept the Empire in complete subjugation to Rome. But this rival sway had been kept down through the direct influence exercised by the Emperor in the appointment, and his theoretic power at least of withholding the temporalities of the great spiritual fiefs; and the exercise of this power led to monstrous abuses, the secularisation of the Church, the transformation of bishops and abbots to laymen invested in mitres and cowls. The Emperor could not hope to maintain the evils of the old system, the direct appoint-

ment of his creatures, boys or rude soldiers, to those great sees or abbacies; or to sell them and receive in payment some of the estates of the Church, and so to create an unconstitutional and independent revenue. It was even a wiser policy, as concerned his temporal interests, to elevate the order in that decent and imposing character which belonged to their sacred calling—to Teutonise the Teutonic hierarchy.

Indirect influence through the chapters might raise up, if a more free and more respected, yet more loyal race of churchmen; if more independent of the Empire they would likewise be more independent of the Pope; they would be Germans as well as churchmen; become not the sworn, immitigable enemies, but the allies, the bulwarks of the Imperial power. So in the subsequent contest the armies of the Hohenstaufen, at least of Frederick Barbarossa, appear commanded by the great prelates of the Empire; and even Frederick II., if he had been more of a German, less of an Italian sovereign, might, supported by the German hierarchy, have maintained the contest with greater hopes of success.

CHAPTER IV.

St. Bernard and Innocent II.

CALIXTUS II. had restored peace to Christendom; his strong arm during the latter part of his Pontificate kept even Rome in quiet obedience. He compelled both citizens and strangers to abandon the practice of wearing arms; he levelled some of the strongholds from which the turbulent nobles sallied forth with their lawless followers to disturb the peace of the city, and to interfere in the election of Popes, or to defend some usurping Antipope against the legitimate Bishop of Rome: the tower of Cenci and that of Donna Bona were razed to the ground. But neither Calixtus nor Henry lived to see the effects of the pacification. The death of Calixtus took place a year before that of the Emperor.^a With Henry V. closed the line of the Franconian Cæsars in Germany; the second family which, since the separation of the dominions of Charlemagne, had handed down the Empire for several generations in regular descent. Of the Franconian Emperors, the first had been the faithful allies of the Papacy; the restorers of the successors of St. Peter to freedom, power, and even sanctity, which they had lost, and seemed in danger of losing for ever, as the slaves and instruments of the wild barons and potentates of Rome and the Romagna. The two later

^a Death of Calixtus, 1124 (rather Dec. 13 or 14, 1123). The death of Henry, 1125, May 23.—Falco Beneventanus in Chronic.; Pandulphus Pisanus

Kings, the Henrys, had been in perpetual and dangerous conflict with those Pontiffs whom their fathers had reinvested in dignity.

Calixtus had controlled, but not extinguished the Roman factions; they were only gathering strength and animosity to renew the strife for his spoils, to contest the appointment of his successors. Even on the death of Calixtus, a double election, but for the unwonted prudence and moderation of one of the candidates, might have broken out into a new schism, and a new civil war. The Frangipanis were at the head of one faction, Peter the son of Leo of the other. They watched the last hours of the expiring Pontiff with outward signs of agreement, but with the inward determination each to supplant the other

A.D. 1124.
Dec. 15, 16.

by the rapidity of his proceedings. Lambert of Ostia, the legate who had conducted the treaty of pacification in Germany, was the Pope of the Frangipani. Their party had the scarlet robe ready to invest him. While the assembled Bishops in the Church of San Pancrazio had already elected Tebaldo Buccapecco, the Cardinal of Santa Anastasia, and were singing the *Te Deum*, Robert Frangipani proclaimed Lambert as Pope Elect, amid the acclamations of the people. Happily, however, one was as sincerely humble as the other ambitious.^b The Cardinal of Santa Anastasia yielded up his claim without hesitation; yet so doubtful did the legality of his election appear to the Pope himself, that, twelve days after, he resigned the Papacy into the hands of the Cardinals, and went through the forms of a new election.

The Pontificate of Honorius II., during six years, was

^a Jaffé however says, I think without ground, "*Voluntate ad coactus abdicaverit, parum liquet.*"

not marked by any great event, except the accession of the Saxon house to the Imperial throne. A.D. 1124-1130. Yet the thunders of the Vatican were not silent; his reign is marked by the anathemas which he pronounced, not now against invaders of his ecclesiastical rights and possessions. The temporal interests and the spiritual supremacy of the Popes became more and more identified; all invasion of the actual property of the Pope, or the feudal superiority which he might claim, was held as sacrilege, and punished by the spiritual censure of excommunication. Already the Lateran Council, under Calixtus, had declared that any one who attacked the city of Benevento, being the Pope's (a strong city of refuge, in the south of Italy, either against a hostile Emperor or the turbulent Romans, was of infinite importance to the Pontiff), was under anathema. The feudal sovereignty of the whole South of Italy, which the Popes, on some vague claim as representatives of the Emperors, had appropriated to the Roman See, and which the Normans, holding only by the precarious tenure of conquest, were not inclined to dispute, since it confirmed their own rights, was protected by the same incongruous arms; and not by these arms alone, Honorius himself at times headed the Papal forces in the South.* When Roger the Norman laid claim to the succession of William Duke of Apulia, who had died childless, the Pope being unfavourable to his pretensions, he was cut off from the Church of Christ by the same summary sentence.

In Germany all was peace between the Empire and the Papacy. Lothair the Saxon, the faithful head of

* See Chron. Foss. Nov., Falco Beneventan., Romuald. Salernit. for brief notices of the Pope's campaigns. Apud Muratori, G. R. It. vii. Council at Troja, Nov. 11, 1127.

the Papal party, had been elected to the Empire. Honorius, in gratitude for past services, and in prophetic dread of the rising power of the Hohenstaufen, hastened to recognise the Emperor. Lothair, in his humble submission, did not demand the homage of the clergy for their Imperial fiefs.^d Conrad, the nephew of the deceased King Henry, having attempted to seize the kingdom of Italy, was excommunicated as a rebel against his rightful Sovereign. The humiliation of his rival Frederick of Swabia, and the failure of Conrad, left the Papalising Emperor in his undisturbed supremacy.

April 24,
1128.

The death of Honorius was the signal for a more violent collision between the ruling factions at Rome. They watched the dying Pope with indecent impatience. In secret (it was asserted before the death, certainly on the day of the death and before the funeral of Honorius), a minority of the Cardinals, but those, in their own estimation and in that of their adherents, the most eminent, elected Gregory, the Cardinal of St. Angelo, who took the name of Innocent II.^e The more numerous party, waiting a more decent and more canonical time for their election, chose the Cardinal Peter Leonis, one of the sons of that Peter who had so long been conspicuous in Roman politics.^f He called himself Anacletus II. On his side Anacletus had the more canonical election, the majority of the

Feb. 14, 1130.
Contested
election.
Innocent II.
Anacletus II.

^d Jaffé, Lothair, p. 36, &c.

^e S. Bernard himself admits some irregularity at least in the election of Innocent. "Nam etsi quid minus forte solenniter, et minus ordinabiliter processit, in eâ quæ processit, ut hostes unitatis contendunt." Bernard argues

that they ought to have waited the formal examination of this point, and not proceeded to another election. But if the election was irregular and uncanonical, it was null of itself.

^f On the Peter Leonis compare Hist. of the Jews, iii., 329.

Cardinals,^g the strongest party in Rome. He immediately made overtures to Roger Duke of Sicily, who had been excommunicated by Honorius. The Sicilian espoused at once the cause of Anacletus, in order to deserve the title of King, the aim of his ambition. Thus there was a complete revolution in the parties at Rome. The powerful family of Peter Leonis and the Normans were on the side of the Pope, eventually reputed the Antipope; the Emperor with all Northern Christendom united for the successful, as he was afterwards called, the orthodox Pontiff. The enemies of Leo (Anacletus), who scrupled at no calumny,^h attributed his success to his powerful connexions of family and of interest. He inherited a vast patrimonial property; he had increased it by a large share in the exactions of the Curia, the Chancery of Rome, of which he had the command, and in legations. These treasures he had carefully hoarded for his great object, the Pontificate. Besides this, he scrupled not, it is said, to convert the sacred wealth of the churches to his use; and when the Christians trembled to break up the silver vessels and crucifixes, he called in the Jews to this unholy work. Thus it is acknowledged that almost all Rome was on his side. Rome, won, as his enemies aver, by these guilty and

^g There were 16 cardinals for Innocent, 32 for Anacletus.—Anonym. apud Baronium, Epist., pp. 191, 192, 196. Other writers, of inferior authority, deny this.

^h "Qui licet monachus, presbyter, cardinalis esset, scorto conjugatus, monachas, sororem propriam, etiam consanguineas ad instar canis quoquo modo habere potuit, non defecit."—Epist. Mantuin. Episcop. apud Neugart, diplom. Alemanniæ, 63, 64. Yet

there seems no doubt that the Epistle of Peter the Cardinal, written by St. Bernard (notwithstanding Mabillon's doubts), was addressed to Anacletus. "Diligitur enim bonam famam vestram, reveremur quam in vobis audivimus circa res Dei sollicitudinem et sinceritatem." Jaffé (p. 89) well observes that it would be fatal to the character of Calixtus II. to have promoted a man of such monstrous dissoluteness to the cardinalate.

sacrilegious means and maintained by the harshest cruelties.¹

Innocent had in Rome the Frangipanis, a strong minority of the Cardinals, the earlier though questionable election; he had the indelible prejudice against his adversary—his name and descent from a Jew and an usurer.^k But he obtained before long the support of the Emperor Lothair, of the King of France, of Henry King of England, and, greater than these, of one to whom he owed their faithful aid, who ruled the minds of all these Sovereigns, Bernard, the Abbot of Clairvaux.

For half this century the Pope ceases to be the centre around whom gather the great events of Christian history, from whose heart or from whose mind flow forth the impulses which animate and guide Latin Christendom, towards whom converge the religious thoughts of men. Bernard of Clairvaux, now rising to the height of his power and influence, is at once the leading and

¹ Innocent thus arraigns his rival: "Qui papatum a longis retro temporibus affectaverat, parentum violentiâ, sanguinis effusione, destructione sacrarum imaginum, beati Petri cathedram occupavit et peregrinos ac religiosos quosdam ad apostolorum limina venientes captos, et tetris carceris squaloribus ac ferreis vinculis mancipatos fame, siti, diversisque tormentorum generibus tormentare non desinit."—Pisa, June 20, apud Jaffé, p. 561. On the other hand, Anacletus asserts, "Clerus omnis Romanus individuâ nobis charitate cohæret; præfectus urbis Leo Frangipane cum filio et Cencio Frangipane [this was after the flight of Innocent] et nobiles omnes, et plebs omnis Romana consuetam nobis fidelitatem

fecerunt."—Baronius, sub ann. 1130.

^k In the account of the Council of Rheims by Ordericus Vitalis, we read that Calixtus II. declared his willingness to liberate the son of Peter the son of Leo, whom he had brought with him as one of the hostages of the former treaty with the Emperor. "So saying, he pointed to a dark pale youth, more like a Jew or a Hagarene than a Christian, clothed in rich raiment, but deformed in person. The Franks, who saw him standing by the Pope, mocked him, imprecated disgrace and ruin on his head, from their hatred to his father, whom they knew to be a most unscrupulous usurer." This deformed boy could not be the future Pope, then probably a monk; most likely it was a brother.

the governing head of Christendom. He rules alike the monastic world, in all the multiplying and more severe convents which were springing up in every part of Europe, the councils of temporal sovereigns, and the intellectual developments of the age. He is peopling all these convents with thousands of ardent votaries of every rank and order; he heals the schism in the Papacy; he preaches a new crusade, in which a King and an Emperor lead the armies of the Cross; he is believed by an admiring age to have confuted Abélard himself, and to have repressed the more dangerous doctrines of Arnold of Brescia. His almost worshipping admirers adorn his life with countless miracles; posterity must admit the almost miraculous power with which he was endowed of guiding the minds of men in passive obedience. The happy congeniality of his character, opinions, eloquence, piety, with all the stronger sentiments and passions of the time, will account in great part for his ascendancy; but the man must have been blessed with an amazing native power and greatness, which alone could raise him so high above a world actuated by the same influences.

Bernard did not originate this new outburst of monasticism, which had already made great progress in Germany, and was growing to its height in parts of France. He was a dutiful son rather than one of the parents of that great Cistercian order, which was now commencing its career in all its more attractive seclusion from the world, and its more than primitive austerity of discipline; which in a short time became famous, and through its fame covered France, parts of England, and some other countries, with new monasteries under a more rigorous rule, and compelled some of the old institutions to submit to a harsher discipline. These founda-

tions, after emulating or surpassing the ancient Benedictine brotherhoods in austerity, poverty, obedience, solitude, grew to equal and surpass them in splendour, wealth, and independent power.

It was this wonderful attribute of the monastic system to renew its youth, which was the life of mediæval Christianity; it was ever reverting of itself to the first principles of its constitution. It seized alike on all the various nations which now formed Latin Christendom; the Northern as the Southern, the German as the Italian. In this adventurous age there must be room and scope for every kind of religious adventure. The untameable independence and individuality of the Teutonic character, now dominant throughout Germany, France, and England, still displays itself, notwithstanding the complicated system of feudal tenures and their bondage, in the perpetual insubordination of the nobles to the sovereign, in private wars, in feats of hardihood and enterprise, bordering constantly on the acts of the robber, the freebooter, and the pirate. It had been at once fostered by, and found vent in the Crusades, which called on every one to become a warrior on his own account, and enrolled him not as a conscript or even as a feudal retainer, but as a free and voluntary soldier of the Cross, seeking glory or plunder for himself, or working out his own salvation by deeds of valour against the Unbelievers.

It was the same within the more immediate sphere of religion. When that yearning for independence, that self-isolating individuality was found Thirst for religious adventure. in connexion with the strong and profound passion for devotion, there was nothing in the ordinary and established forms to satisfy the aspirations of this inordinate piety. Notwithstanding, or rather because of the

completely organised system of Church government throughout the West, which gave to every province its metropolitan, to every city its bishop, to every parish its priest, there could not but be a perpetual insurrection, as it were, of men ambitious of something higher, more peculiar, more extraordinary, more their own. The stated and uniform service of the Church, the common instruction, must be suited to the ordinary level of faith and knowledge: they knew no change, no progress, no accommodation to more earnest or craving spirits. The almost universal secularisation of the clergy would increase this holy dissatisfaction. Even the Pope had become a temporal sovereign, the metropolitan a prince, the bishop a baron, the priest perhaps the chaplain to a marauding army. At all events the ceremonial of the Church went on in but stately uniformity; the most religious man was but a member of the same Christian flock; there was little emulation or distinction. But all this time monastic Christianity was in the theory of the Church the only real Christian perfection; the one sublime, almost the one safe course, was the total abnegation of the monk, renunciation of the world, solitude, asceticism, stern mortification. Man could not inflict upon himself too much humiliation and misery. The true Christian life was one long unbroken penance. Holiness was measured by suffering; the more remote from man the nearer to God. All human sympathies, all social feelings, all ties of kindred, all affections, were to be torn up by the roots from the groaning spirit; pain and prayer, prayer and pain, were to be the sole, stirring, unwearying occupations of a saintly life.

All these more aspiring and restless and insatiable spirits the monasteries invited within their hallowed walls; to all these they promised peace. But they could

rarely fulfil their promise; even they could not satisfy the yearnings for religious adventure. Most of the old monasteries which held the rule either of St. Benedict or of Cassian had become wealthy, and suffered the usual effects of wealth. Some had altogether relaxed their discipline, had long renounced poverty; and the constant dissensions, the appeals to the bishop, to the metropolitan, or where, as they all strove to do, they had obtained exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, to the Pope, showed how entirely the other great vow, obedience to the abbot or prior, had become obsolete. The best were regular and tranquil; they had achieved their labours, they had fertilised their immediate territory, and as though they had now but to enjoy the fruits of their toil, they sunk to indolent repose. Even where the discipline was still severe, it was monotonous, to some extent absolute; its sanctity was exacted, habitual, unawakening. All old establishments are impatient of innovation; a higher flight of devotion becomes insubordination, or a tacit reproach on the ordinary course. Monasticism had been and was ever tracing the same cycle. Now the wilderness, the utter solitude, the utmost poverty, the contest with the stubborn forest and unwholesome morass, the most exalted piety, the devotion which had not hours enough during the day and night for its exercise, the rule which could not be enforced too strictly, the strongly competing asceticism, the inventive self-discipline, the inexhaustible, emulous ingenuity of self-torture, the boastful servility of obedience; then the fame for piety, the lavish offerings of the faithful, the grants of the repentant lord, the endowments of the remorseful king—the opulence, the power, the magnificence. The wattled hut, the rock-hewn hermitage, is now the stately cloister; the lowly church

of wood the lofty and gorgeous abbey ; the wild forest or heath the pleasant and umbrageous grove ; the marsh a domain of intermingling meadow and corn-fields ; the brawling stream or mountain torrent a succession of quiet tanks or pools fattening innumerable fish. The superior, once a man bowed to the earth with humility, care-worn, pale, emaciated, with a coarse habit bound with a cord, with naked feet, is become an abbot on his curvetting palfrey, in rich attire, with his silver cross borne before him, travelling to take his place amid the lordliest of the realm.

New orders, therefore, and new institutions were ever growing out of the old, and hosts of youthful zealots were ripe and eager for their more extreme demands of self-sacrifice, and that which appeared to be self-abandonment, but in fact was often a loftier form of self-adoration. Already, centuries past, in the Benedictine abbeys, the second Benedict (of Aniane) had commenced a new æra of discipline, mortification, saintliness according to the monastic notion of saintship. But that æra, like the old one, had gradually passed away. Again, in the preceding century, Clugny had displayed this marvellous inward force, this reconstructing, reorganising, reanimating energy of monasticism. It had furnished the line of German pontiffs to the papacy, it had trained Hildebrand for the papal throne and placed him upon it. But Clugny was now undergoing the inevitable fate of degeneracy : it was said that the Abbot Pontius had utterly forgotten the stern inflexibility of his great predecessor St. Hugh : he had become worldly, and as worldly, weak in discipline.

But in the meanwhile, in a remote and almost inaccessible corner of Burgundy, had been laid the foundations of a community which by the time that the mind of

Bernard of Clairvaux should be ripe for his great change, would be prepared to satisfy the fervid longings even of a spirit so intensely burning with the fire of devotion. The first origin of this fraternity is one of the most striking and characteristic stories of this religious age. Two brothers of the noble house of Molesme were riding through a wild forest, in arms, on their way to a neighbouring tournament. Suddenly in the mind of each rose the awful thought, “What if I should murder my brother, and so secure the whole of our inheritance?” The strong power of love, of virtue, of religion, or whatever influence was employed by the divine blessing, wrestled down in each the dark temptation. Some years after they passed again the same dreary road; the recollection of their former trial came back upon their minds; they shuddered at once at the fearful power of the Tempter. They hastened to confess themselves to a holy hermit; they then communicated each to the other their fratricidal thoughts; they determined to abandon for ever a world which abounded in such dreadful suggestions, to devote their lives to the God who had saved them from such appalling sin. So rose at Molesme a small community, which rapidly became a monastery. The brothers, however, disappear, at least are not the most conspicuous in the history of this community. In the monastery, in the forest of Colon near Molesme, arose dissension, at length secession. Some of the most rigid, including the abbot, the prior, and Stephen Harding, an Englishman, sought a more complete solitude, a more obstinate wilderness to tame, more sense-subduing poverty, more intense mortification. They found it in a desert place on the borders of Champagne and Burgundy. Nothing could appear more stubborn, more dismal, more

Molesme.

Stephen
Harding.

hopeless than this spot; it suited their rigid mood; they had more than once the satisfaction of almost perishing by famine. The monastery of Citeaux had not yet softened away the savage character of the wilderness around when it opened its gates to Bernard of Clairvaux. Stephen Harding had become its abbot, and Stephen was the true founder of the Cistercian Order.

Stephen Harding had been bestowed as an offering by his pious parents on the monastery of Sherborne in Dorsetshire. There he received his education, there he was fed with cravings for higher devotion which Sherborne could not satisfy. He wandered as a pilgrim to Rome; he returned with his spiritual wants still more pressing, more fastidious, more insatiate. Among the brethren of Molesme he found for a time a relief for his soul's necessities: but even from Molesme he was driven forth in search of profound peace, of more full satisfaction; and he was among the seven who retired into the

more desolate and unapproachable Citeaux.^m

Citeaux.

Yet already had Citeaux, though still rude and struggling, as it were, with the forest and the marsh, acquired fame. Odo, the mighty Duke of Burgundy, the first patron of the new community, had died in the Holy Land. Ere he expired he commanded that his remains should not rest in the vaults of his cathedral at Dijon, or any of the more stately abbeys of his land, where there were lordly prelates or chapters of priests to celebrate daily the splendid masses with their solemn music for his soul. He desired that they should rest in the humble chapel of Citeaux, blessed by the more pre-

^m Compare the Life of Harding, in the Lives of the English Saints. If the writers of some of these biographies had condescended to write history rather than to revive legend, they might, from their research and exquisite charm of style, have enriched our literature.

vailing prayers of its holy monks. In after ages, Citeaux, become magnificent, was the burying-place of the Dukes of Burgundy; but over their gorgeous marble tombs it might be questioned whether such devout and earnest supplications were addressed to heaven as by the simple choir of Stephen Harding.

But its glory and its power rose not from the sepulture of the Dukes of Burgundy, but from the entrance of the living Bernard within its walls.^a Bernard was born of noble parentage in Burgundy. His father, Tecelin, was a man of great bravery and unimpeachable honour and justice; his mother, Alith, likewise of high birth, a model of devotion and charity. Bernard was the third of six brothers; he had one sister. The mother, who had secretly vowed all her children to God, took the chief part in their early education, especially in that of Bernard, a simple and studious, a thoughtful and gentle youth, yet even in childhood of strong will and visionary imagination. The mother's death confirmed the influence of her life. Having long practised secretly the severest monastic discipline, she breathed out her spirit amid the psalms of the clergy around her bed: the last movement of her lips was praise to God.

The world was open to the youth of high birth, beautiful person, graceful manners, irresistible influence. The Court would at once have welcomed a young knight, so endowed, with her highest honours, her most intoxicating pleasures; the Church would have trained a noble disciple so richly gifted for her most powerful bishoprics or her wealthiest abbeys. He closed his eyes upon the

^a The Life of St. Bernard (the first but without the knowledge or sanction book) by William the Abbot (Gulielmus of Bernard. The second book bears the name of Bernard, Abbot of Beauvale), was written during his lifetime,

world, on the worldly Church, with stern determination. He became at once master of his passions. His eyes had dwelt too long and too curiously on a beautiful female; he plunged to the neck in a pool of cold water. His chastity underwent, but unattainted, severer trials. Yet he resolved to abandon this incorrigible world altogether. He inquired for the poorest, the most inaccessible, the most austere of monasteries. It was that of Citeaux. He arrived at the gates, but not alone. Already his irresistible influence had drawn around him thirty followers, all equally resolute in the renunciation of secular life, in submission to the most rigorous discipline; some, men of middle life, versed in, but weary of, the world; most, like himself, youths of noble birth, with life untried and expanding in its most dazzling promise before them. But this was not all; his mother's vow must be fulfilled. One after the other the strange and irresistible force of his character enthralled his brothers, and at length his sister. Two of the brothers with an uncle followed his steps at once: the elder, Guido, was married; his wife refused to yield up her claims on her husband's love. A seasonable illness enforced her submission; she, too, retired to a convent. A wound in the side, prophesied, it was said, by Bernard, brought another, a gallant warrior, as a heart-stricken penitent into his company. When they all left the castle of their fathers, where they had already formed a complete monastic brotherhood, Guido, the elder, addressed Nivard the youngest son. "To you remains the whole patrimony of our house." "Earth to me and heaven to you, that is no fair partition," said the boy. He lingered a short time with his aged father and then joined the rest. Even the father died a monk of Clairvaux in the arms of Bernard. But it was not on his own kindred alone that Bernard wrought

with this commanding power. When he was to preach, wives hurried away their husbands, mothers withdrew their sons, friends their friends, from the resistless magic of his eloquence.

Notwithstanding its fame, the Cistercian monastery up to this time had been content with a few unincreasing votaries. Warlike and turbulent Burgundy furnished only here and there some conscience-stricken disciple to its dreary cells. The accession of the noble Bernard, of his kindred and his followers, raised at once the popularity and crowded the dormitories of this remote cloister. But Bernard himself dwelt in subjection, in solitude, in study. He was alone, except when on his knees with the rest in the choir; the forest oaks and beeches were his beloved companions; he diligently read the sacred Scriptures; he strove to work out his own conception of perfect and angelic religion. He A.D. 1113. attained a height of abstraction from earthly things which might have been envied by an Indian Yogee. He had so absolutely withdrawn his senses from communion with the world that they seemed dead to all outward impressions: his eyes did not tell him whether his chamber was ceiled or not, whether it had one window or three. Of the scanty food which he took rather to avert death than to sustain life, his unconscious taste had lost all perception whether it was nauseous or wholesome. Yet Bernard thought himself but in his novitiate; others might have attained, he had but begun his sanctification. He laboured with the hardest labourers, discharged the most menial offices, was everybody's slave; the more degrading the office the more acceptable to Bernard.

But the monastery of Stephen Harding could no longer contain its thronging votaries. From this me-

tropolis of holiness Bernard was chosen to lead the first colony. There was a valley in Champagne, not far from the river Aube, called the Valley of Wormwood, infamous as a den of robbers: Bernard and his companions determined to change it into a temple of God. It was a savage, terrible solitude, so utterly barren that at first they were reduced to live on beech-leaves: they suffered the direst extremity of famine, until the patient faith of Bernard was rewarded by supplies pouring in from the reverential piety of the neighbouring peasants.

To the gate of Clairvaux (Bernard's new monastery had taken that musical name, to which he has given immortality) came his sister, who was nobly married, in great state, and with a splendid retinue. Not one of her brothers would go out to see her—she was spurned from the door as a sinner. "If I am a sinner," she meekly replied, "I am one of those for whom Christ died, and have the greater need of my brothers' kindly counsel. Command, I am ready to obey!" Bernard was moved; he could not separate her from her husband, but he adjured her to renounce all her worldly pomp. Humbeline obeyed, devoted herself to fasting and prayer, and at length retired into a convent.

Bernard's life would have been cut short by his austerities; this slow suicide would have deprived the Church of the last of her Fathers. But he had gone to receive orders from the Bishop of Châlons, William of Champeaux, the great dialectician, the teacher and the adversary of Abélard. With him he contracted a strong friendship. The wise counsel, and something like the pious fraud (venial here if ever) of this good prelate, compelled him to support his health, that most precious

gift of God, without which the other high gifts of the Creator were without value.^o

The fame and influence of Bernard spread rapidly and widely; his irresistible preaching awed and won all hearts. Everywhere Bernard was called in as the great pacificator of religious, and even of civil dissensions. His justice, his mildness, were equally commanding and persuasive. It was a free and open court, to which all might appeal without cost; from which all retired, even if without success, without dissatisfaction; convinced, if condemned by Bernard, of their own wrongfulness. His wondering followers saw miracles in all his acts,^p prophecies in all his words. The Gospels contain not such countless wonders as the life of Bernard. Clairvaux began to send forth its colonies; to Clairvaux all looked back with fervent attachment to their founder, and carried his name with them by degrees through France, and Italy, and Germany, to England and Spain.

Bernard, worthy as he was, according to the biographer, to be compelled to accept them, firmly declined all ecclesiastical dignities. The Abbot of Clairvaux, with all the wealth and all the honours of the Church at his feet, while he made and unmade Popes, remained but the simple Abbot.

From the schism in the Papal See between Innocent II. and Anacletus II., his life is the history of the Western Church.

* The more mature wisdom of Bernard viewed this differently. "Non ergo est temperantia in solis resecandis superfluis, est et in admittendis necessariis."—De Consider., i. viii. Compare the whole chapter.

^p Some of them, of course, sink to the whimsical and the puerile. On one occasion he excommunicated the flies, which disturbed and defiled a church: they fell dead, and were swept off the floor by baskets full.

Innocent, not without difficulty, had escaped from Rome, had dropped down to the mouth of the Tiber, and reached the port of Pisa. Messengers were immediately despatched to secure the support of the Transalpine Sovereigns, more especially of Louis the Fat, the King of France. The King, who had now become a recognised protector of the Pope, summoned a Council of the Archbishops and Bishops of the realm at Etampes. Both the King and the Prelates imperatively required the presence of Bernard, the holy Abbot of Clairvaux. Bernard arrived, torn reluctant, and not without fear, from his tranquil seclusion, and thus plunged at once into the affairs of the world. The whole assembly, the King and the Prelates, with flattering unanimity, referred the decision of this momentous question to him alone. Thus was Bernard in one day the arbiter of the religious destinies of Christendom. Was he so absolutely superior to that last infirmity of noble minds as to be quite undazzled by the unexpected majesty of his position? He prayed earnestly; did he severely and indifferently examine this great cause? The burning passion of his letters, after he had embraced the cause of Innocent, does not impress the unbiassed inquirer with the calmness of his deliberations. To the Archbishop of Tours, who was slow to acknowledge the superior validity of Innocent's claims, he writes peremptorily—"The abomination of desolation is in the holy places. Antichrist, in persecuting Innocent, is persecuting all innocence: banished from Rome, he is accepted by the world."⁹

Innocent hastened to the hospitable shores of France.

⁹ "Pulsus ab urbe, ab orbe receptus."—Epist. 124.

He landed at St. Gilles, in Provence, and proceeded by Viviers and Puy, in Auvergne, to the monastery of Clugny. There he was received, in the King's name, by Suger, Abbot of St. Denys, and proceeded with horses and with a suitable retinue upon his journey. At Clermont he held a Council, and received the allegiance of two of the great Prelates of Germany, those of Saltzburg and Munster. Near Orleans he was welcomed by the King and his family with every mark of reverence and submission. At Chartres, another monarch, Henry I. of England, acknowledged Innocent as the legitimate successor of St. Peter.^r The influence of Bernard had overruled the advice of the English Prelates, and brought this second kingly spiritual vassal, though reluctant, to the feet of Innocent. "Thou fearest the sin of acknowledging Innocent: answer thou for thy other sins, be that upon my head."^s Such was the language of Bernard to the King of England. The Pontiff condescended to visit Rouen, where the Norman Barons, and even the Jews of the city, made him splendid presents. From Germany had come an embassy to declare, that the Emperor Lothair and a Council of sixteen Bishops, at Wurtzburg, had acknowledged Innocent. Anacletus was not only rejected, but included under proscription with the disobedient Frederick the Hohenstaufen and Conrad the King of Italy; they and all their partisans were menaced with excommunication. The ambassadors invited Innocent to visit Germany. He held his first Council at Rheims, where he crowned the King of France and his infant son. He visited, before or after

Oct. 25.

Nov. 18, 29.

Jan. 30, 1131.

May 10.

Council of
Rheims.
Oct. 18.

^r William of Malmesbury.—Cardin. Arragon. in Vit. ^s Vita Bernardi.

the Council, other parts of France. He was at Etampes, Châlons, Cambrai, Laon, Paris, Beauvais, Compiègne, Auxerre, as well as at Liège, Rouen, Gisors, Pont-Ysère, with Bernard as his inseparable companion. In public affairs he appeared to consult his Cardinals; but every measure had been previously discussed in his private conferences with the Abbot of Clairvaux.

At Liège.
March 22,
1131.

Bernard accompanied him to Liège. The Pope was received with the highest honours by the Emperor Lothair; the Emperor held the reins of the Pope's white palfrey; but to the dismay of Innocent and his Cardinals, Lothair renewed the old claim to the investitures;† and seemed disposed to enforce his demand as the price of his allegiance, if not by stronger measures. Innocent thought of the fate of Paschal, and trembled at the demand of the Barbarian. But the eloquence of Bernard overawed the Emperor: Lothair submitted to the spell of his authority.^u On his return from Liège, the Pope visited the Abbey of Clairvaux. It was a strange contrast with the magnificence of his reception in the stately churches of Rheims, of Rouen, and of Liège, which were thronged with the baronial clergy, and their multitudes of clerical attendants, and rich with the ornaments offered by pious kings and princes; nor less the contrast with the gorgeous state of the wealthy monasteries, even the now splendid, almost luxurious Clugny. He was met at Clairvaux by the poor of Christ, not clad in purple and fine linen, but in

† “Episcoporum sibi restitui investituras, quas ab ejus prædecessore Imperatore Henrico, Romana Ecclesia vindicarat.”—Ernold. Vit. Bernard.

“Sed nec Leodii cervicibus imminens mucro barbaricus compulit ac-

quiescere importunis improbisque postulationibus iracundi atque irascentis regis.”—S. Bernard., Epist. 150. Bernard has rather overcharged the wrath of the meek Lothair.

tattered raiment ; not bearing Gospels or sacred books embossed in gold, but a rude stone cross. No trumpet sounded, no tumultuous shouts were heard ; no one lifted his looks from the earth, no curious eye wandered abroad to gaze on the ceremony ; the only sound was a soft and lowly chant. The Prelates and the Pope were moved to tears. The Roman clergy were equally astonished at the meanness of the Church furniture, the nakedness of the walls ; not less by the hardness and scantiness of the fare, the coarsest bread and vegetables, instead of the delicacies to which they were accustomed ; a single small fish had been procured for the Pope. They had little desire to sojourn long at Clairvaux.*

Bernard could boast that Innocent was now acknowledged, and chiefly through his influence, by the Kings of France, England, Spain, and by the Emperor. The more powerful clergy beyond the Alps, all the religious communities, the Camaldulites, the Vallombrosans, the Carthusians, those of Clugny, with other Benedictines ; his own Cistercians, in all their wide-spreading foundations, were on the same side. In Italy, the Archbishop of Ravenna, the Bishops of Pavia, Pistoia, Asti, and Parma, offered their allegiance. Of all the Sovereigns of Europe, Duke Roger of Sicily alone, bribed by the promise of a crown, adhered to his rival.

Bernard has now become an ardent, impassioned, disdainful partisan ; he has plunged heart and soul into the conflict and agitation of the world.† Anacletus

* Epist. 125.

† Bernard insists throughout on the canonical election of Innocent. In one place he doubtfully asserts the num-

bers to have been in favour of Innocent " Cujus electio sanior numerum eligitium et numero vincens et merito." In other passages he rests the validity

had dared to send his legates into France: Aquitaine had generally espoused his cause. "Why not," writes the indignant Bernard to the Bishops of that province, "to Persia, to Decapolis, to the farthest Scythians?" Bernard's letters are addressed to the cities of Italy in terms of condescending praise and commanding authority rather than of meek persuasion. He exhorts them, Genoa more especially, which seemed to have been delighted with his presence, to reject the insidious alliance of the King of Sicily.² He threatens Milan, and hints that the Pope may raise bishops into archbishops, degrade archbishops into bishops. His power over the whole clergy knows no limitation. Bernard offers his mediation; but the price of reconciliation is not only submission to the spiritual power of Pope Innocent, but to the renunciation of Conrad, who still claimed the kingdom of Italy. They must make satisfaction, not to the Pope alone, but to the Emperor Lothair, the Pope's ally.³

The Emperor Lothair had promised to reinstate Innocent in the possession of Rome. Innocent entered Italy; he was received in Asti, Novara, Brescia, Cremona, Piacenza; he met the Emperor on the plains of Roncaglia. From Piacenza he moved to Pisa, reconciled that city with her rising rival

of the election altogether on the soundness of his adherents. It is the "dignitas eligentium. Hanc enim, ni fallor, partem saniozem invenies."—Epist. 126. "Electio meliorum, approbatio plurium, et quod hic efficacius est, morum attestatio, Innocentium apud omnes commendant, summum confirmant Pontificem." Consult these three epistles, of which the rhetoric is more powerful than the argument.

² "Habet tamen ducem Apuliæ, sed solum ex principibus, ipsumque usurpatæ coronæ mercede ridicula comparatum."—Anacletus had kept his compact and advanced Roger to the kingdom of Sicily, Sept. 27, 1130.—Epist. 129 to 134. Some of these were written (Epist. 129) during Bernard's progress through Italy.

³ Epist. 137, addressed to the Empress.

Genoa, and rewarded the obedience of Genoa by raising the see into an archbishopric. The fleets of Genoa and Pisa became the most useful allies March, 1133. of the Pope. The next year the Emperor and the Pope advanced to Rome, Bernard still by the side of the conquering Pontiff. Anacletus did not venture to defend the city; he retired beyond the April 30. Tiber, occupied the Vatican, and maintained the Castle of St. Angelo. On either side of the river sat a Pope launching his interdict against his adversary. The Pope rewarded the Emperor's fidelity by crowning him and his Empress Richilda with great solemnity in the Lateran Church. Lothair swore to protect the Pope and the royalties of St. Peter to the utmost of June 4. his power; to enforce the restoration of all the rights and possessions withheld by violence from the See. But the presence of Lothair was the only safeguard of Innocent in Rome. No sooner had the Emperor returned to Germany than Innocent retired to Pisa, which, in St. Bernard's words, had the dignity of becoming a second Rome, the seat of exiled Pontiffs. Bernard was indignant at the long though necessary tardiness of the Emperor. It was not for him to excite to war, but it was for the Emperor to vindicate his throne from the Sicilian usurper; to defend the Church from the Jewish schismatic. His letter is that of a superior, under the guise of the lowest humility, dictating what is irrefragably right; in its address it is the supplication of a suitor; in its substance, in its spirit, a lofty reprimand.^b He rebukes him for other weaknesses; for neglecting the interests of God by allowing the Church of St. Gingoulph to be oppressed;

^b Epist. 139, 140.

he rebukes him for his ingratitude to Pisa, always the loyal subject and the most powerful ally of the Empire.

It was not till the fourth year of Innocent's retirement had begun (at Pisa^c he exercised all the functions of a Pope, except over Rome and in the south of Italy), that Lothair appeared again under the Alps at the head of a formidable army. The Pope, at the head of one division, marched against the cities in the neighbourhood of Rome; Lothair against the great ally of Anacletus, the King of Sicily. Lothair subdued the March of Ancona, the Principality of Capua, and almost the whole of Apulia. But this conquest endangered the amity between the Emperor and the Pope. Each claimed the right of investiture. Since the Norman conquest the Popes had maintained their strange claim to sovereignty over the whole kingdom of Naples; their right was grounded on the exercise of the right. The Emperor, as Emperor and King of Italy, declared himself undoubted sovereign of all which had not been expressly granted by his predecessors to the Holy See. A compromise took place; the new Duke Rainer swore fealty both to the Emperor and to the Pope. The King of Sicily had quietly withdrawn his troops, and waited his opportunity, when the Emperor should return to Germany,^d to resume the offensive. Anacletus, in his impregnable fortress of St. Angelo, defied his enemies. But his death relieved Innocent from his obstinate antagonist. The descendant of the Jew was buried secretly, lest his body, like that of Formosus, should be torn from its resting-place by the

Jan. 25, 1138.

^c Innocent was at Pisa from Nov. 16, 1133 to Feb. 28, 1137. He was on the plain of Roncaglia, Nov. 3, 1136.

^d The Emperor Lothair died on his return to Germany, Dec. 3-4, 1137.

vengeance of his enemies. An Antipope was elected two months after the death of Anacletus; he held his state but for two months more. For Innocent had returned to Rome, with Bernard by his side. Bernard, he himself declares, was constantly sighing for the quiet shades of Clairvaux, for seclusion, for unworldly self-sanctification; but the interests of God and the commands of the Pope detained him, still reluctant, in the turmoil of secular affairs. His eloquence now wrought, perhaps, its greatest triumph; it prevailed over Roman faction and priestly ambition. Victor II., such was the name which the Cardinal-Priest Gregory had assumed with the Popedom, renounced his dignity; the powerful family of Peter the son of Leo abandoned the weary contest, and all Rome acknowledged the Pope of St. Bernard.

March to
May 29.

Jan. 12.

Never had Rome or any other city of Christendom beheld so numerous a council as that held by Innocent II. in the Lateran Palace on the 4th of April, 1139—a thousand bishops (five from England), countless abbots, and other ecclesiastical dignitaries. The decrees have survived, not the debates of this Council. The speech of the Pope may be read; there is no record of those of Bernard and of the other ruling authorities. But the decrees, as well as the speech of Innocent, image forth the Christianity of the times, the Christianity of St. Bernard.

The oration of the Pope is remarkable, as distinctly claiming a feudal superiority over the whole clergy of Christendom. Every ecclesiastical dignity is held of him, as the great spiritual liege lord.* After inveighing

* "Quia a Romani pontificis licentia ecclesiastici ordinis celsitudo, quasi feudalibus juri consuetudine suscipitur, et sine ejus permissione legaliter non tenetur."—Chronicon. Maurin. apud Labbe.

against the sacrilegious ambition of the Antipope, Innocent annulled all his decrees. "We degrade all whom he has promoted; we expel from holy orders and depose all whom he has consecrated." Those ordained by the legate of Anacletus, Gerard of Angoulême, were interdicted from their functions. Each of these degraded Prelates was summoned. The Pope assailed those that appeared with indignant reproaches, wrenched their pastoral staves out of their hands, himself stripped the palls from their shoulders, and without mercy took away the rings by which they were wedded to their churches.

The decrees of the Lateran Council, while the Pope asserted his unlimited power over the episcopal order, gave to the bishops the same unlimited power over the lower clergy.^f Even for irregular or unbecoming dress they might be deprived of their benefices. The marriage of subdeacons was strictly forbidden. A remarkable statute inhibited the prevailing usage of monks and regular canons practising law and medicine; the law, as tending not merely to withdraw them from their proper occupation of psalmody, but as confounding their notions of right and wrong, of justice and iniquity, and encouraging them to be avaricious of worldly gain. The same avidity for lucre led them to practise medicine, the knowledge of which could not be reconciled with the severe modesty of a monk.

Another significant canon betrayed that already a secret insurrection was brooding in the hearts of men against the sacerdotal authority of the Church. These very times witnessed a formidable struggle against her wealth and power; and some bolder men had already

^f Decret. iv.

begun to question her doctrines. The twenty-third canon of the Lateran Council might seem directed against the anabaptists of the 16th century. "We expel from the Church as heretics those who, under the semblance of religion, condemn the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, the baptism of children, the priesthood, and the holy rite of marriage." The heretics against whom this anathema was aimed will before long force themselves on our notice.

The legislation of the Lateran Council did not confine itself to the affairs of the clergy, or, strictly speaking, of religion. The Council assumed the office of conservator of the public morals and the public peace. It condemned usurers and incendiaries. It repeated the enactment demanding security at all times for certain classes, the clergy of all orders, monks, pilgrims, merchants, and rustics employed in agriculture, with their beasts, their seed, and their flocks. The Truce of God was to be observed on the appointed days under peril of excommunication; after a third admonition excommunication followed, which if the clergy did not respect, they were to be degraded from their orders. The persons of the clergy were taken under especial protection. It was sacrilege to strike a clergyman or a monk—a sacrilege, the penalty of which could only be absolved on the death-bed. A rigid decree prohibited tournaments as a vain display of strength and valour, and as leading to bloodshed. Another singular decree condemned the use of the cross-bow against Christians and Catholics as an act deadly and hateful to God.

This solemn Christian protest against the habits of a warlike age, as might be expected, had no immediate or visible effect: yet still as a protest it may have

worked in the depths of the Christian mind, if not absolutely compelling its observance, yet giving weight and authority to kindred thoughts in reflective minds; at all events, rescuing Christianity from the imputation of a total forgetfulness of its genuine spirit, an utter extinction of its essential character.

In that strange discordance indeed which is so embarrassing in ecclesiastical history, almost all the few remaining years of Innocent II., the great pacificator, are occupied in war. He is heading his own armies, first against Tusculum and other rebellious cities in the neighbourhood of Rome; then in an obstinate war against the King of Sicily. It would be curious, if it were possible, to ascertain how far the papal troops respected the monk and the pilgrim, the merchant and the husbandman; how far they observed the solemn days of the Truce of God. In these unseemly martial expeditions the Popes were singularly unfortunate, yet their disasters almost always turned to their advantage. Like his predecessor Leo IX., Innocent fell, as a prisoner of war, into the hands of his enemies. Again the awe-struck Norman bowed before his holy captive; and Innocent as a prisoner obtained better terms than he would have won at the point of the sword.

CHAPTER V.

Gotschalk—Abélard.

THE papacy is again united in the person of Innocent II., but the work of the real Supreme Pontiff of Christendom, of the ruling mind of the West, is but half achieved. Bernard must be followed to other conquests, to other victories; victories which for some centuries left their influence upon mankind, and arrested the precocious, irregular, and perilous struggles for intellectual and spiritual, and even civil freedom.

Monastic Christianity led to two unexpected but inevitable results, to the expansion of the human understanding, even till it strove to overleap the lofty barriers of the established Catholic doctrine, and to a sullen and secret mutiny, at length to an open insurrection, against the power of the sacerdotal order. The former revolt was not only premature, but suppressed without any immediate outburst menacing to the stability of the dominant creed and institutions. It was confined not indeed to a few, for the schools of those whom the Church esteemed the most dangerous teachers were crowded with young and almost fanatical hearers. But it was a purely intellectual movement. The Church raised up on her side as expert and powerful dialecticians as those who strove for emancipation. Wherever philosophy aspired to be independent of theology, it was seized and carried captive back. Nor did the Church by any means exclu

Two great
intellectual
movements
begin.

sively maintain her supremacy by stern and imperious authority, by proscribing and suppressing inquiry. Though she did not disdain, she did not entirely rely on fixing the infamy of heretical doctrine upon the more daring reasoners; she reasoned herself by her sons with equal vigour, if with more submissiveness; sounded with her antagonists the depths of metaphysical inquiry, examined the inexhaustible processes of human thought and language, till gradually the gigantic bulwark of scholastic theology rose around the Catholic doctrine.

Of this first movement, the intellectual struggle for emancipation, Abélard was the representative and the victim. Of the second, far more popular, immediate, and while it lasted, perilous, that which rose up against the whole hierarchical system of Christendom, the champion was Arnold of Brescia. This last was for a time successful; combining with the inextinguishable republican spirit of the Roman populace, it curbed and subjugated the great head of the hierarchy in the very seat of his power. It required a league between a powerful Emperor and an able Pope to crush Arnold of Brescia; but in the ashes of Arnold of Brescia's funeral pile smouldered for centuries the fire which was at length to blaze out in irresistible violence.

Both these movements sprang naturally out of monastic Christianity; it is necessary to trace the birth of each in succession from this unsuspected and unsuspecting origin. It was impossible, even in the darkest times, to seclude a large part of mankind from the active duties of life without driving, as it were, some into intellectual occupation. Conventual discipline might enslave or absorb the greater number by its perpetual round of ritual observance; by the distribution of day and night into short portions, to each of

which belonged its prayer, its maceration, its religious exercise. It might induce in most a religious terror, a fearful shrinking of the spirit from every possibly unlawful aberration of the mind, as from any unlawful emotion of the body. The coarser and more sluggish minds would be altogether ice-bound in the alternation of hard labour and unvarying religious service. They would rest contented in mechanical drudgery in the field, and as mechanical religion in the chapel. The calmer and more imaginative would surrender themselves to a dreamy ecstasy of devotion. Mysticism, in some one of its forms, would absorb all their energies of mind, all their aspirations of heart. Meditation with them might be one long, unbroken, unceasing adoration, the more indistinct the more awful, the more awful the more reverential; and that reverence would suppress at once any question bordering on presumption. Submission to authority, the vital principle of monasticism, would be a part of their being. Yet with some contemplation could not but lead to thought; meditation would quicken into reflection; reflection, however checked by authority and restrained by dread, would still wander away, would still strive against its barriers. The being and the attributes of God, the first prescribed subject of holy contemplation, what were they? Where was the bound, the distinction, between things visible and things invisible? things material and things immaterial? the real and the unreal? the finite and the infinite? The very object which was continually enforced upon the mind by its most sublime attribute, the incomprehensibility of God, tempted the still baffled but unwearied desire of comprehension. Reason awoke, composed itself again to despairing slumber on the lap of authority; awoke

again, its slumbers became more disturbed, more irregular, till the anodyne of awe had lost its power. Religion itself seemed to compel to metaphysical inquiry; and the region of metaphysical inquiry once expanding on the view, there was no retreat. Reason no sooner began to cope with these inevitable subjects, than it was met on the threshold by the great question, the existence of a world inapprehensible by our senses, and that of the mode of its apprehension by the mind. This great unanswerable problem appears destined to endure as long as mankind; but no sooner was it started and followed out by the contemplative monk, than from an humble disciple of the Gospel he became a philosopher; he was, perhaps, an unconscious Aristotelian, or an unconscious Platonist. But in truth the tradition of neither philosophy had absolutely died out. Among the few secular books which survived the wreck of learning and found their way into the monastic libraries, were some which might foster the bias either to the more rational or more ideal view.^a

So in every insurrection, whether religious or more philosophical, against the dominant dogmatic system, a monk was the leader, and there had been three or four of these insurrections before the time of Abélard. Even early in the ninth century the German monk Gotschalk had revived the dark subject of predestination. This subject had almost slept since the time of Augustine and his scholar Fulgentius, who had relentlessly crushed the Semi-Pelagianism of his day.^b It is a singular

^a The Isagoge of Porphyrius; the works of Boethius.

^b It is curious that the first heresy after the *establishment* of Moham-medanism, was the denial, or questioning at least, of predestinarianism.

“ A peine le prophète était mort qu’une dispute s’éleva entre les théologiens sur le dogme de Prédés-tination.”—Schmolder’s Essai, p. 192 See also Ritter, *Christliche Philosophie*, p. 693.

circumstance, as has been before shown, that this religious fatalism has been so constantly the creed or rather the moving principle of those who have risen up against established ecclesiastical authority, while an established religion tends constantly to acquiesce in a less inflexible view of divine providence. The reason is simple and twofold. Nothing less than a stern fanaticism, which makes the reformer believe himself under the direct guidance, a mere instrument, predestined by God's providence for this work, would give courage to confront a powerful hierarchy, to meet obloquy, persecution, even martyrdom; the same fanaticism, by awakening a kindred conviction of an absolute and immediate call from God, gives hope of a successful struggle at least, if not of victory; he is pre-doomed or specially commissioned and avowed by the Most High. On the other hand an hierarchy is naturally averse to a theory which involves the direct and immediate operation of God by an irreversible decree upon each individual mind. Assuming itself to be the intermediate agency between God and man, and resistance to its agency being the sure and undeniable consequence of the tenet, it cannot but wish to modify or mitigate that predestination which it does not altogether reject. It is perpetually appealing to the freewill of man by its offers of the means of grace; as the guide and spiritual director of each individual soul, it will not be superseded by an anterior and irrevocable law. Predestination, in its extreme theory at least, disdains all the long, slow, and elaborate work of the Church, in training, watching, controlling, and submitting to ecclesiastical discipline, the soul committed to its charge. The predestinarian, though in fact (such is the logical inconsistency of strong religious belief) by no means

generally antinomian, is always represented and indeed believed to be antinomian by those from whose rigid authority this primary tenet emancipates the disciple. So it was that the Transalpine hierarchy, under the ruling influence of Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, who at one time possessed almost papal authority, persecuted the Predestinarian as a dangerous and lawless heretic; and Gotschalk endured the censure of a council, the scourge, the prison, with stubborn and determined confidence, not merely that he was fulfilling his divine mission, but that in him the Church condemned the true doctrine of the irrefragable Augustine.^c

Hincmar called to his aid, against this premature Luther, an ally who alarmed the Church no less than Gotschalk himself by his appeal to a new power above Catholic authority, human reason. We have already encountered this extraordinary man as the spiritual ancestor, the parent of Berengar of Tours and of his anti-transubstantiation doctrine. A sudden revulsion took place. Hincmar, by his overweening pride and pretensions to supremacy, at least over the whole Church of France, had awakened a strong jealousy among the great prelates of the realm. Prudentius of Troyes took the lead against him; and

^c Gotschalk stands so much alone, that I thought it not necessary, during the age of Hincmar, to arrest the course of events by the discussion of his views. His tenets may be seen in one sentence from his own works in Hincmar's *De Prædestinatione*: "Quia sicut Deus incommutabilis ante mundi constitutionem omnes electos suos incommutabiliter per gratuitam gratiam suam prædestinavit ad vitam æternam, simi-

liter omnino omnes reprobos, qui in die judicii damnabuntur propter ipsorum mala merita, idem ipse incommutabilis Deus per justum judicium suum incommutabiliter prædestinavit ad mortem merito sempiternam." In Archbishop Ussher's works will be found the whole controversy. *Gotteschalci et Prædestinariarum Controversiæ ab eo motæ Historia*. See also the *Lectures of M. Ampère*

though eventually Gotschalk died in a prison, yet Hincmar became a tyrannical persecutor, well nigh a heretic, Gotschalk an injured victim, if not a martyr. This fatal ally of Hincmar was the famous John, commonly called Erigena.

Perhaps the only fact which may be considered certain as to the early years of John the Erin-born is, that he must have commenced at least this train of philosophic thought in some one of the monastic schools of Ireland or of the Scottish islands. In some secluded monastery among those last retreats of knowledge which had escaped the Teutonic invasion, or on the wave-beat shore of Iona, John the Scot imbibed that passion for knowledge which made him an acceptable guest at Paris, the partner of the table and even of the bed of Charles the Bald.^d Throughout those wild and turbulent times of Charles the Bald Erigena lived undisturbed by the civil wars which raged around, resolutely detached from secular affairs, not in monastic but in intellectual seclusion. John is said to have made a pilgrimage, not to the birthplace of the Saviour, but to that of Plato and Aristotle;^e and it is difficult to imagine where in the West he can have obtained such knowledge of Greek as to enable him to translate the difficult and mystic work which bore the name of Dionysius the Areopagite.^f John the Scot professed an equal admiration for the antagonistic philosophies of

^d Hence the anecdote, true or false, of his famous repartee to the King, "Quid distat inter Scotum et sotum? —mensa."

^e Brucker thinks that John's knowledge of Greek gave rise to this report of his travels to the East.

^f Archbishop Theodore of Cantu-

bury, himself a Greek, had given a temporary impulse to the study of the language. It will be seen that two centuries later the universal Abelard was ignorant of Greek; and I doubt whether his fair pupil understood more than her master.

Plato and of Aristotle ; he even attempted the yet unaccomplished, perhaps the impossible, task of reconciling the poetry and prose of the two systems. In his treatise on Predestination he boldly asserts the supremacy of Reason ; he throws off, what no Latin before had dared, the fetters of Augustinianism. His freewill is even more than the plain practical doctrine of Chrysostom and the Greek Fathers, who avoided or eluded that inscrutable question : it is an attempt to found it on philosophic grounds, to establish it on the sublime arbitration of human reason. In his translation of Dionysius the Areopagite with the Commentary of Maximus, Erigena taught the mysticism of the later Platonists. He aspired to the still higher office of harmonising philosophy with religion, which in their loftiest sense he declared to be the same.⁵ Thus John the Scot was at once a strong Rationalist (he brings all theologic questions to the test of dialectic reasoning) ; and at the same time, not by remote inference, but plainly and manifestly a Pantheist. With him God is all things, all things are God. The Creator alone truly *is* ; the universe is but a sublime Theophany, a visible manifestation of God. He distinctly asserts the eternity of the universe ; his dialectic proof of this he proclaims to be irresistible. Creation could not have been an

⁵ Erigena's most remarkable work bears a Greek title, *περὶ φύσεως μρισμοῦ*, published by Gale, Oxford, 1681 ; recently by M. Schruter, Munster, 1838. On this book compare Haureau, *De la Philosophie Scholastique* (an admirable treatise), p. 112, *et seq.* " Quel étonnement, disons même quel respect, doit nous inspirer la grande figure de ce docteur, qui

causera tant d'agitation dans l'Église ; qui semera les vents, et recueillera les tempêtes, mais saura les braver ; qui ne laissera pas un héritier direct de sa doctrine, mais qui du moins aura la gloire d'avoir annoncé, d'avoir précédé Bruno, Vanini, Spinoza, les plus téméraires des logiciens qui aient jamais erré sous les platanes de l'Académie." See also the Lectures of M. Ampère.

accident of the Deity ; it is of his essence to be a cause : all things therefore have existed, do exist, and will exist through him their cause. All things flow from the infinite abyss of the Godhead, and are re-absorbed into it.^h No wonder that, notwithstanding the profound devotion which John the Scot blended with his most daring speculations, and the valuable service which he rendered to the Church, especially by his confutation, on however perilous grounds, yet which the foes of the predestinarian alleged to be a full confutation of the predestinarian Gotschalk, he was met by a loud and hostile clamour. Under the general denunciation of the Church and of the Pope, Nicolas I., he was obliged to fly to England : there he is said to have taken refuge in Alfred's new University of Oxford.¹ But if by his bolder speculations John the Scot appalled his age, by his translation of Dionysius the Areopagite he compensated to the monastic system as supplying to the dreamy and meditative a less lawless and more absorbing train of thought, a more complete, more satisfactory, yet inoffensive mysticism to the restless mind.^k What could be more congenial to the recluse, who aspired beyond the daily routine of toil and psalmody, than this vision of the Godhead, this mystic union with the Supreme, the emancipation of the soul from its corpo-

^h Compare Brucker, vol. iii. p. 618, Schmidt der Mysticismus der Mittel Alter. See also Guizot, *Civilis. Moderne*, Lec. 29 ; Rousselot, *Études sur la Philosophie dans le Moyen Age*, cap. 2. John Scot had in distinct terms the "cogito, ergo sum" of Descartes ; but in fact he took it from Augustine. Haureau, p. 133. Compare Ritter, *ii.* p. 186. We may return to John Scot.

¹ The account of his death is borrowed by Matthew of Westminster from that of a later John the Saxon, who was stabbed by some monks in a quarrel. The flight to England does not depend on the truth of that story.

^k William of Malmesbury says of Erigena : "Si tamen ignoscatur ei in aliquibus, in quibus a Latinorum tramite deviavit, dum in Græcos acriter oculos intendit."—P. 190, N. S. edit.

real prison-house, the aspiration to, the absorption in, the primal fountain of light and blessedness, the attainable angelic, and higher than angelic perfection, the ascent through all the gradations of the celestial hierarchy up to the visible at once and invisible throne of God? The effect of this work on the whole ecclesiastic system, and on the popular faith, it is almost impossible justly to estimate. The Church of France had now made it a point of their national and monastic honour to identify the St. Denys, the founder and patron saint of the church at Paris, with the Areopagite of St. Paul; to them there could be no gift so acceptable, none so greedily received. But when the whole hierarchy found that they, each in their ascending order, were the image of an ascending hierarchical type in heaven; that each order culminating in the Pope,^m was the representative of a celestial order culminating in the Supreme; this was too flattering to their pride and to their power not to become at once orthodox and ecclesiastical doctrine. The effect of this new angelology on the popular belief, on the arts, and on the imagination of Latin Christendom, will be more fully developed in our consideration of the rise and progress of Christian mythology.

Though an outcast and an exile, John the Scot maintained such authority on account of his transcendent learning, that in the second great rebellion, not merely against the supremacy but almost the life of the mediæval system, Berengar of Tours appealed to him as one whose name, whose intimacy with Charles the Bald, ought to overawe the puny opponents of his time. He seems to have thought, he fearlessly and

^m See, however, vol. ix. This tenet would be added in the West.

repeatedly asserted, even so learned and renowned a prelate as Lanfranc to be presumptuous in not bowing at once to the decisions of John the Scot.

As time rolled on, these speculations were no longer working only in the minds of solitary men, often no doubt when least suspected. They were not promulgated, as those of Gotschalk had been, by public preaching; even those of Berengar had gained their full publicity in the schools which were attached to many of the greater monasteries. In these schools, the parents of our modern universities, the thought which had been brooded over and perhaps suppressed in the silence of the cloister, found an opportunity of suggesting itself for discussion, of commanding a willing, often a numerous, auditory; and was quickened by the collision of adverse opinion. The recluse and meditative philosopher became a teacher, the head of a new philosophy. Dialectics, the science of logic, was one of the highest, if not the highest, intellectual study. It was part of the Quadrivium, the more advanced and perfect stage of public education; and under the specious form of dialectic exercises, the gravest questions of divinity became subjects of debate. Thus began to rise a new Christian theology; not that of the Church embodied in the devout forms of the Liturgy, and enforced in the simple or more impassioned discourse from the pulpit; not that of the thoughtful divine, following out his own speculations in their natural course; but that of the disputant, bound by conventional scientific forms, with a tendency to degenerate from a severe investigation of truth into a trial of technical skill. In its highest tone acute, ingenious, and subtle, it presented every question in every possible form: it was comprehensive so as to

embrace the most puerile and frivolous, as well as the most momentous and majestic inquiries; if dry, wearisome, unawakening in its form, as litigation and as a strife of contending minds, it became of intense interest. It was the intellectual tournament of a small intellectual aristocracy, to which all the scholars who were bred to more peaceful avocations thronged in multitudes.

The strife between the Nominalists and Realists, famous names, which to the schools were as the Guelfs and Ghibellines in the politics of Europe, was one of the first inevitable results of this importance assumed by the science of dialectics. It is difficult to translate this controversy out of its logical language, and to make it clearly intelligible to the popular apprehension; nor is it immediately apparent how the fundamental truths of Christianity, of religion itself, as the jealous and sensitive vigilance of the hierarchy could not but perceive, were involved in this dispute. The doctrine and fate of Roscelin, the first great Nominalist, the authoritative interpreter if not the author of the system, show at once the character and the fears excited by Nominalism. Roscelin peremptorily denied the real existence of universals; nothing actually *is* but the individual, that of which the senses take immediate cognisance. Universals were mere conventional phrases. Each animal subsists; the animal race is but an aggregate of the thought; man lives, humankind is a creation of the mind; the inherent, distinctive, accidental qualities of things are inseparable from the objects to which they belong. He even denied the proper existence of parts, the whole alone had actual being; it was divided or analysed only by an effort of reflection. Though the

materialising tendency of Roscelin's doctrine was clearly discernedⁿ and sternly denounced by his adversaries, yet Roscelin himself did not absolutely deny the reality of the invisible, immaterial world: the souls of men, the angels, the Deity, were to him unquestioned beings. This appears even from the fatal syllogism which awoke the jealousy of the Church, and led to the proscription of Roscelin. For philosophy could not stand aloof from theology, and Roscelin was too bold or too consistent not to push his system into that forbidden domain. The statement of his opinions rests on the evidence of his adversary, but that adversary, Anselm, cites his own words, and in a form likely to have been used by so fearless a dialectician. While he reasoned of the Godhead as if having no doubt of its real being, his own concessions seemed of necessity to perplex or to destroy the doctrine of the Trinity. If the three persons are one thing, and not three things, as distinct as three angels or three souls, though one in will and power, the Father and the Holy Ghost must have been incarnate with the Son.^o

It was a churchman, but a churchman bred in a monastery, who in the quiet of its cloisters had long sounded the depths of metaphysical inquiry and was practised in its schools, one really compelled to leave his contemplative seclusion to mingle in worldly affairs

ⁿ "In eorum (the Nominalists) quippe animabus, ratio, quæ et princeps et iudex omnium debet esse quæ sunt in homine, sic est in imaginationibus corporalibus obvoluta, ut ex eis se non possit evolvere; nec ab ipsis ea quæ ipsa sola et pura contemplari debet, valeat discernere." —Anselm, apud Rousselot.

^o "Si in Deo tres personæ sunt una tantum res, et non sunt tres res, unaquæque per se separatim, sicut tres angeli, aut tres animæ, ita tamen ut voluntate et potentiâ sint idem, ergo Pater et Spiritus Sanctus cum Filio incarnatus est." —Anselm de fid. Trinit., Rousselot, t. i. p. 160.

—Anselm, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who rose up to denounce and confute at once the heretical logic and heretical theology of Roscelin.

The Norman abbey of Bec seemed to aspire to that same pre-eminence in theologic learning and the accomplishments of high-minded churchmen which the Normans were displaying in valour, military skill, and the conquests of kingdoms. The Normans had founded or subdued great monarchies at each extreme of Europe. Normans sate on the thrones of Sicily and England. From the Norman abbey of Bec came forth two archbishops of England, the champions of the Catholic doctrine, one, Lanfranc, against Berengar of Tours, the other, Anselm, the triumphant adversary of Roscelin, and, if not the founder, the precursor of the scholastic theology. The monastery of Bec had been founded by Herluin, a fierce and ignorant knight, who toiled and prayed as a monk with the same vehemence with which he had fought as a warrior. Herluin, accustomed to head a band of savage freebooters, suddenly seized with a paroxysm of devotion, had become the head of a religious brotherhood, in which the no less savage austerity made a profound impression upon his countrymen, and obtained for it that fame for rigid discipline which led the Italian Lanfranc, as afterwards the Italian Anselm, to its walls.^p It is true that the great theologians of Bec were strangers by birth, but they were adopted Normans, called to Norman sees, and protected by Norman kings.

^p Compare throughout C. Rémusat, *Anselme*. This excellent book has appeared since the greater part of my work was written; the whole indeed of this passage. See also the treatises of Anselm, many of them separately published; Frank, *Anselm von Canterbury*; Möhler, *Anselm*; Bouchette

The profound devotion of his age was the all-absorbing passion of Anselm.^a The monastery was his home; when he was forced into the Primate's ^{Anselm.} throne of England, his heart was still in the quiet abbey of Bec. In his philosophy, as in his character, Faith was the priest, who stood alone in the sanctuary of his heart; Reason, the awe-struck and reverential minister was to seek satisfaction not for the doubts (for from doubts Anselm would have recoiled as from treason against God), but for those grave questionings, how far and in what manner the harmony was to be established between the Godhead of Revelation and of Reason. The theology of the Church, in all its most imperious dogmatism, was the irrefragable truth from which Anselm set out. It was not timidity or even awe, which kept him within the barriers; his mind intuitively shrunk from all without those bounds, excepting so far as profound thought might seem to elucidate and make more clear the catholic conceptions of the Godhead and of the whole invisible world. His famous philosophical axiom alone perpetuated his renown during the centuries which looked with contempt on the intellectual movements of the middle ages, the a priori proof of the being of God—"The idea of God in the mind of man is the one unanswerable evidence of the existence of God." This with Anselm was an illustration rather than the groundwork of his theology. It was not the discovery of God, whom his soul had from its earliest dawn implicitly believed, whom his heart had from his youth upward loved with intense devotion; it was not even a satisfaction of his craving intellect

^a Anselm will appear again in his high sacerdotal character as Archbishop of Canterbury.

(his intellect required no satisfaction) ; it was the bright thought which flashed across the reflective mind, or to which it was led by the slow gradations of reasoning.^r Faith condescended to knowledge, not because faith was insufficient, but because knowledge was, as it were, in the contemplative mind a necessary fruit of faith. He could not understand unless he first believed. But the intellect, which had for so many centuries slumbered on the lap of religion, or at least only aspired to activity on subjects far below these primary and elemental truths ; which when it fought, fought for the outworks of the creed, and left the citadel, or rather (for, as in Jerusalem, the temple was the fortress as well as the fane) the Holy of Holies, to be guarded by its own inherent sanctity ;—the intellect however awakened with reverential hand, once stirred, could not compose itself to the same profound repose. Anselm unconsciously, being absolutely himself without fear and without danger, had entered ; and if he did not first throw open, had expanded wide the doors of that region of metaphysical inquiry which others would hereafter tread with bolder steps. Questions which he touched with holy dread were soon to be vexed by ruder hands. Reason had received an admission which, however timidly, she would never cease to assert.

It may appear at first singular that the thought which suggested itself to the mind of a monk at Bec should still be the problem of metaphysical theology ; and theology must, when followed out, become meta-

^r “ Neque enim quæro intelligere, ut credam, sed credo ut intelligam. Nam et hoc credo, quia nisi credidero, non intelligam.”—Prolog., c. iv.
“ Gratias tibi, bone Domine, gratias

tibi : quia quod prius credidi te ducente ; jam sic intelligo te illuminante, ut si te esse nolim credere, non possem non intelligere.”

physical; metaphysics must become theological. This same thought seems, with no knowledge of its mediæval origin, to have forced itself on Descartes, was reasserted by Leibnitz, if not rejected was thought insufficient by Kant, revived in another form by Schelling and by Hegel; latterly has been discussed with singular fulness and ingenuity by M. de Rémusat. Yet will it less surprise the more profoundly reflective, who cannot but perceive how soon and how inevitably the mind arrives at the verge of human thought; how it cannot but encounter this same question, which in another form divided in either avowed or unconscious antagonism, Plato and Aristotle, Anselm and his opponents (for opponents he had of no common subtlety), Leibnitz and Locke; which Kant failed to reconcile; which his followers have perhaps bewildered by a new and intricate phraseology more than elucidated; which modern eclecticism harmonises rather in seeming than in reality; the question of questions; our primary, elemental, it may be innate or instinctive, or acquired and traditional, idea, conception, notion, conviction of God, of the Immaterial, the Eternal, the Infinite.

Anselm, at first by his secluded monastic habits, afterwards on account of his dignity as Archbishop of Canterbury, and the part which he was compelled to take in the quarrel about investitures in England, either shrunk from or stood above the personal conflicts which involved other metaphysicians in active hostilities. Yet, however the schools might already have been startled by theories of alarming import (the more alarming, since few could foresee their ultimate end), so far, without doubt, in all these conflicts between the intellectual and religious development of man, in these first insurrections against the autocracy of the Church.

as regards its power over the public mind, the Church had come forth triumphant. Its adversaries had been awed, it might be into sullen and reluctant silence, yet still into silence. Even in the strife between Abélard and St. Bernard it seemed to maintain the same superiority.

The life of Abélard, contrasted with that of St. Bernard, gives, as it were, the full measure and perfect image of the time in its intellectual as in its religious development.

Peter Abélard was a Breton (a native of Palais, about four leagues from Nantes). In him were centered the characteristics of that race,* the uncontrollable impetuosity, the individuality which delighted in isolation from the rest of mankind, the self-confidence which swelled into arrogance, the perseverance which hardened into obstinacy, the quickness and fertility which were speedily fostered into a passion for disputation. His education ripened with unexampled rapidity his natural character. No man is so overbearing or so stubborn as a successful disputant; and very early in life Abélard became the most powerful combatant in the intellectual tilting matches of the schools, which had now become one of the great fashions of the day. His own words show the singular analogy between the two paths of distinction open to aspiring youth. "I preferred," said Abélard, "the strife of disputations to the trophies of war." Skill in dialectics became to the young churchman what the management of the lance and of the courser was to the knight. He descended into the lists, and challenged all comers; and those lists,

* On Abélard, see above all his own works (the first volume of a new edition has appeared by M. Cousin), more especially the *Historia Calamitatum* and the Letters. The *Sic et Non* edited, with reservations, by M. Cousin; more completely by Henke. — Rousselot, *Études*; C. de Rémusat, *Abélard*.

in the peaceful conventual schools, were watched with almost as absorbing interest by spectators hardly less numerous. Before the age of twenty Abélard had wandered through great part of France as an errant logician, and had found no combatant who could resist his prowess. He arrived in Paris, where the celebrated William of Champeaux was at the height of his fame. The schools of Paris, which afterwards expanded into that renowned University, trembled at the temerity of the youth who dared to encounter that veteran in dialectic warfare, whose shield had been so long untouched, and who had seemed secure in his all acknowledged puissance. Abélard in a short time was the pupil, the rival, the conqueror, and of course an object of implacable animosity to the vanquished chieftain of the schools. To have been the master of Abélard might seem, indeed, to insure his rebellion. He seized at once on the weak parts of his teacher's system, and in his pride of strength scrupled not to trample him in the dust. Abélard had once been the pupil of Roscelin; he denounced, refuted Nominalism. He was now the hearer of William of Champeaux; the peculiar Realism which William taught met with no more respect. Notwithstanding the opposition of his master, he set up a rival school, first, under the favour of the Court, at Melun, afterwards at Corbeil, nearer Paris. A domestic cause, the invitation of his beloved mother, sent him back to Brittany, where he remained some short time. On his return he renewed the attempt to dethrone William of Champeaux, and succeeded in drawing off all his scholars. The philosopher, in disgust at his empty hall, retired into a brotherhood of black canons. Abélard assumed his chair. The Court interest, and perhaps the violence of some older and still

About
A.D. 1100.

William of
Champeaux.

faithful disciples of William of Champeaux, expelled him from his usurped seat. He retired again to Melun, and re-established his rival school. But on the final retirement of William of Champeaux from Paris, Abélard returned to the city; and notwithstanding that William himself came back to support his appointed successor, a general desertion of his pupils left Abélard in undisputed supremacy. William of Champeaux was consoled for his discomfiture by the Bishopric of Châlons.

But there was one field alone for the full, complete, and commanding development of dialectic skill, which had now to a certain extent drawn itself apart into a distinct and separate camp: philosophy was no longer, as with Anselm, one with divinity. That field was theology. This was the single, all-engrossing subject, which the disputant could not avoid, and which alone, through the Church or the monastery, led to permanent fame, repose, wealth, or power. As yet Abélard had kept prudently aloof, as far as was possible, from that sacred and uncongenial domain. For Abélard had no deep devotional training, no severe discipline, no habits of submission. He might aspire remotely to the dignity, honour, or riches of the churchman, but he had nothing of the hierarchical spirit, no reverence for rigid dogmatic orthodoxy; he stood alone in his conscious strength, consorted not intimately with the ecclesiastics, espoused not ostentatiously their interests, perhaps betrayed contempt of their ignorance. Of the monk he had still less; whatever love of solitude he might indulge, was that of philosophic contemplation, not of religious or mystic meditation. His place in the convent was not the chapel at midnight or before the break of morning; his was not either the richly-intoned voice swelling the full harmony of the choir, or the

Abélard a theologian.

tender orison of the humble and weeping penitent. Of his fasts, of his mortifications, of his self-torture, nothing is heard. His place is in the adjacent school, where he is perplexing his antagonists with his dexterous logic, or losing them with himself in the depths of his subtle metaphysics. Yet the fame at least of theologic erudition is necessary to crown his glory; he must be profoundly learned, as well as irresistibly argumentative. He went to Laon to study under Anselm, the most renowned theologian of his day. The fame of this Anselm survives only in the history of Abélard—lost, perhaps, in that of his greater namesake, now dead for many years. With more than his characteristic temerity and arrogance, he treated Anselm even less respectfully than he had treated William of Champeaux. He openly declared the venerable divine to owe his fame to his age rather than to his ability or knowledge. Abélard began at once to lecture in opposition to his master on the Prophet Ezekiel. His renown was now at its height; there was no branch of knowledge on which Abélard did not believe himself, and was not believed, competent to give the fullest instruction. Not merely did all Paris and the adjacent districts throng to his school, but there was no country so remote, no road so difficult, but that the pupils defied the toils and perils of the way. From barbarous Anjou, from Poitou, Gascony, and Spain, from Normandy, Flanders, Germany, Swabia, from England notwithstanding the terrors of the sea, scholars of all ranks and classes crowded to Paris. Ever Rome, the great teacher of the world in all arts and sciences, acknowledged the superior wisdom of Abélard, and sent her sons to submit to his discipline.

The romance of Abélard's life commenced when it usually begins to languish in others; that romance, so

singularly displaying the manners, habits, and opinions of the time, becomes grave history. He was nearer forty than thirty when the passions of youth, which had hitherto been controlled by habits of severe study, came upon him with sudden and unresisted violence. No religious scruples seem to have interposed. The great philosopher, though as yet only an ecclesiastic in dignity, and destined for the sacred function, a canon of the Church, calmly determines to reward himself for his long continence. Yet his fastidious feelings loathed the more gross and vulgar sensualities. His studies had kept him aloof from the society of high-born ladies; yet, as he asserts, and as Heloisa in the fervour of her imagination scruples not to confirm his assertion, there was no female, however noble in birth or rank, or spotless in fame, who would have scrupled to receive the homage and reward the love of Abélard. Though Abélard was looking out, like a gallant knight, for a mistress of his affections, there was nothing chivalrous or reverential in his passion for Heloisa. He deliberately planned the seduction of this maiden, who was no less distinguished for her surpassing beauty than for her wonderful talents and knowledge. He offered to board in the house of her uncle, the Canon Fulbert, in order that he might cultivate to the utmost the mind of this accomplished damsel. The avarice and vanity of the uncle were equally tempted; without suspicion he made over his niece to the absolute authority of the teacher, permitting him even to inflict personal chastisement.

Abélard's new passion only developed more fully his wonderful faculties. The philosopher and theologian became a poet and a musician. The lovers made no attempt at the concealment of their mutual attachment. All Paris admired the beautiful amatory verses of Abé-

lard, which were allowed to transpire ; and Heloisa, in the deep devotion of her love, instead of shrinking from the breath of public fame, thought herself an object of envy to all her sex. The Canon Fulbert alone was ignorant that he had entrusted, in Abélard's own words, " his spotless lamb to a ravening wolf." When the knowledge was at last forced upon him, Heloisa fled with her lover, and in the house of his sister in Brittany, gave birth to a son, whom he called by the philosophic name of *Astrolabius*.^t The indignant Canon insisted on the reparation of his family honour by marriage. Abélard consented ; Heloisa alone, in an absolute, unrivalled spirit of self-devotion, so wonderful that we forget to reprove, resisted ; she used every argument, every appeal to the pride, the honour, even to the love of Abélard, which are usually urged to enforce that atonement, to dissuade her lover from a step so fatal to his fame and his advancement. As a philosopher Abélard would be trammelled by the vulgar cares of a family ; as a churchman his career of advancement, which might soar to the highest place, was checked at once and for ever. Moral impediments might be got over, canonical objections were insuperable ; he might stand above all but the inexorable laws of the Church through his transcendent abilities. Though she had been, though she might be still his mistress, she did not thereby incapacitate him for any high dignity ; as his wife she closed against him that ascending ladder of ecclesiastical honours, the priorate, the abbacy, the bishopric, the metropolitanate, the

^t M. Cousin (Nouveaux Fragments Philosophiques, vol. ii.) has published a long Latin poem addressed to his son by Abélard. It is in part a versification of the Book of Proverbs. Of the

life of *Astrolabius* nothing is known. M. Cousin found this singular name in the list of the abbots of a monastery in Switzerland, of a date which agrees with the age of Abélard's son.

cardinalate, and even that which was beyond and above all. There was no place to which Abélard, as her heart and mind assured her the first of men, might not reasonably, rightfully aspire, and was his Heloisa to stand in his way?"^u These were the arguments of Heloisa herself: this is a heroism of self abnegation incredible in any but a deeply-loving woman; and even in her so rare as to be matter of astonishment.

The fears or the remorse of Abélard were stronger than the reasonings of Heloisa. He endeavoured to appease the injured uncle by a secret marriage, which took place at Paris. But the secret was soon divulged by the wounded pride and the vanity of Fulbert. Heloisa, still faithful to her lover's least wishes and interests, denied the marriage; and Abélard removed her to the nunnery of Argenteuil. There, in all but taking the veil and in receiving his stolen visits, which did not respect the sanctity of the place, her sweetness, her patience, her piety, her conformity to all the rules, won her the universal respect and esteem.

Fulbert still suspected, he might well suspect, that Abélard intended to compel his wife to take the veil, and so release him from the ties of wedlock. His revenge was that of the most exquisite and ingenious malice, as well as of the most inhuman cruelty. It aimed at blasting the ambition, as well as punishing the lust of its victim. By his mutilation (for in this respect the canon law strictly followed that of Leviticus) Abélard might, he thought, be for ever disqualified

Mutilation.
A.D. 1119.

^u Her whole soul is expressed in the quotation from Lucan, uttered, it is said, when she entered the cloister at Argenteuil:—

"O maxime conjux!
O thalamis indigne meis. Hoc juris habebat
In tantum fortuna caput? Cur impia nupsi;
Si miserum factura fui? Nunc accipe poenae
Sed quas sponte luam."

Noble, but not nunlike lines!

for ecclesiastical honours. The punishment of Abé-
lard's barbarous enemies, of Fulbert and his accomplices,
which was demanded by the public voice, and inflicted
by the civil power, could not console ; the general com-
miseration could only aggravate his misery and despair.
He threw himself, at first determined to shun the sight
of the world, into the monastery of St. Denys ; Heloisa,
still passive to his commands, took the veil at Argenteuil.
But even to the end the fervent affections of Heloisa were
hardly transferred to holier and more spiritual objects ;
religion, when it became a passion, might soften, it could
not efface from her heart, that towards Abé-
lard.

The fame of Abé-
lard, and his pride and ungovernable
soul, still pursued him ; his talents retained
their vigour ; his temper was unsubdued. In St. Denys. The
monastery of St. Denys was dissolute. Abé-
lard became
a severe reformer ; he rebuked the abbot and the whole
community for their lax discipline, their unexemplary
morals. He retired to a private cell, and near it opened
a school. So great was the concourse of scholars, that
lodging and provision could not be found for the count-
less throng. On the one side was an object of the most
excessive admiration, on the other of the most implacable
hatred. His enemies urged the bishop of the province
to interdict his lectures, as tainted with secular learning
unbecoming a monk. His disciples, with more danger-
ous adulation, demanded of the great teacher the satis-
faction of their reason on the highest points of theology,
which they could no longer receive in simple faith.
They would no longer be blind leaders of the blind, nor
retend to believe what they did not clearly comprehend.*

* "Nec credi posse aliquid, nisi primitus intellectum, et ridiculosum esse al-
quem aliis prædicare, quod nec ipse, nec illi quos doceret, intellectu caperet."—
Abé-
lard, Oper.

Abélard composed a theological treatise, in which he discussed the awful mystery of the Trinity in Unity.

His enemies were on the watch. Two of his old discomfited antagonists at Laon, named Alberic and Litolf, denounced him before Rodolph Archbishop of Rheims, and Conon Bishop of Præneste, the Legate of the Pope. He was summoned to appear before a Council at Soissons. A rumour was spread abroad that he asserted that there were three Gods. He hardly escaped being stoned by the populace. But no one ventured to cope with the irresistible logician. Abélard offered his book; not a voice was raised to arraign it. The prudent and friendly Godfrey, Bishop of Chartres, demanded a fair hearing for Abélard; he was answered by a general cry that the whole world could not disentangle his sophisms. The Council was drawing to a close. The enemies of Abélard persuaded the Archbishop and the Legate, who were unlettered men and weary of the whole debate, to command the book to be burned, and the author to be punished by seclusion in a monastery for his intolerable presumption in writing and lecturing on such subjects without the authority of the Pope and of the Church. This was a simple and summary proceeding. Abélard was compelled to throw his book into the fire with his own hands, and, weeping at the loss of his labours, to recite aloud the Athanasian creed. He was then sent, as to a prison, to the convent of St. Médard, but before long was permitted to return to his cell at St. Denys.

His imprudent passion for truth plunged him in a new calamity. He ventured to question, from a passage in Bede, whether the patron saint of the abbey was indeed the Dionysius of St. Paul, the famous Areopagite. The monks had hardly endured

Council of
Soissons.
A.D. 1121.

St. Denys.

his remonstrances against their dissolute lives; when he questioned the authenticity of their saint, their fury knew no bounds. They declared that Bede was an incorrigible liar, Abélard a sacrilegious heretic. Their founder had travelled in Greece, and brought home irrefragable proofs that their St. Denys was the convert of St. Paul. It was not the honour of the monastery alone which was now at stake, but that of the whole realm. Abélard was denounced as guilty of treasonable impiety against France by thus deposing her great tutelar saint. The vengeance of the King was invoked against him. Abélard fled. Both he and the prior of a monastery near Troyes, who was so rash as to be one of his believers, were threatened with excommunication. The blow so shocked the Abbot of St. Denys (he was said indeed to have broken his constitution by intemperance) that he died, and thus relieved Abélard from one of his most obstinate and bitter enemies. The Court was appeased, and through the royal interest, Abélard was permitted to withdraw to a more peaceful solitude.

After some delay Abélard availed himself of the royal permission; he found a wild retreat, near the small river Ardrissan, not far from Troyes. There, like the hermits of old, he built his solitary cabin of osiers and of thatch. But the sanctity of Antony or of Benedict, or of the recent founder of the Cistercian order, was not more attractive than the cell of the philosopher. Abélard, thus degraded in the eyes of men and in his own estimation by his immorality and by its punishment, branded with the suspicion of heresy by a council of the Church, with a reputation for arrogance and an intractable temper, which brought discord wherever he went, an outcast of society rather than a world-wearied anchorite, had nevertheless lost none of his influence.

The desert was peopled around him by his admiring scholars; they left the castle and the city to dwell in the wilderness; for their lofty palaces they built lowly hovels; for their delicate viands they fed on bread and wild herbs; instead of soft beds they reposed contentedly on straw and chaff. Abélard proudly adapted to himself the words of Scripture, "Behold, the whole world is gone after him; by our persecution we have prevailed nothing, we have but increased his glory."

A. D. 1122,
1125. A monastery arose, which had hardly space in its cells for the crowding votaries; Abélard called it by the name of the Paraclete—a name which, for its novelty and seeming presumption, gave new offence to his multiplying enemies.^y

But it was not the personal hatred alone which Abélard had excited by his haughty tone and vituperative language, or even by his daring criticism of old legends. His whole system of teaching, the foundation, and discipline, and studies, in the Paraclete, could not but be looked upon with alarm and suspicion. This new philosophic community, a community at least bound together by no religious vow and governed by no rigid monastic rules, in which the profoundest and most awful mysteries of religion were freely discussed, in which the exercises were those of the school rather than of the cloister, and dialectic disputations rather than gloomy ascetic practices the occupation, awoke the vigilant jealousy of the two great reformers of the age, Norbert, the Archbishop of Magdeburg, whose great achievement had been the subjection of the regular canons to a severer rule, and Bernard, whose abbey of Clairvaux was the model of

The Para-
clete.

^y Opp. Abélard, Epist. i. p. 28.

the most rigorous, most profoundly religious monastic life. The founder of the Paraclete was at least a formidable rival, if not a dangerous antagonist. Abélard afterwards scornfully designated these two adversaries as the new apostles; but they were the apostles of the ancient established faith, himself that of the new school, the heresy, not less fearful because undefinable, of free inquiry. Neither Norbert nor Bernard probably comprehended the full tendency of this premature intellectual movement, but they had an instinctive apprehension of its antagonism to their own power and influence, as well as to the whole religious system, which had now full possession of the human mind. There was as yet no declaration of war, no direct accusation, no summons to answer specific charges before council or legate; but that worse hostility of secret murmurs, of vague suspicions spread throughout Christendom, of solemn warnings, of suggested fears. Abélard, in all his pride, felt that he stood alone, an object of universal suspicion; he could not defend himself against this unseen, unaggressive warfare; he was as a man reported to be smitten with the plague, from whom the sound and healthy shrunk with an instinctive dread, and who had no power of forcing an examination of his case. His overweening haughtiness broke down into overweening dejection. He was so miserable that in his despair he thought seriously of taking refuge beyond the borders of Christendom, of seeking elsewhere that quiet which was refused him by Christian hostility, to live as a Christian among the declared foes of Christianity.²

² "Sæpe autem, Deus scit, in tantam lapsus sum desperationem, ut Christianorum finibus excessis, ad gentes transire disponerem, atque ibi quietè sub quacunq[ue] *tributi pactione* inter inimicos Christi Christianè vivere." Does not the *tribute* point to some Mohammedan country? Had Abélard heard of the learning of the Arabs?—Hist. Calamit.

Whether from personal respect, or the national pride of the Bretons in their distinguished countryman, he was offered the dignity of Abbot in a monastery on the coast of Brittany in Morbihan, that of St. Gildas de Rhuys. It was a bleak and desolate region, the monks as rude and savage as the people, even the language was unknown to Abélard. There, on the very verge of the world, on the shores of the ocean, Abélard sought in vain for quiet. The monks were as lawless in life as in manners; there was no common fund, yet Abélard was expected to maintain the buildings and religious services of the community. Each monk spent his private property on his wife or his concubine. Abélard, always in extremes, endeavoured to submit this rugged brotherhood to the discipline of a Norbert or a Bernard; but rigour in an abbot who knows not how to rouse religious enthusiasm is resented as tyranny. Among the wild monks of St. Gildas the life of Abélard was in constant peril. From their obtuse and ignorant minds his wonderful gifts and acquirements commanded no awe; they were utterly ignorant of his learned language; they hated his strictness and even his piety. Violence threatened him without the walls, treachery within. They tried to poison him; they even drugged the cup of the Holy Eucharist. A monk who had tasted food intended for him died in agony. The Abbot extorted oaths of obedience, he excommunicated, he tried to the utmost the authority of his office. He was obliged at length to take refuge in a cell remote from the monastery with a very few of the better monks; there he was watched by robbers hired to kill him.

The deserted Paraclete in the mean time had been re-occupied by far different guests. Heloisa had lived

Abélard at
St. Gildas in
Brittany.
A.D. 1125-6.

in blameless dignity as the prioress of Argenteuil. The rapacious monks of St. Denys, to whom Argenteuil belonged, expelled the nuns and resumed the property of the convent. The Paraclete, abandoned by Abélard's scholars, and falling into decay, offered to Heloisa an honourable retreat with her sisters; she took possession of the vacant cells. A correspondence began with the abbot of St. Gildas. Abélard's history of his calamities, that most naked and unscrupulous autobiography, re-awakened the soft but melancholy reminiscences of the abbess of the Paraclete. Those famous letters were written, in which Heloisa dwells with such touching and passionate truth on her yet unextinguished affection. Age, sorrow, his great calamity, his persecutions, his exclusive intellectual studies, perhaps some real religious remorse, have frozen the springs of Abélard's love, if his passion may be dignified with that holy name. In him all is cold, selfish, almost coarse; in Heloisa the tenderness of the woman is chastened by the piety of the saint: much is still warm, almost passionate, but with a deep sadness in which womanly, amorous regret is strangely mingled with the strongest language of religion.

The monastery of St. Gildas seemed at length to have been reduced to order; but when peace surrounded Abélard, Abélard could not be at peace. He is again before the world, again in the world; again committed, and now in fatal strife with his great and unforgiving adversary. His writings had now obtained popularity, as wide spread, and perilous, as his lectures and his disputations. Abélard, it might seem, in desperation provoked the contest with that adversary in his stronghold. He challenged Bernard before kings and prelates whom Bernard ruled with irresistible sway; he entered

the lists against authority where authority was supreme—in a great Council. At issue with the deep devotional spirit of the age, he chose his time when all minds were excited by the most solemn action of devotion—the Crusade: he appealed to reason when reason was least likely to be heard.

A Council had been summoned at Sens for a religious ceremony which more than all others roused the passions of local and national devotion—the translation of the body of the patron saint. The king, Louis VII., the Counts of Nevers and Champagne, a train of nobles, and all the prelates of the realm were to be present. Before this audience Abélard dared his adversary to make good his charges of heresy, by which it was notorious that Bernard and his monks had branded his writings. Bernard himself must deliver his opinion of Abélard's writings in his own words: he is a witness as well to their extensive dissemination as to their character in the estimation of the clergy and of the monks. "These books of Abélard are flying abroad all over the world; they no longer shun the light; they find their way into castles and cities; they pass from land to land, from one people to another. A new gospel is promulgated, a new faith is preached. Disputations are held on virtue and vice not according to Christian morality; on the Sacraments of the Church not according to the rule of faith; on the mystery of the Trinity not with simplicity and soberness. This huge Goliath, with his armour-bearer Arnold of Brescia, defies the armies of the Lord to battle!"^a Yet so great was the estimation of Abélard's powers that Bernard at first shrunk from the contest. "How

^a Epist. ad Innocent. Papam.

should an unpractised stripling like himself, unversed in logic, meet the giant who was practised in every kind of debate?" He consented at length to appear, not as the accuser, only as a witness against Abélard. But already he had endeavoured to influence the court; he had written to the bishops of France about to assemble at Sens rebuking their remissness, by which this wood of heresies, this harvest of errors, had been allowed to grow up around the spouse of Christ. The words of Abélard cannot be cited to show his estimation of Bernard. Outwardly he had even shown respect to Bernard. On a visit of friendly courtesy to the neighbouring abbess of the Paraclete a slight variation in the service had offended Bernard's rigid sense of ecclesiastical unity. Abélard, with temper but with firmness, defended the change.^b But the quiet and bitter irony of his disciple, who described the contest, may be accepted as an unquestionable testimony to his way of speaking in his esoteric circle and among his intimate pupils, of the even now almost canonised saint. "Already has winged fame dispersed the odour of thy sanctity throughout the world, vaunted thy merits, declaimed on thy miracles. We boasted of the felicity of our present age, glorified by the light of so brilliant a star; we thought that the world, doomed to perdition, continued to subsist only through your merits; we knew that on your will depended the mercy of heaven,

^b The question was the clause in the Lord's Prayer, "our daily bread," or "our bread day by day." This letter commences in a tone almost of deference; but Abélard soon resumes his language of superiority. What he says on the greater degree of authority to be ascribed to St. Matthew's Gospel

over that of St. Luke is totally at variance with the notion of plenary inspiration. He asserts from Augustine, Gregory the Great, and even Gregory VII., that usage must give way to reason; and retorts very curiously on the innovations introduced by Bernard himself into the ordinary services.

the temperature of the air, the fertility of the earth, the blessing of its fruits. . . . Thou hadst lived so long, thou hadst given life to the Church through so many holy institutions, that the very devils were thought to roar at thy behest; and we, in our littleness, boasted of our blessedness under a patron of such power." ^c Bernard and his admirers might well hate the man whose scholars were thus taught to despise that popular superstition which beheld miracles in all his works.

With these antagonistic feelings, and this disparaging estimate each of the other, met the two great Council of Sens. champions. In Bernard the Past and the Present concentrated all their powers and influences, the whole strength of the sacerdotal, ceremonial, inflexibly dogmatic, imaginative religion of centuries—the profound and submissive faith, the monastic austerity, the cowering superstition; he was the spiritual dictator of the age, above kings, prelates, even above the Pope; he was the model of holiness, the worker of perpetual wonders. Abélard cannot be accepted as a prophetic type of the Future. Free inquiry could only emancipate itself at a much later period by allying itself with a strong counter religious passion; it must oppose the strength of individual Christianity to the despotism of ecclesiastical religion. Abélard's religion (it were most unjust to question his religion) was but a colder form of the dominant faith; he was a monk, though against his own temperament and tone of feeling. But Abélard was pure intellect, utterly unimaginative, logical to the most naked precision, analytical to the minutest subtlety; even his devotion had no warmth; he ruled the mind, but touched no heart. At best therefore he was

^c Berengarii Epist., in Abelard Oper., p. 303.

the wonder, Bernard the object of admiration, reverence, love, almost of adoration.

The second day of the Council (the first had been devoted to the solemn translation of the reliques) was appointed for this grand theological tournament. Not only the king, the nobles, the prelates of France, but all Christendom watched in anxious solicitude the issue of the conflict. Yet even before a tribunal so favourable, so pre-occupied by his own burning words, Bernard was awed into calmness and moderation. He demanded only that the most obnoxious passages should be read from Abélard's works. It was to his amazement, no less than that of the whole council, when Abélard, instead of putting forth his whole strength in a reply, answered only, "I appeal to Rome," and left the hall of Council. It is said, to explain this unexpected abandonment of the field by the bold challenger, that he was in danger of his life. At Sens, as before at Soissons, the populace were so exasperated at the daring heretic, who was reported to have impeached the doctrine of the Trinity, that they were ready to rise against him.^d Bernard himself would hardly have interfered to save him from that summary refutation;^e and Abélard, in the confidence of his own power and fame as a disputant, might perhaps expect Bernard to decline his challenge. He may have almost forgotten the fatal issue of the Council of Soissons; at a distance, in his retreat in Brittany, such a tribunal might appear less awful than when he saw it in undisguised and unappeased hostility before him. The Council may have been disappointed at this

^d "Dum de sua fide discuteretur, seditionem populi timens, apostolicæ sedis præsentiam appellavit."—Otho Freisingen, i. 46.

^e "An non justius os loquens tanta fustibus conderetur, quam rationibus repelleretur."—So writes Bernard, Epist. p. 1554.

sudden close of the spectacle which they were assembled to behold; but they were relieved from the necessity of judging between the conflicting parties. Bernard, in the heat and pride of his triumph, after having in vain, and with taunts, provoked his mute adversary, proceeded now in no measured language to pursue his victory. The martial and unlearned prelates vainly hoped that as they had lost the excitement of the fray, they might escape the trouble and fatigue of this profound theological investigation. But the inflexible Bernard would as little spare them as he would his adversary. The faithful disciple of Abélard describes with some touches of satire, but with reality which reads like truth, the close of this memorable day. The discomfited Abélard had withdrawn; his books were now produced, a person commanded to read aloud all the objectionable parts at full length in all their logical aridity. The bishops, as evening drew on, grew weary, and relieved their fatigue with wine. The wine and the weariness brought on sleep: the drowsy assembly sat, some leaning on their elbows, some with cushions under their heads, some with their heads dropping on their knees. At each pause they murmured sleepily "damnamus," we condemn, till at length some cut short the word and faintly breathed "namus."[†]

Abélard had appealed to Rome; at Rome his adversaries had prepared for his reception.

The report of the Council to Rome is in such terms as these: "Peter Abélard makes void the whole Christian faith by attempting to comprehend the nature of God through human reason. He ascends up into heaven, he goes down into hell. Nothing can elude him either

[†] Epist. Berengar. apud Abélard Oper.

in the height above or in the nethermost depths. A man great in his own eyes, disputing about faith against the faith; walking among the great and wonderful things which are above him, the searcher of the Divine Majesty, the fabricator of heresy. Already has his book on the Trinity been burned by order of one Council; it has now risen from the dead. Accursed is he that builds again the walls of Jericho. His branches spread over the whole earth; he boasts that he has disciples in Rome itself, even in the College of Cardinals; he draws the whole world after him; it is time therefore to silence him by apostolic authority."

An appeal from Bernard to Rome was an appeal from Bernard to himself. Pope Innocent II. was too completely under his influence, too deeply indebted to him not to confirm at once his sentence. Bernard had already filled the ears of the Pope with the heresies of Abélard. He urged, he almost commanded, the Pope to proceed to instant judgement. "Shall he venture to appeal to the throne of Peter who denies the faith of Peter? For what has God raised thee up, lowly as thou wert in thine own eyes, and placed thee above kings and nations? Not that thou shouldest destroy but that thou shouldest build up the faith. God has stirred up the fury of the schismatics that thou mightest have the glory of crushing it. This only was wanting to make thee equal to the most famous of thy predecessors, the condemnation of a heresy."⁵ Bernard addressed another long controversial epistle to Innocent, and through him to all Christendom; it was the full view of Abélard's theology as it appeared to most of his own generation. He

Bernard's
triumph.

⁵ Apud Labbe, et Mansi, et in Oper. S. Bernardi.

inveighs against Abélard's dialectic theory of the Trinity, his definition of faith as opinion; his wrath is kindled to its most fiery language by the tenet which he ascribes to Abélard, that the Son of God had not delivered man by his death from the yoke of the devil; that Satan had only the permitted and temporary power of a jailor, not full sovereignty over mankind: in other words, that man had still free will; that Christ was incarnate rather to enlighten mankind by his wisdom and example, and died not so much to redeem them from slavery to the devil, as to show his own boundless love.^h "Which is most intolerable, the blasphemy or the arrogance of his language? Which is most damnable, the temerity or the impiety? Would it not be more just to stop his mouth with blows than confute him by argument? Does not he whose hand is against every one, provoke the hand of every one against himself? All, he says, think thus, but I think otherwise! Who, then, art thou? What canst thou advance which is wiser, what hast thou discovered which is more subtile? What secret revelation canst thou boast which has escaped the saints and eluded the angels? . . . Tell us what is this that thou alone canst see, that no one before thee hath seen? That the Son of God put on manhood for some purpose besides the deliverance of man from bondage. Assuredly this has been discovered by no one but by thee, and where hast thou discovered it? Thou hast received it neither from sage, nor prophet, nor apostle, nor from God himself. The apostle of the Gentiles received from God himself what he delivered

^h "Ut dicat totum esse quod Deus in carne apparuit, nostram de vitâ et exemplo ipsius institutionem, sive ut postmodum dixit, instructionem: totum quod passus et mortuus est suæ erga nos charitatis ostensionem vel commendationem."—Epist. xcii. 1539.

to us. The apostle of the Gentiles declares that his doctrine comes from on high—‘I speak not of myself.’ But thou deliverest what is thine own, what thou hast not received. He who speaks of himself is a liar. Keep to thyself what comes from thyself. For me, I follow the prophets and the apostles. I obey the Gospel, but not the Gospel according to *Peter*. Thou makest thyself a fifth evangelist. What says the law, what say the prophets, what say the apostles, what say their successors, that which thou alone deniest, that God was made man to deliver man from bondage? What, then, if an angel should come from heaven to teach us the contrary, accursed be the error of that angel!”

Absent, unheard, unconvicted, Abélard was condemned by the Supreme Pontiff. The condemnation was uttered almost before the charge could be fully known. The decree of Innocent reproved all public disputations on the mysteries of religion. Abélard was condemned to silence; his disciples to excommunication.¹

Condemnation of Abélard at Rome.

Abélard had set out on his journey to Rome; he was stopped by severe illness, and found hospitable reception in the Abbey of Clugny. Peter the Venerable, the Abbot of that famous monastery, did more than protect the outcast to the close of his life. He had himself gone through the ordeal of a controversy with the fervent Bernard, though their controversy had been conducted in a milder and more Christian spirit. Yet the Abbot of the more luxurious or more polished Clugny might not be sorry to show a gentleness and compassion uncongenial to the more austere Clairvaux. He even wrought an outward recon-

Abélard at Clugny.

¹ Apud Bernard, Epist. cxciv.

ciliation between the persecuted Abélard and the victorious Bernard. It was but an outward, a hollow reconciliation. Abélard published an apology, if apology it might be called, which accused his adversary of ignorance or of malice. The apology not merely repelled the charge of Arianism, Nestorianism, but even the slightest suspicion of such doctrines; and to allay the tender anxiety of Heloisa, who still took a deep interest in his fame and happiness, he sent her his creed, which might have satisfied the most austere orthodoxy. Even in the highest quarters, among the most distinguished prelates, there was at least strong compassion for Abélard, admiration for his abilities, perhaps secret indignation at the hard usage he had endured. Bernard knew that no less a person than Guido di Castello, afterwards Pope Coelestine II., a disciple of Abélard, spoke of him at least with affection. To him Bernard writes, "He would not suppose that though Guido loved the man he could love his errors."^k He suggests the peril of the contagion of such doctrines, and skilfully associates the name of Abélard with the most odious heresies. When he writes of the Trinity he has a savour of Arius; when of grace, of Pelagius; when of the person of Christ, of Nestorius. To the Cardinal Ivo he uses still stronger words—"Though a Baptist without in his austerities, he is a Herod within." Still for the last two years of his life Abélard found peace, honour, seclusion, in the Abbey of Clugny. He died at the age of sixty-three:^m

^k Epist. cxii.

^m Peter writes to Pope Innocent in the name of Abélard: "Ut reliquos lies vitæ et senectutis suæ, qui fortasse non multi sunt, in Cluniacâ vestrâ eum consummare jubeatis, et ne a domo

quam velut passer, ne a nido quem velut turtur se invenisse gaudet, aliorum instantiâ aut expelli aut commoveri valeat."—Petri Venerab. Ep. st. ad Innocent.

Peter the Venerable communicated the tidings of his death to the still faithful Heloisa. His language may be contrasted with that of St. Bernard. "I never saw his equal for humility of manners and habits. St. Germanus was not more modest; nor St. Martin more poor. He allowed no moment to escape unoccupied by prayer, reading, writing, or dictation. The heavenly visitor surprised him in the midst of these holy works."ⁿ The remains of Abélard were transported to the Paraclete; an absolution obtained by Peter was deposited in his tomb; for twenty-one years the Abbess of the Paraclete mourned over her teacher, her lover, her husband; and then reposed by his side.

The intellectual movement of Abélard, as far as any acknowledged and hereditary school, died with Abélard. Even his great principle, that which he asserted rather than consistently maintained—the supremacy of reason—that principle which Bernard and the high devotional Churchmen looked on with vague but natural apprehension as eventually fatal to authority, fell into abeyance. The schoolmen connected together, as it were, reason and authority. The influence remained, but neutralised. The Book of Sentences of Peter Lombard is but the "Sic et Non" of Abélard in a more cautious and reverential form. John of Salisbury, in his *Polycraticus*, is a manifest, if not avowed Conceptualist. The sagacious and prophetic jealousy of his adversaries seems to have had a more clear though instinctive perception of the remoter consequences of his doctrines than Abélard himself. Abélard the philosopher seems, notwithstanding his arrogance, to be perpetually sharing these apprehensions. He is at once the boldest and

ⁿ Petri Vener. Epist. ad Heloisam.

most timid of men ; always striking out into the path of free inquiry, but never following it onward ; he plunges back, as if afraid of himself, into blind and submissive orthodoxy. The remorse for his moral aberrations, shame and fear of the world, seem weighing upon his mind, and repressing its free energy. He is no longer the arrogant, overbearing despot of the school ; church authority is compelling him to ungracious submission. In his Lectures, even in his later days, it is probable that he was bolder and less inconsequent ; many of the sayings on which the heaviest charges of his adversaries rested, whether withdrawn or never there, are not to be found in his works : he disclaims altogether the Book of Sentences, which may have been the note-book of his opinions by some of his scholars. He limits the notion of inspiration to a kind of moral or religious influence ; it belongs to those who are possessed with faith, hope, and charity. He is still more restrictive on the authority of the Fathers, and openly asserts their contradictions and errors. In his idolatry of the ancient philosophers, he compares their lives with those of the clergy of his day, to the disadvantage of the latter ; places them far above the Jews, and those who lived under the Jewish dispensation ; and gives them a dim, indeed, yet influential and saving knowledge of the Redeemer. When Bernard, therefore, confined himself to general charges, he might stand on strong ground ; when he denounced the theology of Abélard as respecting no mystery, as rashly tearing away rather than gently lifting the veil from the holiest things, of rushing into the sanctuary, and openly disdaining to believe what it could not make pervious to the understanding.^o But when he

^o Epist. ad Episcop. 137, 138.

began to define his charges, he was betrayed into exaggeration and injustice. No two great minds were probably less capable of comprehending each other. Some of the gravest charges rest on works which Abélard never wrote, some on obvious misconceptions, some on illustrations assumed to be positions; all perverted into close assimilation or identification with the condemned and hated ancient heresies.

The mature and peculiar philosophy of Abélard, but for its love for barren logical forms, and this dreaded worship of reason, his Conceptualism, might in itself not merely have been reconciled with the severest orthodoxy, but might have opened a safe intermediate ground between the Nominalism of Roscelin and the Realism of Anselm and William of Champeaux. As the former tended to a sensuous rationalism, so the latter to a mystic pantheism. If everything but the individual was a mere name, then knowledge shrunk into that which was furnished by the senses alone. When Nominalism became Theology, the three persons of the Trinity (this was the perpetual touchstone of all systems), if they were more than words, were individuals, and Tritheism inevitable. On the other hand, God, the great Reality, absorbed into himself all other Realities; they became part of God; they became God. This was the more immediate danger; the deepest devotion became Mysticism, and resolved everything into God. Mysticism in Europe, as in India, melted into Pantheism. The Conceptualism of Abélard, allowing real existence to universals, but making those universals only cognisable as mental conceptions to the individual, might be in danger of falling into Sabellianism. The three persons would be but three manifestations of the Deity; a distinction only perceptible to the mind might

seem to be made to the mind alone. Yet, on the other hand, as the perception of a spiritual Deity can only be through the mind or the spirit, the mystery might seem more profound according to this view, which, while it repudiated the materialising tendencies of the former system, by its more clear and logical Idealism kept up the strong distinction between God and created things, between the human and divine mind, the all-pervading soul—and the soul of man.^p

There is one treatise, indeed, the famous “*Sic et Non*,” which has been recovered in the present day, and if of itself taken as the exposition of Abélard’s philosophical theology, might, though written under the semblance of profound reverence for antiquity, even from its form and title, have startled an age less devotional, less under the bondage of authority. In this treatise Abélard propounds all the great problems of religion, with the opinions, the conflicting opinions, of the Fathers; at times he may seem disposed to establish a friendly harmony, at others they are committed in irreconcilable strife. It is a history of the antagonism and

^p The real place which Abélard’s Conceptualism (if, as I think, it has its place) holds between the crude Nominalism of Roscelin, and the mysticism, if not mystic Realism, of William of Champeaux, belongs to the history of philosophy rather than of Christianity. M. Cousin denies to Abélard any intermediate ground. On the other hand, a writer, who in my judgement sometimes writes rather loosely, at others with much sagacity, M. Xavier Rousselot, finds a separate and independent position in philosophy and in theology for the system of Abélard. Abélard certainly must have

deceived himself if he was no more than a concealed Nominalist. See the summary of Abélard’s opinions in Haureau, *de la Philosophie Scolastique*. M. Haureau defines Abélard’s Conceptualism as a “*Nominalisme raisonnable*.” *La philosophie d’Abélard est la philosophie de la prudence, la philosophie du sens commun.*” If I may presume to say so, Abélard was less led to this intermediate position by his own prudence, than by his keen sagacity in tracing the consequences of Nominalism and extreme Realism. See also C. de Rémusat, Abélard.

inward discord, of the disunity of the Church. Descartes himself did not establish the principle of doubt as the only source of true knowledge more coldly and nakedly, or more offensively to his own age from its cautious justification in the words of him who is all truth.⁹ If Bernard knew this treatise, it explains at once all Bernard's implacable hostility; to himself, no doubt, the suppression of such principles would justify any means of coercion, almost any departure from ordinary rules of fairness and justice. It is nothing that to the calmer judgement the "Sic et Non" by no means fulfils its own promise, that it is far more harmless to the devout than it threatens to be; far less satisfactory to the curious and speculative: it must be taken in its spirit, to estimate the rude shock it must have given to the yet unawakened, or but half-awakened mind of Christendom: so only can a judgement be formed on the real controversy between the Founder of the Paraclete and the Abbot of Clairvaux.^r

⁹ "Dubitare enim de singulis non erit inutile. Dubitando enim ad inquisitionem venimus; inquirendo veritatem percipimus, juxta quos et Veritas ipsa 'quærite et invenietis, pulsate et aperietur vobis.'"—Prolog. ad Sic et Non.

^r M. Cousin has only printed parts of the Sic et Non. But he has given the heads of the chapters omitted, many of which more provoke the curiosity than those which he has chosen. The whole Sic et Non has now been printed at Marburg from another manuscript (at Munich), by Henke and Lindenkohl, Marburg, 1851. Father Tosti, a monk of Monte Casino, author of a life or apology for Boniface VIII.

(hereafter to be quoted), has published a life of Abelard, written with more candour than might be expected from such a quarter. He was urged to this work by finding in the archives of Monte Casino MSS. containing unpublished fragments of Abelard's *Theologia Christiana*, and of the Sic et Non, of which he had only seen concise extracts.

In fact, the Sic et Non is nothing but a sort of manual for scholastic disputation, of which it was the rule that each combatant must fight, right or wrong. It was an armoury from which disputants would find weapons to their hands on any disputable point: and all points by the rule of this warfare were disputable.

CHAPTER VI.

Arnold of Brescia.

BERNARD had triumphed over the intellectual insurrection against the authority of the Church ; but there was a rebellion infinitely more dangerous, at least in its immediate consequences, brooding in the minds of men : the more formidable because more popular, the more imminent because it appealed at once to the passions and the plain vulgar sense of man. To judge from the number of his disciples, Abélard's was a popular movement ; that of Arnold was absolutely, avowedly democratic ; it raised a new class of men, and to them transferred at once power, authority, wealth. There was an ostensible connexion between these two outbursts of freedom, which at first sight might appear independent of, almost incongruous with, each other, except in their common hostility to the hierarchical system. Arnold of Brescia was a hearer of Abélard, a pupil in his revolutionary theology or revolutionary philosophy, and aspired himself to a complete revolution in civil affairs : he was called, as has been seen, the armour-bearer of the giant Abélard. The two were even more nearly allied in their kindred origin. Monasticism was the common parent of both. The theory of monasticism, which was acknowledged even by most of the clergy themselves to be the absolute perfection of Christianity, its true philosophy, was in perpetual and glaring contradiction with the actual visible state of the clergy and

of the older and wealthier monasteries. This theory was the total renunciation of the world, of property, even of volition; it was the extreme of indigence, the scantiest fare, the coarsest dress, the lowliest demeanour, the hardest toil, both in the pursuits of industry and in the offices of religion; the short and interrupted sleep, the incessant devotional exercise, usually the most severe self-inflicted pain. The poorer, the more mortified, the more secluded, the more absolutely cut off from all indulgence, the nearer to sanctity. Nor was this a remote, obsolete, traditionary theory. Every new aspirant after monastic perfection, every founder of an order, and of every recent monastery, exemplified, or he would never have founded an order or built a monastery, this poor, self-abasing, self-excruciating holiness. Stephen Harding, Bernard and his followers, and all who lived up to their principles in their own persons, to those around them and by their widespread fame, stood before the world not merely as beacon-lights of true Christianity, but as uttering a perpetual protest, a rebuke against the lordly, rich, and luxurious prelates and abbots. Their vital principles, their principles of action were condemnatory of ecclesiastical riches. "It is just," writes St. Bernard, "that he who serves the altar should live of the altar; but it is not to live of the altar to indulge luxury and pride at the expense of the altar: this is robbery, this is sacrilege."^a The subtle, by no means obvious, distinction, that the wealth of the Church

^a "Concedatur ergo tibi ut si bene deservis de altario vivas, non autem ut de altario luxurieris, ut de altario superbias, ut inde compares tibi frena aurea, sellas depictas, calcearia deargentata, varia grisiaque pellicia a collo et

manibus ornatu purpureo diversifacata. Denique quicquid præter necessarium victum ac simplicem vestitum de altario retineas tuum non est, impium est, sacrilegum est."—Bernard, *Epist. ad Fulcon.*

was the wealth of God ;^b that the patrimony of the Papacy was not in the Pope, but in St. Peter, and of every other church in its patron saint ; that not merely the churches, but the conventual edifices, with all their offices, stables, granaries, and gardens (wanting, perhaps, to the noblest castle), were solely for the glory of God, not for the use and pride of man ; that the clergy on their palfreys with golden bits, and embroidered housings, and silver spurs, and furred mantles of scarlet or purple, were not men, but ministers of God ; this convenient merging of the individual in the official character, while the individual enjoyed personally all the admiration, envy, respect, comfort, luxury, influence of his station, might satisfy the conscience of those whose conscience desired to be satisfied, but was altogether unintelligible to the common sense of mankind. The more devout abbots and prelates, some doubtless of the Popes, might wear the haircloth under the robe of purple and of fur ; they might sit at the gorgeous banquet tasting only the dry bread or simple vegetable ; after the pomp and ceremony of some great day of temporal or ecclesiastical business, might pass the night on the rough board or the cold stone, or on their knees in the silent church, unobserved by men : the outward show of pride or luxury might be secretly repressed or chastened by the most austere fast, by the bloody penitential scourge. But mankind judges, if unjustly towards individuals, justly perhaps of systems and institutions, from the outward and manifest effects. A clergy with an ostentatious display of luxury and wealth was to them a wealthy and luxurious clergy—a clergy which was always grasp-

^b “ Saltem quæ Dei sunt *ipsius* violenter auferre nolite.”—Epist. Nicol I ad Aquitan. apud Bouquet, p. 416.

ing after power, an ambitious clergy. Who could question, who refuse to see the broad irresistible fact of this discrepancy between the monastic theory, constantly preached and lauded in their ears, to which they were to pay, to which they were not disinclined to pay, respect bordering on adoration, and the ordinary actual Christianity of the great ecclesiastical body? If poverty was apostolic, if poverty was of Christ himself, if the only real living likenesses of the Apostles and of Christ were the fasting, toiling, barely-clad, self-scourging monks, with their cheeks sunk by famine, their eyes on the ground, how far from the Apostles, how far from Christ, were those princely bishops, those abbots, holding their courts like sovereigns! The cowering awe of the clergy, the influence of the envied wealth and state itself, might repress, but it would not subdue, if once awakened, the sense of this discrepancy. But once boldly stirred by a popular teacher, by a man of vehement eloquence, unsuspected sincerity, restless activity, unimpeachable religious orthodoxy, how fearful to the hierarchy, to the whole sacerdotal system!—and such a man was Arnold of Brescia.^c

Arnold was a native of the Lombard city of Brescia. Of his youth and education nothing is known. His adolescence ripened amid the advancing political republicanism of the Lombard cities. With the inquisitive and aspiring youth from all parts of Europe, he travelled to France, to attend the great instructor of the times, Peter Abélard, probably at that period when Abélard was first settled in the wilderness

Arnold a
disciple of
Abélard.

^c The birth of Arnold is vaguely assigned to the beginning of the twelfth century. Guadagnani conjectures, with some probability, that he was born about 1105. There is a Life of Arnold by H. Francke, "Arnold von Brescia," Zurich, 1825.

of the Paraclete, and when his highborn and wealthy scholars submitted to such severe privations in pursuit of knowledge, and became monks in all but religious submissiveness. Arnold throughout his life passed as a disciple, as a faithful follower of Abélard. But while others wrought out the daring speculative views of Abélard, delighted in his logical subtleties, and with him endeavoured to tear away the veil which hung over the sacred mysteries of the faith, Arnold seized on the practical, the political, the social consequences. On all the high mysterious doctrines of the Church, the orthodoxy of Arnold was unimpeachable; his personal life was that of the sternest monk; he had the most earnest sympathy with the popular religion. On the Sacraments alone his opinions were questioned; and as to them, rather on account of their connexion with the great object of his hostility, the sacerdotal power. The old edifice of the hierarchy, which had been rising for centuries till it governed the world, possessed in all the kingdoms a very large proportion of the land; had assumed the judicial, in some cases the military functions of the state; had raised the Pope to a sovereign prince, who, besides his own dominions, held foreign kingdoms in feudal subordination to himself: all this Arnold aspired to sweep away from the face of the earth. He would reduce the clergy to their primitive and apostolic poverty;^d confiscate all their wealth, escheat all their temporal power. Their estates he secularised at once; he would make them ministers of religion and no more, modestly maintained by the first-

^d "Primitias et quæ devotio plebis
Offerat, et decimas castos in corporis usus,
Non ad luxuriam, neve oblectamina carnis
Concedens, mollesque cibos, cultusque
nitorem,

Illicitosque jocos, lascivæque gaudia cleri,
Pontificum fastus, abbatum denique laxos
Damnabat penitus mores, monachosque
superbos."—*Gunther*, iii. 273, &c.

fruits and tithes of the people. And that only as a holy clergy, on a voluntary system, but in every respect subject to the supreme civil power. On that power, too, Arnold would boldly lay his reforming hand. His Utopia was a great Christian republic, exactly the reverse of that of Gregory VII. As religious and as ambitious as Hildebrand, Arnold employed the terrors of the other world, with as little scruple to depose, as the pontiff to exalt the authority of the clergy. Salvation was impossible to a priest holding property, a bishop exercising temporal power, a monk retaining any possession whatever. This he grounded not on the questionable authority of the Church, but on the plain Gospel of Christ; to that Gospel he appealed with intrepid confidence. It was the whole feudal system, imperial as well as pontifical, which was to vanish away: the temporal sovereign was to be the fountain of honour, of wealth, of power. To the sovereign were to revert all the possessions of the Church, the estates of the monasteries, the royalties of the Pope and the bishops.^e But that sovereign was a popular assembly. Like other fond republicans, Arnold hoped to find in a democratic senate, chosen out of, and chosen by, the unchristian as well as the Christian part of the community, that Christianity for which he looked in vain in the regal and pontifical autocracies, in the episcopal and feudal oligarchies of the time.^f This, which the most sanguine in the nineteenth century look upon as

^e "Dicebat nec clericos proprietatem, nec episcopos regalia, nec monachos possessiones habentes aliquâ ratione salvari posse. Cuncta hæc principis esse, ab ejusque beneficiâ in usum tantum laicorum cedere oportere."—

Otho Freisingen.

^f "Omnia principis terrenis subdita, tantum Committenda viris popularibus atque regenda."—*Gunther*, iii. 277.

Compare the whole passage.

visionary, or, after a long discipline of religious and social education, but remotely possible, Arnold hoped to raise, as if by enchantment, among the rude, ignorant, oppressed lower classes of the twelfth. So the alliance of the imperial and pontifical power, which in the end was so fatal to Arnold, was grounded on no idle fear or wanton tyranny, it was an alliance to crush a common enemy.

The Church of Rome has indeed boasted her natural sympathy and willing league with freedom. Her confederacy with the young republics of Lombardy is considered the undeniable manifestation of this spirit. But there at least her love of freedom was rather hatred of the imperial power; it was a struggle at their cost for her own aggrandisement. In Brescia, as in many other cities in the north of Italy, the Bishop Arimanno had taken the lead in shaking off all subjection to the Empire. Brescia declared herself a republic, and established a municipal government; but the bishop usurped the sovereignty wrested from the Empire. He assumed the state, the power of a feudal lord; the estates of the Church were granted as fiefs, on the condition of military service to defend his authority. Brescia complained with justice that the Church and the poor were robbed to maintain the secular pomp of the baron. The republican spirit, kindled by the bishop, would not endure his tyranny. He was worsted in a bloody and desolating war; he was banished for three years to the distance of fifty miles from the city. Arimanno, the bishop, was deposed by Pope Paschal in the Lateran Council at Rome, A.D. 1116; his coadjutor Conrad promoted to the see. Conrad sought to raise again the fallen power of the bishopric, and Conrad in his turn was dispossessed by his coadjutor Manfred. Innocent II

appeared in Brescia. There is little doubt that Conrad had embraced the faction of the Antipope Anacletus, Manfred therefore was confirmed in the see. ^{July 26-29,} The new bishop attempted, in a synod at ^{1132.} Brescia, to repress the concubinage and likewise the vices of the clergy; but in the assertion of his temporal power he was no less ambitious and overbearing than his predecessors. To execute his decree he entered into a league with the consuls of the city. But the married clergy and their adherents were too strong for the bishop and the adherents of the rigorists. The consuls and the bishop were expelled from the city. Manfred was afterwards replaced by the legate of the Pope, and now appears to have thrown himself into the party of the nobles.

It was in this state of affairs that the severe and blameless Arnold began to preach his captivating but alarming doctrines. Prelates like Manfred and his predecessors were not likely to awe those who esteemed apostolic poverty and apostolic lowliness the only true perfection of the Christian. Secular pomp and luxury were almost inseparable from secular power. The clergy of a secular bishop would hardly be otherwise than secular. Arnold, on his return to Brescia, had received the two lower orders of the Church as a reader; he then took the religious vow and became a monk: a monk of primitive austerity.[§] He was a man of stern republican virtue, and of stern republican sentiments; his enemies do justice to his rigid and blameless character. The monk in truth and the republican had met

§ "Arnoldum loquor de Brixîâ qui utinam tam sanæ esset doctrinæ quam districtæ est vitæ; et si vultis scire, homo est neque manducans neque

bibens, solo cum diabolo esuriens et sitiens sanguinem animarum."—Bernard, Epist. 195.

in him, the admirer of the old Roman liberty and of the lowly religion of Christ. He was seemingly orthodox in all his higher creed, though doubts were intimated of his soundness on image-worship, on reliques, on infant baptism, and the Eucharist—those strong foundations of the sacerdotal power.^h From his austerity, and the silence of his adversaries as to such obnoxious opinions, it is probable that he was severe on the question of the marriage of the clergy; he appears standing alone, disconnected with that faction. His eloquence was singularly sweet, copious, and flowing, but at the same time vigorous and awakening, sharp as a sword and soft as oil.ⁱ He called upon the people to compel the clergy, and especially the bishop, to retire altogether into their proper functions; to abandon all temporal power, all property. The populace listened to his doctrines with fanatic ardour; he preached in the pulpits and the market-places, incessantly, boldly, and fearless whom he might assail, the Pope himself or the lowliest priest, in the deep inward conviction of the truth of his own doctrines. He unfolded the dark pages of ecclesiastical history to a willing auditory.^k The whole city was in the highest state of excitement; and not Brescia alone, the doctrines spread like wildfire through Lombardy; many other cities were moved if not to tumult, to wild

^h "Præter hæc de sacramento altaris et baptismo parvulorum non sanè dicitur sensisse."—Otho Freisingen. Did he attach the validity of the rite to the holiness of the priest?

ⁱ "Lingua ejus gladius acutus—molliti sunt sermones ejus sicut oleum, et ipsa sunt jacula—allicit blandis sermonibus."—Bernard, Epist. 195: see also 196. "Pulcræ fallendi noverat artem . . . mellifluis admiscens verba

verbis."—Gunther.

^k Even Gunther is betrayed into some praise.

"Veraque multa quidem nisi tempora nostra fideles Respuerant monitus, falsis admixta monebat."

"Dum Brixiensem ecclesiam perturbaret, laicisque terræ illius, prurientes erga clerum aures habentibus, ecclesiasticas malitiose exponeret paginas."—Otho Freisingen, ii. 20.

expectation.^m Some of the nobles as laymen had been attracted by the doctrines of Arnold; but most of them made common cause with the bishop, who was already of their faction. The bishopric was a great benefice, which each might hope to fill with some one of his own family. The bishop therefore, the whole clergy, the wealthier monasteries, the higher nobles, were bound together by their common fears, by their common danger. Yet even then a popular revolution was averted only by an appeal to Rome—to Rome where Innocent, his rival overthrown, was presiding in the great Council of the Lateran; Innocent replaced on his throne by all the great monarchs of Christendom, and environed by a greater number of prelates than had ever assembled in any Council.

Before that supreme tribunal Arnold was accused, not it should seem of heresy, but of the worst kind of schism;ⁿ his accusers were the bishop and all the higher clergy of Brescia. Rome, it is said, shuddered, as she might with prophetic dread, at the doctrine and its author; yet the Council was content with imposing silence on Arnold, and banishment from Italy. With this decree the bishops and the clergy returned to Brescia; the fickle people were too much under the terror of their religion to defend their teacher.^o The nobles seized the opportunity of expelling the two popular consuls, who were branded as hypocrites and heretics. Arnold fled beyond the Alps, and took refuge in Zurich. It is

Arnold condemned by the Council of the Lateran. April, 1139.

Arnold in Zurich.

^m " Ille suum vecors in clerum pontificemque, . . . atque alias plures commoverat urbes."—*Gunther*.

ⁿ " Accusatus est apud dominum Papam *schismate pessimo*."—S. Ber-

nard. There is no evidence that he was involved in the condemnation of Peter of Bruëys and the Cathari in the 23rd canon.

^o Malvezzi apud Muratori, vol. xiv.

singular to observe this more than Protestant, sowing as it were the seeds of that total abrogation of the whole hierarchical system, completed in Zurich by Zuingle, the most extreme of the reformers in the age of Luther.

Beyond the Alps Arnold is again the scholar, the faithful and devoted scholar of Abélard. Neither their admirers nor their enemies seem to discern the vital difference between the two; they are identified by their common hostility to the authority of the Church. Abélard addressed the abstract reason, Arnold the popular passions; Abélard undermined the great dogmatic system, Arnold boldly assailed the vast temporal power of the Church; Abélard treated the hierarchy with respect, but brought into question the doctrines of the Church; Arnold, with deep reverence for the doctrines, shook sacerdotal Christianity to its base; Abélard was a philosopher, Arnold a demagogue. Bernard was watching both with the persevering sagacity of jealousy, and of fear for his own imperilled faith, his imperilled Church. His fiery zeal was not content with the condemnation of Abélard by the Council of Sens,^p and the Pope's rescript condemnatory of Arnold in the Lateran Council. He urged the Pope to take further measures for their condemnation, for the burning of their books, and secure custody of their persons. The obsequious Pope, in a brief but violent letter addressed to the Archbishops of Rheims and Sens and to the Abbot of Clairvaux, commanded that the books containing such damnable doctrines should be

^p It is not clear at what time or in what manner Arnold undertook the defence of Abélard's dangerous propositions. Abélard and his disciples had maintained silence before the Council of Sens; and there Arnold was not present.

publicly cast into the fire, the two heresiarchs separately imprisoned in some religious house. The papal letter was disseminated throughout France by the restless activity of Bernard,^a but men were weary or ashamed of the persecution; he was heard with indifference. Abélard, as has been seen, found a retreat in the abbey of Clugny; what was more extraordinary, Arnold found a protector in a papal legate, in a future Pope, the Cardinal Guido di Castello. Like Arnold, Arnold with Guido di Castello. Guido had been a scholar of Abélard, he had betrayed so much sympathy with his master as to receive the rebuke, above alluded to, from Bernard, softened only by the dignity of his position and character. His protection of Arnold was more open and therefore more offensive to the Abbot of Clairvaux. He wrote in a mingled tone of earnest admonition and angry expostulation. "Arnold of Brescia, whose words are as honey but whose doctrines are poison, whom Brescia cast forth, at whom Rome shuddered, whom France has banished, whom Germany will soon hold in abomination, whom Italy will not endure, is reported to be with you. Either you know not the man, or hope to convert him. May this be so; but beware of the fatal infection of heresy; he who consorts with the suspected becomes liable to suspicion; he who favours one under the papal excommunication, contravenes the Pope, and even the Lord God himself."^r

The indefatigable Bernard traced the fugitive Arnold

^a See Nicolini's preface to his tragedy of Arnold of Brescia:—"Ut Petrum Abeilardum et Arnoldum de Brixia, perversi dogmatis fabricatores et catholicæ fidei impugnatores, in religiosis locis, ut iis melius fuerint, separatim faciant includi, et libros

eorum, ubicunque reperti fuerint, igne comburi."—1140, July 16. Mansi, xxi., S. Bernard Oper., Appendix, p. 76.

^r Bernardi Epist. The expression "quem Germania abominabitur" favours the notion that Guido was Legate in Germany. So hints Guadagnani.

into the diocese of Constance. He wrote in the most vehement language to the bishop denouncing Arnold as the author of tumult and sedition, of insurrection against the clergy, even against bishops, of arraying the laity against the spiritual power. No terms are too harsh; besides the maledictory language of the Psalms, "His mouth is full of cursing and bitterness, and his feet swift to shed blood," he calls him the enemy of the Cross of Christ, the fomenter of discord, the fabricator of schism. He urges the bishop to seize and imprison this wandering disturber of the peace; such had been the Pope's command, but men had shrunk from that good deed. The Bishop of Constance was at least not active in the pursuit of Arnold. Zurich was again for some time his place of refuge, or rather the Alpine valleys, where, at least from the days of Claudius Bishop of Turin, tenets kindred to his own, and hostile, if not to the doctrines, to some of the usages of the Church, to the power and wealth of the clergy, had lurked in the hearts of men. The Waldenses look up to Arnold as to one of the spiritual founders of their churches; and his religious and political opinions probably fostered the spirit of republican independence which throughout Switzerland and the whole Alpine district was awaiting its time.⁵

For five years all traces of Arnold are lost; on a sudden he appears in Rome under the protection of the intrepid champion of the new republic which had wrested the sovereignty of the city from the Pope, and had abrogated his right to all

* "Nobile Torregium, ductoris nomine falso
Insedit, totamque brevi sub tempore
terram,
Perfidus, impuri fedavit dogmatis
aurâ.

Unde venenato dudum corrupta sapore,
Et nimium falsi doctrinæ vatis inhe-
rens,
Servat adhuc uvæ gustum gens illa pa-
ternæ."—*Gunther*, iii.

temporal possessions. In the foundation of this republic Arnold had personally no concern, but the influence of his doctrines doubtless much. The Popes, who had beheld with satisfaction the rise of the Lombard commonwealths, or openly approved their revolt, were startled to find a republic springing up in Rome itself. Many Romans had crossed the Alps to the school of Abélard; but the practical doctrines of Abélard's scholar were more congenial to their turbulent minds than the abstract lore of the master. Innocent II. seemed doomed to behold the whole sovereignty, feudal as well as temporal, dissolve in his hands. The wars with Naples to assert his feudal title had ended in the establishment of Roger of Sicily in the independent kingdom of Naples. The Roman passion for liberty was closely allied, as in all the Italian republics, with less generous sentiments—an implacable hatred of liberty in others. There had been a long jealousy between Tivoli and Rome. Tivoli proclaimed its independence of Rome and of the Pope. It had despised the excommunication of the Pope and inflicted a disgraceful defeat on the Romans, as yet the Pope's loyal subjects, under the Pope himself. After a war of at least a year Tivoli was reduced to capitulate; but Innocent, who perhaps might look hereafter to the strength of Tivoli as a check upon unruly Rome, refused to gratify the revenge of the Romans by dismantling and razing the city walls and dispersing the inhabitants. The Romans turned their baffled vengeance on Innocent himself. Rome assembled in the Capitol, declared itself a republic, restored the senate, proposed to elect a patrician, and either actually withdrew or threatened to withdraw all temporal allegiance from the Pope. But as yet they were but half scholars of Arnold.

they only shook off the yoke of the Pope to place themselves under the yoke of the Emperor. The republicans addressed a letter to the Emperor Conrad, declaring that it was their object to restore the times of Justinian and of Constantine. The Emperor might now rule in the capital of the world, over Germany and Italy, with more full authority than any of his predecessors: all obstacles from the ecclesiastical power were removed; they concluded with five verses. Let the Emperor do his will on all his enemies, establish his throne in Rome, and govern the world like another Justinian, and let Peter, according to the commandment of Christ, pay tribute to Cæsar.* But they warned him at the same time that his aid must be speedy and strong. "The Pope had made a league with the King of Sicily, whom, in return for large succours to enable him to defy the Emperor, he had invested in all the insignia of royalty. Even in Rome the Pope, the Frangipani, the Sicilians, all the nobles, even the family of Peter Leonis, except their leader Giordano, had conspired to prevent them, the Roman people, from bestowing on Conrad the imperial crown. In order that this army might reach Rome in safety, they had restored the Milvian bridge; but without instant haste all might be lost." In the midst of these tumults Innocent died, closing a Pontificate of fourteen years.

Death of
Innocent II.
Sept. 23,
1143.

The successor of Innocent was Guido di Castello, the cardinal of S. Mario, the scholar of Abélard, the protector of Arnold. He was elected, from what motive or through what interest does not appear, yet by the

* "Rex valeat, quicquid cupit, obtineat,
super hostes
Imperium teneat, Romæ sedeat, regat
orbem:

Principes terrarum, ceu fecit Justinianus;
Cæsaris accipiat Cæsar, quæ sunt sua Præsul
Ut Christus jussit, Petro solvente tribu-
tum."—*Otho Freisingen*, i. 28.

unanimous suffrage of the cardinals and amidst the acclamations of the people.^a He took the name of Cœlestine II. The only act of Cœlestine was one of gentleness and peace; he received the ambassadors of Louis VII., King of France, pronounced his benediction on the kingdom, and so repealed the Interdict with which Innocent had rewarded the faithful services of his early patron and almost humble vassal.^x Even the turbulence of the people was overawed; they might seem to await in anxious expectation how far the protector of Arnold might favour their resumption of the Roman liberties.

These hopes were disappointed by the death of Cœlestine after a pontificate of less than six months. On the accession of Lucius II., a Bolognese by birth, the republic boldly assumed the ideal form imagined by Arnold of Brescia. The senate and the people assembled in the Capitol, and elected a Patrician,^y Giordano, the descendant of Peter

Sept. 26.
Cœlestine II.

March 8,
1144.
Lucius II.

March 12.

^a The Life of Cœlestine is at issue with his own letters. The Life asserts that the people were absolutely excluded from all share in the election. Cœlestine writes: "Clero et populo acclamante, partim et expetente."—Epist. ad Petr. Venerab.

^x The interdict related to the election to the archbishopric of Bourges. The king, according to usage, named a candidate to the chapter. The Pope commanded the obsequious chapter to elect Peter de la Chatre, nephew to the Chancellor of the Roman Church. Even Louis was provoked to wrath; he swore that Peter de la Chatre should never sit as Archbishop of Bourges. "We must teach this young

man," said the haughty Pope, "not thus to meddle with the affairs of the Church." He gave the pall to the archbishop, who had fled to Rome. The interdict followed; wherever the King of France appeared, ceased all the divine offices. The interdict was raised by Cœlestine; but Peter de la Chatre was Archbishop of Bourges.—Compare Martin, Hist. de France, iii. 434.

^y This appears from the words of Otho Freisingen: "Senatoribus, quos ante instituerant, patricium adiecit."—Otho Freisingen, vii. 31. What place did this leave for the Emperor? I conceive, therefore, that the letter to the Emperor belongs to the pontificate of Innocent, where I have placed it

Leonis. They announced to the Pope their submission to his spiritual authority, but to his spiritual authority alone. They declared that the Pope and the clergy must content themselves from that time with the tithes and oblations of the people; that all the temporalities, the royalties, and rights of sovereignty fell to the temporal power, and that power was the Patrician.² They proceeded to make themselves masters of the city, attacked and levelled to the ground many of the fortress

Dec. 28.

palaces of the cardinals and the nobles. The Pope, after some months, wrote an urgent letter to the Emperor Conrad to claim his protection against his rebellious subjects. To the appeal of the Romans, calling him to the sovereignty, Conrad, spell-bound perhaps by the authority of Bernard, however tempting the occasion might be, paid no attention; even if more inclined to the cause of the Pope, he had no time for interference. Pope Lucius had recourse to more immediate means of defence. He armed the pontifical party, and that party comprehended all the nobles: it had become a contest of the oligarchy and the democracy. He placed himself at their head, obtained, it should seem, some success,³ but in an attempt to storm the Capitol in the front of his soldiers

Feb. 25, 1145.
Death of
Lucius II.

he was mortally wounded with a stone. To have slain a Pope afflicted the Romans with no remorse. The papal party felt no shame at the unseemly death of a Pope who had fallen in actual war for the defence of his temporal power; republican Rome felt no compunction at the fall of her enemy. Yet the death of Lucius seems to have extinguished for a time

² "Ad jus patricii sui repossunt."—Otho Freisingen, *loc. cit.* This was pure Arnoldism.

³ "Senatum abrogare coegit."—Cardin. Arragon, in *Vita Lucii*.

the ambition of the cardinals. Instead of rival Popes contending for advancement, Pope and Antipope in eager haste to array themselves in the tiara, all seemed to shrink from the perilous dignity. They drew forth from the cloister of the Cistercian monks the Abbot, Bernard of Pisa, a devout man, but obscure and of simplicity, it was supposed, bordering on imbecility. His sole recommendation was that he was a Cistercian, a friend of Bernard of Clairvaux, of Bernard the tried foe of Abelard and of Arnold of Brescia, Bernard through whom alone they could hope for the speedy succour of the Transalpine sovereigns. "In electing you," says Bernard himself, "they made me Pope, not you."^b The saint's letter of congratulation is in a tone of mingled superiority and deference, in which the deference is formal, the superiority manifest. To the conclave Bernard remonstrated against the cruelty, almost the impiety, of dragging a man dead to the world back into the peril and turmoil of worldly affairs. He spoke almost with contempt of the rude character of Eugenius III. "Is this a man to gird on the sword and to execute vengeance on the people, to bind their kings with chains and their nobles with links of iron?" (Such at present appeared to Bernard the office of Christ's representative on earth!) "How will a man with the innocence and simplicity of a child cope with affairs which require the strength of a giant?"^c Bernard was for once mistaken in his estimate of human character. Eugenius III. belied all expectations by the unsuspected vigour of his conduct. He was compelled, indeed, at first to bow before the storm: on the third

^b "Aiant non vos esse papam, sed me."—Epist. 237, 8.

^c Epist. 236. He calls him "pannosum homuncionem."

day after his election he left Rome to receive his consecration in the monastery of Farfa.

Arnold of Brescia at the head of a large force of Swiss mountaineers who had imbibed his doctrines, was now in Rome.^d His eloquence brought over the larger part of the nobles to the popular side; even some of the clergy were infected by his doctrines. The republic, under his influence, affected to resume the constitution of elder Rome. The office of prefect was abolished, the Patrician Giordano established in full authority. They pretended to create anew patrician families, an equestrian order; the name and rights of tribunes of the people were to balance the power of the Senate; the laws of the commonwealth were re-enacted.^e Nor were they forgetful of more substantial provisions for their power. The Capitol was rebuilt and fortified; even the church of St. Peter was sacrilegiously turned into a castle. The Patrician took possession of the Vatican, imposed taxes, and exacted tribute by violence from the pilgrims. Rome began again to speak of her sovereignty over the world. On the expulsion of Eugenius, the indefatigable Bernard addressed a letter to the Roman people in his usual tone of haughty apology for his interference; a protest of his own insignificance while he was dictating to nations and kings. He mingles what he means for gentle persuasion with the language of awful menace. "Not only will the powers of earth, but the Martyrs of heaven

^d "Arnoldus Alpinorum turbam ad se traxit et Romam cum multitudine venit."—Fasti Corbeienses. See Müller, Schweitzer's Geschichte, i. 409, u. 277. Eugen., Epist. 4.

"Quin etiam titulos urbis renovare vetustos,

Patricios recreare viros, priscosque Qui rites,
Nominis plebeio secernere nomen equestre;
Jura tribunorum, sanctum reparare senatum;
Et senio fessas, mutasque reponere leges;
Reddere primevo Capitolla prisca nitenti."

Gunther

fight against a rebellious people." In one part, he dexterously inquires how far they themselves had become richer by the plunder of the churches. It was as the religious capital of the world that Rome was great and wealthy; they were cutting off all their real glory and riches by ceasing to be the city of St. Peter.^f In another letter, he called on the Emperor Conrad to punish this accursed and tumultuous people.

But Eugenius owed to his own intrepid energy and conduct at least a temporary success. He launched his sentence of excommunication against the rebel Patrician: Rome was too much accustomed to such thunders to regard them. He appealed to more effective arms, the implacable hatred and jealousy of the neighbouring cities. Tivoli was always ready to take arms against Rome, (Innocent II. had foreseen the danger of dismantling this check on Rome,) other cities sent their troops; Eugenius was in person at Civita Castellana, Narni, Viterbo, where he took up his residence. The proud republic was compelled to capitulate. The Patrician abdicated his short-lived dignity; the Prefect resumed his functions; the Senate was permitted to exist, but shorn of its power.^g A general amnesty was granted to all concerned in the late commotions. Some of the Roman nobles, the great family of the Frangipani, out of rivalry perhaps to the Peter Leonis, had remained faithful to the Pope. Eugenius returned to Rome, and celebrated Christmas with pomp at least sufficient to give an appearance of popularity to his resumption of

Eugenius
recovers
Rome.

A.D. 1145-
1146.

^f Epist. 242, 243. Gregorovius dates these letters later.—iv. p. 474.

^g In the few fragments of the historians we trace the influence, but little

of the personal history of Arnold. We know not whether he remained in Rome during the short triumph of Eugenius.

authority ; he was attended by some of the nobles, and all the clergy.

But without the walls of Rome, at the head of a hostile army, the Pope was an object of awe ; within the city with only his Roman partisans, he was powerless. He might compel Rome to abandon her republican constitution, he could not her hatred of Tivoli. Under this black standard rallied all her adversaries : only on the condition of his treachery to Tivoli, which had befriended him in his hour of necessity, would

Rome continue to obey him. Eugenius left the city in disgust ; he retired first to Viterbo, then to Sienna ; eventually, after the delay of a year, beyond the Alps.^b Arnold and Arnold's republic resumed uncontested possession of the capital of Christendom.

Eugenius
flies.
March 23,
1146.

Beyond the Alps the Cistercian Pontiff sank into the satellite of the great Cistercian ruler of Christendom. The Pope maintained the state, the authority was with St. Bernard. Three subjects, before the arrival of Eugenius in France, had occupied the indefatigable thoughts of Bernard. The two first display his all-grasping command of the mind of Christendom ; but it was the last which so completely absorbed his soul, that succours to the Pope struggling against his rebellious subjects, the sovereignty of Rome, might seem beneath his regard.

In France.

The Abbot of Clairvaux was involved in a disputed election to the Archbishopric of York. The narrow corporate spirit of his order betrayed him into great and crying injustice to William, the elected prelate of that See. The rival of the English-

Bernard and
William of
York.

^b He was at Vercelli, March 3, 1147 ; at Clugny, 26 : at Dijon, 30.

man, Henry Murdach, once a Cluniac, was a Cistercian; and Bernard scruples not to heap on one of the most pious of men accusations of ambition, of worse than ambition: to condemn him to everlasting perdition.ⁱ The obsequious Pope, no doubt under the same party influence, or quailing under the admonitions of Bernard, which rise into menace, issued his sentence of deposition against William. England, true to that independence which she had still asserted under her Norman sovereigns, refused obedience. King Stephen even prohibited his bishops from attending the Pope's summons to a Council at Rheims; the Archbishop of Canterbury was obliged to cross the sea clandestinely in a small boat.^k William eventually triumphed over all opposition, obtained peaceable possession of the see, died in the odour of sanctity, and has his place in the sacred calendar.

Bernard had detected new heresies in the church of France. Gilbert de la Porée, the aged Bishop of Poitiers, was charged with heterodox con-^{Gilbert de la Porée.} ceptions of the divine nature.^m This controversy wearied out two Councils; bewildered by the meta-

ⁱ Epist. 241. "Sæviti frustrata ambitio: imo desperata furit. . . . Clamat contra eorum capita sanguis sanctorum de terrâ."

^k "St. William showed no enmity, sought no revenge against his most inveterate enemies, who had prepos- sessed Eugenius III. against him by the blackest calumnies."—Butler, Lives of Saints. June 8th. S. William. Was Bernard imposed upon, or the author of these calumnies? It is a dark page in his life

^m Otho cf Freisingen, however,

ascribes two other tenets to Gilbert, one denying all human merit; the other, a peculiar opinion on baptism. "Quod meritum humanum attenu- ando, nullum mereri diceret præter Christum." He appeared too to deny that any one was really baptised, except those who were to be saved.—Otho Freisingen, i. 50. M. Haureau (Phi- losophie Scolastique) has a much higher opinion of Gilbert de la Porée as an original thinker than the historians of philosophy previous to him.—vol. i c. xviii.

physical subtleties they came to no conclusion. It was, in fact, in its main article a mere dialectic dispute, bearing on the point whether the divine nature was God. It was Nominalism and Realism in another form. But the close of this contest demands attention. The Bishop of Poitiers, instead of shrinking from his own words, in a discussion before the Pope, who was now at Paris, exclaimed:—"Write them down with a pen of adamant!" Notwithstanding this, under the influence and direction of Bernard four articles were drawn and ratified by the Synod. The Pope himself, worn out, acknowledged that the controversy was beyond his understanding. These articles were the direct converse to those of Gilbert of Poitiers. They declared the divine nature to be God, and God the divine nature. But Rome heard with indignation that the Church of France had presumed to enact articles of faith. The Cardinals published a strong remonstrance impeaching the Pope of presumption; of abandoning the voice of his legitimate counsellors, who had promoted him to the Papacy; and yielding to the sway of private, of more recent friendship.ⁿ "It is not for thee alone, but for us with thee to frame articles of faith. Is this good Abbot to presume to dictate to Christendom? The Eastern churches would not have dared to do this." The Pope endeavoured to soothe them by language almost apologetic; they allowed themselves at length to be appeased by his modest words, but on condition

ⁿ The Bishop Otho of Freisingen writes thus of Bernard: "Erat autem prædictus Abbas, tam ex Christianæ religionis fervore zelotypus, quam ex habituali mansuetudine quodammodo credulus, ut et magistros, qui humanis

rationibus, sæculari sapientiæ confisi, nimium inhærebant, abhorreret, et si quidquam ei Christianæ fidei absonum de talibus diceretur facile aurem præberet."—*De Rebus Freder. I.*, i. 47.

that no symbol of faith should be promulgated without the authority of the Roman court, the College of Cardinals.

These, however, were trivial and unimportant considerations. Before and during the agitation of these contests, the whole soul of Bernard ^{Crusade.} was absorbed in a greater object: he aspired to be a second Peter the Hermit, the preacher of a new crusade. The fall of Edessa, and other tidings of defeat and disaster, had awakened the slumbering ardour of Europe. The kingdom of Jerusalem trembled for its security. Peter himself was not more active or more successful in traversing Europe, and wakening the passionate valour of all orders, than Bernard. In the cities of Germany, of Burgundy, of Flanders, of France, the pulpits were open to him; he preached in the market-places and highways. Nor did he depend upon human eloquence alone; according to his wandering followers, eye-witnesses as they declared themselves, the mission of Bernard was attested by miracles, at least as frequent and surprising as all those of the Saviour, recorded in the New Testament. They, no doubt, imagined that they believed them, and no one hesitated to believe their report. In sermons, in speeches, in letters, by public addresses, and by his private influence, Bernard wrought up Latin Christendom to a second access of frenzy equal to the first.* The Pope, Eugenius III., probably at his instigation, addressed an animated epistle to Western Christendom. He promised the same privileges offered by his predecessor Urban, the remission of all sins, the protection of the crusaders' estates and families, during their absence in the Holy

* Epist. to the Pope Eugenius, 256; to the Bishop of Spures, 322.

Land, under the tutelage of the Church ; and he warned them against profane luxury in their arms and accoutrements ; against hawks and hounds, while engaged in that hallowed warfare. Bernard preached a sermon to the Knights Templars, now in the dawn of their valour and glory. The Korân is tame to this fierce hymn of battle. "The Christian who slays the unbeliever in the Holy War is sure of his reward, more sure if he is slain. The Christian glories in the death of the Pagan, because Christ is glorified : by his own death both he himself and Christ are still more glorified."

*Easter, 1146.
Vezelay.*

Bernard at the Council of Vezelay wrought no less wonderful effects than Pope Urban at Clermont. Eugenius alone, who had not yet crossed, or had hardly crossed the Alps, was wanting at that august assembly, but in a letter he had declared that nothing but the disturbances at Rome prevented him from following the example of his predecessor Urban. A greater than the Pope was there. The Castle of Vezelay could not contain the multitudes who thronged to hear the fervid eloquence of Bernard. The preacher, with the King of France, Louis VII. by his side, who wore the cross conspicuously on his dress, ascended a platform of wood. At the close of his harangue the whole assembly broke out in tumultuous cries, "The Cross, the Cross !" They crowded to the stage to receive the holy badge ; the preacher was obliged to scatter it among them, rather than deliver it to each. The stock at hand was soon exhausted. Bernard tore up his own dress to satisfy the eager claimants. For the first time, the two greatest sovereigns in Christendom, the Emperor and the King of France, embarked in the cause. Louis had appeared at Vezelay, he was taking measures for the campaign. But Conrad shrank from the perilous enterprise ; the

affairs of Germany demanded the unintermitting care of her sovereign. Bernard watched his opportunity. At a great Diet at Spires, at Christmas, after the reconciliation of some of the rebellious ^{Spires.} princes with the Empire, he urged both the Emperor and the princes, in a long and ardent sermon, to testify to their Christian concord by taking the Cross together. Three days after, at Ratisbon, he had a private interview with the Emperor. Conrad still wavered, promised to consult his nobles, and to give an answer on the following day. On that day, after the mass, Bernard ascended the pulpit. At the close of his sermon, he turned to the Emperor, and after a terrific description of the terrors of the Last Day, he summoned him to think of the great gifts, for which he would have to give account at that awful Advent of the Lord. The Emperor and the whole audience melted into tears; he declared himself ready to take the Cross; he was at once invested with the irrevocable sign of dedication to the holy warfare; many of his nobles followed his example. Bernard, for all was prepared, took the consecrated banner from the altar, and delivered it into the hands of Conrad. Three bishops, Henry of Ratisbon, Otho of Freisingen, Reginbert of Padua, took the Cross. Such a multitude of thieves and robbers crowded to the sacred standard, that no one could refuse to see the hand of God.^p Nowhere would even kings proceed without the special benediction of Bernard. At Etampes, and at St. Denys in the next year, he appeared among the assembled crusaders of France. The Pope Eugenius was now in France; the King at St. Denys prostrated himself before the feet of his Holiness

^p Otho Freisingen, i. 46.

and of Bernard; they opened a box of golden crucifixes; they led him to the altar and bestowed on him the consecrated banner, the pilgrim's wallet and staff. At another meeting at Chartres, Bernard, so great was the confidence in his more than human powers, was entreated himself to take the command of the crusade. But he wisely remembered the fate of Peter's followers, and exhorted the warriors to place themselves under the command of some experienced general.

But there was a miracle of Christian love, as far surpassing in its undoubted veracity as in its evangelic beauty all which legend gathered around the preaching pilgrimage of Bernard. The crusade began; a wild monk named Rodolph raised the terrible cry against the Jews, which was even more greedily than before heard by the populace of the great cities, and by the armed soldiers. In Cologne, Mentz, Spire, Worms, Strasburg, a massacre the most frightful and remorseless broke out. Bernard arose in all his power and authority. He condemned the unchristian act in his strongest language. "God had punished the Jews by their dispersion, it was not for man to punish them by murder." Bernard himself confronted the furious Rodolph at Mentz, and commanded him to retire to his convent; but it required all the sanctity and all the eloquence of Bernard to control the furious populace, now drunk with blood and glutted with pillage.^a Among the most melancholy reflections, it is not the least sad that the gentle Abbot of Clugny, Peter

^a Otho Freisingen, i. 37, 8. It is curious that the two modern biographers of S. Bernard, Neander and M. de Ratisbonne, were once Jews. Their works are labours of gratitude as well as of love.

the Venerable, still to be opposed to Bernard, took the side of blind fanaticism.

Of all these holy wars, none had been announced with greater ostentation, of none had it been more boldly averred that it was of divine inspiration, the work of God; of none had the hopes, the prophecies of success been more confident; none had been conducted with so much preparation and pomp; none had as yet been headed by kings—none ended in such total and deplorable disaster.^r So vast had been the movement, so completely had the West been drained to form the army of the Cross, that not merely had all war come to an end, but it was almost a crime, writes the warlike Bishop of Freisingen, to be seen in arms. “The cities and the castles are empty,” writes Bernard, “there is hardly one man to seven women.” What was the close? At least thirty thousand lives were sacrificed and there was not even the consolation of one glorious deed achieved. The Emperor, the King of France, returned to their dominions, the ignominious survivors of their gallant hosts! But would the general and bitter disappointment of Christendom, the widowed and orphaned houses, the families, scarcely one of which had not to deplore their head, their pride, their hope, or their stay, still respect the author of these calamities? Was this the event of which Bernard had been the preacher, the prophet? Were all his miracles wrought only to plunge Christendom in shame and misery? There was a deep and sullen murmur against Bernard, and Bernard him-

^r The anonymous author of the *Annales Herbipolenses* (Annals of Wurtzburg), evidently a monk, is a rare instance of an opponent of the Crusades, of their folly, of the worldly motives of most who assumed the cross. There is much curious matter in this chronicle about the proceedings of Conrad at Constantinople.—*Apud Pertz. Monumenta Germ. v. xvi.*

self was prostrated for a time in profound depression. But this disappointment found its usual consolation. Bernard still declared that he had spoken with the authority of the Pope, with the authority of God.^s The first cause of failure was the perfidy of the Greeks. The Bishop of Langres had boldly advised the measure which was accomplished by a later crusade, the seizure of Constantinople; and with still more fervent hatred and contempt for the Greeks, whom they overwhelmed, starved, insulted on the passage through their dominions, the crusaders complained of their inhospitality, of the unchristian lukewarmness of their friendship. But the chief blame of their disasters was thrown back on the crusaders themselves; on the licence and unchastity of their camp. God would not be served by soldiers guilty of such sins; sins which human prudence might have anticipated as the inevitable consequence of discharging upon a distant land undisciplined and uncontrolled hordes, all the ruffians and robbers of Europe, whose only penance was to be the slaughter of unbelievers.^t The Pope wrote a letter of consolation, cold consolation, to the Emperor Conrad; the admirers of Bernard excuse him by condemning themselves. But the boldest tone of consolation was taken by a monk named John. Not only did he assure Bernard that he knew from Heaven that many who had died in the Holy Land died with joy because they were prevented from returning to the wicked world, but in private confession

^s "Diximus pax et non est pax: promissimus bona et ecce turbatio . . . Cucurrimus planè in eo non quasi in incertum, sed te jubente et imò per te Deo."—See the whole passage, *De Consider.* ii. 1.

^t "Quamvis si dicamus sanctum illum Abbatem spiritu Dei ad excitandos nos afflatum fuisse, sed nos ob superbiam, lasciviamque nostram . . . merito rerum personarumque dispendium deportasse," &c.—*Otho Freising.* i. 60.

he averred that the patron saints of his monastery, St. Peter and St. John, had appeared and submitted to be interrogated on this mournful subject. The Apostles declared that the places of many of the fallen angels had been filled up by the Christian warriors who had died for the Cross in the Holy Land. The Apostles had likewise a fervent desire for the presence of the holy Bernard among them.^u

Only a few years elapsed before Bernard, according to the general judgement of Christendom, fulfilled the vision of the monk, and departed to the society of Saints, Apostles, and Angels.

A.D. 1153.

The Saint, the Philosopher, the Demagogue of the century have passed before us (the end of the last is to come): it may be well to contemplate also the high ecclesiastical statesman. Suger, Abbot of St. Denys, has been sometimes represented as the unambitious Richelieu, the more honest Mazarin of his age.

Suger of
St. Denys.

But Suger was the Minister of Kings of France, whose realm in his youth hardly reached beyond four or five modern departments; whose power was so limited that the road between Paris and Orleans, their two great cities, was commanded by the castle of a rebellious noble.^x But though the fame of Suger be unwisely elevated by such comparisons, the historic facts remain, that during the reigns of the two Kings, Louis the Fat and Louis the Young, of whom Suger was the chief counsellor, order was restored, royal authority became more than a name, the great vassals of the crown were brought into something more nearly approaching to subordination. If France became France, and from the Meuse to the Pyrenees some respect and

^u Bernardi Opera, Epist. 333.

^x Sismondi, Hist. des Français, v. pp. 7-20.

homage belonged to the King; if some cities obtained charters of freedom; however the characters of the Kings and the circumstances of the times may have had greater actual influence than the administration of Suger, yet much must have been due to his wisdom and firmness.

Suger was born of obscure parentage at St. Omer, in 1081. He was received at fifteen in the His birth. Abbey of St. Denys. He became the companion of the King's son, educated at that abbey. In 1098 he went to finish his studies at St. Florent, in Saumur. He returned to St. Denys about the age of twenty-two.

In the wars of Louis, first named the Watchful,^y an Education and early life. appellation ill-exchanged for that of the Fat, the young monk of St. Denys scrupled not to wield a lance and to head the soldiers of the Abbey; for the King's domains and those of the Abbey of St. Denys, as annoyed by common enemies, were bound in close alliance, and were nearly of the same extent; the soldiers of St. Denys formed a large contingent in the royal army. The Abbot relates, not without some proud reminiscences, how, while yet a monk, he broke gallantly through the marauding hosts of Hugh de Poinset, and threw himself into Theury; he describes the joy "of our men" at his unexpected appearance, which encouraged A.D. 1112. them to a desperate rally, and saved Theury, a post of the utmost importance, for the King.

Suger became the ambassador of the two great powers, the King and the Abbot of St. Denys, to the Court of Rome. He was sent to welcome Pope Gelasius, when, after the death of Paschal, he fled to France. Yet he

could not lament the death of Gelasius: the prudent Suger did not wish to commit France in a quarrel with the Romans.* Suger hailed the elevation of the half-French Pope, Calixtus II. He went on the King's affairs to Rome; and followed Calixtus into Apulia. On his return he had a remarkable and prophetic vision, and woke to the reality. On the death of Abbot Adam he had been chosen to the high place of Abbot ^{Suger abbot.} of St. Denys. But the churchman and the courtier were committed in dire perplexity within him. The election had taken place without the King's permission. Louis, in fury, had committed the monks and knights of the Abbey to prison at Orleans. Should he brave the King's wrath, throw himself on the power of the Pope, and compel the King to submission? or was he tamely to surrender the rights of the ^{A.D. 1123.} Church? Louis, however, he found to his delight, had, after some thought, approved his election.

From that time Suger became the first counsellor, if not the minister of the king. The Abbey of St. Denys was the centre of the affairs of France. The restless, all-watchful piety of St. Bernard took alarm at this secularisation of the holy foundation of St. Denys. He wrote a long, lofty rebuke to the abbot; he reproved ^{St. Bernard.} his temporal pomp, his temporal business.

“The abbey was thronged, not with holy recluses in continual prayer within the chapel, or on their knees within their narrow cells, but with mailed knights; even arms were seen within the hallowed walls. If that which was of Cæsar was given to Cæsar, that of God was not given to God.” Suger himself had never thrown off the

* Les Nôtres. Suger, Vie de Louis le Gros, in Guizot's Mémoires. Siege of Theury. “Il avait ainsi, en quittant la vie, épargné une querelle aux Français et aux Romains.”—Ibid

severe monk ; the king's minister lodged in a close cell, ten feet by fifteen ; he performed with punctilious austeri-ty all the outward duties, he indulged in all the minute self-tortures of his cloister. Throughout the rest of the reign of Louis the Fat, and the commencement of that of Louis the Young, during which the kingly power was gradually growing up in strength and authority, Suger ruled in the king's councils. When the irresistible eloquence of St. Bernard* swept Louis the Young, with the rest of Europe, to the Holy Land, Suger alone had the courage to oppose the abandonment of the royal duties in this wild enterprise : he opposed in vain. Yet by the unanimous voice Suger

From 1147
to 1149. remained for two years chief of the regency ; the Archbishop of Rouen and the Count of Vermandois held but a secondary authority. On the return of the king, the regent abbot could appeal in honest pride to his master, whether he had not maintained the realm in unwonted peace (the more turbulent barons had no doubt accompanied the king to the Holy Land), supplied him with ample means in money, in warlike stores, in men ; his palaces and domains were in admirable state. The Regent yielded up his trust, the kingdom of France, in a better state than it had been during the reign of the Capets. Suger the statesman had endeavoured to dissuade the king from the crusade, but from no want of profound religious zeal. In his old age, at seventy years, the Abbot of St. Denys himself proposed to embark on a crusade : he would consecrate all his own wealth ; he would persuade the bishops to devote their ample revenues to this holy cause ; and thus the Church might conquer Jerusalem without

* Read the whole of the 78th epistle.—Bernardi Opera.

loss or damage to the realm of France. Death cut short his holy design ; he died the year before St. Bernard, who notwithstanding his rebuke, and the opposition to his views on the Holy Land, admired and loved the Abbot of St. Denys. It may be some further homage to the high qualities of Abbot Suger (without exalting him beyond the narrow sphere in which he moved), that after his death begins the feeble and inglorious part of the reign of Louis VII.—Louis himself sinks into a slave of superstition. Suger was an historian as well as a statesman ; but he administered better than he wrote ; though not without some graphic powers, his history is somewhat pompous, but without dignity ; it has many of the monkish failings without their occasional beauty and simplicity.^b

^b See throughout Suger, Vit. Louis Gr., and the Life of Suger, in Latin in *Bcuquet*, in French in Guizot's *Collection des Mémoires*

CHAPTER VII.

Hadrian IV.—Frederick Barbarossa.

In the same year with Bernard died the friend of Bernard, the Cistercian Pope, Eugenius III. He had returned to Italy after the departure of the crusade.

Nov. 30, 1148. He took up his abode, not at Rome, but
April 8, 1149. at first at Viterbo, afterwards at Tusculum.

There was a period of hostility, probably of open war, with the republic at Rome. But the temper or the policy of Eugenius led him to milder measures. The

Nov. 23, 1149. republic disclaimed not the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, and Eugenius scrupled not to enter the city only as its bishop, not as its Lord. The

first time he remained not long, and retired into Campania;^a the second time, the year before his death, the

Dec. 9, 1152. skilful and well-timed use of means more becoming the Head of Christendom than arms

and excommunications, wrought wonders in his favour; by his gentleness, his lavish generosity, his magnificence (he built a palace near St. Peter's, another at Segni), and his charity, he was slowly supplanting the senate in

the popular attachment; the fierce and intractable

Sept. 7, 1152. people were yielding to this gentler influence.

Arnold of Brescia found his power gradually wasting away from the silent counter-working of the clergy, from the fickleness, perhaps the reasonable dis-

^a He was at Alba, June; at Segni, Segni.—Cardin. Arragon. in Vit. He is October (?) Ferentino, November, December, part of 1152. Then again at also said to have recovered some parts of the papal domains. From whom?

appointment of the people, who yearned again for the glory and the advantage of being the religious capital of the world—the centre of pilgrimage, of curiosity, of traffic, of business, from all parts of the world. The Archbishops of Cologne and Mentz came in all their pomp and extravagance of expenditure to Rome; for the first time they were sent back with their treasures.^b Eugenius, in the spirit of an ancient Roman, or a true Cistercian, refused their magnificent offerings, or rather their bribes. It may be questioned whether the republicans of Rome were the most sincere admirers of this unwonted contempt of riches shown by the Pope. The death of Eugenius alone preserved the republic from an earlier but less violent fate than it suffered at last.^c He died at Tivoli, but his remains were received July 7, 1153. in Rome with the utmost respect, and buried in Death of Eugenius. the Vatican. The fame of miraculous cures around his tomb showed how strong the Pope still remained in the affections and reverence of the common people.

The republic, true to its principles, did not, like the turbulent Roman nobles, or the heads of factions in the former century, interfere, either by force or intrigue, in the election of the Popes. The cardinals quietly raised Conrad, Bishop of Sabina, a Roman by birth, to the pontifical chair with the name Dec. 2, 1154. of Anastasius IV. On the death of Anastasius, after, it should seem, a peaceful rule of one year and five months, the only Englishman who ever Hadrian IV. filled the papal chair was raised to the supremacy over Christendom. Dec. 4, 1154.

^b "Nova res. Quando hactenus aurum Roma refudit?"—Bernard. de Consid. iii. 3.

^c "Et nisi esset mors æmula, quæ

illum cito de medio rapuit, senatores noviter procreatos populi adminiculo usurpatâ dignitate privasset."—Romuald. Salern. in Chron.

Nicolas Breakspeare, born, according to one account, at St. Alban's,^d wandered forth from his country in search of learning; he was received into a monastery at Arles; became a brother, prior, abbot. He went to Rome on the affairs of his community, and so won the favour of the Pope Eugenius that he was detained in his court, was raised to the cardinalate, undertook a mission as legate to Norway,^e and, something in the character of the old English apostles of Germany, confirmed that hard-won kingdom in its allegiance to the see of Rome. Nicolas Breakspeare was a man of exemplary morals, high fame for learning, and great eloquence: and now the poor English scholar, homeless, except in the home which he found in the hospitable convent; friendless, except among the friends which he has made by his abilities, his virtues, and his piety; with no birth or connexions to advance his claims; is become the Head of Christendom—the Lord of Rome, which surrenders her liberties before his feet—the Pontiff from whose hands the mightiest and proudest Emperor is glad to receive his crown! What pride, what hopes, might such a promotion awaken in the lowest of the sacerdotal order throughout Christendom! In remote England not a youthful scholar but may have had visions of pontifical grandeur! This had been at all times wonderful, how much more so in the age of feudalism, in which the pride of birth was paramount!

^d Cardinal Arragon in Vitâ. He was Bishop of Alba. Perhaps the notion of his birth at St. Alban's arose from his being called Albanus.

^e Norway was slowly converted, not by preachers or bishops, but by her kings; by Harold the Fair-haired, Hacon Athelstan, Olaf Trigvesen—Saint Ola?—not with apostolic persua-

sion, but with the Mohammedan proselytism of the sword. And a strange, wild Christianity it was, worthy of its origin; but it softened down by degrees into Christianity.—See Bishop Münter, Einführung des Christenthums in Dänemark und Norwegen, latter part of vol. i.

Nor did Hadrian IV. yield to any of his loftiest predecessors in his assertion of the papal dignity; he was surpassed by few in the boldness and courage with which he maintained it. The views of unlimited power which opened before the new pontiff appear most manifestly in his grant of Ireland to Henry II. of England. English pride might mingle with sacerdotal ambition in this boon of a new kingdom to his native sovereign. The language of the grant developed principles as yet unheard in Christendom. The Popes had assumed the feudal sovereignty of Naples and Sicily, as in some vague way the successors to the power of Imperial Rome. But Hadrian declared that Ireland and all islands converted to Christianity belonged to the special jurisdiction of St. Peter.^f He assumed the right of sanctioning the invasion, on the ground of its advancing civilisation and propagating a purer faith among the barbarous and ignorant people. The tribute of Peter's pence from the conquered island was to be the reward of the Pope's munificence in granting the island to the English, and his recognition of Henry's sovereignty. The prophetic ambition of Hadrian might seem to have anticipated the time, when on such principles the Popes should assume the power of granting away new worlds.

Grant of
Ireland.
A.D. 1155.

But Hadrian had first to bring rebellious Rome under his sway. The mild measures of Pope Eugenius had undermined the power of Arnold of Brescia. Hadrian had the courage to confront him with open hostility. He vouchsafed no answer to the haughty demands of

^f "Sanè Hiberniam et omnes insulas, quibus Sol justitiæ Christus illuxit, et quæ documenta fidei Christianæ receperunt, ad jus B. Petri et sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, quod tua

etiam nobilitas recognoscit, non est dubium pertinere."—Rymer, *Fœdera*, i. 19; Wilkins, *Concil.* i. 426; Radulphus de Diceto.

the republic to recognise its authority; he pronounced sentence of banishment from the city against Arnold himself. Arnold denied the power of the Pope to issue such sentence. But an opportunity soon occurred in which Hadrian, without exceeding his spiritual power, bowed the whole rebellious people under his feet. The Cardinal of San Pudenziana, on his way to the Pope, who was in the palace raised on the Vatican by Eugenius III., encountered a tumult of the populace, and received a mortal wound. Hadrian instantly placed the whole city under an interdict. Rome for the first time was deprived of all its religious ceremonies. No procession moved through the silent streets; the people thronged around the closed doors of the churches; the clergy, their functions entirely suspended, had nothing to do but to inflame the minds of the populace. Easter was drawing on; no mass could atone for, no absolution release them from their sins. Religion triumphed over liberty. The clergy and the people compelled the senate to yield. Hadrian would admit of no lower terms than the abrogation of the republican institutions; the banishment of Arnold and his adherents. The republic was at an end, Arnold an exile; the Pope again master in Rome.

But all this time great events were passing in the north of Italy; events which, however in some respects menacing to Pope Hadrian, might encourage him in his inflexible hostility to the republicans of Rome.^g On the death of Conrad, Germany with one consent had

^g Compare the curious account given by John of Salisbury of conversations with Pope Hadrian, with whom, on account probably of his English connexions, he may have been on intimate terms. The condition of the Pope is

placed the crown on the head of the great Hohenstaufen prince, his nephew, Frederick Barbarossa. If the Papacy under Hadrian had resumed all its haughty authority, the Empire was wielded with a terrible force, which it had hardly ever displayed before. Frederick was a prince of intrepid valour, consummate prudence, unmeasured ambition, justice which hardened into severity, the ferocity of a barbarian somewhat tempered with a high chivalrous gallantry; above all with a strength of character which subjugated alike the great temporal and ecclesiastical princes of Germany; and was prepared to assert the imperial rights in Italy to the utmost. Of the constitutional rights of the Emperor, of his unlimited supremacy, his absolute independence of, his temporal superiority over, all other powers, even that of the Pope, Frederick proclaimed the loftiest notions. He was to the Empire what Hildebrand and Innocent were to the popedom. His power was of God alone; to assert that it is bestowed by the successor of St. Peter was a lie, and directly contrary to the doctrine of St. Peter.^h

In the autumn of the year of Hadrian's accession

most laborious, is most miserable. "Si enim avaritiæ servit, mors ei est. Sin autem, non effugiet manus et linguas Romanorum. Nisi enim noscat unde obstruat eorum ora manusque cohibeat, ad flagitia et sacrilegia perferenda omnes oculos duret et animam . . . nisi servirent, aut ex-Pontificem, aut ex-Romanum esse necesse est."—Polycratic L. viii. p. 324 and 366, edit. Giles.

^h "Quum per electionem principum a solo Deo regnum et imperium nostrum sit, qui in passione Christi filii

sui duobus gladiis necessariis regendum orbem subjecit, quumque Petrus Apostolus hæc doctrinâ mundum informaverit: Deum timete, regem honorificate; quicumque nos imperialem coronam pro beneficio a domino Papa suscepisse dixerit, divinæ institutioni et doctrinæ Petri contrarius est et mendacii reus est."—Otho Freisingen, apud Muratori, vi. 709. Compare Eichhorn on the Constitution of the Empire, from the Swabische Spiegel, and the Sachsische Spiegel, ii. pp. 364. *et seq.*

Frederick descended the Alps by the valley of the Trent. Never had a more imposing might assembled around any of his predecessors than around Frederick on the plains of Roncaglia. He came to receive the iron crown of Italy from the Lombards, the imperial crown from the Pope at Rome. He had summoned all the feudatories of the Empire, all the feudatories of Italy, to his banner, declaring himself determined to enforce the forfeiture of their fiefs if they refused to obey. The Bishops of Crema and of Halberstadt were deprived, as contumacious, for their lives, of their temporalities.ⁱ The great prelates of Germany, instead of fomenting disturbances in the Empire, were in the army of Frederick. The Archbishops of Cologne and Mentz were at the head of their vassals. The Lombard cities, most of which had now become republics, hastened to send their deputies to acknowledge their fealty. The Marquis of Montferrat appeared, it is said, the only ruling prince in the north of Italy. Pavia, Genoa, Lodi, Crema, vied in their loyalty; even haughty Milan, which had trampled under foot Frederick's mandate commanding peace with Lodi, sent her consuls.^k The Duke Guelf of Bavaria, under the protection of the Emperor, took quiet possession of the domains of the Countess Matilda;^m it was no time for the Pope even to enter a protest. Frederick appeared with the iron crown in the Church of St. Michael at Pavia.ⁿ There was just resistance enough to show the terrible power, the inflexible determination of Frederick. At the persuasion of faithful Pavia, Frederick laid siege to

ⁱ Muratori, Ann. d' Italia sub ann.

^k Von Raumer, p. 18; Geschichte der Hohenstaufen, viii. 8.

^m Frederick's first descent into

Italy is fully and clearly related by Von Raumer.

ⁿ April 17, 1155. Muratori, sub

ann.

Tortona: notwithstanding the bravest resistance, the city fell through famine and thirst.^o Frederick now directed his march to the south.

Hadrian had watched all the movements of Frederick with jealous apprehension. The haughty King had not yet declared his disposition towards the Church; nor was it known with certainty whether he would take part with the people of Rome or with their Pontiff.

Hadrian was at Viterbo with the leaders of ^{June 1, 1155.} his party, the Frangipani, and Peter the prefect of the city. He sent forward an embassy of three cardinals, S. John and S. Paul, S. Pudenziana, S. Maria in Portico, who met Frederick at San Quirico. Among the first articles which the Pope enforced on the Emperor as the price of his coronation was the surrender of Arnold^d of Brescia into his hands. The Emperor and the Pope were united by the bonds of common interest and common dread and hatred of republicanism. Hadrian wanted the aid of Frederick to suppress the still powerful and now rallying faction in Rome. Frederick received the Imperial crown from the hands of the Pope to ratify his unlimited sovereignty over the contumacious cities of Lombardy. Arnold of Brescia had struck boldly at both powers; he utterly annulled the temporal supremacy of the Pope; and if he acknowledged, reduced the sovereignty of the Emperor to a barren title.^p To a man so merciless and contemptuous of ^{Seizure and execution of} human life as Barbarossa, the sacrifice of a ^{Arnold.} turbulent demagogue, guilty of treason alike to the temporal and spiritual power, was a light thing indeed.

^o Gunther, iii.; Otho Freisingen, ii. 20.

^p " Nil juris in hac re Pontifici summo, *modicum* concedere regi Snadebat populo: sic læsâ stuitus utrâque Mæstetate, reum geminæ se præbuit anisæ."

Gunther, iii. 393.

Arnold had fled from Rome, doubtful and irresolute as to his future course; his splendid dreams had vanished, the faithless soil had crumbled under his feet. In Otricoli he had met Gerhard, Cardinal of St. Nicolas, who took him prisoner. He had been rescued by some one of the viscounts of Campania, his partisans, perhaps nobles, who held papal estates by grants from the republic. By them he was honoured as a prophet.⁹ Frederick sent his officers, who seized one of these Campanian nobles and compelled the surrender of Arnold: he was carried to Rome, committed to the custody of Peter, prefect of the city, who held for the Pope the castle of St. Angelo. No time was to be lost. He had been, even till within a short time, an object of passionate attachment to the people; there might be an insurrection of the people for his rescue. If he were reserved for the arrival of Frederick at Rome, what change might be wrought by his eloquence before the Imperial tribunal, by the offers of his republican friends, by the uncertain policy of Frederick, who might then consider the demagogue an useful control upon the Pope! The Church took upon itself the summary condemnation, the execution, of the excommunicated rebel. The execution was despatched with such haste, perhaps secrecy, that even at the time various rumours as to the mode and place of punishment were spread abroad. In one point alone all are agreed, that Arnold's ashes, lest the foolish people should worship the martyr of their liberties, were cast into the Tiber.^r The Church had

⁹ "Tanquam prophetam in terrâ suâ cum omni honore habebant."—Acta Hadriani in Cod. Vaticano apud Baronium.

• Sismondi, whom Von Raumer has

servilely followed, gives a dramatic description of the execution before the Porta del Popolo; of Arnold looking down all the three streets which converge from that gate; of the sleeping

been wont to call in the temporal sword to shed the blood of man: the capital punishment of Arnold was, by the judgement of the clergy, executed by the officer of the Pope; even some devout churchmen shuddered when they could not deny that the blood of Arnold of Brescia was on the Church.

The sacrifice of human life had been offered; but the treaty which it was to seal between the Emperor and the Pope was delayed by mutual suspicion. Their embassies had led to misunderstanding and jealousy. Hadrian was alarmed at the haughty tone, the hasty movements of Frederick; he could not be ignorant that at the news of his advance to Rome the republicans had rallied and sent proposals to the Emperor; he could not but conjecture the daring nature of those propositions. He would not trust himself in the power of Frederick; as the German advanced towards Rome

people awakened by the tumult of the execution, and the glare of the flames from the pile on which his remains were burned, rising too late to the rescue, and gathering the ashes as relics. All this is pure fiction: neither the Cardinal of Arragon, nor Otho of Freisingen, nor Gunther, nor the wretched verses of Godfrey of Viterbo, have one word of it. Gunther and Otho of Freisingen affix him to a cross, and burn him.

*"Judicio cleri nostro sub principe victus, Adpensusque cruci, flammâque cremante solutus
In cineres, Tiberine, tuas est sparsus in undas.
Ne stolidæ plebis, quem fecerat, improbus error,
Martyris ossa novo cineresve foveret honore."*—*Gunther.*

Anselm of Gemblours and Godfrey of Viterbo say that he was hanged. Gunther may mean by his crux a sim-

ple gallows: "Strangulat hunc laqueus, ignis et unda vehunt." But the most remarkable account is that of Gerohus de Investigatione Antichristi (on Gerohus see Fabricius, Bibliotheca Lat. Med. Ætat. iii. p. 47): "Arnoldus pro doctrinâ suâ non solum ab ecclesiâ Dei anathematis mucrone separatus in super etiam suspendio neci traditus atque in Tyberim projectus est, ne videlicet Romanus populus, quem suâ doctrinâ illexerat, sibi eum martyrem dedicaret. Quem ego vellem pro tali doctrinâ suâ, quamvis pravâ, vel exilio, vel carcere, aut aliâ pœnâ præter mortem punitum esse, vel saltem taliter occisum, ut Romana Ecclesia, seu curia ejus necis quæstione careret." The whole remarkable passage in Franke Arnold von Brescia, p. 193, and Nicolini's Notes, p. 375.

Hadrian continued to retire. The deputation from the Roman republic encountered Barbarossa on the Roman side of Sutri. Their lofty language showed how deeply and completely they were intoxicated with the doctrines of Arnold of Brescia: they seemed fondly to hope that they should find in Frederick a more powerful Arnold; that by some scanty concessions of title and honour they should hardly yield up their independence upon the Empire and secure entirely their independence of the Pope.^s They congratulated Frederick on his arrival in the neighbourhood of Rome, if he came in peace, and with the intent to deliver them for ever from the degrading yoke of the clergy. They ascribed all the old Roman glory, the conquest of the world, to the senate of Rome, of whom they were the representatives; they intimated that it was condescension on their part to bestow the imperial crown on a Transalpine stranger—"that which is ours of right we grant to thee;" they commanded him to respect their ancient institutions and laws, to protect them against barbarian violence, to pay five thousand pounds of silver to their officers as a largess for their acclamations in the Capitol, to maintain the republic even by bloodshed, to confirm their privileges by a solemn oath and by the Imperial signature. Frederick suppressed for a time his kingly, contemptuous indignation. He condescended in a long harangue to relate the transference of the Roman Empire to Charlemagne and his descendants. At its close he turned fiercely round. "Look at my Teutonic nobles, my banded chivalry. These are the patricians, these are the true Romans: this is the senate invested in perpetual autho

^s Otho Freisingen, ii. 22. Gunther, iii. 450.

riety. To what laws do you presume to appeal but those which I shall be pleased to enact? Your only liberty is to render allegiance to your sovereign."

The crest-fallen republicans withdrew in brooding indignation and wounded pride to the city. It was now the turn of Hadrian to ascertain what reception he would meet with from the Emperor. From Nepi

June 9.

Hadrian rode to the camp of Frederick in the territory of Sutri. He was met with courteous respect by some of the German nobles, and escorted towards the royal tent. But he waited in vain for the Emperor to come forth and hold his stirrup as he alighted from his horse.[†] The affrighted cardinals turned back and did not rest till they reached Civita Castellana. The Pope remained with a few attendants and dismounted: then came forth Frederick, bowed to kiss his feet, and offered himself to receive the kiss of peace. The intrepid Pope refused to comply till the king should have shown every mark of respect usual from former emperors to his predecessors: he withdrew from before the tent. The dispute lasted the whole following day. Frederick at last allowed himself to be persuaded by the precedents alleged, and went to Nepi, where the Pope had pitched his camp. The Emperor dismounted, held the stirrup of Hadrian, and assisted him to alight.[‡] Their common interests soon led at least to outward amity.

The coronation of Frederick as Emperor by the Pope could not but give great weight to his title in the estimation of Christendom, and Hadrian's unruly subjects could only be controlled by the strong

June 11,
1155.

[†] Otho Freisingen, ii. 21. Helmold, i. 80.

[‡] "Imperator—descendit eo viso de equo, et officium stratoris implevit et

streugam ipsius tenuit, et tunc primo eum ad osculum dominus Papa recepit."

—Cod. Ceneii. Carn. apud Muratori. Antiquit., M. A. i. 117.

hand of the Emperor. By the advice of Hadrian

June 18.

Frederick made a rapid march, took possession of the Leonine city and the church of St.

Peter. The next day he was met on the steps of the

Coronation of
the Emperor.

church by the Pope, and received the crown from his hands amid the acclamations of the

army. The Romans on the other side of the Tiber were enraged beyond measure at their total exclusion from all assent or concern in the coronation. They had expected and demanded a great largess: they had not even been admitted as spectators of the pompous ceremony. They met in the Capitol, crossed the bridge, endeavoured to force their passage to St. Peter's, and slew a few of the miserable attendants whom they found on their way. But Frederick was too watchful a soldier to be surprised: the Germans met them, slew 1000, took 200 prisoners, whom he released on the interposition of the Pope.^x

But want of provisions compelled the Emperor to retire with the Pope to Tivoli; there, each in their apparel of state, the Pope celebrated mass and gave the holy Eucharist to the Emperor on St. Peter's day. The inhospitable climate began to make its usual ravages in the German army: Frederick, having achieved his object, after the capture and sacking of Spoleto, and some negotiations with the Byzantine ambassadors, retired beyond the Alps.^y

Hadrian was thus, if abandoned by the protecting

^x The Bishop is seized with a fit of martial enthusiasm, and expresses vividly the German contempt for the Romans. "Cerneret nostros tam immaniter quam audacter Romanos cædendo sternere, sternendæ cædere, ac si dicerent, accipe nunc Roma pro auro

Arabico Teutonicum ferrum. Hæc est pecunia quam tibi princeps tuus pro tuâ offert coronâ. Sic emitur a Francis Imperium."—Otho Freisingen, ii, 22.

^y He was in Verona early in Sept.—Von Raumer, Reg. p. 531.

power, relieved from the importunate presence of the Emperor. The rebellious spirit of Rome seemed to have been crushed; the temporal sovereignty restored to the Pope. He began to bestow kingdoms, and by such gifts to bind to his interests the old allies of the pontificate more immediately at hand²—allies, if his Roman subjects should break out into insurrection, though less powerful, more submissive than the Imperialists. Hadrian had at first maintained, he now abandoned, the cause of the barons of Apulia, who were in arms against the King of Sicily. His first act had been to excommunicate that king; now, at Benevento, William received from the hands of the Pope the investiture of the kingdom of Sicily, of the dukedom of Apulia, of the principalities of Capua, Naples, Salerno, and Amalfi, and some other territories. William bound himself to fealty to the Pope, to protect him against all his enemies, to pay a certain tribute annually for Apulia and Calabria, and for the March.

Hadrian's
alliance with
King of
Sicily.

June 9, 1156.

The Emperor Frederick had aspired to be as absolute over the whole of Italy as of Germany. Hadrian had even entered into an alliance with him against Sicily; the invasion of that kingdom had only been postponed on account of the state of the Imperial army and the necessary retirement of the Emperor beyond the Alps. In this Sicilian alliance Frederick saw at once treachery, ingratitude, hostility.^a It betrayed a leaning to Italian independence, the growth and confederation with Rome of a power inimical to his own. William of Sicily had overrun the whole kingdom of Apulia; it was again

² At San Germano (Oct. 1155) he had received the homage of Robert, Prince of Capua, and the other princes.

Cardin. Arragon. *loc. cit.*

^a Marangoni Chronic. Pisan. (Archivio Storico, vol. vi. p. 2), p. 16.

Italian : yet fully occupied by the affairs of Germany, the Emperor's only revenge was an absolute prohibition to all German ecclesiastics to journey to Rome, to receive the confirmation of their ecclesiastical dignities, or on any other affairs. This measure wounded the pride of Rome ; it did more, it impoverished her. It cut off a large part of that revenue which she drew from the whole of Christendom. The haughty jealousy betrayed by this arbitrary act was aggravated by a singular incident. Frederick was holding a Diet of more than usual magnificence at Besançon ; he was there asserting his sovereignty over another of the kingdoms of Charlemagne, that of Burgundy. From all parts of the world, from Rome, Apulia, Venice, Lombardy, France, England, and Spain, persons were assembled, either for curiosity or for traffic, to behold the pomp of the new Charlemagne, or to profit by the sumptuous expenditure of the Emperor and his superb magnates. The legates of the Pope, Roland the Chancellor Cardinal of St. Mark, and Bernard Cardinal of St. Clement, presented themselves ; they were received with courtesy. The letters which they produced were read and interpreted by the Chancellor of the Empire.

Even the opening address to the Emperor was heard with some astonishment. "The Pope and the cardinals of the Roman Church salute you ; he as a father, they as brothers." The imperious tone of the letter agreed with this beginning. It reproved the Emperor for his culpable negligence in not immediately punishing some of his subjects who had waylaid and imprisoned the Swedish Bishop of Lunden on his journey to Rome ; it reminded Frederick of his favourable reception by the Pope in Italy, and that the Pope had bestowed on him the Imperial crown. "The Pope had

Diet at
Besançon.
Oct. 24, 1157.

Conduct of
Papal legates.

not repented of his munificence nor would repent, even if he had bestowed greater favours." The ambiguous word used for favours, "beneficia," was taken in its feudal sense by the fierce and ignorant nobles. They supposed it meant that the Empire was held as a fief from the Pope. Those who had been at Rome remembered the arrogant lines which had been placed under the picture of the Emperor Lothair at the feet of the Pope, doing homage to him as his vassal.^b Indignant murmurs broke from the assembly; the strife was exasperated by the words of the dauntless Cardinal Roland, "Of whom, then, does he hold the Empire but of our Lord the Pope?" The Count Palatine, Otho of Wittlesbach, drew his sword to cut down the audacious ecclesiastic. The authority of Frederick with difficulty appeased the tumult, and saved the lives of the legates.

Frederick, in a public manifesto, appealed to the Empire against the insolent pretensions of the Pope.^c He accused Hadrian of wantonly stirring up hostility between the Church and the Empire. His address asserted (no doubt to bind the Transalpine clergy to his cause) that blank billets had been found on the legates empowering them to despoil the churches of the Empire and to carry away their treasures, even their sacred vessels and crosses, to Rome.^d He issued an edict pro-

^b "Rex venit ante fores, Jurans prius
urbis honores,
Post homo fit Papæ, sumit quo dante
coronam."

^c Radevic. i. 8, 10. Gunther, vi.
800. Concil. sub ann. 1157.

"Jam non ferre crucem domini, sed tra-
dere regna
Gaudet, et Augustus mavult quam
præsul haberi."—*Gunther*.

So taunted Frederick the ambition of

the Pope.

^d "Porro quia multa paria littera-
rum apud eos reperta sunt, et schedulæ
sigillatæ ad arbitrium eorum adhuc
scribendæ (sicut hactenus consuetudinis
eorum fuit) per singulas ecclesias.
Teutonici regni conceptum iniquitatis
sue virus respergere, altaria denudare,
vasa domus Dei asportare, cruces et

hibiting the clergy from all access to the apostolic see, and gave instructions that the frontiers should be carefully watched lest any of them should find their way to Rome. Hadrian published an address to the bishops of the Empire, bitterly complaining of the blasphemies uttered by the Chancellor Rainald and the Count Palatine against the legates, of the harsh proceedings of the Emperor, but without disclaiming the ambiguous sense of the offensive word; he claimed their loyal support for the successor of St. Peter and the holy Roman Church. But the bishops had now for the most part become German princes rather than papal churchmen. They boldly declared, or at least assented to the Emperor's declaration of the supremacy of the Empire over the Church and demanded that the offensive picture of Lothair doing homage to the Pope should be effaced, the insulting verses obliterated.* They even hinted their disapprobation of Hadrian's treaty with the King of Sicily, and in respectful but firm language entreated the Pope to assume a more gentle and becoming tone.

The triumphant progress of Frederick's ambassadors, Rainald the Chancellor of the Empire and Otho Palatine of Bavaria, through Northern Italy, with the formidable preparations for the Emperor's own descent during the next year, had no doubt more effect in bringing back the Pope to less unseemly conduct. In the camp at Augsburg appeared the new legates, the Cardinal of St. Nireus and Achilleus, and the Cardinal Hyacinth (who had been seized, plundered, and imprisoned by some

coriare nitebantur." This charge appears in the Rescript of Frederick in Radevicus. If untrue, it boldly calculated on as much ignorance in his clergy as had been shown by the laity. But

what was the ground of the charge? Some taxation, ordinary or extraordinary, of the clergy?—Radevic. Chron. apud Pistorium, i. 10.

* Radevic. ii. 31.

petty chieftains in the Tyrol). They had authority to explain away the doubtful terms, to disclaim all pretensions on the part of the Pope to consider the Empire a benefice of the Church, or to make a grant of the Empire. Frederick accepted the overtures, and an outward reconciliation took place.

Explanations
of Hadrian.
Jan. 29, 1158

The next year Frederick descended for the second time into Italy. Never had so powerful a Teutonic army, not even in his first campaign, crossed the Alps. The several roads were choked by the contingents from every part of the Empire; all Germany seemed to be discharging itself upon the plains of Italy. The Dukes of Austria and Carinthia descended the pass of Friuli; Duke Frederick of Swabia, the Emperor's nephew, by Chiavenna and the Lake of Como; Duke Bernard of Zähringen by the Great St. Bernard; the Emperor himself marched down the valley of Trent.

July, 1158.

At first his successes and his cruelties carried all before him. He compelled the submission of Milan; the haughty manner in which he asserted the Imperial rights, the vast army with which he enforced those rights, the merciless severity with which he visited all treasonable resistance, seemed to threaten the ruin of all which remained either of the temporal or spiritual independence of Italy.^f He seemed determined, he avowed his determination, to rule the clergy like all the rest of his subjects; to compel their homage for all their temporal possessions; to exact all the Imperial dues, to be, in fact as well as in theory, their feudal sovereign. He enforced the award already made of the inheritance of the Countess Matilda to his uncle Guelf VI. of Bavaria.

^f Radevic, i. 26. Gunther, vii. 220. Almost all the German chronicles.

Slight indications betrayed the growing jealousy and alienation of the Emperor and the Pope. These two august sovereigns seemed to take delight in galling each other by petty insults, but each of these insults had a deeper significance.^g Guido, of a noble German house, the Counts of Blandrada, was elected, if through the Imperial interest yet according to canonical forms, to the Archiepiscopate of Ravenna, once the rival, now next to Rome in wealth and state. Guido was subdeacon of the Roman Church, and Hadrian refused to permit the translation, under the courteous pretext that he could not part with so beloved a friend, whose promotion in the Church of Rome was his dearest object. Hadrian soon after sent a letter to the Emperor, couched in moderate language, but complaining with bland bitterness of disrespect shown to his legates; of the insolence of the imperial troops, who gathered forage in the Papal territories and insulted the castles of the Pope; of the exaction of the same homage from bishops and abbots as from the cities and nobles of Italy. This letter was sent by a common, it was said a ragged messenger, who disappeared without waiting for an answer. The Emperor revenged himself by placing his own name in his reply before that of the Pope, and by addressing him in the familiar singular instead of the respectful plural, a style which the Popes had assumed when addressing the Emperor, and which Frederick declared to be an usurpation on their part.^h Hadrian's next letter showed how deep the wound had sunk. "The law of God promises long life to those who honour, threatens death to those

Jealousy of
Emperor and
Pope.

Nov. 24, 1158.

Letter of
Hadrian.

June 24.

^g Radevic. ii. 15, 20. Gunther, ix. 115.

^h Appendix ad Radev. 562.

who speak evil of their father and their mother. He that exalteth himself shall be abased. My son in the Lord (such is the endearing name which Hadrian uses to convict the Emperor of a breach of the divine commandment), we wonder at your irreverence. This mode of address incurs the guilt of insolence, if not of arrogance. What shall I say of the fealty sworn to St. Peter and to us? How dost thou show it? By demanding homage of bishops, who are Gods, and the Saints of the Most High; thou that makest them place their consecrated hands in yours! Thou that closest not merely the churches, but the cities of thy empire against our legates! We warn thee to be prudent. If thou hast deserved to be consecrated and crowned by our hands, by seeking more than we have granted, thou mayest forfeit that which we have condescended to grant." This was not language to soften a temper like Frederick's: his rejoinder rises to scorn and defiance. He reminds the Pope of the humble relation of Silvester to Constantine; all that the Popes possess is of the gracious liberality of the Emperors. He reverts to higher authority, and significantly alludes to the tribute paid by our Lord himself, through St. Peter, to Cæsar. "The churches are closed, the city gates will not open to the Cardinals, because they are not preachers, but robbers; not peacemakers, but plunderers; not the restorers of the world, but greedy rakers up of gold.¹ When we shall see them, as the Church enjoins, bringing peace, enlightening the land, maintaining the cause of the lowly in justice, we shall not hesitate to provide them with fitting entertainment

Answer of
Frederick.
A.D. 1159.

¹ "Quod non videmus eos prædicatores sed prædatores, non pacis corroboratores sed pecuniæ raptore, non orbis reparatores sed auri insatiabiles voratores."—Append. Radevic.

and allowances.”—“We cannot but return such answer when we find that detestable monster ‘pride’ to have crept up to the very chair of St. Peter. As ye are for peace, so may ye prosper.”^k

Some of the German bishops, especially Eberhard of Bamberg, endeavoured to mediate and avert the threatened conflict. The Emperor consented to receive four Cardinals. They brought a pacific proposition, but accompanied with demands which amounted to hardly less than the unqualified surrender of the Imperial rights. I. The first involved the absolute dominion of the city of Rome. The Emperor was to send no officer to act in his name within the city without permission of the Pope; the whole magistracy of the city and all the royalties being the property of the Apostolic See. II. No forage was to be levied in the Papal territories, excepting on occasion of the Emperor’s coronation. His armies were thus prohibited from crossing the Papal frontier. III. The Bishops of Italy were to swear allegiance, but not do homage to the Emperor. IV. The ambassadors of the Emperor were not to be lodged of right in the episcopal palaces. V. The possessions of the Church of Rome to be restored, the whole domains of the Countess Matilda, the territory from Acquapendente to Rome, the Duchy of Spoleto, and the islands of Corsica and Sardinia; the Emperor to pay tribute for Ferrara, Massa, Ficoloro.

Frederick commanded his temper: such grave matters, he said, required the advice of his wisest counsellors; but on some points he would answer at once. He would

^k “Non enim non possumus respondere auditis, cum superbiz detestabilem bestiam usque ad sedem Petri reptasse videmus. Paci bene consulentes bene semper valet.”—Apud Baronium, sub ann. 1159.

require no homage of the bishops if they would give up the fiefs which they held of the Empire. If they chose to listen to the Pope when he demanded what they had to do with the Emperor, they must submit to the commands of the Emperor, or what had they to do with the estates of the Empire? He would not require that his ambassadors should be lodged in the episcopal palaces when those palaces stood on their own lands; if they stood on the lands of the Empire, they were imperial, not episcopal palaces. "For the city of Rome, by the grace of God I am Emperor of Rome: if Rome be entirely withdrawn from my authority, the Empire is an idle name, the mockery of a title." Nor were these the only subjects of altercation. The Emperor complained of the intrusion of the Papal Legates into the Empire without his permission, the abuse of appeals, the treaties of the Pope with the Greek Empire and with the King of Sicily; above all, his clandestine dealings with the insurgents, now in arms in Lombardy. He significantly intimated that if he could not make terms with the Pope, he might with the Senate and people of Rome.

Peace became more hopeless. As a last resource, six Cardinals on the part of the Pope, and six German Bishops on that of the Emperor, were appointed to frame a treaty. But the Pope demanded the re-establishment of the compact made with his predecessor Eugenius. The Imperial Bishops reproached the Pope with his own violation of that treaty by his alliance with the King of Sicily; the Germans unanimously rejected the demands of the Pope: and now the Emperor received with favour a deputa-
Firmness of Hadrian.
tion from the Senate and people of Rome. These ambassadors of the Republican party had watched, had

been present at the rupture of the negotiations.^m The Pope, with the embers of Arnold's rebellion smouldering under his feet; with the Emperor at the head of all Germany, the prelates as well as the princes; with no ally but the doubtful, often perfidious Norman; stood unshaken, betrayed no misgivings. To the Emperor no reply from the Pope appears; but to the Archbishops of Treves, Mentz, and Cologne, was sent, or had before been sent, an invective against the Emperor, almost unequalled in scorn, defiance, and unmeasured assertion of superiority. There is no odious name in the Old Testament—Rabshakeh, Achitophel—which is not applied to Frederick. “Glory be to God in the highest, that ye are found tried and faithful (he seems to reckon on their disloyalty to Frederick), while these flies of Pharaoh, which swarmed up from the bottom of the abyss, and, driven about by the whirling winds while they strive to darken the sun, are turned to the dust of the earth.” He threatens the Emperor with a public excommunication: “And take ye heed that ye be not involved in the sins of Jeroboam, who made Israel to sin; and behold a worse than Jeroboam is here. Was not the Empire transferred by the Popes from the Greeks to the Teutons? The King of the Teutons is not Emperor before he is consecrated by the Pope. Before his consecration he is but King; after it Emperor and Augustus. From whence, then, the Empire but from us? Remember what were these Teutonic Kings before Zacharias gave his benediction to Charles, the second of that name, who were drawn in a wagon by

^m “Præsentes ibidem fuere Romanorum civium legati, qui cum indignatione mirabantur super his quæ auderant.”—*Epist. Eberhard Bamberg, ap. Radevicum*, ii. 31.

oxen, like philosophers!ⁿ Glorious kings, who dwelt, like the chiefs of synagogues, in these wagons, while the Mayor of the Palace administered the affairs of the Empire. Zacharias I. promoted Charles to the Empire, and gave him a name great above all names. . . . That which we have bestowed on the faithful German we may take away from the disloyal German. Behold it is in our power to grant to whom we will. For this reason are we placed above nations and kingdoms, that we may destroy and pluck up, build and plant. So great is the power of Peter, that whatsoever is done by us worthily and rightfully must be believed to be done by God!"^o

Did the bold sagacity of Hadrian foresee the heroic resolution with which Milan and her confederate Lombard cities would many years afterwards, and after some dire reverses and long oppression, resist the power of Barbarossa? Did he calculate with prophetic foresight the strength of Lombard republican freedom? Did he anticipate the field of Legnano, when the whole force of the Teutonic Empire was broken before the carroccio of Milan? Already was the secret treaty framed with Milan, Brescia, and Crema. These cities bound themselves not to make peace with the Emperor without the consent of the Pope and his Catholic successors. Hadrian was preparing for the last act of

ⁿ "Qui in carpento boum, sicut *philosophi* circumferebantur."

^o Hahn, *Monumenta*, i. p. 122. The date is March 19, 1159, from the Lateran palace. The date may be wrong, yet the bull authentic. Jaffé, I must observe, rejects it as spurious. This invective is reprinted in Pertz from a MS. formerly belonging to the Abbey of Malmedy. It appears there

as an answer to a letter of Archbishop Hillin of Treves (published before in Hontheim, *Hist. Trev.* i. 581). Possibly I may have misplaced it.—Pertz, *Archiv.* iv. pp. 428-434. Boehmer seems to receive it as authentic, but as belonging to a period in which Frederick Barbarossa actually contemplated throwing off the Roman supremacy.—Preface to *Regesta*, p. vii.

defiance, the open declaration of war, the excommunication of the Emperor, which he was pledged to pronounce after the signature of the treaty with the Republics, when his death put an end to this strange conflict, where each antagonist was allied with a republican party in the heart of his adversary's dominions.

Sept. 1, 1159. Hadrian IV. died at Anagni: his remains were brought to Rome, and interred with the highest honours, and with the general respect if not the grief of the city, in the Church of St. Peter. Even the ambassadors of Frederick were present at the funeral. So ended the poor English scholar, at open war with perhaps the mightiest sovereign who had reigned in Transalpine Europe since Charlemagne.^P

^P Radev. apud Muratori, Pars ii, p. 83. John of Salisbury reports another very curious conversation which he held with Hadrian IV. during a visit of three months at Benevento. John spoke strongly on the venality of Rome, and urged the popular saying, that Rome was not the mother but the stepmother of the churches; the sale of justice, purchase of preferments, and other abuses. "Ipse Romanus Pontifex omnibus gravis et pæne intolerabilis est?" The Pope smiled: "And what do you think?" John spoke

handsomely of some of the Roman clergy as inaccessible to bribery, acknowledged the difficulty of the Pope in dealing with his Roman subjects, "dum frenas alios, et tu gravius opprimeris." The Pope concluded with the old fable of the belly and members.—Polycraticus, vi, 24. John of Salisbury asserts that Hadrian was induced by his suggestion to the cession of Ireland to Henry II.—Compare Döllinger Die Papst Fabeln des Mittelalters, p. 79.

END OF VOL. IV.

HISTORY
OF
LATIN CHRISTIANITY;

INCLUDING THAT OF
THE POPES TO THE PONTIFICATE OF NICOLAS V.

By HENRY HART MILMAN, D.D.,
DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S.

IN NINE VOLUMES.—VOL. V.

FOURTH EDITION.

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HISTORY

OF

LATIN CHRISTIANITY.

BOOK VIII.—*continued.*

CHAPTER VIII.

Alexander III.—Victor IV.—Thomas à Becket.

THE whole conclave must have had the determined courage of Hadrian to concur in the election of a Pope. A schism was inevitable; a schism now the natural defence of the Empire against the Papacy, as a rebellion in Germany or Italy was that of the Papacy against the Empire. On one side were the zealous churchmen, who would hazard all for the supremacy of the spiritual power, those who thought the Sicilian alliance the safer and more legitimate policy of the See of Rome: and in Rome itself a faction of nobles, headed by the Frangipani, who maintained the papal authority in the city. On the other side were those who were attached to, or who dreaded the power of Barbarossa; the republican, or Arnoldine party in Rome; a few perhaps who loved peace, and thought it the best wisdom of the church to conciliate the Emperor. The conflicting accounts of the proceedings in the conclave were made public, on one side by the Pope, on the other by the Cardinals of the opposite faction,* and

* Both of these documents are in Kadevicus.

compel the inevitable conclusion that the passions of each party had effaced either all perception of, or all respect for truth. Alexander III. is more minute and particular in his appeal to universal Christendom on the justice of his election. On the third day of debate fourteen of the Cardinals agreed in the choice of himself, Roland, the Cardinal of St. Mark, the chancellor of the Apostolic See, one of those legates who had shown so much audacity, and confronted so much peril at the Diet at Besançon. The cope was brought forth in which he was to be invested. Conscious of his insufficiency for this great post, he struggled against it with the usual modest reluctance.^b Three only of the Cardinals, Octavian of St. Cecilia, John of St. Martin, and Guido of Crema, Cardinal of St. Callisto, were of the adverse faction, in close league with the imperial ambassadors, Otho Count Palatine,^c and Guido Count of Blandrada. Octavian, prompted it is said by that ambassador, cried aloud Roland must not be compelled, and plucked the cope from his shoulders. The two others, the Cardinals Guido and of St. Martin, declared Octavian Pope; but a Roman senator who was present (the conclave then was an open court), indignant at his violence, seized the cope, and snatched it from the hand of Octavian. But Octavian's party were prepared for such an accident. His chaplain had another cope ready, in which he was invested with such indecent haste that,

^b "Qui propter religionem suam cepit se excusare secundum quod canones præcipiunt." The author of this B. Museum Chronicle adds that the partisans of Octavian had ready *venustissimum* pallium, p. 46. See on this Chronicle book x. ch. 4.

^c This must have been the Otho

who threatened to cut down the insolent Cardinal Roland at Besançon; Guido of Blandrada, the Emperor's favourite, whom Hadrian had refused to elevate to the archiepiscopate at Ravenna.—*Epistola Canonic. apud Radevic., Otho Morena, Raoul de Reck Ges. Frederic, Tristan Calchi.*

as it was declared, by a manifest divine judgement, the front part appeared behind, the hinder part before. Upon this the assembly burst into derisive laughter. At that instant the gates, which had been closed, were forcibly broken open, a hired soldiery rushed in with drawn swords, and surrounding Octavian carried him forth in state. Roland (Alexander III.) and the cardinals of his faction were glad to escape with their lives, but reached a stronghold fortified and garrisoned for their reception near St. Peter's,^d and for nine days they lay concealed and in security from their enemies. Octavian, in the mean time, assumed the name of Victor IV.: he was acknowledged as lawful Pope by a great part of the senators and people. The Frangipani then rallied the adverse party; Alexander was rescued from his imprisonment or blockade.

On the other side, Victor, and the Cardinals of his faction, thus relate the proceedings of the election. The Cardinals, when they entered the conclave, solemnly pledged themselves to proceed with calm deliberation, to ascertain the opinion of each with grave impartiality, not to proceed to the election without the general assent of all. But in a secret synod held at Anagni, during the lifetime of Hadrian, the anti-imperialist Cardinals, who had urged the pope to excommunicate Frederick, had taken an oath to elect one of their own party. This conspiracy was organised and maintained by the gold of William of Sicily. In direct infringement of the solemn compact, made before the commencement of the proceedings, they had suddenly by acclamation attempted to force the election of the Cardinal Roland. The division was of nine to fourteen; they acknow-

^d It was called the "munitio ecclesie Sancti Petri."

ledge themselves to have been the minority in numbers, but of course a minority of the wisest and best. While thus the nine protested against the violation of the agreement that the election was to be by general assent, the fourteen proceeded to invest Roland of Sienna. The nine then, at the petition of the Roman people, by the election of the whole clergy, the assent of almost all the senators, and of all the captains, barons, and nobles, both within and without the city, invested Victor IV. with the insignia of the popedom.

Rome was no safe place for either Pope; each faction had its armed force, its wild and furious rabble. As Victor advanced to storm the stronghold near St. Peter's, occupied by his rival, he was hooted by the adverse mob: boys and women shouted and shrieked, called him by opprobrious names, "heretic, blasphemer!" sung opprobrious verses, taunted him with the name of Octavian, so infamous in the history of the Popes; a pasquinade was devised for the occasion in Latin verse.* On the eleventh day appeared Otho Frangipani and a party of the nobles, dispersed the forces of Victor, opened the gates of the stronghold, and led forth Alexander amid the acclamations of his partisans, but hurried him hastily away through the gates of the city.

Neither indeed of the rival Popes could venture on

* "Clamabant pueri contra ipsum ecclesiæ invasorem, dicentes, Maledicte, fili maledicti! dismanta, non eris Papa, non eris Papa! Alexandrum volumus, quem Deus elegit. Mulieres quoque blasphemantes ipsum hæreticum et eadem verba ingeminabant, et alia derisoria verba decantabant. Accedens autem Brito quidam audacter dixit hæc metricè

'Quid facis, insane, patriæ mors, Octaviane
Cur præsumpsist' tunicam dividere
Christi?
Jam jam pulvis eris, modo vivis, cras
morieris.'

—Vit. ii. apud Muratori: S. R. I. iii. i. p. 419. Compare the Acta Vaticana apud Baronium. Victor is there called Smanta compagnum—I presume from the plucking the stole from the shoulders of Alexander.

his consecration in Rome. Alexander was clad in the papal mantle at a place called the Cistern of Nero ;^f consecrated by the Bishop of Ostia at Nimfa, towards the Apulian frontier ; Victor by the Cardinal Bishop of Tusculum and the Bishops of Nimfa and Ferentino, who had deserted the opposite party, in the monastery of Farfa.

Sept. 24.

Oct. 4.

The Emperor was besieging the city of Crema, when he received the intimation of this election from each of the rival Popes. He assumed the language of an impartial arbitrator : he summoned a council of all Christendom to meet at Pavia, and cited both the Popes to submit their claims to its decision. The summons to Alexander was addressed to the Cardinal Roland, the chancellor of the see of Rome.^g Alexander refused to receive a mandate thus addressed, he protested against the right of the Emperor to summon a council without the permission of the Pope, nor would the Pope condescend to appear in the court of the Emperor to hear the sentence of an usurping tribunal. Victor, already sure of the favourable judgment, appeared with attestations of his lawful election

Schism.

^f This was not lost on the Victorians ; the cistern of Nero was the place to which Nero had fled from the pursuing Romans ; a fit place for people to show themselves " cisterns which could not hold water." " Undecimo (die) exierunt (a Româ) et pervenerunt ad Cisternam Neronis in qua latuit Nero fugiens Romanos insequentes. Juste Cisternam adierunt, quia deliquerunt fontem aquæ vivæ, et foderunt sibi cisternas, cisternas dissipatas, quæ continere non valent aquas. Et ibi die altero qui duodecimus erat ab electione

domini Victoris induerunt cancellarium stolam et pallium erroris, in destructionem et confusionem ecclesiæ, ibique primum cantaverunt ; Te Deum laudamus."—Epist. Canon. S. Petri, apud Radevic. ii. 31. Each party avers of the other that he was *exécratus*, not *consecratus*.

^g According to the somewhat doubtful authority of John of Salisbury (Epist. 69), the Emperor's letter was addressed to Alexander as to Cardinal Roland, Chancellor of the Roman See to Victor as Pontiff.

from the Canons of St. Peter, and a great body of the clergy of Rome. The points which the party of Victor urged were, that Cardinal Roland had never been invested, according to his own admission, with the papal cope; the consent or rather the initiative of the whole clergy and people of Rome in the election of Octavian; the appearance of Roland after the election without the insignia of the Pope. The argument afterwards urged by the Emperor, was the disqualification of the Cardinals on account of their conspiracy, their premature election at Anagni during the lifetime of Hadrian. Neither Alexander, nor any one with authority to defend the cause of Alexander, appeared in the court. William of Pavia was silent.^b The Council, after a grave debate and hearing of many witnesses (the Emperor had withdrawn to leave at least seeming freedom to the ecclesiastics), with one accord declared Victor Pope, condemned and excommunicated the contumacious Cardinal of Sienna. To

Octave of the
Epiphany,
A.D. 1160.

Feb. 10. Victor the Emperor paid the customary
Feb. 11. honours, held his stirrup and kissed his feet.ⁱ

Victor of course issued his excommunication of the Cardinal Roland. There was a secret cause behind, which no doubt strongly worked on the Emperor, through the Emperor on the council: letters of Alexander to the insurgent Lombard cities had been seized, and were in the hands of the Emperor.

The Archbishop of Cologne set out for France, the Bishop of Mantua to England, the Bishop of Prague to

^b William of Pavia, Cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula, was afterwards accused by the wrathful Becket of betraying his master at Pavia.—Thom. Epist. ii. 21.

ⁱ Muratori is provoked by this schism from his usual calmness. "Rendè poscia Federigo a quest' Idolo tutti gli onori, con tenergli la staffa, baciargli i fetenti piedi."—Sub ann.

Hungary, to announce the decision of the Council to Christendom, and to demand or persuade allegiance to Pope Victor.

Alexander did not shrink from the contest. At Anagni he issued his excommunication against the Emperor Frederick, the Antipope, and all his adherents.^k He despatched his legates to all the kingdoms of Europe. His title was sooner or later acknowledged by France, Spain, England, Constantinople, Sicily, and Jerusalem, by the Cistercian and Carthusian monks. He struck a formidable blow against Frederick, now deeply involved in his mortal strife with the Lombard republics. His legate, the Cardinal John, found his way into Milan, and there in the presence and with the sanction of the martial Archbishop Ubertò (the Archbishop had commanded on more than one occasion the cavalry of Milan), he published the excommunication of Octavian the Antipope, and Frederick the Emperor. A few days after, the same ban was pronounced against the Bishops of Mantua and Lodi and the consuls of all the cities in league with the Emperor.^m

Thus the two Popes divided the allegiance of Christendom. France, Spain, England asserted Alexander. A council at Toulouse, representing France and England, had rejected the decision of the council of Pavia.ⁿ The Empire, Hungary, Bohemia, Norway, Sweden, submitted to Victor. Italy was divided: wherever the authority of the Emperor prevailed, Victor was recognised as the successor of St. Peter; wherever it was opposed, Alex-

^k Radevic. ii. 22.

ⁿ Epist. Eberhardo Archep. Saltzburg, April 1.

^m Pope Alexander, knowing his

ground, condescended to appear by his representatives at this Council, though summoned by the kings of France and England.

ander. Sicily and Southern Italy were of Alexander's party. Each, Alexander at Anagni, Victor in Northern Italy, had uttered the last sentence of spiritual condemnation against his antagonist. From Anagni,

June 16-26. knowing that Frederick dared not withdraw any strong force from the North of Italy, Alexander made a descent upon Rome, in order to add to the dignity of his cause by his possession of the capital city. He celebrated mass in the Lateran Church, and at Santa Maria Maggiore. But Rome, which would hardly endure the power of a Pope with undisputed authority, was no safe residence for one with a contested title. The turbulence of the people, the intrigues of the Antipope, the neighbourhood of some of the Germans in the fortresses around (all the patrimony of St. Peter but Civita Vecchia, Anagni, and Terracina was in their power),^o the uncertainty of support from Sicily, which was now threatened with civil war, the humiliation of Milan, induced him to seek refuge in France. Leaving a representative of his authority, Julius, the Cardinal of St. John, he embarked on board a Sicilian fleet; Villani, Archbishop of Imperialist Pisa, had met him at Terracina in his galley.^p After some danger, touching at Leghorn, and Porto Venere, the Archbishop conveyed him to Piombino, and rendered him the highest honours: from thence he reached Genoa; and having remained there a short time, landed on the coast of France, near Montpellier.^q He was received everywhere with demonstrations of the utmost respect. There were some threatening appearances, a suspicious agreement, into which Louis had been betrayed, or had weakly con-

^o Vit. Alexand. III.

^p Marangoni, *Chronica Pisana*, p. 26.

^q He disembarked near Montpellier, April, 1162; re-embarked at the same place, September, 1165.

sented to, that he would meet the Emperor Frederick at Lannes in Burgundy, each with his Pope, to decide the great controversy, or with the design of raising a third Pope; but this was an agreement which, neither being in earnest, each eluded with no great respect for veracity.^r Yet, notwithstanding all this, the rival kings of France and England seemed to forget their differences to pay honour to Alexander. He was met by both at Courcy on the Loire; the two kings walked on either side of his horse, holding his bridle, and so conducted him into the town. There for above three years he dwelt, maintaining the state, and performing all the functions of a Pope in every part of Europe which acknowledged his sway. During his absence Frederick and Frederick's Pope seemed at first to be establishing their power beyond all chance of resistance throughout Italy. Milan fell,^s and suffered the terrible vengeance of the Emperor; her walls were razed, her citizens dispersed. Sicily was a prey to civil factions, and it might seem to depend on the leisure or the caprice of Frederick, how soon he would subjugate the rest of Italy to his iron and absolute tyranny. But dark reverses were to come. Two years after the

Soon after
Christmas,
1161.

Feb. 9, 1162.

April 8.

March 26.

^r The whole account of this affair, in which appears the consummate weakness of Louis of France, at his first interview the slave of Alexander, and the adroit pliancy mingled with firmness of Pope Alexander, is in the *Hist. Veziliensis* (apud Duchesne, and in Guizot's *Collection des Mémoires*, vol. vii.) compared with *Vit. Alexandri*, apud Muratori. See Reuter, *Geschichte Alexander III.*, Berlin. The Protestant biographer is a thorough-going partisan

of the subject of his biography—almost as much overawed as the convert Hurter by Innocent III.—and almost as high a Hildebrandine. He seems to me to estimate the character of Alexander, even from that point of view, much too highly.

^s In the plunder of Milan the reliques of the three kings fell to the share of the Archbishop of Cologne: that city has ever since boasted of the holy spoil.—*Otto de Sanct. Blas. cxvi.*

departure of Alexander to France, the Antipope Victor died at Lucca. Guido of Crema was chosen, it was said by one Cardinal only, but by a large body of Lombard clergy, and took the name of Paschal III.

Death of
Victor IV.
April 20,
1164.
Paschal III.
April 22.

At this period the whole mind of Christendom was drawn away and absorbed by a contest in a remoter province of the Christian world, which for a time obscured, at least among the more religious, and all who were enthralled to the popular and dominant religion (in truth, the larger part of Europe), both the wars of monarchy and republicanism in Northern Italy, and the strife of Pope and Antipope. Neither Alexander III. nor Paschal III. in their own day occupied to such an extent the thoughts of the clergy and the laity throughout Christendom; the church has scarcely a Saint so speedily canonised after his death, so widely or so fervently worshipped as Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. Nor was it only the personal character of the antagonists, or the circumstances of the strife, it was the great principle involved, comprehending as it did the whole authority and sanctity of the sacerdotal order, which gave this commanding interest to the new war between the spiritual and temporal powers. It was in England that this war was waged; on its event depended to a great degree the maintenance of the hierarchy, as a separate and privileged caste of mankind, subject to its own jurisdiction, and irresponsible but to its own superiors.

Our history, therefore, enters at length into this contest, not from pardonable nationality over-estimating its importance, but in the conviction that it is a chapter in the annals of Christianity indispensable to its completeness, general in its interest, and beyond almost all

Thomas a
Becket.

others characteristic of its age. Nor is it insulated from the common affairs of Latin Christendom. Throughout, the history of Becket is in the closest connexion with that of Pope Alexander, and that of the Emperor Frederick and his Antipope. If not the fate of Becket, his support by Alexander III. depends on the variable fortunes of the Pope. While Alexander is in France (in which Henry of England had a wider dominion than the King of France) Becket is somewhat coldly urged to prudence and moderation. Still more when Alexander is returned to Italy. Then Becket's cause rises and falls with the Pope's prosperous or adverse fortunes : it depends on the predominance or the weakness of the Imperial power. The gold of England is the strength of Alexander. When Frederick is in the ascendant, and Henry threatens to withhold those supplies which maintain the Papal armies in the South, or the Papal interests in Milan and the Lombard cities ; or when Henry threatens to fall off to the Antipope ; Becket is well-nigh abandoned. Becket himself cannot disguise his indignation at the tergiversation of the Pope, the venality of the College of Cardinals. No sooner is Frederick's power on the wane ; no sooner has he suffered some of those fatal disasters which smote his authority, than Becket raises the song of triumph. He knows that Pope Alexander will now dare to support him to the utmost.

The Norman conquest of England was as total a revolution in the Church of the island as in the civil government and social condition. The Anglo-Saxon clergy, since the days of Dunstan, had produced no remarkable man. The triumph of monasticism had enfeebled without sanctifying the secular clergy ; it had spread over the island all its superstition, its thralldom of the mind, its reckless prodigality of lands and riches

to pious uses, without its vigour, its learning, its industrial civilization. Like its faithful disciple, its humble acolyte, its munificent patron, Edward the Confessor, it might conceal much gentle and amiable goodness; but its outward character was that of timid and unworldly ignorance, unfit to rule, and exercising but feeble and unbeneficial influence over a population become at once more rude and fierce, and more oppressed and servile, by the Danish conquest. Its ignorance may have been exaggerated. Though it may have been true that hardly a priest from Trent to Thames understood Latin, that the services of the Church, performed by men utterly unacquainted with the ecclesiastical language, must have lost all solemnity; yet the Anglo-Saxons possessed a large store of vernacular Christian literature—poems, homilies, legends. They had begun to form an independent Teutonic Christianity. Equally wonderful was the multitude of their kings, who had taken the cowl, or on their thrones lived a monastic life and remained masters of wealth only to bestow it on the poor and on monasteries. The multitude of saints (no town was without its saint) was so numerous as to surpass all power of memory to retain them, and wanted writers to record them.[†]

The Normans were not only the foremost nation in arms, in personal strength, valour, enterprise, perseverance, and all the greater qualities of a military

[†] “De regibus dico qui pro amplitudine potestatis licenter indulgere voluptatibus possent; quorum quidam in patriâ, quidam Romæ, mutato habitu, cœleste lucrati sunt regnum, beatum nacti commercium: multi specie tenus, totâ vitâ mundum amplexi; ut thesauros egenis effunderent, monasteriis

dividerent. Quid dicam de tot episcopis, heremitis, abbatibus. Nonne tota insula tantis reliquiis indigenarum fulgurat ut vix vicum aliquem prætereas, ubi novi sancti nomen non audias! quam multorum etiam perit memoria, pro scriptorum inopiâ.”—Will. Malmes. p. 417, edit. Hist. Soc.

aristocracy: by a singular accident, it might be called, they possessed a seminary of the most learned and able churchmen. The martial, ambitious, unlearned Odo of Bayeux was no doubt the type of many of the Norman prelates; of some of those on whom the Conqueror, when he built up his great system of ecclesiastical feudalism in the conquered land, bestowed some of the great sees in England, of which he had dispossessed the defeated Saxons. But from the same monastery of Bec came in succession two Primates of the Norman Church in England, in learning, sanctity, and general ability not inferior to any bishops of their time in Christendom — Lanfranc and Anselm. Lanfranc, to whom the Church had looked up as the most powerful antagonist of Berengar; Anselm as the profound metaphysician, who was to retain as willing prisoners, within the pale of orthodoxy, those strong speculative minds which before, and afterwards during the days of Abé- lard, should venture into those dangerous regions.

The Abbey of Bec, as has been said, had been founded by a rude Norman knight, Herluin, Abbey of
Bec. in one of those strange accesses of devotion which suddenly changed men of the most uncongenial minds and most adverse habits into models of the most austere and almost furious piety. Herluin was as ignorant as he was rude; his followers, who soon gathered round him, scarcely less so. But the monastery of Bec, before half a century had elapsed, was a seat of learning. Strangers who were wandering over Europe found that which was too often wanting in the richer and settled convents, seclusion and austerity. Such was the case with Lanfranc; in the Abbey of Bec there was rigour enough to satisfy the most intense craving after self-torture. But the courtly Italian scholar was

not lost in the Norman monk Lanfranc became at once a model of the severest austerity and the accomplished theologian, to whom Latin Christendom looked up as the champion of her vital doctrine. Lanfranc became Abbot of St. Stephen's at Caen.

The Norman Conqueror found that, although he had subjugated the Anglo-Saxon thanes and Anglo-Saxon people, he had not subjugated the Anglo-Saxon clergy. Notwithstanding the Papal benediction of the conquest of England, the manner in which Alexander II. openly espoused the cause, and the greater Hildebrand treated the kindred mind of the Conqueror with respect shown to no other monarch in Christendom, there was long a stubborn inert resistance, which with so superstitious a people might anywhere burst out into insurrection. As he had seized and confiscated the estates of the thanes, so the conqueror put into safer, into worthier hands, the great benefices of the Church. Lanfranc (there could be no wiser measure than to advance a man so famous for piety and learning throughout Christendom) was summoned to assume the primacy, from which the Conqueror, of his own will, though not without Papal sanction, had degraded the Anglo-Saxon Stigand. Lanfranc resisted, not only from monastic aversion to state and secular pursuits, but from unwillingness to rule a barbarous people, of whose language he was ignorant. Lanfranc yielded: he came as a Norman; his first act was to impose penance on the Anglo-Saxon soldiers who had dared to oppose William at Hastings; even on the archers whose bolts had flown at random, and did slay or might have slain Norman knights.

The Primate consummated the work of William in ejecting the Anglo-Saxon bishops and clergy. William would even proscribe their Saints: names unknown,

barbarous, which refused to harmonise with Latin, were ignominiously struck out of the calendar as unauthorised and intrusive. The Primate proceeded to the degradation of the holy Wulstan of Worcester. His crime was want of learning, ignorance of French, perhaps rather of Latin. Wulstan, the pride, the holy example of the Anglo-Saxon episcopate, appeared before the Synod: "From the first I knew my unworthiness. I was compelled to be a bishop: the clergy, the prelates, my master, by the authority of the Apostolic See, laid this burthen on my shoulder." He advanced to the tomb of the Confessor; he laid down his crosier on the stone: "Master, to thee only I yield up my staff." He took his seat among the monks. The crosier remained embedded in the stone; and this wonder, which might seem as if the Confessor approved the resignation, was interpreted the other way. Wulstan alone retained his see. The Anglo-Saxon secular clergy, notwithstanding the triumph of monasticism, the severe laws of Edgar, even of Canute, still clung to their right or usage of marriage. Lanfranc could disguise even to himself, as zeal against the married priests, his persecution of the Anglo-Saxon clergy.

A king so imperious as William, and a churchman so firm as Lanfranc, could hardly avoid collision. Though they scrupled not to despoil the Saxon prelates, the Church must suffer no spoliation. The estates of the See of Canterbury must pass whole and inviolable. The uterine brother of the King (his mother's son by a second marriage), Odo the magnificent and
Odo of Bayeux
able Bishop of Bayeux, his counsellor in peace, ever by his side in war, though he neither wore arms nor engaged in battle, had seized, as Count of Kent, twenty-five manors belonging to the Archiepiscopal

See.^u The Primate summoned the Bishop of Bayeux to public judgement on Penenden Heath; the award was in the Archbishop's favour. Still William honoured Lanfranc: Lanfranc, in the King's absence in Normandy, was chief justiciary, vicegerent within the realm. Lanfranc respected William. When the Conqueror haughtily rejected the demand of Hildebrand himself for allegiance and subsidy, we hear no remonstrance from the Primate. The Primate refused to go to Rome at the summons of the Pope. William Rufus, while Lanfranc lived, in some degree restrained his covetous encroachments on the wealth of the Church. Lanfranc had the prudence not to provoke the ungovernable King. But for five years after the death of Lanfranc Rufus would have no Primate, whose importunate control he thus escaped, while at the same time he converted to his own uses, without remonstrance, or at least without resistance, the splendid revenue of the see. Nothing but the wrath of God, as he supposed, during an illness which threatened his life, compelled him to place the

Anselm,
Archbishop
of Canter-
bury.
A.D. 1093. crosier in the hands of the meek, and, as he hoped, unworldly Anselm. It required as much violence in the whole nation, to whom Anselm's fame and virtues were so well known, to compel Anselm to accept the primacy, as to induce the King to bestow it.

But when Primate, Anselm, the monk, the philosopher, was as high, as impracticable a churchman as the boldest or the haughtiest. Anselm's was passive

^u Odo of Bayeux, according to Malmesbury, had even higher aspirations; his wealth, like Wolsey's, was designed to buy the Papacy itself. "In aggerendis thesauris mirus, tergiversari

miræ astutiæ; pene Papatum Romanum absens a civibus mercatus fuerit: peras peregrinorum epistolis et nummis infarciens."—p. 457.

courage, Anselm's was gentle endurance; but as unyielding, as impregnable, as that of Lanfranc, even of Hildebrand himself. No one concession could be wrung from him of property, of right, or of immunity belonging to his Church. He was a man whom no humiliation could humble: privation, even pain, he bore not only with the patience but with the joy of a monk. He was exiled: he returned the same meek, unoffending, unimpassioned man. His chief or first quarrel with Rufus was as to which of the Popes England should acknowledge. The Norman Anselm had before his advancement acknowledged Urban. It ended in Urban being the Pope of England. Nor was it with the violent rapacious Rufus alone that Anselm stood in this quiet, unconquerable oppugnancy; the more prudent and politic Henry I. is committed in the same strife. It was now the question of Investitures. At Rome, during his first exile, Anselm was deeply impregnated with the Italian notions of Investiture, that "venomous source of all simony." But the Norman kings were as determined to assert their feudal supremacy as the Franconian or Hohenstaufen Emperors.

Anselm is again in Rome: the Pope Urban threatens to excommunicate the King of England; Anselm interferes; the King is not actually excommunicate, but the ban is on all his faithful counsellors. At length, after almost a life, at least almost an archiepiscopate, passed in this strife with the King, to whom in all other respects except as regards the property of the see and the rights of the Church, Anselm is the most loyal of subjects, the great dispute about Investitures comes to an end. The wise Henry I. has discovered that, by surrendering a barren ceremony, he may retain the substantial power. He consents to abandon the form

of granting the ring and pastoral staff; he retains the homage, and that which was the real object of the strife, the power of appointing to the wealthy sees and abbasies of the realm. The Church has the honour of the triumph; has wrung away the seeming concession; and Anselm, who in his unworldly views had hardly perhaps comprehended the real point at issue, has the glory and the conscious pride of success.

But the splendid and opulent benefices of the Anglo-Norman Church were too rich prizes to be bestowed on accomplished scholars, profound theologians, holy monks: the bishops at the close of Henry's reign are barons rather than prelates, their palaces are castles, their retainers vassals in arms. The wars between Stephen and the Empress Matilda are episcopal at least as much as baronial wars. It is the brother of Stephen, Henry Bishop of Winchester, the legate of the Pope, who is the author of Stephen's advancement. The citizens of London proclaim him: the coronation is at Winchester. The feeble Archbishop Theobald, the one less worldly prelate, yields to the commanding mind of the royal bishop. In the Council of Oxford it was openly declared that the right to elect the king was in the bishops.* The Bishop of Salisbury had two nephews, the Bishops of Lincoln and of Ely one of his sons (his sons by his concubine, Maud of Ramsbury) was Chancellor,^y one Treasurer. Until the allegiance of the Bishops to Stephen wavered, the title of Matilda was hardly dangerous to the King. Stephen arrested the Bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln at Oxford, compelled them to surrender their strong castles of

* "Eorum majori parti cleri Angliæ, ad cujus jus potissimum spectat principem eligere, simulque ordinare."—

p. 746.

^y "Qui nepos esse et plusquam nepos ferebatur."

Newark, Salisbury, Sherborne, and Malmesbury. The Bishop of Ely flew to arms, threw himself into Devizes; it was only the threat to hang up his nephew, which compelled him to capitulate.^a It was a strange confusion. The whole of the bishops' castles, treasures, munitions of war, were seized into the King's hands; he held them in the most rigid and inexorable grasp;^a yet at the same time Stephen did public penance for having dared to lay his impious hands on the "Christ of the Lord." The revolt of the Bishop of Ely was only the signal for the general war: Stephen was taken in the battle of Lincoln, his defeated army was under the walls of that city to chastise the Bishop. If Matilda's pride had not alienated Henry of Winchester, as her exactions did the citizens of London, she might have obtained at once full possession of the throne. It was in besieging the castle of the Bishop of Winchester in that city that Robert of Gloucester, the leader of her party, was attacked by the Londoners under the Bishop of Winchester in person, and was taken in his retreat to Bristol. The Archbishop Theobald, who had now espoused Matilda's cause, hardly escaped.

Such were the prelates of England just before the commencement of Henry II.'s reign: all, says a contemporary writer, or almost all, wearing arms, mingling in war, indulging in all the cruelties and exactions of war.^b The lower clergy could hardly, with such examples, be otherwise than, too many of them, lawless

^a Gesta Stephani, p. 50.

^a Ib. p. 51.

^b "Ipsi nihilominus, ipsi episcopi, quod pudet quidem dicere, non tamen omnes, sed plurimi ex omnibus, ferro accincti, armis instructi, cum patriæ

perversoribus superbissimis invecti equis, prædæ participes, in milites bellicâ sorte interceptos vel pecuniosos quibuscunque occurrunt vinculis et cruciatibus exponere," &c. — Gesta Steph. p. 99.

and violent men. Yet the Church demanded for the property and persons of such prelates and such clergy an absolute, inviolable sanctity. The seizure of their palaces, though fortified and garrisoned, was an invasion on the property of the Church. The seizure, maltreatment, imprisonment, far more any sentence of the law in the King's Courts upon their persons, was impiety, sacrilege.^c

Such had been, not many years before, the state of the clergy in England, when broke out in England, and was waged for so many years, the great strife for the maintenance of the sacerdotal order as a peculiar caste of mankind, for its sole jurisdiction and its irresponsibility. Every individual in that caste, to its lowest doorkeeper, claimed an absolute immunity from capital punishment. The executioner in those ages sacrificed hundreds of common human lives to the terror of the law. The churchman alone, down to the most menial of the clerical body, stood above such law. The churchman too was judge without appeal in all causes of privilege or of property, which he possessed or in which he claimed the right of possession.

This strife was to be carried on with all the animation and interest of a single combat, instead of the long and confused conflict of order against order. Nor was it complicated with any of those intricate relations of the imperial and the papal power (the Emperor claiming to be the representative of the Cæsars of Rome, the Popes not only to be successors of the chief of the apostles, but also temporal sovereigns of Rome), which had drawn

^c "Si episcopi tramitem justitiæ in aliquo transgredierentur non esse regis sed canonum judicium : sine publico et ecclesiastico concilio illos nulla possessione privari posse."—Malmesb. p. 719. The grant of these castles, when surrendered to laymen, was an invasion on Church property.

out to such interminable length the contest between the pontiffs and the houses of Franconia and Hohenstaufen. The champion of the civil power was Henry II. of England, a sovereign, at his accession, with the most extensive territories and least limited power, with vast command of wealth, above any monarch of his time: a man of great ability, decision, and activity; of ungovernable passions, and intense pride, which did not prevent him from stooping to dissimulation, intrigue, and subtle policy. On the other hand, the Churchman, a subject of that sovereign, not of noble birth, but advanced by the grace of the king to the highest secular power; yet when raised by his own transcendant capacity and by the same misjudging favour to the height of ecclesiastical dignity, sternly and at once rending asunder all ties of attachment and gratitude, sacrificing the unbounded power and influence which he might have retained if he had still condescended to be the favourite of the king; an exile, yet so formidable as to be received not as a fugitive, but at once as a most valuable ally and an object of profound reverence by the King of France, and by other foreign princes. For seven years Becket inflexibly maintains his ground against the king and almost all the more powerful prelates of England, and some of Normandy. At times seemingly abandoned by the Pope himself, yet disdaining to yield, and rebuking even the Pope for his dastardly and temporising policy, he at length extorts his restoration to his see from the reluctant monarch. His barbarous assassination gave a temporary, perhaps, but complete triumph to his cause. The king, though not actually implicated in the murder, cannot avert the universal indignation but by the most humiliating submission, absolute prostration before

the sacerdotal power, and by public and ignominious penance. Becket was the martyr for the Church, and this not only in the first paroxysm of devotion, and not only with the clergy, whom the murder of a holy prelate threw entirely on his side, but with the whole people, to whom his boundless charities, his splendour, his sufferings, his exile, and the imposing austerity of his life had rendered him an object of awe and of love. He was the Saint whom the Church hastened to canonise, was compared in language, to us awfully profane, in his own time that of natural veneration, to the Saviour himself. The worship of Becket—and in those days it would be difficult to discriminate between popular worship and absolute adoration—superseded, not in Canterbury alone, nor in England alone, that of the Son of God, and even of his Virgin Mother.

Popular poetry, after the sanctification of Becket, delighted in throwing the rich colours of
 Legend. marvel over his birth and parentage. It invented, or rather interwove with the pedigree of the martyr, one of those romantic traditions which grew out of the wild adventures of the crusades, and which occur in various forms in the ballads of all nations. That so great a saint should be the son of a gallant champion of the cross, and of a Saracen princess, was a fiction too attractive not to win general acceptance.^d The father of Becket, so runs the legend, a gallant soldier, was a captive in the Holy Land, and inspired the daughter

^d The early life of Becket has been mystified both by the imaginative tendencies of the age immediately following his own, and by the theorising tendencies of modern history. I shall shock some readers by unscrupulously rejecting the tale of the Saracen princess; if ever there was an historic ballad, an unquestionable ballad; as well as the Saxon descent of Becket, as undeniably a historic fable.

of his master with an ardent attachment. Through her means he made his escape; but the enamoured princess could not endure life without him. She too fled and made her way to Europe. She had learned but two words of the Christian language, "London" and "Gilbert." With these two magic sounds upon her lips she reached London; and as she wandered through the streets, constantly repeating the name of Gilbert, she was met by Becket's faithful servant. Becket, as a good Christian, seems to have entertained religious scruples as to the propriety of wedding the faithful, but misbelieving, or, it might be, not sincerely believing maiden. The case was submitted to the highest authority, and argued before the Bishop of London. The issue was the baptism of the princess, by the name of Matilda (that of the empress queen), and their marriage in St. Paul's with the utmost publicity and splendour.

But of this wondrous tale not one word had reached the ears of any of the seven or eight contemporary biographers of Becket, most of them his most intimate friends or his most faithful attendants.* It was neither

* There are no less than seven full contemporary, or nearly contemporary, Lives of Becket, besides fragments, legends, and "Passions." Dr. Giles has reprinted, and in some respects enlarged, those works from the authority of MSS. I give them in the order of his volumes. I. Vita Sancti Thomæ. Auctore Edward Grim. II. Auctore Roger de Pontiniaco. III. Auctore Willelmo Filio Stephani. IV. Auctoribus Joanne Decano Salisburiensi, et Alano Abbate Teuksburiensi. V. Auctore Willelmo Canterburiensi. VI. Auctore Anonymo Lambethensi. VII. Auctore Herberto de Bosham. Of these, Grim, Fitz-Stephen, and Herbert de Bosham were throughout his life in more or less close attendance on Becket. The learned John of Salisbury was his bosom friend and counsellor. Roger of Pontigny was his intimate associate and friend in that monastery. William was probably prior of Canterbury at the time of Becket's death. The sixth professes also to have been witness to the death of Becket. (He is called Lambethensis by Dr. Giles, merely because the MS. is in the Lambeth Library.) Add to these the curious French poem, written five years after the murder of Becket, by Garnier of

known to John of Salisbury, his confidential adviser and correspondent, nor to Fitz-Stephen, an officer of his court in chancery, and dean of his chapel when archbishop, who was with him at Northampton, and at his death; nor to Herbert de Bosham, likewise one of his officers when chancellor, and his faithful attendant throughout his exile; nor to the monk of Pontigny, who waited upon him and enjoyed his most intimate confidence during his retreat in that convent; nor to Edward Grim, his standard-bearer, who, on his way from Clarendon, reproached him with his weakness, and having been constantly attached to his person, finally interposed his arm between his master and the first blow of the assassin. Nor were these ardent admirers of Becket silent from any severe aversion to the marvellous; they relate, with unsuspecting faith, dreams and prognostics which revealed to the mother the future greatness of her son, even his elevation to the see of Canterbury.^f

To the Saxon descent of Becket, a theory in which, on the authority of an eloquent French writer,^g modern history has seemed disposed to acquiesce, these biographers not merely give no support, but furnish direct contradiction. The lower people no doubt admired during his life, and worshipped after death, the blessed

Pont S. Maxence, partly published in the Berlin Transactions, by the learned Immanuel Bekker. All these, it must be remembered, write of the man; the later monkish writers, though near the time (Hoveden, Gervase, Diceto, Brompton), of the Saint.

^f Brompton is not the earliest writer who recorded this tale; he took it from the *Quadrilogus* I., but of this the late

is quite uncertain. The exact date of Brompton is unknown. See Preface in Twysden. He goes down to the end of Richard II.

^g Mons. Thierry, *Hist. des Normands*. Lord Lyttelton (*Life of Henry II.*) had before asserted the Saxon descent of Becket: perhaps he misled M. Thierry.

Thomas of Canterbury, and the people were mostly Saxon. But it was not as a Saxon, but as a Saint, that Becket was the object of unbounded popularity during his life, of idolatry after his death.

The father of Becket, according to the distinct words of one contemporary biographer, was a native of Rouen, his mother of Caen.^b Gilbert was no knight-errant, but a sober merchant, tempted by commercial advantages to settle in London: his mother neither boasted of royal Saracenic blood, nor bore the royal name of Matilda; she was the daughter of an honest burgher of Caen. His Norman descent is still further confirmed by his claim of relationship, or connexion at least, as of common Norman descent, with Archbishop Theobald.ⁱ The parents of Becket, he asserts himself, were merchants of unimpeached character, not of the lowest class. Gilbert Becket is said to have served the honourable office of sheriff, but his fortune was injured by fires, and other casualties.^k The young Becket received his earliest education among the monks of Merton in Surrey, towards whom he cherished a fond attachment, and delighted to visit them in the days of his splendour. The dwelling of a respectable London merchant seems to have been a place where strangers of very different pursuits, who resorted to the metropolis of England, took up their lodging: and to Gilbert Becket's house

Parentage
and educa-
tion.

Born A.D.
1118.

^b The anonymous Lambethensis, after stating that many Norman merchants were allured to London by the greater mercantile prosperity, proceeds: "Ex horum numero fuit Gilbertus quidam cognomento Becket, patriâ Rotomagensis . . . habuit autem uxorem, nomine Roseam natione Cado-

mensem, genere burgensium quoque non disparem."—Apud Giles, ii. p. 73.

ⁱ See below.

^k "Quod si ad generis mei radicem et progenitores meos intenderis, cives quidem fuerunt Londonienses, in medio concivium suorum habitantes sine querelâ, nec omnino infimi."—Epist. 130.

came persons both disposed and qualified to cultivate in various ways the extraordinary talents displayed by the youth, who was singularly handsome, and of engaging manners.^m A knight, whose name, Richard de Aquila, occurs with distinction in the annals of the time, one of his father's guests, delighted in initiating the gay and spirited boy in chivalrous exercises, and in the chase with hawk and hound. On a hawking adventure the young Becket narrowly escaped being drowned in the Thames. At the same time, or soon after, he was inured to business by acting as clerk to a wealthy relative, Osborn Octuomini, and in the office of the Sheriff of London.ⁿ His accomplishments were completed by a short residence in Paris, the best school for the language spoken by the Norman nobility. To his father's house came likewise two learned civilians from Bologna, no doubt on some mission to the Archbishop of Canterbury. They were so captivated by young Becket, that they strongly recommended him to Archbishop Theobald, whom the father of Becket reminded of their common honourable descent from a knightly family near the town of Thiersy.^o Becket was at once on the high road of advancement. His extraordinary abilities were cultivated by the wise patronage, and employed in the service of the primate. Once he accompanied that prelate to Rome;^p and on more than one other occasion visited that great centre of Christian affairs. He was permitted to reside for a certain time at each of the great schools for the study

In the household of the Archbishop.

^m Grim, p. 9. Pontiniac, p. 96.

ⁿ Grim, p. 8.

^o "Eo familiaris, quod præfatus Gilbertus cum domino archipræsule de propinquitate et genere loquebatur: ut

ille *ortu Normannus* et circa Thierici villam de equestri ordine natus vicinus." —Fitz-Stephen, p. 184. Thiersy or Thierchville.

^p Roger de Pontigni, p. 100.

of the canon law, Bologna and Auxerre.⁹ He was not however, without enemies. Even in the court of Theobald began the jealous rivalry with Roger, afterwards Archbishop of York, then Archdeacon of Canterbury.⁷ Twice the superior influence of the archdeacon obtained his dismissal from the service of Theobald; twice he was reinstated by the good offices of Walter, Bishop of Rochester. At length the elevation of Roger to the see of York left the field open to Becket. He was appointed to the vacant archdeaconry, the richest benefice, after the bishoprics, in England. From that time he ruled without rival in the favour of the aged Theobald. Preferments were heaped upon him by the lavish bounty of his patron.⁸ During his exile he was reproached with his ingratitude to the king, who had raised him from poverty. "Poverty!" he rejoined; "even then I held the archdeaconry of Canterbury, the provostship of Beverley, a great many churches, and several prebends."^t The trial and the triumph of Becket's precocious abilities was a negotiation of the utmost difficulty with the court of Rome. The first object was to obtain the legatine power for Archbishop Theobald; the second tended, more than almost all measures, to secure the throne of England to the house of Plantagenet. Archbishop Theobald, with his clergy, had inclined to the cause of Matilda and her son; they had refused to officiate at the coronation of Eustace, son of King Stephen. Becket not merely obtained from

⁹ Fitz-Stephen, p. 185.

⁷ According to Fitz-Stephen, Thomas was less learned (minus literatus) than his rival, but of loftier character and morals.—P. 184.

⁸ "Plurimæ ecclesiæ, præbendæ

nonnullæ." Among the livings were one in Kent, and St. Mary le Strand; among the prebends, two at London and Lincoln. The archdeaconry of Canterbury was worth 100 pounds of silver a year. ^t Epist. 130.

Eugenius III. the full papal approbation of this refusal, but a condemnation of Stephen (whose title had before been sanctioned by Eugenius himself) as a perjured usurper.^u

But on the accession of Henry II., the aged Archbishop began to tremble at his own work; Accession of Henry II. Dec. 19, 1154. serious apprehensions arose as to the disposition of the young king towards the Church. His connexion was but remote with the imperial family (though his mother had worn the imperial crown, and some imperial blood might flow in his veins); but the Empire was still the implacable adversary of the papal power. Even from his father he might have received an hereditary taint of hatred to the Church, for the Count of Anjou had on many occasions shown the utmost hostility to the Hierarchy, and had not scrupled to treat churchmen of the highest rank with unexampled cruelty. In proportion as it was important to retain a young sovereign of such vast dominions in allegiance to the Church, so was it alarming to look forward to his disobedience. The Archbishop was anxious to place near his person some one who might counteract this suspected perversity, and to prevent his young mind from being alienated from the clergy by fierce and lawless counsellors. He had discerned not merely unrivalled abilities, but with prophetic sagacity, his Archdeacon's lofty and devoted churchmanship. Through the recommendation of the primate, Becket was raised to the dignity of chancellor,^x an office which made him the

^u Lord Lyttelton gives a full account of this transaction.—Book i. p. 213.

^x This remarkable fact in Becket's history rests on the authority of his friend, John of Salisbury: "Erat

enim in suspectu adolescentia regis et juvenum et pravorum hominum, quorum conciliis agi videbatur . . . insipientiam et malitiam formidabat . . . cancellarium procurat in curia

second civil power in the realm, inasmuch as his seal was necessary to countersign all royal mandates. Nor was it without great ecclesiastical influence, as in the chancellor was the appointment of all the royal chaplains, and the custody of vacant bishoprics, abbacies, and benefices.¹

But the Chancellor, who was yet, with all his great preferments, only in deacon's orders, might seem disdainfully to throw aside the habits, feelings, restraints of the churchman, and to aspire, as to the plenitude of secular power, so to unprecedented secular magnificence.² Becket shone out in all the graces of an accomplished courtier, in the bearing and valour of a gallant knight; though at the same time he displayed the most consummate abilities for business, the promptitude, diligence, and prudence of a practised statesman. The beauty of his person, the affability of his manners, the extraordinary acuteness of his senses,³ his activity in all chivalrous exercises, made him the chosen companion of the king in his constant diversions, in the chase and in the mimic war, in all but his debaucheries. The king would willingly have lured the Chancellor into this companionship likewise; but the silence of his bitterest enemies, in confirmation of his

Becket
Chancellor.

ordinari, cujus ope et operâ novi regis ne sæviret in ecclesiam, impetum cohiberet et consilii sui temperaret militiam."—Apud Giles, p. 321. This is repeated in almost the same words by William of Canterbury, vol. ii. p. 2. Compare what may be read almost as the dying admonitions of Theobald to the king: "Suggerunt vobis filii sæculi hujus, ut ecclesiæ minuatis auctoritatem, ut vobis regni dignitas augeatur." He had before said, "Cui

deest gratia Ecclesiæ, tota creatrix Trinitas adversatur."—Apud Bouquet, xvi. p. 504. Also Roger de Pontigny, p. 101.

¹ Fitz-Stephen, p. 186. Compare on the office of chancellor Lord Campbell's Life of Becket.

² De Bosham, p. 17.

³ See a curious passage on the singular sensitiveness of his hearing, and even of his smell.—Roger de Pontigny, p. 96.

own solemn protestations, may be admitted as conclusive testimonies to his unimpeached morals.^b The power of Becket throughout the king's dominions equalled that of the king himself—he was king in all but name: the world, it was said, had never seen two friends so entirely of one mind.^c The well-known anecdote best illustrates their intimate familiarity. As they rode through the streets of London on a bleak winter day they met a beggar in rags. “Would it not be charity,” said the king, “to give that fellow a cloak and cover him from the cold?” Becket assented; on which the king plucked the rich furred mantle from the shoulders of the struggling Chancellor and threw it, to the amazement and admiration of the bystanders, no doubt to the secret envy of the courtiers at this proof of Becket's favour, to the shivering beggar.^d

But it was in the graver affairs of the realm that Henry derived still greater advantage from the wisdom and the conduct of the Chancellor.^e To Becket's counsels his admiring biographers attribute the pacification of the kingdom, the expulsion of the foreign mercenaries who during the civil wars of Stephen's reign had devastated the land and had settled down as conquerors, especially in Kent, the humiliation of the refractory barons and the demolition of their castles. The peace was so profound that merchants could travel everywhere

^b Roger de Pontigny, p. 104. His character by John of Salisbury is remarkable: “Erat supra modum captator auræ popularis . . . etsi superbus esset et vanus et interdum faciem præ-tendebat insipienter amantium et verba proferret, admirandus tamen et imitandus erat in corporis castitate.”—P. 320. See an adventure related by William of Canterbury, p. 3.

^c Grim, p. 12. Roger de Pontigny, p. 102. Fitz-Stephen, p. 192.

^d Fitz-Stephen, p. 191. Fitz-Stephen is most full and particular on the chancellorship of Becket.

* It is not quite clear how soon after the accession of Henry the appointment of the Chancellor took place. I should incline to the earlier date, A.D. 1155.

in safety, and even the Jews collect their debts.^f The magnificence of Becket redounded to the glory of his sovereign. In his ordinary life he was sumptuous beyond precedent; he kept an open table, where those who were not so fortunate as to secure a seat at the board had clean rushes strewn on the floor, on which they might repose, eat, and carouse at the Chancellor's expense. His household was on a scale vast even for that age of unbounded retainership, and the haughtiest Norman nobles were proud to see their sons brought up in the family of the merchant's son. In his embassy to Paris to demand the hand of the Princess Margaret for the king's infant son, described Ambassador to Paris. A.D. 1160. with such minute accuracy by Fitz-Stephen,^g he outshone himself, yet might seem to have a loyal rather than a personal aim in this unrivalled pomp. The French crowded from all quarters to see the splendid procession pass, and exclaimed, "What must be the king, whose Chancellor can indulge in such enormous expenditure?"

Even in war the Chancellor had displayed not only the abilities of a general, but a personal prowess, which, though it found many precedents in those times, might appear somewhat incongruous in an ecclesiastic, who yet held all his clerical benefices. In the expedition made by King Henry to assert his War in Toulouse. right to the dominions of the Counts of Toulouse, Becket appeared at the head of seven hundred knights who did him service, and foremost in every adventurous exploit was the valiant Chancellor. Becket's bold counsel urged the immediate storming of the city, which would have been followed by the captivity of the King of

Fitz-Stephen, p. 187.

^g P. 196.

France. Henry, in whose character impetuosity was strangely moulded up with irresolution, dared not risk this violation of feudal allegiance, the captivity of his suzerain. The event of the war showed the policy as well as the superior military judgement of the warlike Chancellor. At a period somewhat later, Becket, who was left to reduce certain castles which held out against his master, unhorsed in single combat and took prisoner a knight of great distinction, Engelran de Trie. He returned to Henry in Normandy at the head of 1200 knights and 4000 stipendiary horsemen, raised and maintained at his own charge. If indeed there were grave churchmen even in those days who were revolted by these achievements in an ecclesiastic (he was still only in deacon's orders), the sentiment was by no means universal, nor even dominant. With some his valour and military skill only excited more ardent admiration. One of his biographers bursts out into this extraordinary panegyric on the Archdeacon of Canterbury: "Who can recount the carnage, the desolation, which he made at the head of a strong body of soldiers? He attacked castles, razed towns and cities to the ground, burned down houses and farms without a touch of pity, and never showed the slightest mercy to any one who rose in insurrection against his master's authority."^h

The services of Becket were not unrewarded; the love and gratitude of his sovereign showered honours and emoluments upon him. Among his grants were the wardenship of the Tower of London, the lordship of the castle of Berkhamstead and the honour of Eye, with the service of a hundred and forty knights. Yet there must have been other and more prolific sources

^h Edward Grim, p. 12.

of his wealth, so lavishly displayed. Through his hands as Chancellor passed almost all grants and royal favours. He was the guardian of all escheated baronies and of all vacant benefices. It is said in his praise that he did not permit the king, as was common, to prolong those vacancies for his own advantage, that they were filled up with as much speed as possible; but it should seem, by subsequent occurrences, that no very strict account was kept of the king's monies spent by the Chancellor in the king's service and those expended by the Chancellor himself. This seems intimated by the care which he took to secure a general quittance from the chief justiciary of the realm before his elevation to the archbishopric.

But if in his personal habits and occupations Becket lost in some degree the churchman in the secular dignitary, was he mindful of the solemn trust imposed upon him by his patron the archbishop, and true to the interests of his order? Did he connive at, or at least did he not resist, any invasion on ecclesiastical immunities, or, as they were called, the liberties of the clergy? Did he hold their property absolutely sacred? It is clear that he consented to levy the scutage, raised on the whole realm, on ecclesiastical as well as secular property. All that his friend John of Salisbury can allege in his defence is, that he bitterly repented of having been the minister of this iniquity.¹ "If with

¹ John of Salisbury denies that he sanctioned the rapacity of the king, and urges that he only yielded to necessity. Yet his exile was the just punishment of his guilt. "Tamen quia eum ministrum fuisse iniquitatis non ambigo, jure optimo taliter arbitror puniendum ut eo potissimum puniatur

auctore, quem in talibus Deo bonorum omnium auctori præferebat. Sed esto: nunc penitentiam agit, agnoscit et confitetur culpam pro ea, et si cum Saulo quandoque ecclesiam impugnavit, nunc, cum Paulo ponere paratus est animam suam."—Bouquet p. 518.

Saul he persecuted the Church, with Paul he is prepared to die for the Church." But probably the worst effect of this conduct as regards King Henry was the encouragement of his fatal delusion that, as archbishop, Becket would be as submissive to his wishes in the affairs of the Church as had been the pliant Chancellor. It was the last and crowning mark of the royal confidence that Becket was entrusted with the education of the young Prince Henry, the heir to all the dominions of the king.

Six years after the accession of Henry II. died Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury. On the April, 1161. character of his successor depended the peace of the realm, especially if Henry, as no doubt he did, already entertained designs of limiting the exorbitant power of the Church. Becket, ever at his right hand, could not but occur to the mind of the king. Nothing in his habits of life or conduct could impair the hope that in him the loyal, the devoted, it might seem unscrupulous subject, would predominate over the rigid churchman. With such a prime minister, attached by former benefits, it might seem by the warmest personal love, still more by this last proof of boundless confidence, to his person, and as holding the united offices of Chancellor and Primate, ruling supreme both in Church and State, the king could dread no resistance, or if there were resistance, could subdue it without difficulty.

Rumour had already designated Becket as the future primate. A churchman, the Prior of Leicester, on a visit to Becket, who was ill at Rouen, pointing to his apparel, said, "Is this a dress for an Archbishop of Canterbury?" Becket himself had not disguised his hopes and fears. "There are three poor priests in England,

any one of whose elevation to the see of Canterbury I should wish rather than my own. I know the very heart of the king; if I should be promoted, I must forfeit his favour or that of God." ^k

The king did not suddenly declare his intentions. The see was vacant for above a year,^m and the administration of the revenues must have been in the department of the Chancellor. At length as Becket, who had received a commission to return to England on other affairs of moment, took leave of his sovereign at Falaise, Henry hastily informed him that those affairs were not the main object of his mission to England—it was for his election to the vacant archbishopric. Becket remonstrated, but in vain; he openly warned, it is said, his royal master that as Primate he must choose between the favour of God and that of the king—he must prefer that of God.ⁿ In those days the interests of the clergy and of God were held inseparable. Henry no doubt thought this but the decent resistance of an ambitious prelate. The advice of Henry of Pisa, the Papal Legate, overcame the faint and lingering scruples of Becket: he passed to England with the king's recommendation, mandate it might be called, for his election.

All which to the king would designate Becket as the

^k Fitz-Stephen, p. 193.

^m Theobald died April 18, 1161.

Becket was ordained priest and consecrated on Whitsunday, 1162.

ⁿ Yet Theobald, according to John of Salisbury, designed Becket for his successor,—

"hunc (i. e. Becket Cancellarium) successurum sibi sperat et orat,
Hic est carnificum qui jus cancellat iniquum,

Quos habuit reges Anglia capta diu,
Esse putans reges, quos est perpressa,
tyrannos
Plus veneratur eos, qui nocuere magis.
Entheticus, l. 1295.

Did Becket decide against the Norman laws by the Anglo-Saxon? Has any one guessed the meaning of the rest of John's verses on the chancellor and his Court? I confess myself baffled.

future primate could not but excite the apprenensions of the more rigorous churchmen. The monks of Canterbury, with whom rested the formal election, alleged as an insuperable difficulty that Becket had never worn the monastic habit, as almost all his predecessors had done.^o The suffragan bishops would no doubt secretly resist the advancement, over all their heads, of a man who, latterly at least, had been more of a soldier, a courtier, and a lay statesman. Nor could the prophetic sagacity of any but the wisest discern the latent churchmanship in the ambitious and inflexible heart of Becket. It is recorded on authority, which I do not believe doubtful as to its authenticity, but which is the impassioned statement of a declared enemy, that nothing but the arrival of the great justiciary, Richard de Luci, with the king's peremptory commands, and with personal menaces of proscription and exile against the more forward opponents, awed the refractory monks and prelates to submission.

At Whitsuntide Thomas Becket received priest's orders, and was then consecrated Primate of England with great magnificence in the Abbey of Westminster. The see of London being vacant, the ceremony was performed by the once turbulent, now aged and peaceful, Henry of Winchester, the brother of King Stephen. One voice alone, that of Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of Hereford,^p broke the apparent harmony by a bitter sarcasm

^o Roger de Pontigny, p. 100.

^p In the memorable letter of Gilbert Foliot. Dr. Lingard observes that Mr. Berington has proved this letter to be spurious. I cannot see any force in Mr. Berington's arguments, and should certainly have paid more deference to Dr. Lingard himself if he had examined

the question. It seems, moreover (if I rightly understand Dr. Giles, and I am not certain that I do), that it exists in more than one MS. of Foliot's letters. He has printed it as unquestioned; no very satisfactory proceeding in an editor. The conclusive argument for its authenticity with me is this: Who

—“The king has wrought a miracle; he has turned a soldier and a layman into an archbishop.” Gilbert
Foliot.
 Gilbert Foliot, from first to last the firm and unawed antagonist of Becket, is too important a personage to be passed lightly by.¹ This sally was attributed no doubt by some at the time, as it was the subject afterwards of many fierce taunts from Becket himself, and of lofty vindication by Foliot, to disappointed ambition, as though he himself aspired to the primacy. Nor was there an ecclesiastic in England who might entertain more just hopes of advancement. He was admitted to be a man of unimpeachable life, of austere habits, and great learning. He had been Abbot of Gloucester and then Bishop of Hereford. He was in correspondence with four successive Popes, Coelestine II., Lucius II., Eugenius III., Alexander, and with a familiarity which implies a high estimation for ability and experience. He is interfering in matters remote from his diocese, and commending other bishops, Lincoln and Salisbury, to the favourable consideration of the Pontiff. All his letters reveal as imperious and conscientious a churchman as Becket himself, and in Becket's position Foliot might have resisted the king as inflexibly.² He was, in short, a bold and stirring ecclesiastic, who did not scruple to wield, as he had done in several instances, that last terrible weapon of the clergy which burst on

after Becket's death and canonisation, would have ventured or thought it worth while to forge such a letter? To whom was Foliot's memory so dear, or Becket's so hateful, as to reopen the whole strife about his election and his conduct? Besides, it seems clear that it is either a rejoinder to the long letter addressed by Becket to the clergy of England (Giles, iii. 170), or that

letter is a rejoinder to Foliot's. Each is a violent party pamphlet against the other, and of great ability and labour.

¹ Foliot's nearest relatives, if not himself, were Scotch; one of them had forfeited his estate for fidelity to the King of Scotland.—Epist. ii. cclxxviii.

² Read his letters before his elevation to the see of London.

his own head, excommunication.⁸ It may be added that, notwithstanding his sarcasm, there was no open breach between him and Becket. The primate acquiesced in, if he did not promote, the advancement of Foliot to the see of London;† and during that period letters of courtesy which borders on adulation were interchanged at least with apparent sincerity.[‡]

The king had indeed wrought a greater miracle than himself intended, or than Foliot thought possible. Becket became at once not merely a decent prelate, but an austere and mortified monk: he seemed determined to make up for his want of ascetic qualifications; to crowd a whole life of monkhood into a few years.[‡] Under his canonical dress he wore a monk's frock, hair-cloth next his skin; his studies, his devotions, were long, regular, rigid. At the mass he was frequently melted into passionate tears. In his outward demeanour, indeed, though he submitted to private flagellation, and the most severe macerations, Becket was still the stately prelate; his food, though scanty to abstemiousness, was, as his constitution required, more delicate, his charities were boundless. Archbishop Theobald had

⁸ See, *e. g.*, Epist. cxxxi., in which he informs Archbishop Theobald that the Earl of Hereford held intercourse with William Beauchamp, excommunicated by the Primate. "Vilescit anathematis autoritas, nisi et communicantes excommunicatis corripiat digna severitas." The Earl of Hereford must be placed under anathema.

[†] Lambeth, p. 91. The election of the Bishop of Hereford to London is confirmed by the Pope's permission to elect him (March 19) rogatu H. regis et Archiep. Cantuariensis. A letter from

Pope Alexander on his promotion rebukes him for *fasting too severely*.—Epist. ccclix.

[‡] Foliot, in a letter to Pope Alexander, maintains the superiority of Canterbury over York.—cxlix.

[‡] See on the change in his habits, Lambeth, p. 84; also the strange story, in Grim, of a monk who declared himself commissioned by a preterhuman person of terrible countenance to warn the Chancellor not to dare to appear in the choir, as he had done, in a secular dress.—p. 16.

doubled the usual amount of the primate's alms, Becket again doubled that; and every night in privacy, no doubt more ostentatious than the most public exhibition, with his own hands he washed the feet of thirteen beggars. His table was still hospitable and sumptuous, but instead of knights and nobles, he admitted only learned clerks, and especially the regulars, whom he courted with the most obsequious deference. For the sprightly conversation of former times were read grave books in the Latin of the church.

But the change was not alone in his habits and mode of life. The King could not have reprov'd, he might have admir'd, the most punctilious regard for the decency and the dignity of the highest ecclesiastic in the realm. But the inflexible churchman began to betray himself in more unexpected acts. While still in France Henry was startled at receiving a peremptory resignation of the chancellorship, as inconsistent with the religious functions of the primate. This act was as it were a bill of divorce from all personal intimacy with the king, a dissolution of their old familiar and friendly intercourse. It was not merely that the holy and austere prelate withdrew from the unbecoming pleasures of the court, the chase, the banquet, the tournament, even the war; they were no more to meet at the council board, and the seat of judicature. It had been said that Becket was co-sovereign with the king, he now appeared (and there were not wanting secret and invidious enemies to suggest, and to inflame the suspicion) a rival sovereign.^y The king, when Becket met him on his landing at

^y Compare the letter of the politic Arnulf, Bishop of Lisieux: "Si enim favori divino favorem præferretis humanum, poteratis non solum cum summâ tranquillitate degere, sed ipso etiam magis quam olim, Principe conregnare." — Apud Bouquet, xvi. p. 229.

Southampton, did not attempt to conceal his dissatisfaction ; his reception of his old friend was cold.

It were unjust to human nature to suppose that it did not cost Becket a violent struggle, a painful sacrifice, thus as it were to rend himself from the familiarity and friendship of his munificent benefactor. It was no doubt a severe sense of duty which crushed his natural affections, especially as vulgar ambition must have pointed out a more sure and safe way to power and fame. Such ambition would hardly have hesitated between the ruling all orders through the king, and the solitary and dangerous position of opposing so powerful a monarch to maintain the interests and secure the favour of one order alone.

Henry was now fully occupied with the affairs of Wales. Becket, with the royal sanction, obeyed the summons of Pope Alexander to the Council of Tours. Becket had passed through part of France at the head of an army of his own raising, and under his command ; he had passed a second time as representing the king, he was yet to pass as an exile. At Tours, Becket at Tours. May 19, 1163. where Pope Alexander now held his court, and presided over his Council, Becket appeared at the head of all the Bishops of England, except those excused on account of age or infirmity. So great was his reputation, that the Pope sent out all the cardinals, except those in attendance on his own person, to escort the primate of England into the city. In the council at Tours not merely was the title of Alexander to the popedom avouched with perfect unanimity, but the rights and privileges of the clergy asserted with more than usual rigour and distinctness. Some canons, one especially which severely condemned all encroachments on the property of the Church, might seem

framed almost with a view to the impending strife with England.

That strife, so impetuous might seem the combatants to join issue, broke out, during the next year, in all its violence. Both parties, if they did not commence, were prepared for aggression. The first occasion of public collision was a dispute concerning the customary payment of the ancient Danegelt, of two shillings on every hide of land, to the sheriffs of the several counties. The king determined to transfer this payment to his own exchequer: he summoned an assembly at Woodstock, and declared his intentions. All were mute but Becket; the archbishop opposed the enrolment of the decree, on the ground that the tax was voluntary, not of right. "By the eyes of God," said Henry, his usual oath, "it shall be enrolled!" "By the same eyes, by which you swear," replied the prelate, "it shall never be levied on my lands while I live!"² On Becket's part, almost the first act of his primacy was to vindicate all the rights, and to resume all the property which had been usurped, or which he asserted to have been usurped, from his see.³ It was not likely that, in the turbulent times just gone by, there would have been rigid respect for the inviolability of sacred property. The title of the Church was held to be indefeasible. Whatever had once belonged to the Church might be recovered at any time; and the ecclesiastical courts claimed the sole right of adjudication in

Beginning
of strife.

² This strange scene is recorded by Roger de Pontigny, who received his information on all those circumstances from Becket himself, or from his followers. See also Grim, p. 22.

³ Becket had been compelled to give

up the rich archdeaconry of Canterbury, which he seemed disposed to hold with the archbishopric. Geoffrey Ridel, who became archdeacon, was afterwards one of his most active enemies.

such causes. The primate was thus at once plaintiff, judge, and carried into execution his own judgements. The lord of the manor of Eynsford in Kent, who held of the king, claimed the right of presentation to that benefice. Becket asserted the prerogative of the see of Canterbury. On the forcible ejection of his nominee by the lord, William of Eynsford, Becket proceeded at once to a sentence of excommunication, without regard to Eynsford's feudal superior the king. The primate next demanded the castle of Tunbridge from the head of the powerful family of De Clare; though it had been held by De Clare, and it was asserted, received in exchange for a Norman castle, since the time of William the Conqueror. The attack on De Clare might seem a defiance of the whole feudal nobility; a determination to despoil them of their conquests, or grants from the sovereign.

The king, on his side, wisely chose the strongest and more popular ground of the immunities of the clergy from all temporal jurisdiction. He appeared as guardian of the public morals, as administrator of equal justice to all his subjects, as protector of the peace of the realm. Crimes of great atrocity, it is said, of great frequency, crimes such as robbery and homicide, crimes for which secular persons were hanged by scores and without mercy, were committed almost with impunity, or with punishment altogether inadequate to the offence, by the clergy; and the sacred name of clerk, exempted not only bishops, abbots, and priests, but those of the lowest ecclesiastical rank from the civil power. It was the inalienable right of the clerk to be tried only in the court of his bishop; and as that court could not award capital punishment, the utmost penalties were flagellation, imprisonment, and degradation. It

Claims of
Becket.

Immunities
of the
clergy.

was only after degradation, and for a second offence (for the clergy strenuously insisted on the injustice of a second trial for the same act),^b that the meanest of the clerical body could be brought to the level of the most highborn layman. But to cede one tittle of these immunities, to surrender the sacred person of a clergyman, whatever his guilt, to the secular power, was treason to the sacerdotal order: it was giving up Christ (for the Redeemer was supposed actually to dwell in the clerk, though his hands might be stained with innocent blood) to be crucified by the heathen.^c To mutilate the person of one in holy orders was directly contrary to the Scripture (for with convenient logic, while the clergy rejected the example of the Old Testament as to the equal liability of priest and Levite with the ordinary Jew to the sentence of the law, they alleged it on their own part as unanswerable). It was inconceivable, that hands which had but now made God should be tied behind the back, like those of a common malefactor, or that his neck should be wrung on a gibbet, before whom kings had but now bowed in reverential homage.^d

The enormity of the evil is acknowledged by Becket's most ardent partisans.^e The king had credible infor-

^b The king was willing that the clerk guilty of murder or robbery should be degraded before he was hanged, but hanged he should be. The archbishop insisted that he should be safe "a læsione membrorum." Degradation was in itself so dreadful a punishment, that to hang also for the same crime was a double penalty. "If he returned to his vomit," after degradation, "he might be hanged."—Compare Grim, p. 30.

^c "De novo judicatur Christus ante

Pilatam præsidem."—De Bosham, p. 117.

^d De Bosham, p. 100.

^e The fairness with which the question is stated by Herbert de Bosham, the follower, almost the worshipper of Becket, is remarkable. "Arctabatur itaque rex, arctabatur et pontifex. Rex etenim populi sui pacem, sicut archipræsul cleri sui zelans libertatem, audiens sic et videns et ad multorum relationes et querimonias accipiens, per hujuscemodi castigationes, talium cleri

mation laid before him that some of the clergy were absolute devils in guilt, that their wickednesses could not be repressed by the ordinary means of justice, and were daily growing worse.

Becket himself had protected some notorious and heinous offenders. A clerk of the diocese of Worcester had debauched a maiden and murdered her father. Becket ordered the man to be kept in prison, and refused to surrender him to the king's justice.^f Another in London, guilty of stealing a silver goblet, was claimed as only amenable to the ecclesiastical court. Philip de Brois, a canon of Bedford, had been guilty of homicide. The cause was tried in the bishop's court; he was condemned to pay a fine to the kindred of the slain man. Some time after, Fitz-Peter, the king's justiciary, whether from private enmity or offence, or dissatisfied with the ecclesiastical verdict, in the open court at Dunstable, called De Brois a murderer. De Brois broke out into angry and contumelious language against the judge. The insult to the justiciary was held to be insult to the king, who sought justice, where alone he could obtain it, in the bishop's court. Philip de Brois this time incurred a sentence, to our notions almost as disproportionate as that for his former offence. He was condemned to be publicly whipped, and degraded for two years from the honours and emoluments of his canonry. But to the

corum immo verius caracterizatorum, dæmonum flagitia non reprimi vel potius indes per regnum deterius fieri." He proceeds to state at length the argument on both sides. Another biographer of Becket makes strong admissions of the crimes of the clergy: "Sed et ordinatorum inordinati mores, inter regem et archiepiscopum auxere

malitiam, qui solito abundantius per idem tempus apparebant publicis irriti criminibus."—Edw. Grim. It was said that no less than 100 of the clergy were charged with homicide.

^f This, according to Fitz-Stephen, was the first cause of quarrel with the king, p. 215.

king the verdict appeared far too lenient; the spiritual jurisdiction was accused as shielding the criminal from his due penalty.

Such were the questions on which Becket was prepared to confront and to wage war to the death with the king; and all this with a deliberate know-Character of the King. ledge both of the power and the character of Henry, his power as undisputed sovereign of England and of continental territories more extensive and flourishing than those of the king of France. These dominions included those of the Conqueror and his descendants, of the Counts of Anjou, and the great inheritance of his wife, Queen Eleanor, the old kingdom of Aquitaine; they reached from the borders of Flanders round to the foot of the Pyrenees. This almost unrivalled power could not but have worked with the strong natural passions of Henry to form the character drawn by a churchman of great ability, who would warn Becket as to the formidable adversary whom he had undertaken to oppose,—“You have to deal with one on whose policy the most distant sovereigns of Europe, on whose power his neighbours, on whose severity his subjects look with awe; whom constant successes and prosperous fortune have rendered so sensitive, that every act of disobedience is a personal outrage; whom it is as easy to provoke as difficult to appease; who encourages no rash offence by impunity, but whose vengeance is instant and summary. He will sometimes be softened by humility and patience, but will never submit to compulsion; everything must seem to be conceded by his own free will, nothing wrested from his weakness. He is more covetous of glory than of gain, a commendable quality in a prince, if virtue and truth, not the vanity and soft flattery of courtiers, awarded that glory. He is a great, indeed

the greatest of kings, for he has no superior of whom he may stand in dread, no subject who dares to resist him. His natural ferocity has been subdued by no calamity from without; all who have been involved in any contest with him, have preferred the most precarious treaty to a trial of strength with one so pre-eminent in wealth, in the number of his forces, and the greatness of his puissance." ^g

A king of this character would eagerly listen to suggestions of interested or flattering courtiers, that unless the Primate's power were limited, the authority of the king would be reduced to nothing. The succession to the throne would depend entirely on the clergy, and he himself would reign only so long as might seem good to the Archbishop. Nor were they the baser courtiers alone who feared and hated Becket. The nobles might tremble from the example of De Clare, with whose powerful house almost all the Norman baronage was allied, lest every royal grant should be called in question.^h Even among the clergy Becket had bitter enemies; and though at first they appeared almost as jealous as the Primate for the privileges of their order, the most able soon espoused the cause of the King; those who secretly favoured him were obliged to submit in silence.

The King, determined to bring these great questions to issue, summoned a Parliament at Westminster.

^g See throughout this epistle of Arnulf of Lisieux, Bouquet, p. 230. This same Arnulf was a crafty and double-dealing prelate. Grim and Roger de Pontigny say that he suggested to Henry the policy of making a party against Becket among the English bishops, while to Becket he plays the part of confidential counsellor.—Grim, p. 29. R. P., p. 119. Will. Canterb., p. 6. Compare on Arnulf, Epist. 346, v. 11, p. 189.

^h These are the words which Fitz-Stephen places in the mouths of the king's courtiers.

He commenced the proceedings by enlarging on the abuses of the archidiaconal courts. The archdeacons kept the most watchful and inquisitorial ^{Parliament of Westminster.} superintendence over the laity, but every offence was easily commuted for a pecuniary fine, which fell to them. The King complained that they levied a revenue from the sins of the people equal to his own, yet that the public morals were only more deeply and irretrievably depraved. He then demanded that all clerks accused of heinous crimes should be immediately degraded and handed over to the officers of his justice, to be dealt with according to law; for their guilt, instead of deserving a lighter punishment, was doubly guilty: he demanded this in the name of equal justice and the peace of the realm. Becket insisted on delay till the next morning, in order that he might consult his suffragan bishops. This the King refused: the bishops withdrew to confer upon their answer. The bishops were disposed to yield, some doubtless impressed with the justice of the demand, some from fear of the King, some from a prudent conviction of the danger of provoking so powerful a monarch, and of involving the Church in a quarrel with Henry at the perilous time of a contest for the Papacy which distracted Europe. Becket inflexibly maintained the inviolability of the holy persons of the clergy.¹ The King then demanded whether they would observe the "customs of the realm." "Saving my order," replied the Archbishop. That order was still to be exempt from all jurisdiction but its own. So answered all the bishops except Hilary of Chichester, who made the declaration without reserve.²

¹ Herbert de Bosham, p. 109. Fitz-Stephen, p. 209, *et seq.*

² "Dicens se observaturos regias consuetudines bonâ fide."

The King hastily broke up the assembly, and left London in a state of consternation, the people and the clergy agitated by conflicting anxieties. He immediately deprived Becket of the custody of the Royal Castles, which he still retained, and of the momentous charge, the education of his son. The bishops entreated Becket either to withdraw or to change the offensive word. At first he declared that if an angel from Heaven should counsel such weakness, he would hold him accursed. At length, however, he yielded, as Herbert de Bosham asserts, out of love for the King,^m by another account at the persuasion of the Pope's Almoner, said to have been bribed by English gold.ⁿ He went to Oxford and made the concession.

The King, in order to ratify with the utmost solemnity the concession extorted from the bishops, and even from Becket himself, summoned a great council of the realm to Clarendon, a royal palace between three and four miles from Salisbury. The two archbishops and eleven bishops, between thirty and forty of the highest nobles, with numbers of inferior barons, were present. It was the King's object to settle beyond dispute the main points in contest between the Crown and the Church; to establish thus, with the consent of the whole nation, an English Constitution in Church and State. Becket, it is said, had been assured by some about the King that a mere assent would be demanded to vague and ambiguous, and therefore on occasion disputable, customs. But when these customs, which had been collected and put in writing by the King's order, appeared in the form of precise and binding laws, drawn up with legal technicality by the Chief

Jan. 1164.

Council of
Clarendon.

^m Compare W. Canterb. p. 6.

ⁿ Grim, p. 29

Justiciary, he saw his error, wavered, and endeavoured to recede.^o The King broke out into one of his ungovernable fits of passion. One or two of the bishops who were out of favour with the King and two knights Templars on their knees implored Becket to abandon his dangerous, fruitless, and ill-timed resistance. The Archbishop took the oath, which had been already sworn to by all the lay barons. He was followed by the rest of the bishops, reluctantly according to one account, and compelled on one side by their dread of the lay barons, on the other by the example and authority of the Primate, according to Becket's biographers, eagerly and of their own accord.^p

These famous Constitutions were of course feudal in their form and spirit. But they aimed at the subjection of all the great prelates of the realm to the Crown to the same extent as the great barons. The new constitution of England made the bishops' fiefs to be granted according to the royal will, and subjected the whole of the clergy equally with the laity to the common laws of the land.^q I. On the vacancy of every archbishopric, bishopric, abbey, or priory, the revenues came into the King's hands. He was to summon those who had the right of election, which was to take place in the King's Chapel, with his consent, and the counsel of nobles chosen by the King for this office. The prelate elect was immediately to do

^o Dr. Lingard supposes that Becket demanded that the customs should be reduced to writing. This seems quite contrary to his policy; and Edward Grim writes thus: "Nam domestici regis, dato consentiente consilio, securum fecerant archiepiscopum, quod nunquam scriberentur leges, nunquam

illarum fieret recordatio, si eum verbotantum in audientiâ procerum honorâsset," &c.—P. 31.

^p See the letter of Gilbert Foliot, of which I do not doubt the authenticity.

^q According to the Cottonian copy, published by Lord Lyttelton, Constitutions xii. xv. iv.

homage to the King as his liege lord, for life, limb, and worldly honours, excepting his order. The archbishops, bishops, and all beneficiaries, held their estates on the tenure of baronies, amenable to the King's justice, and bound to sit with the other barons in all pleas of the Crown, except in capital cases. No archbishop, bishop, or any other person could quit the realm without royal permission, or without taking an oath at the King's requisition, not to do any damage either going, staying, or returning, to the King or the kingdom.

II. All clerks accused of any crime were to be summoned before the King's Courts. The King's justiciaries were to decide whether it was a case for civil or ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Those which belonged to the latter were to be removed to the Bishops' Court. If the clerk was found guilty or confessed his guilt, the Church could protect him no longer.^r

III. All disputes concerning advowsons and presentations to benefices were to be decided in the King's Courts; and the King's consent was necessary for the appointment to any benefice within the King's domain.^s

IV. No tenant in chief of the King, none of the officers of the King's household, could be excommunicated, nor his lands placed under interdict, until due information had been laid before the King; or, in his absence from the realm, before the great Justiciary, in order that he might determine in each case the respective rights of the civil and ecclesiastical courts.^t

V. Appeals lay from the archdeacon to the bishop, from the bishop to the Archbishop. On failure of justice by the Archbishop, in the last resort to the King, who

^r Constitution iii.

^s Constitutions i. and ii.

^t Constitution vii., somewhat limited and explained by x.

was to take care that justice was done in the Archbishop's Court; and no further appeal was to be made without the King's consent. This was manifestly and avowedly intended to limit appeals to Rome.

All these statutes, in number sixteen, were restrictions on the distinctive immunities of the clergy: one, and that unnoticed, was really an invasion of popular freedom; no son of a villein could be ordained without the consent of his lord.

Some of these customs were of doubtful authenticity. On the main question, the exorbitant powers of the ecclesiastical courts and the immunity of the clergy from all other jurisdiction, there was an unrepealed statute of William the Conqueror. Before the Conquest the bishop sat with the alderman in the same court. The statute of William created a separate jurisdiction of great extent in the spiritual court. This was not done to aggrandise the Church, of which in some respects the Conqueror was jealous, but to elevate the importance of the great Norman prelates whom he had thrust into the English sees. It raised another class of powerful feudatories to support the foreign throne, bound to it by common interest as well as by the attachment of race. But at this time neither party took any notice of the ancient statute. The King's advisers of course avoided the dangerous question; Becket and the Churchmen (Becket himself declared that he was unlearned in the customs), standing on the divine and indefeasible right of the clergy, could hardly rest on a recent statute granted by the royal will, and therefore liable to be annulled by the same authority. The Customs, they averred, were of themselves illegal, as clashing with higher irrevocable laws.

To these Customs Becket had now sworn without

reserve. Three copies were ordered to be made—one for the Archbishop of Canterbury, one for York, one to be laid up in the royal archives. To these the King demanded the further guarantee of the seals of the different parties. The Primate, whether already repenting of his assent, or under the vague impression that this was committing himself still further (for oaths might be absolved, seals could not be torn from public documents), now obstinately refused to make any further concession. The refusal threw suspicion on the sincerity of his former act. The King, the other prelates, the nobles, all but Becket,^u subscribed and sealed the Constitutions of Clarendon as the laws of England.

As the Primate rode from Winchester in profound silence, meditating on the acts of the council and on his own conduct, one of his attendants, who has himself related the conversation, endeavoured to raise his spirits. "It is a fit punishment," said Becket, "for one who, not trained in the school of the Saviour, but in the King's court, a man of pride and vanity, from a follower of hawks and hounds, a patron of players, has dared to assume the care of so many souls."^x De Bosham significantly reminded his master of St. Peter, his denial of the Lord, his subsequent repentance. On his return to Canterbury Becket imposed upon himself the severest mortification, and suspended himself from his function

of offering the sacrifice on the altar. He wrote April 1. almost immediately to the Pope to seek counsel and absolution from his oath. He received both. The absolution restored all his vivacity.

^u Herbert de Bosham. "Cautè quidem non de plano negat, sed differendum dicebat adhuc." avium factus sum pastor ovium; dudum fautor histrionum et eorum sectator tot animarum pastor."— De Bosham,

^x "Superbus et vanus, de pastore" p. 126.

But the King had likewise his emissaries with the Pope at Sens. He endeavoured to obtain a legatine commission over the whole realm of England for Becket's enemy, Roger Archbishop of York, and a recommendation from the Pope to Becket to observe the "customs" of the realm. Two embassies were sent by the King for this end: first the Bishops of Lisieux and Poitiers; then Geoffrey Ridel, Archdeacon of Canterbury (who afterwards appears so hostile to the Primate as to be called by him that archdevil, not archdeacon), and the subtle John of Oxford. The embarrassed Pope (throughout it must be remembered that there was a formidable Antipope), afraid at once of estranging Henry, and unwilling to abandon Becket, granted the legation to the Archbishop of York. To the Primate's great indignation, Roger had his cross borne before him in the province of Canterbury. On Becket's angry remonstrance, the Pope, while on the one hand he enjoined on Becket the greatest caution and forbearance in the inevitable contest, assured him that he would never permit the see of Canterbury to be subject to any authority but his own.⁷

⁷ Read the Epistles, apud Giles, v. iv., 1, 3, Bouquet, xvi. 210, to judge of the skilful steering and difficulties of the Pope. There is a very curious letter of an emissary of Becket, describing the death of the Anti-Pope (he died at Lucca, April 21). The canons of San Frediano, in Lucca, refused to bury him, because he was already "buried in hell." The writer announces that the Emperor also was ill, that the Empress had miscarried, and that therefore all France adhered with greater devotion to Alexander;

and the Legatine commission to the Archbishop of York had expired without hope of recovery. The writer ventures, however, to suggest to Becket to conduct himself with modesty; to seek rather than avoid intercourse with the king.—Apud Giles, iv. 240; Bouquet, p. 210. See also the letter of John, Bishop of Poitiers, who says of the Pope, "Gravi redimit pœnitentiâ, illam qualem qualem quam Eboracensi (fecerit), concessionem." — Bouquet, p. 214.

Becket secretly went down to his estate at Romney, near the sea-coast, in the hope of crossing the Straits, and so finding refuge and maintaining his cause by his personal presence with the Pope. Stormy weather forced him to abandon his design. He then betook himself to the King at Woodstock. He was coldly received. The King at first dissembled his knowledge of the Primate's attempt to cross the sea, a direct violation of one of the Constitutions; but on his departure he asked with bitter jocularly whether Becket had sought to leave the realm because England could not contain himself and the King.²

The tergiversation of Becket, and his attempt thus to violate one of the Constitutions of Clarendon, to which he had sworn, showed that he was not to be bound by oaths. No treaty could be made where one party claimed the power of retracting, and might at any time be released from his covenant. In the mind of Henry, whose will had never yet met resistance, the determination was confirmed, if he could not subdue the Prelate, to crush the refractory subject. Becket's enemies possessed the King's ear. Some of those enemies no doubt hated him for his former favour with the King, some dreaded lest the severity of so inflexible a prelate should curb their licence, some held property belonging to or claimed by the Church, some to flatter the King, some in honest indignation at the duplicity of Becket and in love of peace, but all concurred to inflame the resentment of Henry, and to attribute to Becket words and designs insulting to the King and disparaging to the royal authority. Becket, holding such notions as he did

² I follow De Bosham. Fitz-Stephen says that he was repelled from the gates of the king's palace at Woodstock; and that he afterwards went to Romney to attempt to cross the sea.

of Church power, would not be cautious in asserting it; and whatever he might utter in his pride would be embittered rather than softened when repeated to the King.

Since the Council of Clarendon Becket stood alone. All the higher clergy, the great prelates of the kingdom, were now either his open adversaries or were compelled to dissemble their favour towards him. Whether alienated, as some declared, by his pusillanimity at Clarendon, bribed by the gifts, or overawed by the power of the King, whether conscientiously convinced that in such times of schism and division it might be fatal to the interests of the Church to advance her loftiest pretensions, all, especially the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London, Salisbury, and Chichester, were arrayed on the King's side. Becket himself attributed the chief guilt of his persecution to the bishops. "The King would have been quiet if they had not been so tamely subservient to his wishes."^a

Before the close of the year Becket was cited to appear before a great council of the realm at Northampton. All England crowded to witness this final strife, it might be, between the royal and the ecclesiastical power. The Primate entered Northampton with only his own retinue; the King had passed the afternoon amusing himself with hawking in the pleasant meadows around. The Archbishop, on the following morning after mass, appeared in the King's chamber with a cheerful countenance. The King gave not, according to English custom, the kiss of peace.

The citation of the Primate before the King in council

^a "Quievisset ille, si non acquievissent illi."—Becket, Epist. ii. p. 5. Compare the whole letter.

at Northampton was to answer a charge of withholding justice from John the Marshall employed in the king's exchequer, who claimed the estate of Pagaham from the see of Canterbury. Twice had Becket been summoned to appear in the King's court to answer for this denial of justice: once he had refused to appear, the second time he did not appear in person. Becket in vain alleged an informality in the original proceedings of John the Marshall.^b The court, the bishops, as well as the barons, declared him guilty of contumacy; all his goods and chattels became, according to the legal phrase, at the King's mercy.^c The fine was assessed at 500 pounds. Becket submitted, not without irony: "This, then, is one of the new customs of Clarendon." But he protested against the unheard-of audacity that the bishops should presume to sit in judgement on their spiritual parent; it was a greater crime than to uncover their father's nakedness.^d Sarcasms and protests passed alike without notice. But the bishops, all except Foliot, consented to become sureties for this exorbitant fine. Demands rising one above another seemed framed for the purpose of reducing the Archbishop to the humiliating condition of a debtor to the King, entirely at his disposal. First 300 pounds were demanded as due from the castles of Eye and Berkhamstead. Becket pleaded that he had expended a much larger sum on the repairs of the castles: he found sureties likewise for this payment, the Earl of Glou-

Demands on
Becket.

^b He had been sworn not on the Gospels, but on a tropologium, a book of church music.

^c Goods and chattels at the king's mercy were redeemable at a customary fine; this fine, according to the customs of Kent, would have been larger than

according to those of London.—Fitz-Stephen.

^d "Minus fore malum verenda patris detecta deridere, quam patris ipsius personam judicare."—De Bosham, p. 135.

cester, William of Eynsford, and another of "his men." The next day the demand was for 500 pounds lent by the King during the siege of Toulouse. Becket declared that this was a gift, not a loan;^e but the King denying the plea, judgement was again entered against Becket. At last came the overwhelming charge, an account of all the monies received during his chancellorship from the vacant archbishopric and from other bishoprics and abbeys. The debt was calculated at the enormous sum of 44,000 marks. Becket was astounded at this unexpected claim. As chancellor, in all likelihood, he had kept no very strict account of what was expended in his own and in the royal service; and the King seemed blind to this abuse of the royal right, by which so large a sum had accumulated by keeping open those benefices which ought to have been instantly filled. Becket, recovered from his first amazement, replied that he had not been cited to answer on such a charge; at another time he should be prepared to answer all just demands of the Crown. He now requested delay, in order to advise with his suffragans and the clergy. He withdrew, but from that time no single baron visited the object of the royal disfavour. Becket assembled all the poor, even the beggars, who could be found, to fill his vacant board.

In his extreme exigency the Primate consulted separately first the bishops, then the abbots. Their Takes counsel with the bishops. advice was different according to their characters and their sentiments towards him. He had what might seem an unanswerable plea, a formal acquittance from the chief Justiciary De Luci, the King's repre-

^e Fitz-Stephen states this demand at 500 marks, and a second 500 for which a bond had been given to a Jew.

sentative, for all obligations incurred in his civil capacity before his consecration as archbishop.^f The King, however, it was known, declared that he had given no such authority. Becket had the further excuse that all which he now possessed was the property of the Church, and could not be made liable for responsibilities incurred in a secular capacity. The bishops, however, were either convinced of the insufficiency or the inadmissibility of that plea. Henry of Winchester recommended an endeavour to purchase the King's pardon; he offered 2000 marks as his contribution. Others urged Becket to stand on his dignity, to defy the worst, under the shelter of his priesthood; no one would venture to lay hands on a holy prelate. Foliot and his party betrayed their object.^g They exhorted him as the only way of averting the implacable wrath of the King at once to resign his see. "Would," said Hilary of Chichester, "you were no longer archbishop, but plain Thomas. Thou knowest the King better than we do; he has declared that thou and he cannot remain together in England, he as King, thou as Primate. Who will be bound for such an amount? Throw thyself on the King's mercy, or to the eternal disgrace of the Church thou wilt be arrested and imprisoned as a debtor to the Crown." The next day was Sunday; the Archbishop did not leave his lodgings.

^f Neither party denied this acquittance given in the King's name by the justiciary Richard de Luci. This, it should seem, unusual precaution, or at least this precaution taken with such unusual care, seems to imply some suspicion that, without it, the archbishop was liable to be called to account; an account which probably, from the splendid prodigality with which Becket had lavished the King's

money and his own, it might be difficult or inconvenient to produce.

^g In an account of this affair, written later, Becket accuses Foliot of aspiring to the primacy—"et qui adspirabant ad fastigium ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, ut vulgo dicitur et creditur, in nostram perniciem, utinam minus ambitiosè, quam avidè." This could be none but Foliot.—*Epist. lxxv. p. 154.*

On Monday the agitation of his spirits had brought on an attack of a disorder to which he was subject: he was permitted to repose. On the morrow he had determined on his conduct. At one time he had seriously meditated on a more humiliating course: he proposed to seek the royal presence barefooted with the cross in his hands, to throw himself at the King's feet, appealing to his old affection, and imploring him to restore peace to the Church. What had been the effect of such a step on the violent but not ungenerous heart of Henry? But Becket yielded to haughtier counsels more congenial to his own intrepid character. He began by the significant act of celebrating, out of its due order, the service of St. Stephen, the first martyr. It contained passages of holy writ (as no doubt Henry was instantly informed) concerning "kings taking counsel against the godly." The mass concluded; in all the majesty of his holy character, in his full pontifical habits, himself bearing the archiepiscopal cross, the primate rode to the King's residence, and dismounting entered the royal hall. The cross seemed, as it were, an up-
Becket in the
King's hall.
lifting of the banner of the Church, in defiance of that of the King, in the royal presence; or it might be in that awful imitation of the Saviour, at which no scruple was ever made by the bolder churchmen—it was the servant of Christ who himself bore his own cross.^b "What means this new fashion of the Archbishop bearing his own cross?" said the Archdeacon of Lisieux. "A fool," said Foliot, "he always was and

^b "Tanquam in proelio Domini, signifer Domini, vexillum Domini erigens: illud etiam Domini non solum spiritualiter, sed et figuraliter implens. Si quis, inquit, vult meus esse discipulus, abneget semet ipsum, tollat crucem suam et sequatur me." De Bosham, p. 143. Compare the letter of the Bishops to the Pope.—Giles, iv. 256; Bouquet, 224.

always will be." They made room for him; he took his accustomed seat in the centre of the bishops. Foliot endeavoured to persuade him to lay down the cross. "If the sword of the king and the cross of the archbishop were to come into conflict, which were the more fearful weapon?" Becket held the cross firmly, which Foliot and the Bishop of Hereford strove, but in vain, to wrest from his grasp.

The bishops were summoned into the King's presence: Becket sat alone in the outer hall. The Archbishop of York, who, as Becket's partisans asserted, designedly came later that he might appear to be of the King's intimate council, swept through the hall with his cross borne before him. Like hostile spears cross confronted cross.¹

During this interval De Bosham, the archbishop's reader, who had reminded his master that he had been standard-bearer of the King of England, and was now the standard-bearer of the King of the Angels, put this question, "If they should lay their impious hand upon thee, art thou prepared to fulminate excommunication against them?" Fitz-Stephen, who sat at his feet, said in a loud clear voice, "That be far from thee; so did not the Apostles and Martyrs of God: they prayed for their persecutors and forgave them." Some of his more attached followers burst into tears. "A little later," says the faithful Fitz-Stephen of himself, "when one of the King's ushers would not allow me to speak to the Archbishop, I made a sign to him and drew his attention to the Saviour on the cross."

The bishops admitted to the King's presence an-

¹ "Quasi pila minantia pilis," quotes Fitz-Stephen; "Memento," said De Bosham, "quondam te extitisse regis Anglorum signiferum inexpugnabilem, nunc vero si signifer regis Angelorum expugnaris turpissimum."—p. 146.

nounced the appeal of the Archbishop to the Pope, and his inhibition to his suffragans to sit in judgement in a secular council on their metropolitan.^k These were again direct infringements on two of the Constitutions of Clarendon, sworn to by Becket in an oath still held valid by the King and his barons. The King appealed to the council. Some seized the occasion of boldly declaring to the King that he had brought this difficulty on himself by advancing a low-born man to such favour and dignity. All agreed that Becket was guilty of perjury and treason.^m A kind of low acclamation followed which was heard in the outer room and made Becket's followers tremble. The King sent certain counts and barons to demand of Becket whether he, a liegeman of the King, and sworn to observe the Constitutions of Clarendon, had lodged this appeal and pronounced this inhibition? The Archbishop replied with quiet intrepidity. In his long speech he did not hesitate for a word: he pleaded that he had not been cited to answer these charges; he alleged again the Justiciary's acquittance; he ended by solemnly renewing his inhibition and his appeal: "My person and my church I place under the protection of the sovereign Pontiff."

Condemnation of Becket.

The barons of Normandy and England heard with wonder this defiance of the King. Some seemed awestruck and were mute; the more fierce and lawless could not restrain their indignation. "The Conqueror knew best how to deal with these turbulent churchmen.

^k "Dicebant enim episcopi, quod adhuc, ipsâ die, intra decem dies datæ sententiæ, eos ad dominum Papam appellaverat, et ne de cetero eum iudicarent pro seculari querelâ, quæ de

tempore ante archipræsulatum ei moveretur, auctoritate domini Papæ prohibuit."—Fitz-Stephen, p. 230.

^m Herbert de Bosham, p. 146.

He seized his own brother, Odo Bishop of Bayeux, and chastised him for his rebellion; he threw Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, into a fœtid dungeon. The Count of Anjou, the King's father, treated still worse the bishop elect of Seez and many of his clergy: he ordered them to be shamefully mutilated and derided their sufferings."

The King summoned the bishops, on their allegiance as barons, to join in the sentence against Becket. But the inhibition of their metropolitan had thrown them into embarrassment, and perhaps they felt that the offence of Becket, if not capital treason, bordered upon it. It might be a sentence of blood, in which no churchman might concur by his suffrage—they dreaded the breach of canonical obedience. They entered the hall where Becket sat alone. The gentler prelates, Robert of Lincoln and others, were moved to tears; even Henry of Winchester advised the archbishop to make an unconditional surrender of his see. The more vehement Hilary of Chichester addressed him thus: "Lord Primate, we have just cause of complaint against you. Your inhibition has placed us between the hammer and the anvil: if we disobey it, we violate our canonical obedience; if we obey, we infringe the constitutions of the realm and offend the King's majesty. Yourself were the first to subscribe the customs at Clarendon, you now compel us to break them. We appeal, by the King's grace, to our lord the Pope." Becket answered "I hear."

They returned to the King, and with difficulty obtained an exemption from concurrence in the sentence: they promised to join in a supplication to the Pope to depose Becket. The King permitted their appeal. Robert Earl of Leicester, a grave and aged

nobleman, was commissioned to pronounce the sentence. Leicester had hardly begun when Becket sternly interrupted him. "Thy sentence! son and Earl, hear me first! The King was pleased to promote me against my will to the archbishopric of Canterbury. I was then declared free from all secular obligations. Ye are my children; presume ye against law and reason to sit in judgement on your spiritual father? I am to be judged only, under God, by the Pope. To him I appeal, before him I cite you, barons and my suffragans, to appear. Under the protection of the Catholic Church and the Apostolic See I depart!"ⁿ He rose and walked slowly down the hall. A deep murmur ran through the crowd. Some took up straws and threw them at him. One uttered the word "Traitor!" The old chivalrous spirit woke in the soul of Becket. "Were it not for my order, you should rue that word." But by other accounts he restrained not his language to this pardonable impropriety—he met scorn with scorn. One officer of the King's household he upbraided for having had a kinsman hanged. Anselm, the King's brother, he called "bastard and catamite." The door was locked, but fortunately the key was found. He passed out into the street, where he was received by the populace, to whom he had endeared himself by his charities, his austerities, perhaps by his courageous opposition to the king and the nobles, amid loud acclamations. They pressed so closely around him for his blessing that he could scarcely guide his horse. He returned to the church of St. Andrew, placed his cross by the altar of the Virgin. "This was a fearful day," said Fitz-Stephen. "The

ⁿ De Bosham's account is, that notwithstanding the first interruption Leicester reluctantly proceeded till he came to the word "perjured," at which Becket rose and spoke.

day of judgement," he replied, "will be more fearful." After supper he sent the Bishops of Hereford, Worcester, and Rochester to the King to request permission to leave the kingdom: the King coldly deferred his answer till the morrow.

Becket and his friends no doubt thought his life in danger: he is said to have received some alarming warnings.^o It is reported, on the other hand, that the King, apprehensive of the fierce zeal of his followers, issued a proclamation that no one should do harm to the archbishop or his people. It is more likely that the King, who must have known the peril of attempting the life of an archbishop, would have apprehended and committed him to prison. Becket expressed his intention to pass the night in the church: his bed was strewn

Flight of
Becket,
Oct. 13.

before the altar. At midnight he rose, and with only two monks and a servant stole out of the northern gate, the only one which was not guarded. He carried with him only his archiepiscopal pall and his seal. The weather was wet and stormy, but the next morning they reached Lincoln, and lodged with a pious citizen—piety and admiration of Becket were the same thing. At Lincoln he took the disguise of a monk, dropped down the Witham to a hermitage in the fens belonging to the Cistercians of Sempringham; thence by cross-roads, and chiefly by night, he found his way to Estrey, about five miles from Deal, a manor belonging to Christ Church in Canterbury. He remained there a week. On All Souls Day he went on board a boat, just before morning, and by the evening reached the coast of Flanders. To avoid observation he landed on the open shore near Gravelines. His

large, loose shoes made it difficult to wade through the sand without falling. He sat down in despair. After some delay, was obtained for a prelate, accustomed to the prancing war-horse or stately cavalcade, a sorry nag without a saddle, and with a wisp of hay for a bridle. But he soon got weary and was fain to walk. He had many adventures by the way. He was once nearly betrayed by gazing with delight on a falcon upon a young squire's wrist; his fright punished him for this relapse into his secular vanities. The host of a small inn recognised him by his lofty look and the whiteness of his hands. At length he arrived at the monastery of Clair Marais, near St. Omer: he was there joined by Herbert de Bosham, who had been left behind to collect what money he could at Canterbury: he brought but 100 marks and some plate. While he was in this part of Flanders the Justiciary, Richard de Luci, passed through the town on his way to England. He tried in vain to persuade the archbishop to return with him: Becket suspected his friendly overtures, or had resolutely determined not to put himself again in the King's power.

In the first access of indignation at Becket's flight the King had sent orders for strict watch to be kept in the ports of the kingdom, especially Dover. The next measure was to pre-occupy the minds of the Count of Flanders, the King of France, and the Pope against his fugitive subject. Henry could not but foresee how formidable an ally the exile might become to his rivals and enemies, how dangerous to his extensive but ill-consolidated foreign dominions. He might know that Becket would act and be received as an independent potentate. The rank of his ambassadors implied the importance of their mission to France. They were the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London, Exeter,

Chichester, and Worcester, the Earl of Arundel, and three other distinguished nobles. The same day that Becket passed to Gravelines, they crossed from Dover to Calais.^p

The Earl of Flanders, though with some cause of hostility to Becket, had offered him a refuge; yet perhaps was not distinctly informed or would not know that the exile was in his dominions.^q He received the King's envoys with civility. The King of France was at Compiègne. The strongest passions in the feeble mind of Louis VII. were jealousy of Henry of England, and a servile bigotry to the Church, to which he seemed determined to compensate for the hostility and disobedience of his youth. Against Henry, personally, there were old causes of hatred rankling in his heart, not the less deep because they could not be avowed. Henry of England was now the husband of Eleanor, who, after some years of marriage, had contemptuously divorced the King of France as a monk rather than a husband, had thrown herself into the arms of Henry and carried with her a dowry as large as half the kingdom of France. There had since been years either of fierce war, treacherous negotiations, or jealous and armed peace, between the rival sovereigns.

^p Foliot and the King's envoys crossed the same day. It is rather amusing that, though Becket crossed the same day in an open boat, and, as is incautiously betrayed by his friends, suffered much from the rough sea, the weather is described as in his case almost miraculously favourable, in the other as miraculously tempestuous. So that while Becket calmly glided over,

Foliot in despair of his life threw off his cowl and cope.

^q Compare, however, Roger of Pontigny. By his account, the Count of Flanders, a relative and partisan of Henry ("consanguineus et qui partes ejus fovebat"), would have arrested him. He escaped over the border by a trick.—Roger de Pontigny, p. 148.

Louis had watched, and received regular accounts of the proceedings in England; his admiration of Becket for his lofty churchmanship and daring opposition to Henry was at its height, scarcely disguised. He had already in secret offered to receive Becket, not as a fugitive, but as the sharer in his kingdom. The ambassadors appeared before Louis and presented a letter urging the King of France not to admit within his dominions the traitor Thomas, late Archbishop of Canterbury. "Late Archbishop! and who has presumed to depose him? I am a king, like my brother of England; I should not dare to depose the meanest of my clergy. Is this the King's gratitude for the services of his Chancellor, to banish him from France, as he has done from England?"^r Louis wrote a strong letter to the Pope, recommending to his favour the cause of Becket as his own.

The ambassadors passed onward to Sens, where resided the Pope Alexander III., himself an exile, and opposing his spiritual power to the highest temporal authority, that of the Emperor and his subservient Antipope. Alexander was in a position of extraordinary difficulty: on the one side were gratitude to King Henry for his firm support, and the fear of estranging so powerful a sovereign, on whose unrivalled wealth he reckoned as the main strength of his cause; on the other, the dread of offending the King of France, also his faithful partisan, in whose dominions he was a refugee, and the duty, the interest, the strong inclination to maintain every privilege of the hierarchy. To Henry Alexander almost owed his pontificate. His first and most faithful adherents had been Theobald the primate,

^r Giles, iv. 253; Bœuquet, p. 217.

the English Church, and Henry King of England; and when the weak Louis had entered into dangerous negotiations at Lannes with the Emperor; when at Dijon he had almost placed himself in the power of Frederick, and his voluntary or enforced defection had filled Alexander with dread, the advance of Henry of England with a powerful force to the neighbourhood rescued the French king from his perilous position.⁹ And now, though Victor the Antipope was dead, a successor, Guido of Crema, had been set up by the imperial party, and Frederick would lose no opportunity of gaining, if any serious quarrel should alienate him from Alexander, a monarch of such surpassing power. An envoy from England, John Cummin, was even now at the imperial court.⁴

Becket's messengers, before the reception of Henry's ambassadors by Pope Alexander, had been admitted to a private interview. The account of Becket's "fight with beasts" at Northampton, and a skilful parallel with St. Paul, had melted the heart of the Pontiff, as he no doubt thought himself suffering like persecutions, to a flood of tears. How in truth could a Pope venture to abandon such a champion of what were called the liberties of the church? He had, in fact, throughout been in secret correspondence with Becket. Whenever letters could escape the jealous watchfulness of the King, they had passed between England and Sens.¹⁰

⁹ See back, page 9.

⁴ Epist. Nuntii; Giles, iv. 254: Bouquet, p. 217.

¹⁰ Becket writes from England to the Pope, "Quod petimus, summo silentio petimus occultari. Nihil enim nobis tutum est, quum omnia ferè referuntur ad regem, quæ nobis in conclavi vel in aurem dicuntur." There is a significant clause at the end of this

letter, which implies that the emissaries of the Church did not confine themselves to Church affairs: "De Wallensibus et Oweno, qui se principem nominat, *provideatis*, quia Dominus Rex super hoc maximè motus est et indignatus." The Welsh were in arms against the King. This borders on high treason.—Apud Giles, iii. 1. Bouquet, 221.

The ambassadors of Henry were received in state in the open consistory. Foliot of London began with his usual ability; his warmth at length betrayed him into the Scriptural citation,—“The wicked fleeth when no man pursueth.” “Forbear,” said the Pope. “I will forbear him,” answered Foliot. “It is for thine own sake, not for his, that I bid thee forbear.” The Pope’s severe manner silenced the Bishop of London. Hilary, Bishop of Chichester, who had overweening confidence in his own eloquence, began a long harangue; but at a fatal blunder in his Latin, the whole Italian court burst into laughter.^x The discomfited orator tried in vain to proceed. The Archbishop of York spoke with prudent brevity. The Count of Arundel, more cautious or less learned, used his native Norman. His speech was mild, grave, and conciliatory, and therefore the most embarrassing to the Pontiff. Alexander consented to send his cardinal legates to England; but neither the arguments of Foliot, nor those of Arundel, who now rose to something like a menace of recourse to the Antipope, would induce him to invest them with full power. The Pope would entrust to none but to himself the prerogative of final judgement. Alexander mistrusted the venality of his cardinals, and Henry’s subsequent dealing with some of them justified his mistrust.^y He was himself inflexible to tempting offers. The envoys privately proposed to extend the payment of Peter’s Pence to almost all classes, and to secure the tax in perpetuity to the see of Rome. The ambassadors retreated in haste; their commission had been limited

^x The word “oportuebat” was too bad for monkish, or rather for Roman, ears.

there were some of them “qui acceptâ a rege pecuniâ partes ejus fovebant,” particularly William of Pavia.—p. 153.

^y According to Roger of Pontigny,

to a few days. The bishops, so strong was the popular feeling in France for Becket, had entered Sens as retainers of the Earl of Arundel: they received intimation that certain lawless knights in the neighbourhood had determined to waylay and plunder these enemies of the Church, and of the saintly Becket.

Far different was the progress of the exiled primate. From St. Bertin he was escorted by the abbot, and by the Bishop of Terouenne. He entered France; he was met, as he approached Soissons, by the King's brothers, the Archbishop of Rheims, and a long train of bishops, abbots, and dignitaries of the church; he entered Soissons at the head of 300 horsemen. The interview of Louis with Becket raised his admiration into passion. As the envoys of Henry passed on one side of the river, they saw the pomp in which the ally of the King of France, rather than the exile from England, was approaching Sens. The cardinals, whether from prudence, jealousy, or other motives, were cool in their reception of Becket. The Pope at once granted the honour of a public audience; he placed Becket on his right hand, and would not allow him to rise to speak. Becket, after a skilful account of his hard usage, spread out the parchment which contained the Constitutions of Clarendon. They were read; the whole Consistory exclaimed against the violation of ecclesiastical privileges. On further examination the Pope acknowledged that six of them were less evil than the rest; on the remaining ten he pronounced his unqualified condemnation. He rebuked the weakness of Becket in swearing to these articles, it is said, with the severity of a father, the tenderness of a mother.² He consoled him with the

Becket
at Sens.

² Herbert & Bosham.

assurance that he had atoned by his sufferings and his patience for his brief infirmity. Becket pursued his advantage. The next day, by what might seem to some trustful magnanimity, to others a skilful mode of getting rid of certain objections which had been raised concerning his election, he tendered the resignation of his archiepiscopate to the Pope. Some of the more politic, it was said, more venal cardinals, entreated the Pontiff to put an end at once to this dangerous quarrel by accepting the surrender.^a But the Pontiff (his own judgement being supported among others by the Cardinal Hyacinth) restored to him the archiepiscopal ring, thus ratifying his primacy. He assured Becket of his protection, and committed him to the hospitable care of the Abbot of Pontigny, a monastery about twelve leagues from Sens. "So long have you lived in ease and opulence, now learn the lessons of poverty from the poor."^b Yet Alexander thought it prudent to inhibit any proceedings of Becket against the King till the following Easter.

Becket's emissaries had been present during the interview of Henry's ambassadors with the Pope. Henry, no doubt, received speedy intelligence of these proceedings with Becket. He was at Marlborough after a disastrous campaign in Wales.^c He issued immediate orders to

^a Alani Vita (p. 362); and Alan's Life rests mainly on the authority of John of Salisbury. Herbert de Bosham suppresses this.

^b The Abbot of Pontigny was an ardent admirer of Becket. See letter of the Bishop of Poitiers, Bouquet, p. 214. Prayers were offered up throughout the struggle with Henry for Becket's success at Pontigny,

Citeaux, and Clairvaux.—Giles, iv. 255.

^c Compare Lingard. Becket on this news exclaimed, as is said, "His wise men are become fools; the Lord hath sent among them a spirit of giddiness; they have made England to reel to and fro like a drunken man."—Vol. iii. p. 227. No doubt, he would have it supposed God's vengeance for his own wrongs.

seize the revenues of the Archbishop, and promulgated a mandate to the bishops to sequester the estates of all the clergy who had followed him to France. He forbade public prayers for the Primate. In the exasperated state, especially of the monkish mind, prayers for Becket would easily slide into anathemas against the King. The payment of Peter's Pence^d to the Pope was suspended. All correspondence with Becket was forbidden. But the resentment of Henry was not satisfied. He passed a sentence of banishment, and ordered at once to be driven from the kingdom all the primate's kinsmen, dependents, and friends. Four hundred persons, it is said, of both sexes, of every age, even infants at the breast were included (and it was the depth of winter) in this relentless edict. Every adult was to take an oath to proceed immediately to Becket, in order that his eyes might be shocked, and his heart wrung by the miseries which he had brought on his family and his friends. This order was as inhumanly executed, as inhumanly enacted.^e It was intrusted to Randolph de Broc, a fierce soldier, the bitterest of Becket's personal enemies. It was as impolitic as cruel. The monasteries and convents of Flanders and of France were thrown open to the exiles with generous hospitality. Throughout both these countries was spread a multitude of persons appealing to the pity, to the indignation of all orders of the people,

^d There are in Foliot's letters many curious circumstances about the collection and transmission of Peter's Pence. In Alexander's present state, notwithstanding the amity of the King of France, this source of revenue was no doubt important.—Epist. 149, 172, &c. Alexander wrote from Clermont

to Foliot (June 8, 1165) to collect the tax, to do all in his power for the recal of Becket: to Henry, reprobating the Constitutions; to Becket, urging prudence and circumspection. This was later. The Pope was then on his way to Italy, where he might need Henry's gold. ^e Becket, Epist. 4, p. 7.

and so deepening the universal hatred of Henry. The enemy of the Church was self-convicted of equal enmity to all Christianity of heart.

In his seclusion at Pontigny Becket seemed determined to compensate by the sternest monastic discipline for that deficiency which had been alleged Becket at Pontigny. on his election to the archbishopric. He put on the coarse Cistercian dress. He lived on the hard and scanty Cistercian diet. Outwardly he still maintained something of his old magnificence and the splendour of his station. His establishment of horses and retainers was so costly, that his sober friend, John of Salisbury, remonstrated against the profuse expenditure. Richer viands were indeed served on a table apart, ostensibly for Becket; but while he himself was content with the pulse and gruel of the monks, those meats and game were given away to the beggars. His devotions were long and secret, broken with perpetual groans. At night he rose from the bed strewn with rich coverings, as befitting an archbishop, and summoned his chaplain to the work of flagellation. Not satisfied with this, he tore his flesh with his nails, and lay on the cold floor, with a stone for his pillow. His health suffered; wild dreams, so reports one of his attendants, haunted his broken slumbers, of cardinals plucking out his eyes, fierce assassins cleaving his tonsured crown.^f His studies were neither suited to calm his mind, nor to abase his hierarchical haughtiness. He devoted his time to the canon law, of which the False Decretals now formed an integral part: sacerdotal fraud justifying the loftiest sacerdotal presumption. John of Salisbury again interposed with friendly remonstrance. He urged him

^f Edw. Grim.

to withdraw from these undevotional inquiries; he recommended to him the works of a Pope of a different character, the *Morals of Gregory the Great*. He exhorted Becket to confer with holy men on books of spiritual improvement.

King Henry in the mean time took a loftier and more menacing tone towards the Pope. "It is an unheard of thing that the court of Rome should support traitors against my sovereign authority; I have not deserved such treatment.⁸ I am still more indignant that the justice is denied to me which is granted to the meanest clerk." In his wrath he made overtures to Reginald, Archbishop of Cologne, the maker, he might be called, of two Antipopes, and the minister of the Emperor, declaring that he had long sought an opportunity of falling off from Alexander and his perfidious cardinals, who presumed to support against him the traitor Thomas, late Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Emperor met the advances of Henry with promptitude, which showed the importance he attached to the alliance. Reginald of Cologne was sent to England to propose a double alliance with the house of Swabia, of Frederick's son, and of Henry the Lion, with the two daughters of Henry Plantagenet. The Pope trembled at this threatened union between the houses of Swabia and England. At the great diet held at Wurtzburg, Frederick asserted the canonical election of Paschal III., the new Antipope, and declared in the face of the empire and of all Christendom, that the powerful kingdom of England had now embraced his cause, and that the

Diet at
Wurtzburg,
A.D. 1165,
Whitsuntide.

⁸ Bouquet, xvi. 256.

King of France stood alone in his support of Alexander.^b In his public edict he declared to all Christendom that the oath of fidelity to Paschal, of denial of all future allegiance to Alexander, administered to all the great princes and prelates of the empire, had been taken by the ambassadors of King Henry, Richard of Ilchester, and John of Oxford.ⁱ Nor was this all. A solemn oath of abjuration of Pope Alexander was enacted, and to some extent enforced; it was to be taken by every male over twelve years old throughout the realm.^k The King's officers compelled this act of obedience to the King, in villages, in castles, in cities.

If the ambassadors of Henry at Wurtzburg had full powers to transfer the allegiance of the King to the Antipope; if they took the oath unconditionally, and

^b The letters of John of Salisbury are full of allusions to the proceedings at Wurtzburg.—Bouquet, p. 524. John of Oxford is said to have denied the oath (p. 533); also Giles, iv. 264. He is from that time branded by John of Salisbury as an arch liar.

ⁱ John of Oxford was rewarded for this service by the deanery of Salisbury, vacant by the promotion of the dean to the bishopric of Bayeux. Joscelyn, Bishop of Salisbury, notwithstanding the papal prohibition that no election should take place in the absence of some of the canons, chose the safer course of obedience to the King's mandate. This act of Joscelyn was deeply resented by Becket. John of Oxford's usurpation of the deanery was one of the causes assigned for his excommunication at Vezelay. See also, on the loyal but somewhat unscrupulous proceedings of John of Oxford, the letter (hereafter referred to) of Nicolas de

Monte Rotomagensi. It describes the attempt of John of Oxford to prepossess the Empress Matilda against Becket. It likewise betrays again the double-dealing of the Bishop of Lisieux, outwardly for the King, secretly a partisan and adviser of Becket. On the whole, it shows the moderation and good sense of the empress, who disapproved of some of the Constitutions, and especially of their being written, but speaks strongly of the abuses in the Church. Nicolas admires her skilfulness in defending her son.—Giles, iv. 187. Bouquet, 226.

^k "Præcepit enim publicè et *compulit* per vicos, per castella, per civitates ab homine sene usque ad puerum duodenum beati Petri successorem Alexandrum abjurare." William of Canterbury alone of Becket's biographers (Giles, ii. p. 19) asserts this, but it is unanswerably confirmed by Becket's Letter 78, iii. p. 192.

with no reserve in case Alexander should abandon the cause of Becket; if this oath of abjuration in England was generally administered; it is clear that Henry soon changed, or wavered at least in his policy. The alliance between the two houses came to nothing. Yet even after this he addressed another letter to Reginald, Archbishop of Cologne, declaring again his long cherished determination to abandon the cause of Alexander, the supporter of his enemy, the Archbishop of Canterbury. He demanded safe-conduct for an embassy to Rome, the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of London, John of Oxford, De Luci, the Justiciary, peremptorily to require the Pope to annul all the acts of Thomas, and to command the observance of the Customs.^m The success of Alexander in Italy, aversion in England to the abjuration of Alexander, some unaccounted jealousy with the Emperor, irresolution in Henry, which was part of his impetuous character, may have wrought this change.

The monk and severe student of Pontigny found rest neither in his austerities nor his studies.ⁿ The causes of this enforced repose are manifest—the negotiations between Henry and the Emperor, the uncertainty of the success of the Pope on his return to Italy. It would have been perilous policy, either for him to risk, or for the Pope not to inhibit any rash measure.

In the second year of his seclusion, when he found

^m The letter in Giles (vi. 279) is rather perplexing. It is placed by Bouquet, agreeing with Baronius, in 1166; by Von Raumer (*Geschichte der Hohenstauffen*, ii. p. 192) in 1165, before the Diet of Wurtzburg. This cannot be right, as the letter implies that Alexander was in Rome, where he arrived not before Nov. 1165. The

embassy, though it seems that the Emperor granted the safe-conduct, did not take place, at least as regards some of the ambassadors.

ⁿ "Itaque per biennium ferme stetit." So writes Roger of Pontigny. It is difficult to make out so long a time.—p. 154.

that the King's heart was still hardened, the fire, not, we are assured by his followers, of resentment, but of parental love, not zeal for vengeance but for justice, burned within his soul. Henry was at this time in France. Three times the exile cited his sovereign with the tone of a superior to submit to his censure. Becket had communicated his design to his followers:—"Let us act as the Lord commanded his steward:° 'See, I have set thee over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root out and to pull down, and to destroy, and to hew down, to build and to plant.'"^p All his hearers applauded his righteous resolution. In the first message the haughty meaning was veiled in the blindest words,^q and sent by a Cistercian of gentle demeanour, named Urban.^r The King returned a short and bitter answer. The second time Becket wrote in severer language, but yet in the spirit, 'tis said, of compassion and leniency.^s The King deigned no reply. His third messenger was a tattered, barefoot friar. To him Becket, it might seem, with studied insult, not only entrusted his letter to the King, but authorised the friar to speak in his name. With such a messenger the message was not likely to lose in asperity. The King returned an answer even more contemptuous than the address.^t

But this secret arraignment of the King did not content the unquiet prelate. He could now dare more, unrestrained, unrebuked. Pope Alexander had been

° Herbert de Bosham.—p. 226.

^p Jer. i. 10.

^q "Suavissimas literas, supplicationem solam, correptionem vero nullam vel *modicam* continentes."—De Bosham.

^r Urbane by disposition as by name.

—Ibid.

^s Giles, iii. 365. Bouquet, p. 243.

^t "Quin potius dura propinantes, dura pro duris, immo multo plus duriora prioribus, reportaverunt."—De Bosham.

received at Rome with open arms: at the commencement of the present year all seemed to favour his cause. The Emperor, detained by wars in Germany, was not prepared to cross the Alps. In the free cities of Italy, the anti-imperialist feeling, and the growing republicanism, gladly entered into close confederacy with a Pope at war with the Emperor. The Pontiff (secretly it should seem, it might be in defiance or in revenge for Henry's threatened revolt and for the acts of his ambassadors at Wurtzburg^u) ventured to grant to Becket a legatine power over the King's English dominions, except the province of York. Though it was not in the power of Becket to enter those dominions, it armed him, as it was thought, with unquestionable authority over Henry and his subjects. At all events it annulled whatever restraint the Pope, by counsel or by mandate, had placed on the proceedings of Becket.* The Archbishop took his determination alone.^y As though to throw an awful mystery about

^u The Pope had written (Jan. 28) to the bishops of England not to presume to act without the consent of Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury. April 5, he forbade Roger of York and the other prelates to crown the King's son. May 3, he writes to Foliot and the bishops who had received benefices of the King to surrender them under pain of anathema; to Becket in favour of Joscelyn, Bishop of Salisbury: he had annulled the grant of the deanery of Salisbury to John of Oxford. May 10, to the Archbishop of Rouen, denouncing the dealings of Henry with the Emperor and the Antipope.—Giles, iv. 10 a 80. Bouquet, 246.

* The inhibition given at Sens to

proceed against the King, before the Easter of the following year (A.D. 1166), had now expired. Moreover he had a direct commission to proceed by Commination against those who forcibly withheld the property of the see of Canterbury.—Apud Giles, iv. 8. Bouquet, xvi. 844. At the same time the Pope urged great discretion as to the King's person.—Giles, iv. 12. Bouquet, 244.

^y At the same time Becket wrote to Foliot of London, commanding him under penalty of excommunication to transmit to him the sequestered revenues of Canterbury in his hands.—Foliot appealed to the Pope.—Foliot's Letter. Giles, vi. 5. Bouquet, 215.

his plan, he called his wise friends together, and consulted them on the propriety of resigning his see. With one voice they rejected the timid counsel. Yet though his most intimate followers were in ignorance of his designs, some intelligence of a meditated blow was betrayed to Henry. The King summoned an assembly of prelates at Chinon. The Bishops of Lisieux and Seez, whom the Archbishop of Rouen, Rotran, consented to accompany as a mediator, were despatched to Pontigny, to anticipate by an appeal to the Pope, any sentence which might be pronounced by Becket. They did not find him there: he had already gone to Soissons, on the pretext of a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Drausus, a saint whose intercession rendered the warrior invincible in battle. Did Becket hope thus to secure victory in the great spiritual combat? One whole night he passed before the shrine of St. Drausus: another before that of Gregory the Great, the founder of the English Church, and of the see of Canterbury; a third before that of the Virgin, his especial patroness.

From thence he proceeded to the ancient and famous monastery of Vezelay.² The church of Vezelay, if the dismal decorations of the architecture are (which is doubtful) of that period, might seem designated for that fearful ceremony.³ There, on

Becket at
Vezelay.

* The curious History of the Monastery of Vezelay, by Hugh of Poitiers (translated in Guizot, Collection des Mémoires), though it twice mentions Becket, stops just short of this excommunication, 1166. Vezelay boasted to be subject only to the See of Rome, to have been made by its founder part of the patrimony of St. Peter. This was one great distinction: the other was the unquestioned possession of the body

of St. Mary Magdalene, "l'amie de Dieu." Vezelay had been in constant strife with the Bishop of Autun for its ecclesiastical, with the Count of Nevers for its territorial independence; with the monastery of Clugny, as its rival. This is a document very instructive as to the life of the age.

* A modern traveller thus writes of the church of Vezelay: "On voit par le choix des sujets qui ont un sens, quel

the feast of the Ascension,^b when the church was crowded with worshippers from all quarters, he ascended the pulpit, and, with the utmost solemnity, condemned and annulled the Constitutions of Clarendon, declared excommunicate all who observed or enforced their observance, all who had counselled, and all who had defended them; absolved all the bishops from the oaths which they had taken to maintain them. This sweeping anathema involved the whole kingdom. But he proceeded to excommunicate by name his most active and powerful adversaries: John of Oxford, for his dealings with the schismatic partisans of the Emperor and of the Antipope, and for his usurpation of the deanery of Salisbury; Richard of Ilchester Archdeacon of Poitiers, the colleague of John in his negotiations at Wurtzburg (thus the cause of Becket and Pope Alexander were

était l'esprit du temps et la manière d'interpréter la religion. Ce n'était pas par la douceur ou la persuasion qu'on voulait convertir, mais bien par la terreur. Les discours des prêtres pourraient se résumer en ce peu de mots: 'Croyez, ou sinon vous périssez misérablement, et vous serez éternellement tourmentés dans l'autre monde!' De leur côté, les artistes, gens religieux, ecclésiastiques même pour la plupart, donnaient une forme réelle aux sombres images que leur inspirait un zèle farouche. Je ne trouve à Vezelay aucun de ces sujets que les âmes tendres aimeraient à retracer, tels que le pardon accordé au repentir, la récompense du juste, etc.; mais, au contraire, je vois Saméel égorgeant Agag; des diables écartelant des damnés, ou les entraînant dans l'abîme; puis des animaux horribles, des mon-

stres hideux, des têtes grimaçantes exprimant ou les souffrances des réprouvés, ou la joie des habitans de l'enfer. Qu'on se représente la dévotion des hommes élevés au milieu de ces images, et l'on s'étonnera moins des massacres des Albigeois."—Notes d'un Voyage dans le Midi de la France, par Prosper Mérimée, p. 43.

^b Diceto gives the date Ascension Day, Herbert de Bosham St. Mary Magdalene's Day (July 22nd). It should seem that De Bosham's memory failed him. See the letter of Nicolas de M. Rotomagensi, who speaks of the excommunication as past, and that Becket was expected to excommunicate the King on St. Mary Magdalene's Day. This, if done at Vezelay (as it were, over the body of the Saint, on her sacred day), had been tenfold more awful.

indissolubly welded together); the great Justiciary, Richard de Luci, and John of Baliol, the authors of the Constitutions of Clarendon; Randulph de Broc, Hugo de Clare, and others, for their forcible usurpation of the estates of the see of Canterbury. He yet in his mercy spared the King (he had received intelligence that Henry was dangerously ill), and in a lower tone, his voice, as it seemed, half choked with tears, he uttered his Commination. The whole congregation, even his own intimate followers, were silent with amazement.

This sentence of excommunication Becket announced to the Pope, and to all the clergy of England. To the latter he said, "Who presumes to doubt that the priests of God are the fathers and masters of kings, princes, and all the faithful?" He commanded Gilbert, Bishop of London, and his other suffragans, to publish this edict throughout their dioceses. He did not confine himself to the bishops of England; the Norman prelates, the Archbishop of Rouen, were expressly warned to withdraw from all communion with the excommunicate.^c

The wrath of Henry drove him almost to madness. No one dared to name Becket in his presence.^d Soon after, on the occasion of some discussion about the King of Scotland, he burst into a fit of passion, threw away his cap, ungirt his belt, stripped off his clothes, tore the silken coverlid from his bed, and crouched down on the straw, gnawing bits of it with his teeth.^e Proclamation was issued to guard the ports of

Anger of the King.

^c See the curious letter of Nicolas de Monte Rotomagensi, Giles, iv., Bouquet, 250. This measure of Becket was imputed by the Archbishop of Rheims to pride or anger ("extollentiæ aut iræ"); it made an unfavour-

able impression on the Empress Matilda. —Ibid.

^d Epist. Giles, iv. 185; Bouquet, 258.

^e Epist. Giles, iv. 260; Bouquet, 256.

England against the threatened interdict. Any one who should be apprehended as the bearer of such an instrument, if a regular, was to lose his feet; if a clerk, his eyes, and suffer more shameful mutilation; a layman was to be hanged; a leper to be burned. A bishop who left the kingdom, for fear of the interdict, was to carry nothing with him but his staff. All exiles were to return on pain of losing their benefices. Priests who refused to chant the service were to be mutilated, and all rebels to forfeit their lands. An oath was to be administered by the sheriffs to all adults, that they would respect no ecclesiastical censure from the Archbishop.

A second time Henry's ungovernable passion betrayed him into a step which, instead of lowering, only placed his antagonist in a more formidable position. He determined to drive him from his retreat at Pontigny. He sent word to the general of the Cistercian order, that it was at their peril, if they harboured a traitor to his throne. The Cistercians possessed many rich abbeys in England; they dared not defy at once the King's resentment and rapacity. It was intimated to the Abbot of Pontigny, that he must dismiss his guest. The Abbot courteously communicated to Becket the danger incurred by the Order. He could not but withdraw; but instead now of lurking in a remote monastery, in some degree secluded from the public gaze, he was received in the archiepiscopal city of Sens; his honourable residence was prepared in a monastery close to the city; he lived in ostentatious communication with the Archbishop William, one of his most zealous partisans.^f

Becket
driven from
Pontigny.

^f Herbert de Bosham, p. 232.

But the fury of haughtiness in Becket equalled the fury of resentment in the King: yet it was not without subtlety. Just before the scene at Vezelay, it has been said, the King had sent the Archbishop of Rouen and the Bishop of Lisieux to Pontigny, to lodge his appeal to the Pope. Becket, duly informed by his emissaries at the court, had taken care to be absent. He eluded likewise the personal service of the appeal of the English clergy. An active and violent correspondence ensued. The remonstrance, purporting to be from the Primate's suffragans and the whole clergy of England, was not without dignified calmness. With covert irony, indeed, they said that they had derived great consolation from the hope that, when abroad, he would cease to rebel against the King and the peace of the realm; that he would devote his days to study and prayer, and redeem his lost time by fasting, watching, and weeping; they reproached him with the former favours of the King, with the design of estranging the King from Pope Alexander; they asserted the readiness of the King to do full justice, and concluded by lodging an appeal until the Ascension-day of the following year.⁵ Foliot was no doubt the author of this remonstrance, and between the Primate and the Bishop of London broke out a fierce warfare of letters. With Foliot Becket kept no terms. "You complain that the Bishop of Salisbury has been excommunicated, without citation, without hearing, without judgement. Remember the fate of Ucalegon. He trembled when his neighbour's house was on fire." To Foliot he asserted the pre-eminence, the supremacy, the divinity of the spiritual power without reserve. "Let

Controversy
with English
clergy.

⁵ Epist. Giles, vi. 158; Bouquet, 259.

not your liege lord be ashamed to defer to those to whom God himself defers, and calls them 'Gods.'"^b Foliot replied with what may be received as the manifesto of his party, and as the manifesto of a party to be received with some mistrust, yet singularly curious, as showing the tone of defence taken by the opponents of the Primate among the English clergy.ⁱ

The address of the English prelates to Pope Alexander was more moderate, and drawn with great ability. It asserted the justice, the obedience to the Church, the great virtue and (a bold assertion!) the conjugal fidelity of the King. The King had at once obeyed the citation of the Bishops of London and Salisbury, concerning some encroachments on the Church condemned by the Pope. The sole design of Henry had been to promote good morals, and to maintain the peace of the realm. That peace had been restored. All resentments had died away, when Becket fiercely recommenced the strife; in sad and terrible letters had threatened the King with excommunication, the realm with interdict. He had suspended the Bishop of Salisbury without trial. "This was the whole of the cruelty, perversity, malignity of the King against the Church, declaimed on and bruited abroad throughout the world."^k

The indefatigable John of Oxford was in Rome,

^b "Non indignetur itaque Dominus noster deferre illis, quibus summus omnium deferre non dedignatur, Deos appellans eos sæpius in sacris literis. Sic enim dixit, 'Ego dixi, Dii estis,' et 'Constitui te Deum Pharaonis,' et 'Deis non detrahere.'"—*Epist. Giles*, iii. p. 287; *Bouquet*, 261.

ⁱ Foliot took the precaution of paying into the exchequer all that he

had received from the sequestered property of the see of Canterbury.—*Giles*, v. p. 265. *Lyttelton in Appendixe*.

^k "Hæc est Domini regis toto orbe declamata crudelitas, hæc ab eo persecutio, hæc operum ejus perversorum rumusculis undique divulgata malignitas."—*Giles*, vi. 190; *Bouquet*, 265.

perhaps the bearer of this address. Becket wrote to the Pope, insisting on all the cruelties of the King: he calls him a malignant tyrant, one full of all malice. He dwelt especially on the imprisonment of one of his chaplains, for which violation of the sacred person of a clerk, the King was *ipso facto* excommunicate. "Christ was crucified anew in Becket."^m He complained of the presumption of Foliot, who had usurped the power of primate; ^{John of Oxford at Rome.} warned the Pope of the wiles of John of Oxford; deprecated the legatine mission, of which he had already heard a rumour, of William of Pavia. And all these letters, so unsparing to the King, or copies of them, probably bought out of the Roman chancery, were regularly transmitted to the King.

John of Oxford began his mission at Rome by swearing undauntedly, that nothing had been done at Wurtzburg against the power of the Church or the interests of Pope Alexander.^o He surrendered his deanery of Salis-

^m Giles, iii. 6; Bouquet, 266. Compare letter of Bishop Elect of Chartres.—Giles, vi. 211; Bouquet, 269.

ⁿ Foliot obtained letters either at this time or somewhat later from his own Chapter of St. Paul, from many of the greatest dignitaries of the English Church, the abbots of Westminster and Reading, and from some distinguished foreign ecclesiastics, in favour of himself, his piety, churchmanship, and impartiality.

^o The German accounts are unanimous about the proceedings at Wurtzburg and the oath of the English ambassadors. See the account in Von Raumer (*loc. cit.*), especially of the conduct of Reginald of Cologne, and

the authorities. John of Oxford is henceforth called, in John of Salisbury's letters, jurator. Becket repeatedly charges him with perjury.—Giles, iii. p. 129 and 351; Bouquet, 280. Becket there says that John of Oxford had given up part of the "customs." He begs John of Poitiers to let the King know this. See the very curious answer of John of Poitiers.—Giles, vi. 251; Bouquet, 280. It appears that as all Becket's letters to the Pope were copied and transmitted from Rome to Henry, so John of Poitiers, outwardly the King's loyal subject, is the secret spy of Becket. He speaks of those in England who thirst after Becket's blood.

bury into the hands of the Pope, and received it back again.^p John of Oxford was armed with more powerful weapons than perjury or submission, and the times now favoured the use of these more irresistible arms. The Emperor Frederick was levying, if he had not already set in motion, that mighty army which swept, during the next year, through Italy, made him master of Rome, and witnessed his coronation and the enthronement of the Antipope.^q Henry had now, notwithstanding his suspicious—more than suspicious—dealings with the Emperor, returned to his allegiance to Alexander. Vast sums of English money were from this time expended in strengthening the cause of the Pope. The Guelfic cities of Italy received them with greedy hands. By the gold of the King of England, and of the King of Sicily, the Frangipani and the family of Peter Leonis were retained in their fidelity to the Pope. Becket, on the other hand, had powerful friends in Rome, especially the Cardinal Hyacinth, to whom he writes, that Henry had boasted that in Rome everything was venal.

It was, however, not till a second embassy arrived, consisting of John Cummin and Ralph of Tamworth, that Alexander made his great concession, the sign that he was not yet extricated from his distress. He appointed William of Pavia, and Otho, Cardinal of St. Nicolas, his legates in France, to decide the cause.^r Meantime all Becket's acts were suspended by the papal authority. At the same time the Pope wrote to Becket,

^p The Pope acknowledges that this was extorted from him by fear of Henry, and makes an awkward apology to Becket.—Giles, iv. 18; Bouquet, 309.

^q He was crowned in Rome August 1. Compare next chapter—Sismondi, Ré-

publiques Italiennes, ii. ch. x.; Von Raumer, ii. p. 209, &c.

^r Giles, iii. 128; Bouquet, 272. Compare Letters to Cardinals Boso and Henry.—Giles, iii. 103, 113; Bouquet, 174. Letter to Henry announcing the appointment, December 20.

entreating him at this perilous time of the Church to make all possible concessions, and to dissemble, if necessary, for the present.⁵

If John of Oxford boasted prematurely of his triumph (on his return to England he took ostentatious possession of his deanery of Salisbury⁶), and predicted the utter ruin of Becket, his friends, especially the King of France,⁷ were in utter dismay at this change in the papal policy. John, as Becket had heard (and his emissaries were everywhere), on his landing in England, had met the Bishop of Hereford (one of the wavering bishops), prepared to cross the sea in obedience to Becket's citation. To him, after some delay, John had exhibited letters of the Pope, which sent him back to his diocese. On the sight of these same letters, the Bishop of London had exclaimed in the fulness of his joy, "Then our Thomas is no longer archbishop!" "If this be true," adds Becket, "the Pope has given a deathblow to the Church."⁸ To the Archbishop of Mentz, for in the empire he had his ardent admirers, he poured forth all the bitterness of his soul.⁹ Of the two cardinals he writes, "The one is weak and versatile, the other treacherous and crafty." He looked to their arrival with indignant apprehension. They are open to bribes, and may be perverted to any injustice.²

* "Si non omnia secundum beneplacitum succedant, ad præsens dissimulet." — Giles, vi. 15; Bouquet, 277.

† See the curious letter of Master Lombard, Becket's instructor in the canon law, who boldly remonstrates with the Pope. He asserts that Henry was so frightened at the menace of excommunication, his subjects, even the bishops, at that of his interdict,

that they were in despair. Their only hope was in the death or some great disaster of the Pope. — Giles, iv. 208; Bouquet, 282.

‡ See Letters of Louis; Giles, iv. 308; Bouquet, 287.

§ "Strangulavit," a favourite word — Giles, iii. 214; Bouquet, 284.

¶ Giles, iii. 235; Bouquet, 285.

‡ Compare John of Salisbury, p. 539. "Scripsit autem rex Domino Coloniensi

John of Oxford had proclaimed that the cardinals, William of Pavia, and Otho, were invested in full powers to pass judgement between the King and the Primate.^a But whether John of Oxford had mistaken or exaggerated their powers, or the Pope (no improbable case, considering the change of affairs in Italy) had thought fit afterwards to modify or retract them, they came rather as mediators than judges, with orders to reconcile the contending parties, rather than to decide on their cause. The cardinals did not arrive in France till the autumn of the year.^b Even before their arrival, first rumours, then more certain intelligence had been propagated throughout Christendom of the terrible disaster which had befallen the Emperor. Barbarossa's career of vengeance and conquest had been cut short. The Pope a prisoner, a fugitive, was unexpectedly released, restored to power, if not to the possession of Rome.^c The climate of Rome, as usual, but in a far

A.D. 1167.
Flight of
Frederick.

gance and conquest had been cut short. The Pope a prisoner, a fugitive, was unexpectedly released, restored to power, if not to the possession of Rome.^c The climate of Rome, as usual, but in a far

Henricum Pisanum et Willelmum Papiensem in Franciam venturos ad novas exactiones faciendas, ut undique conradant et contrahant, unde Papa Alexander in urbe sustentetur: alter, ut nostis, levis est et mutabilis, alter dolosus et fraudulentus, uterque cupidus et avarus: et ideo de facili munera cœnabunt eos et ad omnem injustitiam incurvabunt. Audito eorum detestando adventu formidare cœpi præsentiam eorum causæ vestræ multum nocituram; et ne vestro et vestro- rum sanguine gratiam Angliæ redimere non erubescant." He refers with great joy to the insurrection of the Saxons against the Emperor. He says elsewhere of Henry of Pisa: "Vir bonæ opinionis est, sed Romanus et Cardinalis."—Epist. cc. ii.

^a The English Bishops declare to the Pope himself that they had received this concession, *scripto formatum*, from the Pope, and that the King was furious at what he thought a deception.—Giles, vi. 194; Bouquet, 304.

^b The Pope wrote to the legates to soothe Becket and the King of France; he accuses John of Oxford of spreading false reports about the extent of their commission; John Cummin of betraying his letters to the Antipope.—Giles, vi. 54.

^c So completely does Becket's fortune follow that of the Pope, that on June 17 Alexander writes to permit Roger of York to crown the King's son; no sooner is he safe in Benevento, August 22 (perhaps the fever had

more fearful manner, had resented the invasion of the city by the German army. A pestilence had broken out, which in less than a month made such havoc among the soldiers, that they could scarcely find room to bury the dead. The fever seemed to choose its victims among the higher clergy, the partisans of the Antipope; of the princes and nobles, the chief victims were the younger Duke Guelf, Duke Frederick of Swabia, and some others; of the bishops, those of Prague, Ratisbon, Augsburg, Spire, Verdun, Liège, Zeitz; and the arch-rebel himself, the antipope-maker, Reginald of Cologne.^d Throughout Europe the clergy on the side of Alexander raised a cry of awful exultation; it was God manifestly avenging himself on the enemies of the Church; the new Sennacherib (so he is called by Becket) had been smitten in his pride; and the example of this chastisement of Frederick was a command to the Church to resist to the last all rebels against her power, to put forth her spiritual arms, which God would as assuredly support by the same or more signal wonders. The defeat of Frederick was an admonition to the Pope to lay bare the sword of Peter, and smite on all sides.^e

There can be no doubt that Becket so interpreted what he deemed a sign from heaven. But, even before the disaster was certainly known, he had determined to show no submission to a judge so partial and so

Becket
against the
legates.

begun), than he writes to his legates to confirm the excommunications of Becket, which he had suspended.

^d Muratori, sub ann. 1167; Von Raumer, ii. 210. On the 1st of August Frederick was crowned; September 4, he is at the Pass of Pontremoli, in full retreat, or rather flight.

^e In a curious passage in a letter

written by Herbert de Bosham in the name of Becket, Frederick's defeat is compared to Henry's disgraceful campaign in Wales. "My enemy," says Becket, "in the abundance of his valour, could not prevail against a breechesless and ragged people ('exbraccatum et pannosum')."—Giles, viii. p. 268.

corrupt as William of Pavia.^f That cardinal had urged the Pope at Sens to accept Becket's resignation of his see. Becket would not deign to disguise his contempt. He wrote a letter so full of violence, that John of Salisbury,^g to whom it was submitted, persuaded him to destroy it. A second was little milder; at length he was persuaded to take a more moderate tone. Yet even then he speaks of the "insolence of princes lifting up their horn." To Cardinal Otho, on the other hand, his language borders on adulation.

The cardinal Legates travelled in slow state. They
Meeting near Gisors. visited first Becket at Sens, afterwards King Henry at Rouen. At length a meeting was agreed on to be held on the borders of the French and English territory, between Gisors and Trie. The proud Becket was disturbed at being hastily summoned, when he was unable to muster a sufficient retinue of horsemen to meet the Italian cardinals. The two kings were there. Of Henry's prelates the Archbishop of Rouen alone was present at the first interview. Becket was charged with urging the King of France to war against his master. On the following day the King of France said in the presence of the cardinals, that this
Octave of St. Martin. Nov. 23. impeachment on Becket's loyalty was false. To all the persuasions, menaces, entreaties of the cardinals,^h Becket declared that he would submit, "saving the honour of God, and of the Apostolic See,

^f "Credimus non esse juri consentaneum, nos ejus subire judicium vel examen qui quærit sibi facere commercium de sanguine nostro, de pretio utinam non iniquitatis, quærit sibi nomen et gloriam."—D. Thom. Epist. Giles, iii. p. 15. The two legates are described as "plus avaritiæ quam

justitiæ studiosi."—W. Cant. p. 21.

^g Giles, iii. 157, and John of Salisbury's remarkable expostulatory letter upon Becket's violence.—Bouquet, p. 566.

^h Herbert de Bosham, p. 248; Epist. Giles, iii. 16; Bouquet, 296.

the liberty of the Church, the dignity of his person, and the property of the churches. As to the Customs he declared that he would rather bow his neck to the executioner than swear to observe them. He peremptorily demanded his own restoration at once to all the honours and possessions of the see." The third question was on the appeal of the bishops. Becket inveighed with bitterness on their treachery towards him, their servility to the King. "When the shepherds fled all Egypt returned to idolatry." Becket interpreted these "shepherds" as the clergy.¹ He compares them to the slaves in the old comedy; he declared that he would submit to no judgement on that point but that of the Pope himself.

The Cardinals proceeded to the King. They were received but coldly at Argences, not far from Caen, at a great meeting with the Norman and English prelates. The Bishop of London entered at length into the King's grievances and his own; Becket's debt to the King,^k his usurpations on the see of London. At the close Henry, in tears, entreated the cardinals to rid him of the troublesome churchman. William of Pavia wept, or seemed to weep from sympathy. Otho, writes Becket's emissary, could hardly suppress his laughter. The English prelates afterwards at Le Mans solemnly renewed their appeal. Their appeal was accompanied with a letter, in which they complain that Becket would leave them exposed to the wrath of the King, from which wrath he himself had fled;^m of false representations of the Customs, and dis-

The Cardinals before the King.

¹ Giles, iii. p. 21. Compare the whole letter.

^k Foliot rather profanely said, "The primate seems to think that as sin is

washed away in baptism, so debts are cancelled by promotion."

^m "Ad mortem nos invitat et sanguinis effusionem cum ipse mortem,

regard of all justice and of the sacred canons in suspending and anathematising the clergy without hearing and without trial. William of Pavia gave notice of the appeal for the next St. Martin's Day (so a year was to elapse), with command to abstain from all excommunication and interdict of the kingdom till that day.ⁿ Both cardinals wrote strongly to the Pope in favour of the Bishop of London.^o

At this suspension Becket wrote to the Pope in a tone of mingled grief and indignation.^p He described himself as the most wretched of men; applied the prophetic description of the Saviour's unequalled sorrow to himself. He inveighed against William of Pavia:^q he threw himself on the justice and compassion of the

Dec. 29. Pope. But this inhibition was confirmed by the Pope himself, in answer to another embassy of Henry, consisting of Clarembold, Prior Elect of St. Augustine's, the Archdeacon of Salisbury, and others.^r This important favour was obtained through the interest of Cardinal John of Naples, who expresses his hope that the insolent Archbishop must at length see that he had no resource but in submission.

Becket wrote again and again to the Pope, bitterly complaining that the successive ambassadors of the

quam nemo sibi dignabatur aut minabatur inferre, summo studio declinaverit et suum sanguinem illibatum conservando, ejus nec guttam effundi voluerit."—Giles, vi. 196. Bouquet, 304.

ⁿ Giles, vi. 148. Bouquet, 304.

^o Giles, vi. 135, 141. Bouquet, 306. William of Pavia recommended the translation of Becket to some other see.

^p Giles, iii. 28. Bouquet, 306.

^q One of his letters to William of Pavia begins with this fierce denunciation: "Non credebam me tibi venalem proponendum emptoribus, ut de sanguine meo compareres tibi compendium de pretio iniquitatis, faciens tibi nomen et gloriam."—Giles, iii. 153. Becket always represents his enemies as thirsting after his blood.

^r Giles, iv. 128; vi. 133. Bouquet, 312, 313.

King, John of Oxford, John Cummin, the Prior of St. Augustine's, returned from Rome each with larger concessions.^s The Pope acknowledged that the concessions had been extorted from him. The ambassadors of Henry had threatened to leave the Papal Court, if their demands were not complied with, in open hostility. The Pope was still an exile in Benevento,^t and did not dare to reoccupy Rome. The Emperor, even after his discomfiture, was still formidable; he might collect another overwhelming Transalpine force. The subsidies of Henry to the Italian cities and to the Roman partisans of the Pope could not be spared. The Pontiff therefore wrote soothing letters to the King of France and to Becket. He insinuated that these concessions were but for a time. "For a time!" replied Becket in an answer full of fire and passion: "and in that time the Church of England falls utterly to ruin; the property of the Church and the poor is wrested from her. In that time prelaties and abbacies are confiscated to the King's use: in that time who will guard the flock when the wolf is in the fold? This fatal dispensation will be a precedent for all ages. But for me and my fellow exiles all authority of Rome had ceased for ever in England. There had been no one who had maintained the Pope against kings and princes." His significant language involves the Pope himself in the general and unsparing charge of rapacity and venality with which he brands the court of Rome. "I shall have to give an account at the last day, where gold and silver are of no avail, nor gifts which blind the

May 19.
Becket to
the Pope.

^s Epist. Giles, ii. 24.

^t He was at Benevento, though with different degrees of power, from Aug. 22, 1167, to Feb. 24, 1170.

eyes even of the wise.”^u The same contemptuous allusions to that notorious venality transpire in a vehement letter addressed to the College of Cardinals, ^{To the Cardinals.} in which he urges that his cause is their own; that they are sanctioning a fatal and irretrievable example to temporal princes; that they are abrogating all obedience to the Church. “Your gold and silver will not deliver you in the day of the wrath of the Lord.”^x On the other hand, the King and the Queen of France wrote in a tone of indignant remonstrance that the Pope had abandoned the cause of the enemy of their enemy. More than one of the French prelates who wrote in the same strain declared that their King, in his resentment, had seriously thought of defection to the Antipope, and of a close connexion with the Imperial family.^y Alexander determined to make another attempt at reconciliation; at least he should gain time, that precious source of hope to the embarrassed and irresolute. His mediators were the Prior of Montdieu and Bernard de Corilo, a monk of Grammont.^z It was a fortunate time, for just at this juncture, peace and even amity seemed to be established between the Kings of France and England. Many of the great Norman and French prelates and nobles offered themselves as joint mediators with the commissioners of the Pope.

A vast assembly was convened on the day of the ^{Meeting at Montmirail.} Epiphany in the plains near Montmirail, where in the presence of the two kings and the barons of each realm the reconciliation was to take

^u Giles, iii. p. 55. Bouquet, 317. Read the whole letter beginning “Anima mea.”

^x Bouquet, 324.

^y Epist. Giles, iv. Bouquet, 320.

^z Their instructions are dated May 25, 1168. See also the wavering letters to Becket and the King of France.

Giles, iv. p. 25, p. 111.

place. Becket held a long conference with the mediators. He proposed, instead of the obnoxious phrase "saving my order," to substitute "saving the honour of God;" the mediators of the treaty insisted on his throwing himself on the King's mercy absolutely and without reservation. With great reluctance Becket appeared at least to yield:^a his counsellors acquiesced in silence. With this distinct understanding the Kings of France and England met at Montmirail, and everything seemed prepared for the final settlement of this long and obstinate quarrel. The Kings awaited the approach of the Primate. But as he was on his way, De Bosham (who always assumes to himself the credit of suggesting Becket's most haughty proceedings) whispered in his ear (De Bosham himself asserts this) a solemn caution, lest he should act over again the fatal scene of weakness at Clarendon. Becket had not time to answer De Bosham: he advanced to the King and threw himself at his feet. Henry raised him instantly from the ground. Becket, standing upright, began to solicit the clemency of the King. He declared his readiness to submit his whole cause to the judgement of the two Kings and of the assembled prelates and nobles. After a pause, he added, "Saving the honour of God."^b

Jan. 6, 1169.

^a "Sed quid? Nobis ita consilium suspendentibus et hæsitantibus quid agendum a pacis mediatoribus, multis et magnis viris, et præsertim qui inter ipsos a viris religiosis et aliis archipræsuli amicissimis et familiarissimis, adeo sicut et supra diximus, suusus, tractus et impulsus est, ut haberetur persuasus."—De Bosham, p. 268.

^b "Sed mox adjecit, quod nec rex

nec pacis mediatores, vel alii, vel etiam sui propriè æstimaverunt, ut adjiceret videlicet 'Salvo honore Dei.'"—De Bosham, p. 262. In his account to the Pope of this meeting, Becket suppresses his own tergiversation on this point.—Epist. Giles, iii. p. 43. Compare John of Salisbury (who was not present). Bouquet, 395.

At this unexpected breach of his agreement the mediators, even the most ardent admirers of Becket, stood aghast. Henry, thinking himself duped, as well he might, broke out into one of his ungovernable fits of anger. He reproached the Archbishop with arrogance, obstinacy, and ingratitude. He so far forgot himself as to declare that Becket had displayed all his magnificence and prodigality as chancellor only to court popularity and to supplant his king in the affections of his people. Becket listened with patience, and appealed to the King of France as witness to his loyalty. Henry fiercely interrupted him. "Mark, Siré (he addressed the King of France), the infatuation and pride of the man: he pretends to have been banished, though he fled from his see. He would persuade you that he is maintaining the cause of the Church, and suffering for the sake of justice. I have always been willing, and am still willing, to grant that he should rule his Church with the same liberty as his predecessors, men not less holy than himself." Even the King of France seemed shocked at the conduct of Becket. The prelates and nobles, having in vain laboured to bend the inflexible spirit of the Primate, retired in sullen dissatisfaction. He stood alone. Even John of Poitiers, his most ardent admirer, followed him to Etampes, and entreated him to yield. "And you, too," returned Becket, "will you strangle us, and give triumph to the malignity of our enemies?"^c

The King of England retired, followed by the Papal Legates, who, though they held letters of Commination from the Pope,^d delayed to serve them on the King.

^c "Ut quid nos et vos strangulatis?"—Epist. Giles, iii. 312.

^d Throughout the Pope kept up his

false game. He privately assured the King of France that he need not be alarmed if himself (Alexander) seemed

Becket followed the King of France to Montmirail. He was received by Louis; and Becket put on so cheerful a countenance as to surprise all present. On his return to Sens, he explained to his followers that his cause was not only that of the Church, but of God.^e He passed among the acclamations of the populace, ignorant of his duplicity. "Behold the prelate who stood up even before two kings for the honour of God."

Becket may have had foresight, or even secret information of the hollowness of the peace between the two kings. Before many days, some acts of barbarous cruelty by Henry against his rebellious subjects plunged the two nations again in hostility. The King of France and his prelates, feeling how nearly they had lost their powerful ally, began to admire what they called Becket's magnanimity as loudly as they had censured his obstinacy. The King visited him at Sens: one of the Papal commissioners, the Monk of Grammont, said privately to Herbert de Bosham, that he had rather his foot had been cut off than that Becket should have listened to his advice.^f

Becket now at once drew the sword and cast away the scabbard. "Cursed is he that refraineth his sword from blood." This Becket applied to the spiritual weapon. On Ascension Day he again solemnly excommunicated Gilbert Foliot Bishop of London, Joscelin of Salisbury, the Archdeacon of Salisbury, Richard de Luci, Randolph de Broc, and many other of Henry's most faithful counsellors. He announced this excommunication to the Archbishop of

War of
France and
England.

Excommu-
nication.

to take part against the archbishop. The cause was safe in his opinion. See the curious letter of Matthew of Sens. —Epist. Giles, iv, p. 166.

^e "Nunc præter ecclesiæ causam, expressam ipsius etiam Dei causam agebamus."—De Bosham, 272.

^f De Bosham, 278.

Rouen,^g and reminded him that whosoever presumed to communicate with any one of these outlaws of the Church by word, in meat or drink, or even by salutation, subjected himself thereby to the same excommunication. The appeal to the Pope he treated with sovereign contempt. He sternly inhibited Roger of Worcester, who had entreated permission to communicate with his brethren.^h "What fellowship is there between Christ and Belial?" He announced this act to the Pope, entreating, but with the tone of command, his approbation of the proceeding. An emissary of Becket had the boldness to enter St. Paul's Cathedral in London, to thrust the sentence into the hands of the officiating priest, and then to proclaim with a loud voice, "Know all men, that Gilbert Bishop of London is excommunicate by Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury and Legate of the Pope." He escaped with some difficulty from ill-usage by the people. Foliot immediately summoned his clergy; explained the illegality, injustice, nullity of an excommunication without citation, hearing, or trial, and renewed his appeal to the Pope. The Dean of St. Paul's and all the clergy, excepting the priests of certain monasteries, joined in the appeal. The Bishop of Exeter declined, nevertheless he gave to Foliot the kiss of peace.ⁱ

King Henry was not without fear at this last desperate blow. He had not a single chaplain who had not been excommunicated, or was not virtually under ban for holding intercourse with persons under excommunication.^k He continued his active intrigues, his subsidies in Italy. He bought the support

^g Giles, iii. 290; vi. 293. Bouquet 346. ^h Giles, iii. 322. Bouquet, 348

ⁱ Epist. Giles, iv. 225.

^k Fragm. Vit. Giles, i. p. 371.

of Milan, Pavia, Cremona, Parma, Bologna. The Frangipani, the family of Leo, the people of Rome, were still kept in allegiance to the Pope chiefly by his lavish payments.^m He made overtures to the King of Sicily, the Pope's ally, for a matrimonial alliance with his family: and finally, he urged the tempting offer to mediate a peace between the Emperor and the Pope. Reginald of Salisbury boasted that, if the Pope should die, Henry had the whole College of Cardinals in his pay, and could name his Pope."

But no longer dependent on Henry's largesses to his partisans, Alexander's affairs wore a more prosperous aspect. He began, yet cautiously, to show his real bias. He determined to appoint a new legatine New Legatine Commission. Mar. 10, 1169. commission, not now rapacious cardinals and avowed partisans of Henry. The Nuncios were Gratian, a hard and severe canon lawyer, not likely to swerve from the loftiest claims of the Decretals; and Vivian, a man of more pliant character, but as far as he was firm in any principle, disposed to high ecclesiastical views. At the same time he urged Becket to issue no sentences against the King or the King's followers; or if, as he hardly believed, he had already done so, to suspend their powers.

The terrors of the excommunication were not without their effect in England. Some of the Bishops English prelates waver. began gradually to recede from the King's party, and to incline to that of the Primate. Hereford had already attempted to cross the sea. Henry of

^m "Et quod omnes Romanos datâ pecuniâ inducant ut faciant fidelitatem domino Papæ, dummodo in nostrâ dejectione regis Angliæ satisfaciatur voluntati."—Epist. ad Humbold. Card. | Giles, iii. 123. Bouquet, 350. Compare Lambeth. on the effect of Italian affairs on the conduct of the Pope.—p. 106.

ⁿ Epist. 188, p. 266.

Winchester was in private correspondence with Becket : he had throughout secretly supplied him with money.^o Becket skilfully laboured to awaken his old spirit of opposition to the Crown. He reminded Winchester of his royal descent, that he was secure in his powerful connexions ; “ the impious one would not dare to strike him for fear lest his kindred should avenge his cause.”^p Norwich, Worcester, Chester, even Chichester, more than wavered. This movement was strengthened by a false step of Foliot, which exposed all his former proceedings to the charge of irregular ambition. He began to declare publicly not only that he never swore canonical obedience to Becket, but to assert the independence of the see of London and the right of the see of London to the primacy of England. Becket speaks of this as an act of spiritual parricide : Foliot was another Absalom.^q He appealed to the pride and the fears of the Chapter of Canterbury : he exposed, and called on them to resist, these machinations of Foliot to degrade the archiepiscopal see. At the same time he warned all persons to abstain from communion with those who were under his ban ; “ for he had accurate information as to all who were guilty of that offence.” Even in France this proceeding strengthened the sympathy with Becket. The Archbishop of Sens, the Bishops of Troyes, Paris, Noyon, Auxerre, Boulogne, wrote to the Pope to denounce this audacious impiety of the Bishop of London.

The first interview of the new Papal legates, Gratian and Vivian, with the King, is described with singular minuteness by a friend of Becket.^r On the eve of

^o Fitz-Stephen, p. 271.

^p “ A domo vestra flagellum suspendet impius, ne quod promeruit, propinquorum vestrorum ministerio veniat super eum.”—Giles, iii. 338.

Bouquet, 358.

^q Giles, iii. 201. Bouquet, 361.

^r “ Amici ad Thomam.”—Giles, iv. 277. Bouquet, 370.

St. Bartholomew's Day they arrived at Dampont. On their approach, Geoffrey Ridel and Nigel Sackville stole out of the town. The King, as he came in from hunting, courteously stopped at the lodging of the Legates: as they were conversing, the Prince rode up with a great blowing of horns from the chase, and presented a whole stag to the Legates. The next morning the King visited them, accompanied by the Bishops of Seez and of Rennes. Presently John of Oxford, Reginald of Salisbury, and the Archdeacon of Llandaff were admitted. The conference lasted the whole day, sometimes in amity, sometimes in strife. Just before sunset the King rushed out in wrath, swearing by the eyes of God that he would not submit to their terms. Gratian firmly replied, "Think not to threaten us; we come from a court which is accustomed to command Emperors and Kings." The King then summoned his barons to witness, together with his chaplains, what fair offers he had made. He departed somewhat pacified. The eighth day was appointed for the convention, at which the King and the Archbishop were again to meet in the presence of the Legates.

It was held at Bayeux. With the King appeared the Archbishops of Rouen and Bordeaux, the Bishop of Le Mans, and all the Norman prelates. The second day arrived one English bishop—Worcester. John of Poitiers kept prudently away. The Legates presented the Pope's preceding letters in favour of Becket. The King, after stating his grievances,^s said, "If for this man I do anything, on account of the Pope's entreaties, he ought to be very grateful." The

Interview
of the new
Legates with
the King.
Aug. 23.

Aug. 31.

* Henry, it should be observed, waived all the demands which he had hitherto urged against Becket, for debts incurred during his chancellorship.

next day at a place called Le Bar, the King requested the Legates to absolve his chaplains without any oath: on their refusal, the King mounted his horse, and swore that he would never listen to the Pope or any one else concerning the restoration of Becket. The prelates interceded; the Legates partially gave way. The King dismounted and renewed the conference. At length he consented to the return of Becket and all the exiles. He seemed delighted at this, and treated of other affairs. He returned again to the Legates, and demanded that they, or one of them, or at least some one commissioned by them, should cross over to England to absolve all who had been excommunicated by the Primate. Gratian refused this with inflexible obstinacy. The King was again furious: "I care not an egg for you and your excommunications." He again mounted his horse, but at the earnest supplication of the prelates he returned once more. He demanded that they should write to the Pope to announce his pacific offers. The bishops explained to the King that the Legates had at last produced a positive mandate of the Pope, enjoining their absolute obedience to his Legates. The King replied, "I know that they will lay my realm under an interdict, but cannot I, who can take the strongest castle in a day, seize any ecclesiastic who shall presume to utter such an interdict?" Some concessions allayed his wrath, and he returned to his offers of reconciliation. Geoffrey Ridel and Nigel Sackville were absolved on the condition of declaring, with their hands on the Gospels, that they would obey the commands of the Legates. The King still pressing the visit of one of the Legates to England, Vivian consented to take the journey. The bishops were ordered to draw up the treaty; but the King insisted on a clause, "Saving the honour of his Crown." They

adjourned to a future day at Caen. The Bishop of Lisieux, adds the writer, flattered the King; the Archbishop of Rouen was for God and the Pope.

Two conferences at Caen and at Rouen were equally inconclusive; the King insisted on the words, "saving the dignity of my Crown." Becket inquired if he might add, "saving the liberty of the Church."†

The King threw all the blame of the final rupture on the Legates, who had agreed, he said, to this clause," but through Becket's influence withdrew from their word.^x He reminded the Pope that he had in his possession letters of his Holiness exempting him and his realm from all authority of the Primate till he should be received into the royal favour.^y "If," he adds, "the Pope refuses my demands, he must henceforth despair of my good will, and look to other quarters to protect his realm and his honour." Both parties renewed their appeals, their intrigues in Rome: Becket's complaints of Rome's venality became louder.^z

Becket began again to fulminate his excommunications. Before his departure Gratian signified to Geoffry Ridel and Nigel Sackville that their absolution was conditional; if peace was not ratified by Michaelmas,

† Epist. Giles, iv. 216. Bouquet, 373.

^x "Revocato consensu," writes the Bishop of Nevers, a moderate prelate, who regrets the obstinacy of the nuncios.—Giles, vi. 266. Bouquet, 377. Compare the letter of the clergy of Normandy to the Pope.—Giles, vi. 177. Bouquet, 377.

^z Becket thought, or pretended to think, that under the "dignitatibus" lurked the "consuetudinibus."—Giles, iii. 299. Bouquet, 379.

^y "Literas vestras recepimus, et ipsas adhuc penes nos habemus, in quibus terram nostram et personas regni a præfati Cantuariensis potestate eximebatis, donec ipse in gratiam nostram rediisset."—Epist. Giles, vi. 291. Bouquet, 374.

^z "Nam quod mundus sentit, dolet, ingemiscit, nullus adeo iniquam causam ad ecclesiam Romanam defert, quin ibi spe lucri concepta ne dixerim odore sordium, adiutorem inveniat et patronum."—Epist. iii. 133; Bouquet, 382

they were still under the ban. Becket menaced some old, some new victims, the Dean of Salisbury, John Cummin, the Archdeacon of Llandaff, and others.^a But he now took a more decisive and terrible step. He wrote to the bishops of England,^b commanding them to lay the whole kingdom under interdict; all divine offices were to cease except baptism, penance, and the viaticum,

unless before the Feast of the Purification the
Nov. 2, 1170.

King should have given full satisfaction for his contumacy to the Church. This was to be done with closed doors, the laity expelled from the ceremony, with no bell tolling, no dirge wailing; all church music was to cease. The act was specially announced to the chapters of Chichester, Lincoln, and Bath. Of the Pope he demanded that he would treat the King's ambassadors, Reginald of Salisbury and Richard Barre, one as actually excommunicate, the other as contaminated by intercourse with the excommunicate.^c

The menace of the Interdict, with the fear that the Bishops of England, all but London and Salisbury, might be overawed into publishing it in their dioceses, threw Henry back into his usual irresolution. There were other alarming signs. Gratian had returned to Rome, accompanied by William, Archbishop of Sens, Becket's most faithful admirer. Rumours spread that William was to return invested in full legatine powers—William, not only Becket's friend, but the head of the

^a Giles, iii. 250; Bouquet, 387.

^b Giles, iii. 334; Bouquet, 388.

^c Giles, iii. 42; Bouquet, 390.

Reginald of Salisbury was an especial object of Becket's hate. He calls him one born in fornication ("fornicarium"), son of a priest. Reginald hated Becket with equal cordiality.

Becket had betrayed him by a false promise of not injuring his father. "Quod utique ipsi non plus quam cani faceremus."—This letter contains Reginald's speech about Henry having the College of Cardinals in his pay.—Giles, iii. 225; Bouquet, 391.

French hierarchy. If the Interdict should be extended to Henry's French dominions, and the Excommunication launched against his person, could he depend on the precarious fidelity of the Norman prelates? Differences had again risen with the King of France.^d

Henry was seized with an access of devotion.

Henry at
Paris.

He asked permission to offer his prayers at the shrines and at the Martyrs' Mount (Montmartre) at Paris. The pilgrimage would lead to an interview with the King of France, and offer an occasion of renewing the negotiations with Becket. Vivian was hastily summoned to turn back. His vanity was flattered

Nov. 1169.

by the hope of achieving that reconciliation which had failed with Gratian. He wrote to Becket requesting his presence. Becket, though he suspected Vivian, yet out of respect to the King of France, consented to approach as near as Château Corbeil. After the conference with the King of France, two petitions from Becket, in his usual tone of imperious humility, were presented to the King of England. The Primate condescended to entreat the favour of Henry, and the restoration of the church of Canterbury, in as ample a form as it was held before his exile. The second was more brief, but raised a new question of compensation for loss and damage during the archbishop's absence from his see.^e Both parties mistrusted each

Negotiations
renewed.

^d Becket writes to the Pope, January, 1170. "Nec vos oportet de cætero vereri, ne transeat ad schismaticos, quod sic eum Christus in manu famuli sui, regis Francorum subegit, ut ab obsequio ejus non possit amplius separari."—p. 48.

^e Many difficult points arose. Did Becket demand not merely the actual

possessions of the see, but all to which he laid claim? There were three estates held by William de Ros, Henry of Essex, and John the Marshall (the original object of dispute at Northampton?), which Becket specifically required, and declared that he would not give up if exiled for ever.—Epist. Giles, iii. 220; Bouquet, 400.

other; each watched the other's words with captious jealousy. Vivian, weary of those verbal chicaneries of the King, declared that he had never met with so mendacious a man in his life.^f Vivian might have remembered his own retractations, still more those of Becket on former occasions. He withdrew from the negotiation; and this conduct, with the refusal of a gift from Henry (a rare act of virtue), won him the approbation of Becket. But Becket himself was not yet without mistrust; he had doubts whether Vivian's report to the Pope would be in the same spirit. "If it be not, he deserves the doom of the traitor Judas."

Henry at length agreed that on the question of compensation he would abide by the sentence of the court of the French King, the judgement of the Gallican Church, and of the University of Paris.^g This made so favourable an impression that Becket could only evade it by declaring that he had rather come to an amicable agreement with the King than involve the affair in litigation.

At length all difficulties seemed yielding away, when Becket demanded the customary kiss of peace, as the pledge of reconciliation. Henry peremptorily refused; he had sworn in his wrath never to grant this favour to Becket. He was inexorable; and without this guarantee Becket would not trust the faith of the King. He was reminded, he said, by the case of the Count of Flanders, that even the kiss of peace did not secure a revolted subject, Robert de Silian, who, even after this sign of amity, had been seized and cast into a dungeon. Henry's conduct, if not the effect of sudden passion or ungovernable aversion, is inexplicable.

Epist. Giles, iii. 262: Bouquet, 199.

^g Epist. *ibid.* Radulph de Diceto

Why did he seek this interview, which, if he was insincere in his desire for reconciliation, could afford but short delay? and from such oaths he would hardly have refused, for any great purpose of his own, to receive absolution.^b On the other hand, it is quite clear that Becket reckoned on the legatine power of William of Sens and the terror of the English prelates, who had refused to attend a council in London to reject the Interdict. He had now full confidence that he could exact his own terms and humble the King under his feet.ⁱ

But the King was resolved to wage war to the utmost. Geoffry Ridel, Archdeacon of Canterbury, was sent to England with a royal proclamation King's proclamation. containing the following articles:—I. Whosoever shall bring into the realm any letter from the Pope or the Archbishop of Canterbury is guilty of high treason. II. Whosoever, whether bishop, clerk, or layman, shall observe the Interdict, shall be ejected from all his chattels, which are confiscate to the Crown. III. All clerks absent from England shall return before the feast of St. Hilary, on pain of forfeiture of all their revenues. IV. No appeal is to be made to the Pope or Archbishop of Canterbury under pain of imprisonment and forfeiture of all chattels. V. All laymen from beyond seas are to be searched, and if anything be found upon them contrary to the King's honour, they are to be imprisoned; the same with those who cross to the Continent. VI. If any clerk or monk shall land in England without passport from the King, or with anything contrary to his honour, he shall be thrown into prison. VII. No clerk or monk may cross the seas without the King's

^b According to Pope Alexander, Henry offered that his son should give the kiss of peace in his stead.—Giles, iv. 55.

ⁱ See his letter to his emissaries at Rome.—Giles, iii. 219; Bouquet, 401.

passport. The same rule applied to the clergy of Wales, who were to be expelled from all schools in England. Lastly, VIII. The sheriffs were to administer an oath to all freemen throughout England, in open court, that they would obey these royal mandates, thus abjuring, it is said, all obedience to Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury.^k The bishops, however, declined the oath; some concealed themselves in their dioceses. Becket addressed a triumphant or gratulatory letter to his suffragans on their firmness. "We are now one, except that most hapless Judas, that rotten limb (Foliot of London), which is severed from us."^m Another letter is addressed to the people of England, remonstrating on their impious abjuration of their pastor, and offering absolution to all who had sworn through compulsion and repented of their oath.ⁿ The King and the Primate thus contested the realm of England.

But the Pope was not yet to be inflamed by Becket's passions, nor quite disposed to depart from his temporising policy. John of Oxford was at the court in Benevento with the Archdeacons of Rouen and Seez. From that court returned the Archdeacon of Llandaff and Robert de Barre with a commission to the Archbishop of Rouen and the Bishop of Nevers to make one more effort for the termination of the difficulties. On the one hand they were armed with powers, if the King did not accede to his own terms within forty days after his citation (he had offered a thousand marks as compensation for all losses), to pronounce an inter-

^k Ricardus Dorubernensis apud Twysden. Lord Lyttelton has another copy in his appendix; in that a ninth article forbade the payment of Peter's Pence to Rome; it was to be collected

and brought into the exchequer.

^m Epist. Giles, iii. 195; Bouquet, 404.

ⁿ Giles, iii. 192; Bouquet, 405.

dict against his continental dominions; on the other, Becket was exhorted to humble himself before the King; if Henry was inflexible and declined the Pope's offered absolution from his oath, to accept the kiss of peace from the King's son. The King was urged to abolish in due time the impious and obnoxious Customs. And to these prelates was likewise entrusted authority to absolve the refractory Bishops of London and Salisbury.* This, however, was not the only object of Henry's new embassy to the Pope. He had long determined on the coronation of his eldest son; it had been delayed for various reasons. He seized this opportunity of reviving a design which would be as well humiliating to Becket as also of great moment in case the person of the King should be struck by the thunder of excommunication. The coronation of the King of England was the undoubted prerogative of the Archbishops of Canterbury, which had never been invaded without sufficient cause, and Becket was the last man tamely to surrender so important a right of his see. John of Oxford was to exert every means (what those means were may be conjectured rather than proved) to obtain the papal permission for the Archbishop of York to officiate at that august ceremony.

The absolution of the Bishops of London and Salisbury was an astounding blow to Becket. He tried to impede it by calling in question the power of the archbishop to pronounce it without the presence of his colleague. The archbishop disregarded his remonstrance, and Becket's sentence was thus annulled by the authority of the Pope. Rumours at the same time began to spread that the Pope had granted to the Archbishop

* Dated February 12, 1170.

of York power to proceed to the coronation. Becket's fury burst all bounds. He wrote to the Cardinal Albert and to Gratian: "In the court of Rome, now as ever, Christ is crucified and Barabbas released. The miserable and blameless exiles are condemned, the sacrilegious, the homicides, the impenitent thieves are absolved, those whom Peter himself declares that in his own chair (the world protesting against it) he would have no power to absolve.^p Henceforth I commit my cause to God—God alone can find a remedy. Let those appeal to Rome who triumph over the innocent and the godly, and return glorying in the ruin of the Church. For me I am ready to die." Becket's fellow exiles addressed the Cardinal Albert, denouncing in vehement language the avarice of the court of Rome, by which they were brought to support the robbers of the Church. It is no longer King Henry alone who is guilty of this six years' persecution, but the Church of Rome.^q

The coronation of the Prince by the Archbishop of York took place in the Abbey of Westminster on the 15th of June.^r The assent of the clergy was given with that of the laity. The Archbishop of York produced a

^p Epist. Giles, iii. 96; Bouquet, 416; Giles iii. 108; Bouquet, 419. "Sed pro eâ mori parati sumus." He adds: "Insurgant qui voluerint cardinales, arment non modo regem Angliæ, sed totum, si possent orbem in perniciem nostram . . . Utinam via Romana non gratis peremisset tot miseros innocentes. Quis de cetero audebit illi regi resistere quem ecclesia Romana tot triumphis animavit, et armavit exemplo pernicioso manante ad posteros."

^q "Nec persuadebitur mundo, quod

suasores isti Deum saperent; sed potius pecuniam, quam immoderato avaritiæ ardore sitiunt, olfecerunt."—Giles, iv. 291; Bouquet, 417.

^r Becket's depression at this event is dwelt upon in a letter of Peter of Blois to John of Salisbury. Peter travelled from Rome to Bologna with the Papal legates. From them he gathered that either Becket would soon be reconciled to the King or be removed to another patriarchate.—Epist. xxii. apud Giles, i. p. 84.

papal brief, authorising him to perform the ceremony.^a An inhibitory letter, if it reached England, only came into the King's hand and was suppressed; no one, in fact (as the production of such papal letter, as well as Becket's protest to the archbishop and to the bishops collectively and severally, was by the royal proclamation high treason or at least a misdemeanour) would dare to produce them.

The estrangement seemed now complete, the reconciliation more remote than ever. The Archbishop of Rouen and the Bishop of Nevers, though urged to immediate action by Becket and even by the Pope, admitted delay after delay, first for the voyage of the King to England, and secondly for his return to Normandy. Becket seemed more and more desperate, the King more and more resolute. Even after the coronation, it should seem, Becket wrote to Roger of York,^t to Henry of Worcester, and even to Foliot of London, to publish the Interdict in their dioceses. The latter was a virtual acknowledgement of the legality of his absolution, which in a long letter to the Bishop of Nevers

^a Dr. Lingard holds this letter, printed by Lord Lyttelton, and which he admits was produced, to have been a forgery. If it was, it was a most audacious one, and a most flagrant insult to the Pope, whom Henry was even now endeavouring to propitiate through the Lombard Republics and the Emperor of the East (see Giles, iv. 10). It is remarkable, too, that though the Pope declares that this coronation, contrary to his prohibition (Giles, iv. 30), is not to be taken as a precedent, he has no word of the forgery. Nor do I find any contemporary assertion of its spuriousness.

Becket, indeed, in his account of the last interview with the King, only mentions the general permission granted by the Pope at an early period of the reign; and argues as if this were the only permission. Is it possible that a special permission to York to act was craftily interpolated into the general permission? But the trick may have been on the side of the Pope, now granting, now nullifying his own grants by inhibition. Bouquet is strong against Baronius (as on other points) upon Alexander's duplicity —p. 434.

^t Giles, iii. 229.

he had contested:^u but the Interdict still hung over the King and the realm; the fidelity of the clergy was precarious.

The reconciliation at last was so sudden as to take the world by surprise. The clue to this is found in Fitz-Stephen. Some one had suggested by word or by writing to the King that the Primate would be less dangerous within than without the realm.^x The hint flashed conviction on the King's mind. The two Kings had appointed an interview at Fretteville, between Chartres and Tours. The Archbishop of Sens prevailed on Becket to be, unsummoned, in the neighbourhood. Some days after the King seemed persuaded by the Archbishops of Sens and Rouen and the Bishop of Nevers to hold a conference with Becket.^y As soon as they drew near the King rode up, uncovered his head, and saluted the Prelate with frank courtesy, and after a short conversation between the two and the Archbishop of Sens, the King withdrew apart with Becket. Their conference was so long as to try the patience of the spectators, so familiar that it might seem there had never been discord between them. Becket took a moderate tone; by his own account he laid the faults of the King entirely on his evil counsellors. After a gentle admonition to the King on his sins, he urged him to make restitution to the see of Canterbury. He dwelt strongly on the late usurpation on the rights of the primacy, on the coronation of the King's son. Henry alleged the state of the kingdom and the necessity of the measure; he promised that as his son's queen,

^u Giles, iii. 302.

^x "Dictum fuit aliquem dixisse vel scripsisse regi Anglorum de Archiepiscopo ut quid tenetur exclusus? me-

lius tenebitur inclusus quam exclusus. Satisque dictum fuit intelligenti."—p. 272.

^y Giles, iv. 30; Bouquet, 436.

the daughter of the King of France, was also to be crowned, that ceremony should be performed by Becket, and that his son should again receive his crown from the hands of the Primate.

At the close of the interview Becket sprung from his horse and threw himself at the King's feet. The King leaped down, and holding his stirrup compelled the Primate to mount his horse again. In the most friendly terms he expressed his full reconciliation not only to Becket himself, but to the wondering and delighted multitude. There seemed an understanding on both sides to suppress all points which might lead to disagreement. The King did not dare (so Becket writes triumphantly to the Pope) to mutter one word about the Customs.² Becket was equally prudent, though he took care that his submission should be so vaguely worded as to be drawn into no dangerous concession on his part. He abstained, too, from all other perilous topics; he left undecided the amount of satisfaction to the church of Canterbury; and on these general terms he and the partners of his exile were formally received into the King's grace.

July.

If the King was humiliated by this quiet and sudden reconcilment with the imperious prelate, to outward appearance at least he concealed his humiliation by his noble and kingly manner. If he submitted to the spiritual reproof of the prelate, he condescended to receive into his favour his refractory subject. Each maintained prudent silence on all points in dispute. Henry received, but he also granted pardon. If his

² "Nam de consuetudinibus quas tantâ pervicaciâ vindicare consueverat nec mutire præsumpsit." Becket was as mute. The issue of the quarrel

seems entirely changed. The Constitutions of Clarendon recede, the right of coronation occupies the chief place.—See the long letter, Giles, 65.

concession was really extorted by fear, not from policy, compassion for Becket's six years' exile might seem not without influence. If Henry did not allude to the Customs, he did not annul them; they were still the law of the land. The kiss of peace was eluded by a vague promise. Becket made a merit of not driving the King to perjury, but he skilfully avoided this trying test of the King's sincerity.

But Becket's revenge must be satisfied with other victims. If the worldly King could forget the rancour of this long animosity, it was not so easily appeased in the breast of the Christian Prelate. No doubt vengeance disguised itself to Becket's mind as the lofty and rightful assertion of spiritual authority. The opposing prelates must be at his feet, even under his feet. The first thought of his partisans was not his return to England with a generous amnesty of all wrongs, or a gentle reconciliation of the whole clergy, but the condign punishment of those who had so long been the counsellors of the King, and had so recently officiated in the coronation of his son.

The court of Rome did not refuse to enter into these views, to visit the offence of those disloyal bishops who had betrayed the interests and compromised the high principles of churchmen.^a It was presumed that the King would not risk a peace so hardly gained for his obsequious prelates. The lay adherents of the King, even the plunderers of Church property were spared, some ecclesiastics about his person, John of Oxford himself, escaped censure; but Pope Alexander sent the decree of suspension against the

Dated
Sept. 10.

^a Humbold Bishop of Ostia advised the confining the triumph to the depression of the Archbishop of York and the excommunication of the Bishops.—Giles, vi. 129; Bouquet, 443.

Archbishop of York, and renewed the excommunication of London and Salisbury, with whom were joined the Archdeacon of Canterbury and the Bishop of Rochester, as guilty of special violation of their allegiance to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of St. Asaph, and some others. Becket himself saw the policy of altogether separating the cause of the bishops from that of the King. He requested that some expressions relating to the King's excesses, and condemnatory of the bishops for swearing to the Customs should be suppressed; and the excommunication grounded entirely on their usurpation of the right of crowning the King.^b

About four months elapsed between the treaty of Fretteville and the return of Becket to England. They were occupied by these negotiations at Rome, Veroli, and Ferentino; by discussions with the King, who was attacked during this period with a dangerous illness; and by the mission of some of Becket's officers to resume the estates of the see. Becket had two personal interviews with the King; the first was at Tours, Interview at Tours. where, as he was now in the King's dominions, he endeavoured to obtain the kiss of peace. The Archbishop hoped to betray Henry into this favour during the celebration of the mass, in which it might seem only a part of the service.^c Henry was on his guard, and ordered the mass for the dead, in which the benediction is not pronounced. The King had received Becket fairly; they parted not without ill-concealed estrangement. At the second meeting the King seemed more friendly; he went so far as to say, "Why resist my wishes? I would place everything in your hands."

^b "Licet ei (regi sc.) pepercieritis, dissimulare non audetis excessus et crimina sacerdotum." This letter is a curious revelation of the arrogance and subtlety of Becket.—Giles, iii. 77.

^c It is called the *Pax*.

Becket, in his own words, bethought him of the tempter, "All these things will I give unto thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me."

The King had written to his son in England that the see of Canterbury should be restored to Becket, as it was three months before his exile. But there were two strong parties hostile to Becket: the King's officers who held in sequestration the estates of the see, and seem to have especially coveted the receipt of the Michaelmas rents; and with these some of the fierce warrior nobles, who held lands or castles which were claimed as possessions of the Church of Canterbury. Randolph de Broc, his old inveterate enemy, was determined not to surrender his castle of Saltwood. It was reported to Becket, by Becket represented to the King, that De Broc had sworn that he would have Becket's life before he had eaten a loaf of bread in England. The castle of Rochester was held on the same doubtful title by one of his enemies. The second party was that of the bishops, which was powerful, with a considerable body both of the clergy and laity. They had sufficient influence to urge the King's officers to take the strongest measures, lest the Papal letters of excommunication should be introduced into the kingdom.

It is, perhaps, vain to conjecture, how far, if Becket had returned to England in the spirit of meekness, forgiveness, and forbearance, not wielding the thunders of excommunication, nor determined to trample on his adversaries, and to exact the utmost even of his most doubtful rights, he might have resumed his see, and gradually won back the favour of the King, the respect and love of the whole hierarchy, and all the legitimate possessions of his church. But he came not in peace,

nor was he received in peace.^d It was not the Archbishop of Rouen, as he had hoped, but his old enemy John of Oxford, who was commanded by the King to accompany him, and reinstate him in his see. The King might allege that one so much in the royal confidence was the best protector of the Archbishop. The money which had been promised for his voyage was not paid; he was forced to borrow 300*l.* of the Archbishop of Rouen. He went, as he felt, or affected to feel, with death before his eyes, yet nothing should now separate him from his long-divided flock. Before his embarkation at Whitsand in Flanders, he received intelligence that the shores were watched by his enemies, it was said with designs on his life,^e but assuredly with the determination of making a rigid search for the letters of excommunication.^f To secure the safe carriage of one of these perilous documents, the suspension of the Archbishop of York, it was entrusted to a nun named Idonea, whom he exhorts, like another Judith, to this holy act, and promises her as her reward the remission of her sins.^g Other contraband letters were conveyed across the Channel by unknown hands, and were delivered to the bishops before Becket's landing.

Becket prepares for his return.

Letters of excommunication sent before him.

^d Becket disclaims vengeance: "Neque hoc dicimus, Deo teste, vindictam expetentes, quum scriptum esse noverimus, non quæres ultionem . . . sed ut ecclesia correctionis exemplo possit per Dei gratiam in posterum roborare, et pœnâ paucorum multos edificare."—Giles, iii. 76.

^e See Becket's account.—Giles, iii. p. 81.

^f Lambeth says: "Visum est autem nonnullis, quod incircumspectè lite-

rarum vindictâ post pacem usus est, quæ tantum pacis desperatione fuerint data."—P. 116. Compare pp. 119 and 152.

^g Lord Lyttelton has drawn an inference from these words unfavourable to the purity of Idonea's former life; and certainly the examples of the Magdalene and the woman of Egypt, if this be not the case, were unhappily chosen.

The Prelates of York and London were at Canterbury when they received these Papal letters. When the fulminating instruments were read before them, in which was this passage, "we will fill your faces with ignominy," their countenances fell. They sent messengers to complain to Becket, that he came not in peace, but in fire and flame, trampling his brother bishops under his feet, and making their necks his footstool: that he had condemned them uncited, unheard, unjudged. "There is no peace," Becket sternly replied, "but to men of good will."^h It was said that London was disposed to humble himself before Becket; but York,¹ trusting in his wealth, boasted that he had in his power the Pope, the King, and all their courts.

Instead of the port of Dover, where he was expected, Becket's vessel, with the archiepiscopal banner displayed, cast anchor at Sandwich. Soon after his landing, appeared in arms the Sheriff of Kent, Randolph de Broc, and others of his enemies. They searched his baggage, fiercely demanded that he should absolve the bishops, and endeavoured to force the Archdeacon of Sens, a foreign ecclesiastic, to take an oath to keep the peace of the realm. John of Oxford was shocked, and repressed their violence. On his way to Canterbury the country clergy came forth with their flocks to meet him; they strewed their garments in his way, chanting, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." Arrived at Canterbury, he rode at once to the church with a vast procession of clergy, amid the ringing of bells and the chanting of music. He took his archiepiscopal throne, and after-

Lands at
Sandwich.
Dec. 1.

At Canter-
bury.

^h Fitz-Stephen, pp. 281, 284.

¹ Becket calls York his ancient enemy: "Lucifer ponens sedem suam in aquilone."

wards preached on the text, "Here we have no abiding city." The next morning came again the Sheriff of Kent, with Randolph de Broc, and the messengers of the bishops, demanding their absolution.^k Becket evaded the question by asserting that the Excommunication was not pronounced by him, but by his superior the Pope; that he had no power to abrogate the sentence. This declaration was directly at issue with the bull of excommunication: if the bishops gave satisfaction to the Archbishop, he had power to act on behalf of the Pope.^m But to the satisfaction which, according to one account, he did demand, that they should stand a public trial, in other words place themselves at his mercy, they would not, and hardly could submit. They set out immediately to the King in Normandy.

The restless Primate was determined to keep alive the popular fervour, enthusiastically, almost fanatically, on his side. On a pretext of a visit to the young King at Woodstock, to offer him the present Goes to London. of three beautiful horses, he set forth on a stately progress. Wherever he went he was received with acclamations and prayers for his blessing by the clergy and the people. In Rochester he was entertained by the Bishop with great ceremony. In London there was the same excitement: he was received in the palace of the Bishop of Winchester in Southwark. Even there he scattered some excommunications.ⁿ The Court took

^k Becket accuses the bishops of thirsting for his blood! "Let them drink it!" But this was a phrase which he uses on all occasions, even to William of Pavia.

^m "Si vero ita eidem Archiepiscopo et Cantuariensi Ecclesie satisfacere inveniretis, ut poenam istam ipse videat

relaxandam, vice nostrâ per illum volumus adimpleri."—Apud Bouquet, p. 461.

ⁿ "Ipse tamen Londonias adiens, et ibi missarum solenniis celebratis, quosdam excommunicavit." — Passio. iii p. 154.

alarm, and sent orders to the prelate to return to his diocese. Becket obeyed, but alleged as the cause of his obedience, not the royal command, but his own desire to celebrate the festival of Christmas in his metropolitan church. The week passed in holding sittings in his court, where he acted with his usual promptitude, vigour, and resolution against the intruders into livings, and upon the encroachments on his estates; and in devotions most fervent, mortifications most austere.^o

His rude enemies committed in the mean time all kinds of petty annoyances, which he had not the loftiness to disdain. Randolph de Broc seized a vessel laden with rich wine for his use, and imprisoned the sailors in Pevensey Castle. An order from the court compelled him to release ship and crew. They robbed the people who carried his provisions, broke into his park, hunted his deer, beat his retainers; and, at the instigation of Randolph's brother, Robert de Broc, a ruffian, a renegade monk, cut off the tail of one of his state horses.

On Christmas day Becket preached on the appropriate text, "Peace on earth, good will towards men." The sermon agreed ill with the text. He spoke of one of his predecessors, St. Alphege, who had suffered martyrdom. "There may soon be a second." He then burst out into a fierce, impetuous, terrible tone, arraigned the courtiers, and closed with a fulminating excommunication against Nigel de Sackville, who had refused to give up a benefice into which, in Becket's judgement, he had

^o Since this passage was written an excellent and elaborate paper has appeared in the Quarterly Review, full of local knowledge. I recognise the hand of a friend from whom great things may be expected. I find, I

think, nothing in which we disagree, though that account, having more ample space, is more particular than mine. (Reprinted in 'Memorials of Canterbury,' by Rev. A. P. Stanley.)

intruded, and against Randolph and Robert de Broc. The maimed horse was not forgotten. He renewed in the most vehement language the censure on the bishops, dashed the candle on the pavement in token of their utter extinction, and then proceeded to the mass at the altar.^p

In the mean time the excommunicated prelates had sought the King in the neighbourhood of The bishops with the King. Bayeux; they implored his protection for themselves and the clergy of the realm. "If all are to be visited by spiritual censures," said the King, "who officiated at the coronation of my son, by the eyes of God, I am equally guilty." The whole conduct of Becket since his return was detailed, and no doubt deeply darkened by the hostility of his adversaries. All had been done with an insolent and seditious design of alienating the affections of the people from the King. Henry demanded counsel of the prelates; they declared themselves unable to give it. But one incautiously said, "So long as Thomas lives, you will never be at peace." The King broke out into one of his terrible constitutional fits of passion; and at length let fall the fatal words, "Have I none of my thankless and cowardly courtiers who will relieve me from the insults of one low-born and turbulent priest?"

These words were not likely to fall unheard on the ears of fierce and warlike men, reckless of The King's fatal words. bloodshed, possessed with a strong sense of their feudal allegiance, and eager to secure to themselves the reward of desperate service. Four knights, chamberlains of the King, Reginald Fitz-Urse, William de Tracy, Hugh de Moreville, and Reginald Brito, dis

^p Fitz-Stephen, De Bosham. Grim. *in loc.*

appeared from the court.⁹ On the morrow, when a grave council was held, some barons are said, even there, to have advised the death of Becket. Milder measures were adopted: the Earl of Mandeville was sent off with orders to arrest the primate; and as the disappearance of these four knights could not be unmarked, to stop them in the course of any unauthorised enterprise.

But murder travels faster than justice or mercy. They were almost already on the shores of England. It is said that they met in Saltwood Castle. On the 28th of December, having, by the aid of Randolph de Broc, collected some troops in the streets of Canterbury, they took up their quarters with Clarembold, Abbot of St. Augustine's.

The assassination of Becket has something appalling, with all its terrible circumstances seen in the remote past. What was it in its own age? The most distinguished churchman in Christendom, the champion of the great sacerdotal order, almost in the hour of his triumph over the most powerful king in Europe; a man, besides the awful sanctity inherent in the person of every ecclesiastic, of most saintly holiness; soon after the most solemn festival of the Church, in his own cathedral, not only sacrilegiously, but cruelly murdered, with every mark of hatred and insult. Becket had all the dauntlessness, none of the meekness of the martyr; but while his dauntlessness would command boundless admiration, few, if any, would seek the more genuine sign of Christian martyrdom.

The four knights do not seem to have deliberately determined on their proceedings, or to have resolved,

⁹ See, on the former history of these knights, *Quarterly Review*, vol. xciii. p. 355. The writer has indus-
 triously traced out all that can be known, much which was rumoured about these men.

except in extremity, on the murder. They entered, but unarmed, the outer chamber.^f The Archbishop had just dined, and withdrawn from the hall. They were offered food, as was the usage; they declined, thirsting, says one of the biographers, for blood. The Archbishop obeyed the summons to hear a message from the King; they were admitted to his presence. As they entered, there was no salutation on either side, till the Primate having surveyed, perhaps recognised them, moved to them with cold courtesy. Fitz-Urse was the spokesman in the fierce altercation which ensued. Becket replied with haughty firmness. Fitz-Urse began by reproaching him with his ingratitude and seditious disloyalty in opposing the coronation of the King's son, and commanded him, in instant obedience to the King, to absolve the prelates. Becket protested that so far from wishing to diminish the power of the King's son, he would have given him three crowns and the most splendid realm. For the excommunicated bishops he persisted in his usual evasion that they had been suspended by the Pope, by the Pope alone could they be absolved; nor had they yet offered proper satisfaction. "It is the King's command," spake Fitz-Urse, "that you and the rest of your disloyal followers leave the kingdom."^g "It becomes not the King to utter such command: henceforth no power on earth shall separate me from my flock." "You have presumed to excommunicate, without consulting the King, the King's servants and officers." "Nor will I ever spare the man who violates the canons of Rome, or the rights of the Church." "From whom do you hold your arch-

The knights
before
Becket.

^f Tuesday, Dec. 29. See, on the fatality of Tuesday in Becket's life, Q. R. p. 357.

^g Grim, p. 71. Fitz-Stephen.

bishopric?" "My spirituals from God and the Pope, my temporals from the King." "Do you not hold all from the King?" "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." "You speak in peril of your life!" "Come ye to murder me? I defy you, and will meet you front to front in the battle of the Lord." He added, that some among them had sworn fealty to him. At this, it is said, they grew furious, and gnashed with their teeth. The prudent John of Salisbury heard with regret this intemperate language: "Would it may end well!" Fitz-Urse shouted aloud, "In the King's name I enjoin you all, clerks and monks, to arrest this man, till the King shall have done justice on his body." They rushed out, calling for their arms.

His friends had more fear for Becket than Becket for himself. The gates were closed and barred, but presently sounds were heard of those without, striving to break in. The lawless Randolph de Broc was hewing at the door with an axe. All around Becket was the confusion of terror: he only was calm. Again spoke John of Salisbury with his cold prudence—"Thou wilt never take counsel: they seek thy life." "I am prepared to die." "We who are sinners are not so weary of life." "God's will be done." The sounds without grew wilder. All around him entreated Becket to seek sanctuary in the church. He refused, whether from religious reluctance that the holy place should be stained with his blood, or from the nobler motive of sparing his assassins this deep aggravation of their crime. They urged that the bell was already tolling for vespers. He seemed to give a reluctant consent; but he would not move without the dignity of his crozier carried before him. With gentle compulsion they half drew, half carried him through a

private chamber, they in all the hasty agony of terror, he striving to maintain his solemn state, into the church. The din of the armed men was ringing in the cloister. The affrighted monks broke off the service; some hastened to close the doors; Becket commanded them to desist—"No one should be debarred from entering the house of God." John of Salisbury and the rest fled and hid themselves behind the altars and in other dark places. The Archbishop might have escaped into the dark and intricate crypt, or into a chapel in the roof. There remained only the Canon Robert (of Merton), Fitz-Stephen, and the faithful Edward Grim. Becket stood between the altar of St. Benedict and that of the Virgin.^t It was thought that Becket contemplated taking his seat on his archiepiscopal throne near the high altar.

Through the open door of the cloister came rushing in the four, fully armed, some with axes in their hands, with two or three wild followers, through the dim and bewildering twilight. The knights shouted aloud, "Where is the traitor?" No answer came back. "Where is the Archbishop?" "Behold me, no traitor, but a priest of God!" Another fierce and rapid altercation followed: they demanded the absolution of the bishops, his own surrender to the King's justice. They strove to seize him and to drag him forth from the Church (even they had awe of the holy place), either to kill him without, or to carry him in bonds to the King. He clung to the pillar. In the struggle he grappled with De Tracy, and with desperate strength dashed him on the pavement. His passion rose; he called Fitz-Urse by a foul name, a pander. These were almost his last

Becket
in the
Church.

The murder.

^t For the accurate local description, see *Quarterly Review*, p. 367.

words (how unlike those of Stephen and the greater than Stephen!). He taunted Fitz-Urse with his fealty sworn to himself. "I owe no fealty but to my King!" returned the maddened soldier, and struck the first blow. Edward Grim interposed his arm, which was almost severed off. The sword struck Becket, but slightly, on the head. Becket received it in an attitude of prayer—"Lord, receive my spirit," with an ejaculation to the Saints of the Church. Blow followed blow (Tracy seems to have dealt the first mortal wound), till all, unless perhaps De Moreville, had wreaked their vengeance. The last, that of Richard de Brito, smote off a piece of his skull. Hugh of Horsea, their follower, a renegade priest surnamed Mauclerk, set his heel upon his neck, and crushed out the blood and brains. "Away!" said the brutal ruffian, "it is time that we were gone." They rushed out to plunder the archiepiscopal palace.

The mangled body was left on the pavement; and when his affrighted followers ventured to approach to perform their last offices, an incident occurred which, however incongruous, is too characteristic to be suppressed. Amid their adoring awe at his courage and constancy, their profound sorrow for his loss, they broke out into a rapture of wonder and delight on discovering not merely that his whole body was swathed in the coarsest sackcloth, but that his lower garments were swarming with vermin. From that moment miracles began. Even the populace had before been divided; voices had been heard among the crowd denying him to be a martyr; he was but the victim of his own obstinacy.^u The Archbishop of York even after this dared to preach that it was a judgement of

^u Grim, 70.

God against Becket—that “he perished, like Pharaoh, in his pride.”^x But the torrent swept away at once all this resistance. The Government inhibited the miracles, but faith in miracles scorns obedience to human laws. The Passion of the Martyr Thomas was saddened and glorified every day with new incidents of its atrocity, of his holy firmness, of wonders wrought by his remains.

The horror of Becket’s murder ran throughout Christendom. At first, of course, it was attributed to Henry’s direct orders. Universal hatred branded the King of England with a kind of outlawry, a spontaneous excommunication. William of Sens, though the attached friend of Becket, probably does not exaggerate the public sentiment when he describes this deed as surpassing the cruelty of Herod, the perfidy of Julian, the sacrilege of the traitor Judas.^y

It were injustice to King Henry not to suppose that with the dread as to the consequences of this act must have mingled some reminiscences of the gallant friend and companion of his youth and of the faithful minister, as well as religious horror at a cruel murder, so savagely and impiously executed.^z He shut himself for three days in his chamber, obstinately refused all food and comfort, till his attendants began to fear for his life. He issued orders for the apprehension of the murderers,^a

^x John of Salisbury. Bouquet, 619, 620.

^y Giles, iv. 162. Bouquet, 467. It was fitting that the day after that of the Holy Innocents should be that on which should rise up this new Herod.

^z See the letter of Arnulf of Lisieux. —Bouquet, 469.

^a The Quarterly reviewer has the

merit of tracing out the extraordinary fate of the murderers. “By a singular reciprocity, the principle for which Becket had contended, that priests should not be subjected to the secular courts, prevented the trial of a layman for the murder of a priest by any other than a clerical tribunal.” Legend imposes upon them dark and romantic

and despatched envoys to the Pope to exculpate himself from all participation or cognisance of the crime. His ambassadors found the Pope at Tusculum: they were at first sternly refused an audience. The afflicted and indignant Pope was hardly prevailed on to permit the execrated name of the King of England to be uttered before him. The cardinals still friendly to the King with difficulty obtained knowledge of Alexander's determination. It was, on a fixed day, to pronounce with the utmost solemnity, excommunication against the King by name, and an interdict on all his dominions, on the Continent as well as in England. The ambassadors hardly obtained the abandonment of this fearful purpose, by swearing that the King would submit in all things to the judgement of his Holiness. With difficulty the terms of reconciliation were arranged.

In the cathedral of Avranches in Normandy, in the presence of the Cardinals Theodin of Porto, and Albert the Chancellor, Legates for that especial purpose, Henry swore on the Gospels that he had neither commanded nor desired the death of Becket; that it had caused him sorrow, not joy; he had not grieved so deeply for the death of his father or his mother.^b He stipulated—I. To maintain two hundred knights at his own cost in the Holy Land. II. To abrogate the Statutes of Clarendon, and all bad customs introduced during his reign.^c III. That he would reinvest the Church of Canterbury in all its rights

acts of penance; history finds them in high places of trust and honour.—pp. 377, *et seqq.* I may add that John of Oxford five years after was Bishop of Norwich. Ridel too became Bishop of Ely.

^b Diceto, p. 557.

^c This stipulation, in Henry's view, cancelled hardly any; as few, and these but trifling customs, had been admitted during his reign.

and possessions, and pardon and restore to their estates all who had incurred his wrath in the cause of the Primate. IV. If the Pope should require it, he would himself make a crusade against the Saracens in Spain. In the porch of the church he was reconciled, but with no ignominious ceremony.

Throughout the later and the darker part of Henry's reign the clergy took care to inculcate, and the people were prone enough to believe, that all his disasters and calamities, the rebellion of his wife and of his sons, were judgements of God for the persecution if not the murder of the Martyr Thomas. The strong mind of Henry himself, depressed by misfortune and by the estrangement of his children, acknowledged with superstitious awe the justice of their conclusions. Heaven, the Martyr in Heaven, must be appeased by a public humiliating penance. The deeper the degradation the more valuable the atonement. In less than three years after his death the King visited the tomb of Becket, by this time a canonised saint, renowned not only throughout England for his wonder-working powers, but to the limits of Christendom. As soon as he came near enough to see the towers of Canterbury, the King dismounted from his horse, and for three miles walked with bare and bleeding feet along the flinty road. The tomb of the Saint was then in the crypt beneath the church. The King threw himself prostrate before it. The Bishop of London (Foliot) preached; he declared to the wondering multitude that on his solemn oath the King was entirely guiltless of the murder of the Saint: but as his hasty words had been the innocent cause of the crime, he submitted in lowly obedience to the penance of the Church. The naughty monarch then prayed to be scourged by the

Ascension
Day.
May 22, 1172.

Penance at
Canterbury.
Friday,
July 12,
1174.

willing monks. From the one end of the church to the other each ecclesiastic present gratified his pride, and thought that he performed his duty, by giving a few stripes.^d The King passed calmly through this rude discipline, and then spent a night and a day in prayers and tears, imploring the intercession in Heaven of him whom, he thought not now on how just grounds, he had pursued with relentless animosity on earth.^e

Thus Becket obtained by his death that triumph for which he would perhaps have struggled in vain through a long life. He was now a Saint, and for some centuries the most popular Saint in England: among the people, from a generous indignation at his barbarous murder, from the fame of his austerities and his charities, no doubt from admiration of his bold resistance to the kingly power; among the clergy as the champion, the martyr of their order. Even if the clergy had had no interest in the miracles at the tomb of Becket, the high-strung faith of the people would have wrought them almost without suggestion or assistance. Cures would have been made or imagined; the latent powers of diseased or paralysed bodies would have been quickened into action. Belief, and the fear of disbelieving, would have multiplied one extraordinary event into a hundred; fraud would be outbid by zeal; the invention of the crafty, even if what may seem invention was not more often ignorance and credulity, would be outrun by the demands of superstition. There is no calculating the

^d The scene is related by all the monkish chroniclers,—Gervaise, Diceto, Brompton, Hoveden.

^e Peter of Blois was assured by the two cardinal legates of Henry's in-

nocence of Becket's death. See this letter, which contains a most high-flown eulogy on the transcendent virtues of Henry.—Epist. 66.

extent and effects of these epidemic outbursts of passionate religion.^f

Becket was indeed the martyr of the clergy, not of the Church; of sacerdotal power, not of Christianity; of a caste, not of mankind.^g From ^{Becket martyr of the clergy.} beginning to end it was a strife for the authority, the immunities, the possessions of the clergy.^h The liberty of the Church was the exemption of the clergy from law; the vindication of their separate, exclusive, distinctive existence from the rest of mankind. It was a sacrifice to the deified self; not the individual self, but self as the centre and representative of a great corporation. Here and there in the long full correspondence there is some slight allusion to the miseries of the people in being deprived of the services of the exiled bishops and clergy:ⁱ "there is no one to ordain clergy, to consecrate virgins:" the confiscated property is said to be a robbery of the poor: yet in general the sole object in dispute was the absolute immunity of the clergy from civil jurisdiction,^k the right of appeal from

^f On the effect of the death, and the immediate concurrence of the people to Canterbury, Lambeth, p. 133.

^g Herbert de Bosham, writing fourteen years after Becket's death, declares him among the most undisputed martyrs. "Quod alicujus martyrum causa justior fuit aut apertior ego nec audivi, nec legi." So completely were clerical immunities part and parcel of Christianity.

^h The enemies of Becket assigned base reasons for his opposition to the King. "Ecclesiasticam etiam libertatem, quam defensatis, non ad animarum lucrum sed ad augmentum pecuniarum, episcopos vestros intorquere." See the

charges urged by John of Oxford.—Giles, iv. p. 188.

ⁱ Especially in Epist. 19. "Interim."

^k It is not just to judge the clergy by the crimes of individual men, but there is one case, mentioned by no less an authority than John of Salisbury, too flagrant to pass over: it was in Becket's own cathedral city. Immediately after Becket's death the Bishops of Exeter and Worcester were commissioned by Pope Alexander to visit St. Augustine's, Canterbury. They report the total dilapidation of the buildings and estates. The prior elect "Jugi, quod hereticus damnat, fluit libidine, et hinniit

the temporal sovereign to Rome, and the asserted superiority of the spiritual rulers in every respect over the temporal power. There might, indeed, be latent advantages to mankind, social, moral, and religious, in this secluded sanctity of one class of men; it might be well that there should be a barrier against the fierce and ruffian violence of kings and barons; that somewhere freedom should find a voice, and some protest be made against the despotism of arms, especially in a newly-conquered country like England, where the kingly and aristocratic power was still foreign: above all, that there should be a caste, not an hereditary one, into which ability might force its way up, from the most low-born, even from the servile rank. But the liberties of the Church, as they were called, were but the establishment of one tyranny—a milder, perhaps, but not less rapacious tyranny—instead of another; a tyranny which aspired to uncontrolled, irresponsible rule, nor was above the inevitable evil produced on rulers as well as on subjects, from the consciousness of arbitrary and autocratic power.

Reflective posterity may perhaps consider as not the least remarkable point in this lofty and tragic strife that it was but a strife for power. Henry II. was a sovereign who, with many noble and kingly qualities, lived, more than even most monarchs of his age, in direct violation of every Christian precept of justice, humanity, conjugal fidelity. He was lustful, cruel, treacherous, arbitrary. But throughout this contest there is no remonstrance whatever from Primate or

in fœminas, adeo impudens ut libidinem, nisi quam publicaverit, voluptuosam esse non reputat." He debauched mothers and daughters: "Fornica-

tionis abusum comparat necessitati." In one village he had seventeen bastards. —Epist. 310.

Pope against his disobedience to the laws of God, only to those of the Church. Becket *might*, indeed, if he had retained his full and acknowledged religious power, have rebuked the vices, protected the subjects, interceded for the victims of the King's unbridled passions. It must be acknowledged by all **that** he did not take the wisest course to secure this which might have been beneficent influence. But as to what appears, if the King would have consented to allow the churchmen to despise all law—if he had not insisted on hanging priests guilty of homicide as freely as laymen—he might have gone on unreproved in his career of ambition; he might unrebuked have seduced or ravished the wives and daughters of his nobles; extorted, without remonstrance of the Clergy, any revenue from his subjects, if he had kept his hands from the treasures of the Church. Henry's real tyranny was not (would it in any case have been?) the object of the churchman's censure, oppugnancy, or resistance. The cruel and ambitious and rapacious King would doubtless have lived **unexcommunicated** and died with plenary absolution.

CHAPTER IX.

Alexander III. and the Popes to the close of the Twelfth Century.

THE history of Becket has been throughout almost its whole course that of Pope Alexander III.: it has shown the Pontiff as an exile in France, and after his return to Rome. The support of the English Primate, more or less courageous and resolute, or wavering and lukewarm, has been in exact measure to his own prosperity and danger. When Alexander seems to abandon the cause of the English Primate, he is trembling before his own adversaries, or embarrassed with increasing difficulties; when he boldly, either through himself or his legates, takes part against the King of England, it is because he feels strong enough to stand without the countenance or without the large pecuniary aids lavished by Henry.

Alexander remained in France above three years. April, 1162, During that time the kingdom of Sicily was restored to peace and order; the Emperor had returned to Germany, where he seemed likely to be fully occupied with domestic wars; the Italian republics were groaning under the oppressive yoke of their conqueror, which they were watching the opportunity to throw off, Milan, given up to ruin, fire, and, most destructive of all, to the fury of her enemies, was razed to the earth, if not sown with salt. Lodi, Cremona, Pavia, had risen from her ashes; but walls had grown up, trenches sunk around the condemned city. Milan's old allies had rivalled in zeal, activity, and devotion her

revengeful foes. Her scattered citizens had returned. The Archbishop's palace towered in its majesty, the churches lifted up their pinnacles and spires, the republic had resumed its haughtiness, its turbulence.^a The Antipope Victor was dead,^b but a new Antipope was not wanting. The Emperor might, without loss of honour, have made peace with Alexander; but the Imperialist churchmen dared not trust a Pope whom they had denied to be Pope. The Archbishop of Cologne and the German and Lombard prelates proclaimed Guido of Crema by the title of Paschal III.; he was consecrated by the Bishop of Liège. But the Antipope had not dared to contest Rome; he was, in fact, a German Antipope overawed by German prelates. In Rome the vicegerent of Pope Alexander ruled with almost undisturbed sway; but in that vicegerent had taken place an important change. Julius, the Cardinal of Palestrina, died; the Cardinal of St. John and St. Paul was appointed in his place. This Cardinal was a man of great address and activity. By artful language and well-directed bribery, notwithstanding all the opposition of Christian, the Chancellor of the Empire, he won over the versatile people; the senate were entirely at his disposal.

The Pope, at the summons of his Vicar, and lavishly supplied with money by the Kings of France and England, embarked, on the octave of the Assumption of the Virgin, at Marseilles, himself in one vessel, the cardinals of his party and Oberto, the anti-Imperialist Archbishop of Milan, in another. They were watched by the fleet of Pisa, in the interests

Sept. 1165.
Alexander
embarks for
Italy.

^a Ann. 1162. On the extent of the destruction of Milan, and its restoration, compare Verri, Storia di Milano, c. vii. He gives the authorities in full.

^b April 1164, In Lucca.

of the Emperor. The vessel which conveyed the cardinals was taken, searched in vain for the person of the Pope, and then released; that with the Pope on board put back into the port. Shortly after in a smaller and swift-sailing bark he reached Messina; there he received a splendid embassy from the King of Sicily; several large vessels were placed at his command. The Archbishop of Reggio (in Calabria) and many barons of Southern Italy joined themselves to the cardinals around him. The fleet landed at Ostia: the clergy and senators of Rome crowded to pay their homage to the Pope. He was escorted to the city by numbers bearing olive-branches. At the Lateran gate the clergy in their sacred vestments, the authorities of the city and the militia under their banners, the Jews with their Bible in their hands, presented themselves; and in the midst of this festive procession he took possession of the Lateran palace.

But it was not the policy of the Hohenstaufen Emperor to desert the cause of his Antipope, and to leave Alexander in secure possession of Rome. After the Pope had occupied Rome for a year, in the following year Frederick crossed the Alps with a great force. Rainald, Archbishop of Cologne and Arch-chancellor of Italy, preceded his march towards the south. Pisa received him: the Alexandrine archbishop, Villani, was degraded, Benencasa installed as archbishop.^c Rome was notoriously the prize of the highest bidder; it had been bought by Alexander with the gold of France, England, and Sicily;^d many were

^c "Quem venerabilis Pasquelis cum cancellario, et cardinalibus gloriose recepit."—Marangoni, p. 47.

^d "Roma si invenerit emptorem, venalem se ferebet."—Vit. Alex. III.

disposed to be bought again by the Emperor. Rainald of Cologne, an active, daring, and unscrupulous partisan, made great progress in the neighbourhood of Rome and in Rome itself in favour of the Antipope. The Emperor, at the head of his army, moved slowly southwards. Instead, however, of marching direct to Rome, he sat down before Ancona, which had returned or been re-subdued to its allegiance to the Byzantine Empire; for the Byzantine Manuel Comnenus had found leisure to mingle himself again in the affairs of Italy; he even aspired to reunite Rome to what the Byzantines still called the Roman Empire.^e Ancona made a brave resistance, and the Imperial forces were thus diverted from the capital.

The feeble Romans were constant to one passion alone, the hatred of their neighbours; that hatred was now centred on Tusculum. Notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the more prudent Pope, the whole militia of Rome, on whom depended the power of resistance to the Emperor, marched out to attack the detested neighbour. They suffered a disgraceful defeat by a few German troops, headed by the Archbishop of Mentz, their general, and the garrison of Tusculum under the command of the Archbishop of Cologne. Their loss was great and irreparable, 1000 slain, 2000 prisoners; the prowess of

End of
May, 1167.

^e Cinnamus, vi. 4. 261, ed. Bonn. According to the Byzantine, the Pope had agreed to this. *ἐς τὸ πάλαι ἔθος ἀνακεχωρηκέναι τοῦ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀρχιερέως συνομολογήσαντος.* Alexander was well content to accept Greek gold, not Greek rule. Did Manuel fondly believe his sincerity? In 1171 (Feb. 28), Alexander, alarmed at a proposition of marriage between the

son of the Emperor Frederick and the daughter of the King of France, offers to the King of France to procure for his daughter the hand of the son of the Byzantine emperor, "whose treasury is inexhaustible." "Sanè apud imperatorem (Constantinopolitanum) regnum et consanguinei puellæ ærarium indeficiens semper invenient."—Apud Bouquet, xv. 901.

these warlike churchmen afflicted even to tears but did not subdue the courage of the resolute Pontiff.^f He strengthened as far as he could the fortifications of Rome; a few troops were obtained from the Queen Regent of Sicily (William II. was now dead) and the youthful king. Frederick had broken up the siege of Ancona; he reached Rome, and easily got possession of the Leonine city; the Vatican alone maintained an obstinate defence, till some of the buildings caught fire and compelled the garrison to capitulate. The Antipope took possession of St. Peter's, reeking with blood up to the high altar,^g and performed the papal functions. The Emperor attended; the Empress Beatrice received the imperial diadem, and the crown of Frederick was blessed again by the Pontiff.

July 30.

Alexander seemed at first determined to defend to the utmost the city on the other side of the Tiber. Some Sicilian vessels had sailed up the river to bring supplies of money and to convey him away. Alexander refused to embark. The Frangipanis and the house of Peter Leonis were firm and united in his cause. Before long he thought it more prudent to escape in disguise to Gaeta; there he resumed the pontifical attire and withdrew to Benevento.

Alexander
at Bene-
vento.

Rome consoled herself for her enforced submission by the re-establishment of her senate in supreme authority. The Emperor endeavoured, by the grant of various immunities, to secure the fidelity of the

Aug. 22.

^f "Paucissimi evaserunt, qui non occisi, aut captivati fuerint."—Chronicon Reichspurg. The best account of the victory of these martial prelates is in Otto de Saint Blaise, c. xx.

^g Otto de Saint Blaise. He says

that the imperial troops hewed down the gates of St. Peter's with axes and hatchets, and fought their way to the high altar, slaying as they went.—Compare Marangoni, p. 48.

people; but the Frangipanis, the Peter Leonis, and many of the nobles, remained aloof in sullen silence, and kept within their impregnable fortress palaces. But the Pope had a more powerful ally. Never did the climate of Rome so fearfully humiliate the pride of the Emperor, or work with such awful force for the liberation of Italy.^h No wonder that the visible hand of God was seen in the epidemic which broke out in the German army. It seemed, as has been said, commissioned with especial violence against those rebellious churchmen who had taken part and stood in arms against the lawful Pope. The Archbishop Elect of Cologne, the Bishops of Prague, Liège, Spire, Ratisbon, Verdun, Augsburg, Zeitz, were among its first victims. With them perished Duke Frederick of Swabia, the young Duke Guelf, in whom expired the line of the Estensian Guelfs. The pestilence was no less terrific from its rapidity than from its intensity. Men were in perfect health in the morning, dead before the evening: it was hardly possible to perform the rites of decent burial. The Emperor broke up his camp in the utmost haste, retreated, not without hostile resistance in the pass of Pontremoli, by Lucca and Pisa to Pavia. Of nobles, bishops, knights, and squires, not reckoning the common soldiers, he had lost 2000 by the plague and during his retreat. Nor was this the worst: all Lombardy was in arms. A league had been formed to throw off his tyrannical yoke by Venice, Verona and all her dependencies, Vicenza, Padua, Treviso, Ferrara, Brescia, Bergamo, Cremona,

Pestilence.

Retreat of
Barbarossa.
Sept. 4, 1167.

^h Here perhaps may once more be cited Peter Damiani's lines, almost equally appropriate on every German invasion :

"Roma vorax hominum, domat ardua colla virorum,
Roma ferax febrium, necis est uberrima frugum,
Romanæ febres stabili sunt jure fideles."
—c. lxxiii.

Milan, Lodi, Piacenza, Parma, Mantua, Modena, and Bologna. The Emperor was not safe in Pavia: early in the spring of the next year the haughty Barbarossa hardly found his way to Germany in disguise; A.D. 1168. with greater difficulty the wreck of his army stole through the passes of the Alps.¹

With the flight of the Emperor fell the cause of the Antipope. City after city declared its allegiance to Alexander. The Antipope maintained himself in St. Peter's, but his death in the autumn of the year might have been expected to terminate the schism. No

Sept. 20,
1168.

single cardinal of his faction remained; but the obstinate few who adhered to him per-

suaded John, formerly Abbot of Struma, now Bishop of Tusculum, to assume the papacy under the name of Calixtus III. His legates were received by Frederick

at a great diet at Bamberg; yet the Emperor June 23, 1169.
1170. did not scruple during the following year to

send Eberhard, the Bishop of Bamberg, to negotiate with Alexander, now avowedly the head of the Lombard League. The great fortress which had been erected in the plains of Piedmont, as the impregnable place of arms for the League, was named after the Pope, Alexandria. The Pontiff was too sagacious not to perceive that the object of these peaceful offers was to alienate him from his allies, the King of Sicily, the Emperor of Constantinople, and the Lombard cities. The Pope received Eberhard of Bamberg at Veroli;^k since the Bishop had no authority to acknowledge him unreservedly as Pope, he was dismissed with haughty

¹ "Sicque evadens Imperator, transcursis Alpibus, exercitum, morte, morbo, omnique miserâ confectum, in patriam reduxit." — Otto de Saint

Blaise, c. xx. See back, p. 89.

^k Alexander was at Veroli from March to September.

courtesy. Yet Alexander dared not to take up his abode in Rome. The Prefect still commanded there in the name of the Emperor; and Tusculum, hard pressed by the Romans, whom the Prefect could not but indulge in their hope of vengeance for their late defeat, surrendered first to the Prefect, afterwards to the Pope as the mightier protector. To increase the confusion, Manuel the Eastern Emperor pressed more vigorously his intrigues to regain a footing in Italy. He condescended to court the Frangipani by granting his daughter in marriage to a prince of that powerful house. The Pope, still at Veroli, gave his blessing to the nuptials. Rome now offered her unqualified allegiance to the Pope at the price of the sacrifice of Tusculum,^m A.D. 1172. which had yielded herself into his hands, and where he had held his papal state more than two years. Alexander consented to raze her impregnable walls; his treachery to Tusculum was punished by the treachery of the Romans. When the walls of her hated rival were levelled they laughed to scorn their own agreement. Alexander retired to Anagni, revenging himself by fortifying again the denuded city of Tusculum.ⁿ

It was not till above three years after, when the pride of Barbarossa had been humbled by his May 29, 1176. total defeat at Legnano, the battle-field in Defeat of Legnano. which the Lombard republics won their independence, that Alexander could trust the earnest wishes of the Emperor for peace. The Emperor could no longer refuse to recognise a pontiff at the head of the League of his conquerors; it was of awful omen that the fortress named after the Pope had borne, before the fatal

^m His bulls bear date at Tusculum, from Oct. 17, 1170, to Jan. 1173.—Jaffé, Regesta.

ⁿ He was at Segni, Jan. 27, 1173; at Anagni, March 28.

battle, all the brunt of the war, and defied his mightiest armament. A secret treaty, now that a treaty was necessary for both parties, arranged the chief points in dispute between the Pope and the Emperor; the general pacification was not publicly proclaimed till the following year.

Then the Pope, under the safe conduct of the Emperor, embarked with his retinue in eleven stately galleys, for Venice. He was received with the highest honours by the doge, Sebastiano Ziani,^o and the senators.

Some dispute took place as to the city in which was to be holden the general congress; the Lombards proposed Bologna; the Emperor Venice; and Venice was at length agreed upon by all parties. But though the terms of reconciliation between the Pope and the Emperor might be arranged with no great difficulty, and on their main points had been settled before at Anagni (the full recognition of Alexander—the abandonment of the Antipope, was the one important article), more embarrassing questions arose on the terms insisted on by the Pope's allies, especially the Lombard republics. The Emperor demanded the full acknowledgment of all the imperial rights recognised at the diet of Roncaglia, and claimed or enjoyed by his predecessors. The republics insisted on the confirmation of their customs as recognised by the late emperors, Henry V., Conrad, and Lothair. As peace seemed impracticable, the Pope at length suggested a truce. The Emperor at first indignantly rejected this proposition, but was prevailed on to yield to a truce of six years with the Lombard League; of fifteen with the King of Sicily. In

Nov. 12.

The Pope
at Venice.
March 13,
1177.

Truce of
Venice.

• He embarked at Viesti, March 9, 1177.

the mean time the Emperor was to retain possession of the domains of the Countess Matilda: after that they were to revert to the Pope. The Lombards bitterly complained of this abandonment of their cause; they had borne the brunt and expenditure of the war; the Pope only consulted his own advantage. But Alexander judged more wisely of their real interests. The cities during the truce were more likely to increase in wealth and power, might quietly strengthen their fortifications, and gather the resources of war; the Emperor, in that time, might be involved in new hostilities in Germany. At all events the Christian prelate might fully determine to obtain a suspension of arms, if he could not a permanent peace: the chances of peace were better for all parties than those of war.

The Emperor then advanced towards Venice. When he arrived at Chioggia, the eager and tumultuous populace were disposed to transport him into the city, without precaution or exchange of hostages. The distrustful Pope was so alarmed, that he kept his galleys prepared for flight. The Lombard deputies actually set out towards Treviso. But the grave wisdom of the Doge Ziani, and of the senate, appeased the popular movement, arranged and guaranteed the ceremonial for the proclamation of the peace on the meeting of the Pope and of the Emperor.

On Tuesday the 24th of July, the Pope went in great state to the Church of St. Mark: the Doge, with the Bucentaur, and other splendid galleys, to meet the Emperor at S. Niccolo del Lido.^p The bishops of Ostia,

^p Daru alone, of modern historians, adheres to the old fables, as old as the fourteenth century, of the march of Frederick towards Anagni; the flight of the Pope in disguise to Venice, where he was recognised; Frederick's pursuit to Tarento; the defeat of his great fleet of seventeen large galleys

Porto, and Palestrina, with other cardinals, were sent forward to absolve the Emperor and his adherents from the ban of excommunication. The warlike Archbishop of Mentz, and the other German prelates, abjured the Antipopes, Octavian, Guido of Crema, and John of Struma. The Emperor, with the Doge and senators, and with his own Teutonic nobles, advanced to the portal of St. Mark's, where stood the Pope in his pontifical attire. Frederick no sooner beheld the successor of St. Peter, than he threw off his imperial mantle, prostrated himself, and kissed the feet of the Pontiff. Alexander, not without tears, raised him up, and gave him the kiss of peace. Then swelled out the *Te Deum*; and the Emperor, holding the hand of the Pope, was led into the choir, and received the papal benediction. From thence they proceeded together to the Ducal Palace.^a The next day, the feast of St. James the

by the Venetians, and the capture of his son Otho; finally, the Pope's insolent behaviour to the Emperor; his placing his feet upon his neck, with the words, "Super aspida et basiliscum ponam pedes nostros;" Frederick's indignant reply, "Non tibi, sed Petro." The account appears in a passage of Dandolo (in Chron.) of questioned authenticity, which appeals to, but does not cite, earlier Venetian histories. But the total silence and the irreconcilable accounts of the contemporary historians and of the Papal letters must outweigh these dubious authorities. A more powerful, but, from his Venetian patriotism, less impartial, advocate than Daru, Paolo Sarpi, had before maintained the same views. Yet such a fiction is extraordinary. Venetian pride might invent the part

which redounds to the glory of Venice: but who invented the striking interview between the Emperor and the Pope? It is not an improbable suggestion, that it originated in paintings, representing the Pope and the Emperor in such attitudes. The paintings are by Spinello, a Siennese, of which city Alexander III. was a native. Compare the vivid description of these frescoes, Lord Lindsay, *Hist. of Christian Art*, ii. 315. Spinello painted in the latter half of the fourteenth century. As Poetry has so often become, here Painting for once became History.

^a A curious passage from a newly-recovered poem, if poem it may be called, by Godfrey of Viterbo, an attendant on the Emperor, gives an incident worth notice. So great was

Apostle, the Pope celebrated mass, and preached to the people. The Emperor held his stirrup when he departed from the church; but the courtesy of the Pope prevented him from holding the bridle along the Place of St. Mark. At a great council held in the church, the Pope excommunicated all who should infringe the treaty.

Thus Venice might seem to have the glory of mediating a peace, which at least suspended for some years all the horrors of war—the war which, throughout Italy, had arrayed city against city, on the Papal or Imperialist factions.^r They had assisted in terminating a disastrous schism which had distracted Christendom for so many years.

Even Rome was overawed by the unity between the Emperor and the Pope. The city sent seven of her nobles to entreat Alexander to honour Rome with his presence. After some negotiation a treaty was agreed on. The senate continued to subsist, but swore fealty and rendered homage to the Pope; the Church of St. Peter, and the royalties seized by the people, were restored. Alexander took possession of the Lateran palace, and celebrated Easter with ^{April 9, 1178.} great pomp. In the August of the same year the Anti-

the press in the market that the aged Pope was thrown down :—

“ Jam Papa perisset in arto,
Cæsar ibi vetulum ni relevasset eum.”

This is an odd contrast of real life with romance.—Apud Pertz, Archiv. iv. p. 363.

^r Muratori has given the list. On the Emperor's side were Cremona (Pisa ?), Pavia, Genoa, Tortona, Asti, Albi, Acqua, Turin, Ventimiglia, Savona, Albengo, Casale, Montevro,

Castel Bolognese, Imola, Faenza, Ravenna, Forli, Forlimpopoli, Cesena, Rimini, the Marquises of Montferrat, Guasto, and Boscolo, the Counts of Blandrate and Lomello. In the League, Venice, Treviso, Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, Ferrara, Mantua, Bergamo, Lodi, Milan, Como, Novara, Vercelli, Alexandria, Carsino and Belmonte, Piacenza, Bobbio, the Marquis Malespina, Parma, Reggio, Modena, Bologna, Dozzia, San Cassiano, &c.

pope, Calixtus III., abdicated his vain title. He had fled to Viterbo, determined to maintain a vigorous resistance; he received a message from the Emperor, threatening him, if he refused to submit, with the ban of the Empire. He fled on to Montalbano; he was received by John, the lord of that castle, whose design, it is said, was to sell him at a high price to Alexander. In Montalbano he was besieged by the Archbishop of Mentz, who wasted all the territory around.^s Calixtus, in despair, threw himself on the mercy of his enemy; he went to Tusculum, fell at the feet of Alexander, confessed his sin of schism, and implored forgiveness.

Aug. 29, 1183. Alexander received him with Christian gentleness, and even advanced him afterwards to a post of dignity—the government of the city of Benevento.

A great council in the Lateran was the last important act in the long and eventful pontificate of Alexander.^t He died in Civita Castellana.

Thus closed the first act of the great tragedy, the strife of the Popes with the imperial house of Hohen-

^s This fierce prelate, whom in the Treaty of Venice Pope Alexander had recognised as rightful Archbishop of Mentz, was afterwards involved in a quarrel with the Marquis of Montferrat concerning the possession of Viterbo. The people were for the archbishop, and the Pope, Lucius III., now his ally; the nobles for Conrad, son of the Marquis. The archbishop was taken and kept for some time in iron chains. He ransomed himself at a great price, fought many more battles, and died at length of a fever.—Muratori, 1179.

^t This Council, among other acts,

regulated the election of the Pope (Romuald-Salernit.); he must have two-thirds of the suffrages. It enacted sumptuary laws as to the horses of prelates on their visitation; hawks and hounds and costly banquets were prohibited; the Knights-Templars and Hospitallers were to be under episcopal authority; clerks to have no women in their houses. There were Canons on the house of God; in favour of lepers; against Christians furnishing arms to Saracens; against wreckers; against Jews and Saracens having Christian slaves. Cathari, Paterines, Publicans were anathematised.

staufen. The Pope had gained a signal victory: he had won back the now uncontested papacy, and the city of Rome. He was at the head of a mighty Italian interest, both in the South and in the North, Sicily and the Lombard League. Yet though humbled, Barbarossa was still of formidable power; he had subdued, driven into exile his one dangerous German subject, the rebel Henry the Lion. Many cities, and some of the most powerful, were firmly attached to the imperial cause, the more firmly from their internecine hatred each to some other of the cities of the League; the proverbial animosity of Guelf and Ghibelline had begun to rage. Till towards the close of this century the Papacy might seem to be in quiet repose, gathering its strength for the great culminating manifestation of its power in Innocent III.

Five Popes,^u neither distinguished by their personal character, nor by the events of their pontificate, passed in succession, during less than twenty years, over the scene. Of these Popes two alone honoured Rome by their residence. The three first can hardly be called Bishops of Rome.

On the death of Alexander he was succeeded by a native of Lucca, Ubaldo, Bishop of Ostia and Velletri. Lucius III. (this was his pontifical Sept. 1, 1181 name) retained his residence, probably his bishopric of Velletri. Rome, rarely visited by Alexander, for six months endured the presence of her new pontiff.^x Then Rome was again in rebellion: the Pope at Velletri,

^u Lucius III., inaugurated Nov. 1181 . . . 1185
 Urban III. 1185 . . . 1187
 Gregory VIII. " 1187 . . . 1187
 Clement III. " 1187 . . . 1190
 Coelestine III. " 1190 Jan. 1193

^x September, 1181, March, 1182.

afterwards at Anagni. The cruelty and insolence of the Romans was at its height. They blinded six-and-twenty Tusculan prisoners, and set cardinal's hats on their heads; a wretch with one eye left was crowned with the papal tiara, inscribed "Lucius III., the worthless, the deceiver." In this plight they were ordered to present themselves to the Pope in Anagni.⁷

The Pope and the Emperor, and the north of Italy, were still at peace. Even Alexandria had opened her gates, and for a short time took the name of Cæsarea. The famous treaty of Constance seemed to fix the relations of the Emperor and the Lombard republics on a lasting ground. At Verona met the Emperor and the Pope in apparent amity. Frederick had hopes that the Pope would consent to permit him to devolve the imperial crown upon his son. Lucius had the address to suggest that a second emperor could not be crowned till the reigning emperor had actually abdicated the empire. They parted in mutual mistrust; but the Pope remained at Verona.² Lucius III. had fulminated an anathema against the sects which were now spreading in the north of Italy, and were all included under the hated name of Manichæans, the Cathari, the Paterines, the Umiliati, the poor men of Lyons, the Passagini, the Giuseppini; he had visited with the like censures the Arnoldists and rebels of Rome. The Emperor left the papal thunders to their own unaided effects; he moved no troops; he would not break the peace of Italy, either to persecute the heretics, or to subdue Rome.

The cardinals, like the Pope, had abandoned the

⁷ Chron. Foss nov.

He was at Verona from July 25 to his death in 1185.

south for the north of Italy. On the death of Lucius, Uberto, or Humbert Crivelli, his successor, Death of Lucius. Nov. 25, 1185. Urban III., elected by twenty-seven cardinals,^a retained the archbishopric of Milan (thus Urban III. holding at once the two great sees of Italy); he chiefly resided at Verona. The peace of Venice had seemed but precarious during the pontificate of Lucius. Uberto Crivelli, the Archbishop of Milan, and full of Milanese as well as papal jealousy of the Emperor, was not likely to smooth away the causes of animosity. Urban the Turbulent (Turbanus), such was the ill-omened name which he received from his enemies, was more the republican Archbishop (in that character he had already, even in war, been among the most dangerous enemies of Barbarossa) than the supreme Pontiff. There were three fatal points in dispute, each sufficient to break up so hasty a treaty; to estrange powers who had such little sympathy with each other. In Germany Causes of enmity. Frederick was accused of seizing the estates of vacant sees, confiscating all the moveable property, and even compelling the alienation of farms, lands, towns, and other rights; of suppressing monasteries, especially of nuns, under the pretext that they had sunk into licence and irregularity. In Italy the great question of succession to the territories of the Countess Matilda had been only adjourned; the longer the Emperor maintained the possession, the less disposed was he to fulfil his covenant for the restoration of these wealthy domains to the Roman see. The third and most dangerous controversy concerned the coronation of his son, if not as Emperor, as King of Italy. The Emperor had made with success a master-stroke of policy; he had obtained

* Ciacconius gives their names.—Vit. Pontif.

the hand of Constantia, the heiress of the kingdom of Sicily, for his son and heir Henry. The kingdom of Sicily was thus, instead of a place of refuge for the Pope against the Emperor, now an imperial territory; the King, instead of a vassal holding his realm as an acknowledged fief of the papacy, the Pope's implacable antagonist. The Pope was placed, at Rome, between two fires. Urban III. strove in vain against the perilous marriage; he resolutely refused the coronation of Henry with the iron crown of Italy: this was his function as Archbishop of Milan. The office was assumed by the Bishop of Aquileia. The conduct of the ferocious Henry, the son and heir of Barbarossa, the husband of the Sicilian Constantia, aggravated the terrors of beholding the crown of Sicily on the brows of a Hohenstaufen. While yet in Lombardy, he demanded of a bishop "of whom he held the investiture of his see?" "Of the Pope alone," three times replied the resolute ecclesiastic. Henry ordered his attendants to seize, to beat, and to roll in the mire the obstinate prelate. In the south he entered into an alliance with the rebel senate of Rome. A servant of the Pope, on the way from Rome with a large sum of money, was seized by his command, stripped of his treasures, and sent empty-handed, and with his nose cut off, to the Pope. The Emperor took measures, if not of equal ferocity, of more menacing hostility. He commanded the passes of the Alps to be occupied, to prevent all communication of the German ecclesiastics with the Pope; who was all this time holding his court, it might be supposed, in the midst of the Emperor's Italian territory in Verona. He commanded the Archbishop of Cologne, the Pope's legate, to assume complete ecclesiastical supremacy, and to decide all causes without the cognisance of the

Pope.^b At a full diet at Gelnhausen, Barbarossa arraigned the Pope, as having refused to crown his son; as having excommunicated the bishops who at the Emperor's command had officiated at that ceremony; of consecrating Fulmar Archbishop of Treves, without the approbation of the Emperor. Fulmar was finally expelled; Rudolf, the Emperor's partisan, consecrated Archbishop of Treves. Frederick disposed at his will of the German sees. The German bishops were called upon to aid their Emperor in his resistance to this contumacious Pope. They offered their mediation; they signed and sealed a document, imploring the Pope in these perilous times not to renew the old fatal wars; they urged him at least to politic dissimulation; at the same time they represented the exactions of his legates, and complained of the contributions levied by his officers on the monasteries in Germany, some of which had been reduced to penury. Urban III. at length determined on the excommunication of Frederick; but the citizens of Verona declared that no such act of hostility should take place within their walls.

Urban departed to Ferrara; for this act of resistance on the part of Verona was of evil augury, as to the indisposition of his only remaining allies, the Lombard republics, to risk their growing opulence in his cause. At Ferrara he died. Of his

Sept., Oct.

^b Urban III. writes to Wickman, Archbishop of Magdeburg, to use his good offices to soothe the Emperor. "Comunitam frequenter a sese imperialis culminis altitudinem ut ecclesie Romanæ restitueret possessiones, quas detineret occupatas, non eâ qua debuerat serenitate respondisse, nec videri velle perficere, per quod inter ecclesiam

et imperium firma possit pax et concordia evenire."—Feb. 24, 1187. This from almost the immediate successor of Alexander III., the antecessor only by ten years of Innocent III., and from such a man as the turbulent Urban. It was a great stroke of policy to make Lombard Popes.

death there is an account by one who solemnly protests to the truth of his statement—he was an eye-witness. Peter of Blois rode with the Pope from Verona towards Ferrara. Peter endeavoured to appease the deadly hatred which had been instilled into the soul of Urban against Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury. The Pope, red with anger, broke out, “ May I never dismount this horse and mount another, if I do not depose him ! ” He had hardly spoken, when the cross borne before him was dashed in pieces. It was hastily tied together. At the next town Urban fell ill : he never again mounted a horse.^c He was conveyed slowly by water to Ferrara. Through Christendom it was reported that the cause of his hatred against the English Prelate was this : Baldwin of Canterbury had set up a chapter of secular canons against the unruly monks of Canterbury ; the monks appealed to Rome, and had inflamed the Pope with implacable resentment against Baldwin.

The peace of European Christendom was owing less to the respect for recent treaties, to either satiety of ambition in the contending parties, or the seeming isolation of the Pope, than to the calamities in the East. The rise of the great Saladin had appalled, it had even extorted generous admiration from the chivalrous kings of the West. But when Jerusalem fell before the Saracen, the loss afflicted all Christendom with grief and shame ; at one blow all the glories of the Crusades were levelled to the dust. The war was to begin anew, and if with a nobler enemy, and one more worthy to conflict with European kings—with an enemy more

^c See the very curious letter of Peter of Blois. Peter says that he had been at school with Urban at Marlborough (Maldebyrig), and was also Baldwin's *commensalis*.—Epist. 216. Giles, ii. p. 165. On Baldwin's quarrel with the monks, see Collier, i. p. 393.

formidable—one unconquered, it might seem unconquerable. Urban hardly retired to Ferrara, and died of grief, it was said (though the news could not possibly have reached Italy), for this disaster.^d

But Urban knew not that this disaster would save the papacy from its imminent peril; it diverted at once even Barbarossa himself from his hostile plans; it awed the most implacable enemies in Christendom to peace and amity. The first act of Gregory VIII.* (Albert, Cardinal of St. Lorenzo in Lucina) was to issue lamentable letters to the whole of Christendom. They described in harrowing terms the fall of Jerusalem. Saladin (for the cross of Christ had ceased to be the unconquerable defence of the Christians) had overthrown the whole Christian host; had broken into the holy city; the cross itself was taken, the Bishop slain, the King a prisoner, many knights of the Temple and of St. John beheaded. This was the Divine visitation for the sins, not of the kingdom of Jerusalem, but of Christendom: it might melt the hearts, not only of all believers, but of mankind. The Pope exhorted all men to take arms, or at least to offer the amplest contributions for the relief of their imperilled brethren, and the recovery of the city, the sepulchre, the cross of the Lord. He appointed a fast for five years, to appease the wrath of God. Every Friday in the year was to be observed as Lent; on Wednesdays and Saturdays meat was forbidden. To these days of abstinence the Pope and the cardinals were to add Monday. The cardinals imposed on themselves even more exemplary duties: to take the cross, to go to the Holy Land as mendicant pilgrims, to

^d Urban left Verona in September; Jerusalem fell on the 2nd October. Urban died on the 20th.

* Gregory, consecrated Oct. 25, 1187. The letters are dated Oct. 29.

receive no presents from those who came on business to the papal court; not to mount on horseback, but to go on foot so long as the ground on which the Saviour walked was trodden by the feet of the unbeliever.^f Gregory set off for Pisa to reconcile the hostile republics of Pisa and Genoa, in order that their mighty armaments might combine for the reconquest of Palestine. But Gregory died before he had completed the second month of his pontificate.

His successor, elected two days after his decease, was by birth a Roman, Paul Cardinal of Palestrina : he took the Roman name of Clement III. The pontificate was rescued from the immediate influence of the northern republics, and, as a Roman, Clement had the natural ambition to restore the Papacy to Rome. Rome herself had now again grown weary of that republican freedom which was bought at the cost of her wealth, her importance, her magnificence. Rome inhabited by the Pope was the centre of the civilised world; as an independent republic, only an inheritor of a barren name and of unproductive glory. Yet must the Pope purchase his restoration by the sacrifice of Tusculum and of Tivoli; to a Roman perhaps no heartfelt sacrifice. Tivoli had become an object of jealousy, as Tusculum formerly of implacable hatred. On these terms Clement III. obtained not merely his safe return to Rome, but the restoration of the Papal royalties from the Roman people. The republic by this treaty recognised the sovereignty of the Pope; the patriciate was abolished, a prefect named with more limited powers. The senators were to be annually elected, to receive the approbation and swear allegiance

Dec. 17, 1187.

Clement III.
Dec. 19.

A.D. 1188.

^f Hoveden.

to the Pope. St. Peter's Church and all its domains were restored to the Pope; of the tolls which were levied one-third was to be expended for the use of the Roman people. The senate and people were to respect the majesty and maintain the honour and dignity of the Roman Pontiff; the Roman Pontiff to bestow the accustomed largesses on the senators, their judges, and officers.⁶ Clement III. ruled in peace for two years; he died in Rome.

March, 1191.

Hyacinth, Cardinal of St. Maria in Cosmedin, was elected to the Papacy; he took the name of Cœlestine III. His first act must be the coronation of the Emperor Henry. Since the loss of Jerusalem the new Crusade had absorbed the mind of Europe. Of all these expeditions none had commenced with greater pomp, and it might seem security of victory. Notwithstanding the prowess of Saladin, could he resist the combined forces, the personal ability and valour of the three greatest monarchs of Europe? Barbarossa himself had yielded to the irresistible enthusiasm; at the head of such an army as might become the great Cæsar of the West, he had set forth by land to Palestine. The Kings of France and of England, Philip Augustus, Richard the Lion-hearted, proceeded by sea. But, if possible, this Crusade was even more disastrous, achieved less and suffered more, than all before. The Emperor Frederick was drowned in a small river of Pisidia; his vast host wasted away, and part only, and that in miserable plight, reached Antioch. The jealousies of Philip Augustus of France and Richard of England made the success of their great army impossible. Philip Augustus left the fame of an

April 15.
Cœlestine III.

Drowning of
Barbarossa.

⁶ The treaty in Baronius and Muratori. Antiq. Ital. Dissert. 32.

accomplished traitor, Richard that of ungovernable pride and cruelty, as well as of unrivalled valour. His chivalrous courage had won the respect of Saladin, his ruthless massacres made his name the terror, for a long time, of Saracen mothers; but no permanent conquest was made; the kingdom of Jerusalem was left to sink into a barren title. Richard's short career of glory ended in his long imprisonment in Austria.

The news of Frederick's death had reached Italy before the decease of Clement III. His successor dared

A.D. 1189. not refuse the coronation of Henry, now Lord of Germany and of Sicily. Fiction at times

becomes history. It is as important to know what men were believed to do, as what they actually did. The account of Henry's coronation, in an ancient chronicler, cannot but be false in many of its most striking particu-

Coronation of the Emperor Henry. lars, as being utterly inconsistent, at least with the situation if not with the character of the Pope, no less than with the haughty and unscrupulous demeanour of Henry. The Pope may have beheld with secret satisfaction the seizure of the Sicilian kingdom by Tancred the Norman, the progress made by his arms in the kingdom of Naples, the ill-concealed aversion of the whole realm to the Germans; he may have looked forward to the time when a new Norman kingdom, detached from the imperial alliance, might afford security to the Roman Pontiff. But Henry was still with his unbroken forces; the husband of the Queen of Naples; there was no power at hand to protect the Pope. Cœlestine could as yet reckon on no more than the precarious support of the Romans. Henry, when he appeared with his Empress and his army in the neighbourhood of Rome, might, in his eager desire to secure his coronation, quietly smile at the presumptuous

bearing of the Romans, who manned their walls, and though they would admit the Emperor, refused to open their gates to his German troops; he might condescend to enter alone, and to meet the Pope on the steps of St. Peter's. But the haughty and insulting conduct attributed to Pope Coelestine only shows what Europe, to a great extent, believed to be the relation in which the Popes supposed themselves to stand towards the Emperor; the wide-spread opinion of the supremacy which they claimed, and which they exercised on all practicable occasions. "Coelestine sat on his pontifical throne, holding the imperial crown between his feet; the Emperor and Empress bowed their heads, and from between the feet of the Pope received each the crown. But the Lord Pope immediately struck the crown of the Emperor with his foot, and cast it to the ground, signifying that if he should deserve it, it was in the Pope's power to degrade him from the empire. The cardinals caught up the fallen crown and replaced it on the brow of the Emperor." Such was the notion of an English historian,^h such in England was proclaimed to be the treatment of the Emperor by the Pope at this solemn time; it was received perhaps more readily, and repeated more emphatically on account of the deep hatred felt by the English nation to the ruling Emperor for his treachery to their captive sovereign King Richard.

Yet for his coronation Henry scrupled not to pay a price even more humiliating, but of which he felt not the humiliation, an act of his characteristic perfidy and cruelty. The Pope had not been able to fulfil that one of the terms of his treaty with the Roman people, which

^h Roger Hoveden. The passage is quoted with manifest satisfaction, as of undoubted authority, by Cardinal Baronius.

was to them of the deepest interest, the demolition of Tusculum. The city had admitted an imperial garrison to protect it from the Pope, and from Rome. The Pope demanded its surrender; without this concession he would not proceed to the coronation. The garrison received orders, without consulting the citizens, to open the gates to the Romans. The Romans hastened to glut the vengeance of years, unchecked by Emperor or by Pope. They massacred many of the principal citizens, and mutilated the rest; hardly one escaped without the loss of his eyes, his feet, his hands, or some other limb.¹ The walls were levelled to the ground, the citadel razed. Tusculum, the rival, at times the master, the tyrant of Rome, has at length disappeared. The Pope has abandoned the city, which at times enabled him to bridle the unruly populace of Rome; the Emperor one of his strongholds against the Pope himself.

Cœlestine III. during the rest of his pontificate maintained the high Christian ground, not indeed of mediator between the rivals for the kingdom of Apulia, but as protector of the distressed, the deliverer of the captive. Tancred, Count of Lecce, had been raised by the influence of the chancellor, Matthew of Salerno, to the throne of Sicily; the whole island had trembled at the chancellor's admonitions on the dangers of submission to a foreign yoke. Tancred, undisputed sovereign of Sicily, made rapid progress in the conquest of the kingdom of Naples. The Emperor Henry, after some

¹ "Hi acceptâ legatione Imperatoris incautam civitatem Romanis traderunt qui multos peremerunt de civibus, et fere omnes sive pedibus, sive manibus, seu aliis membris mutilaverunt. Pro qua re Imperatori improperatum est multis."—Urspergen. in Chron. Sicardus Cremonen. in Chron. apud Murator. Script. Ital. vol. vii.

successes, had been baffled by the obstinate resistance of Naples; sickness had weakened his forces; he was obliged to retire to Germany. He had entrusted his Queen Constantia to the inhabitants of Salerno, who had won his confidence by loud protestations of loyalty. But there was a strong Norman party in Salerno; Constantia was delivered as a prisoner into the hands of Tancred. Cœlestine interposed. The influence of the Pope, the generous chivalry of his own disposition, or perhaps the fear that the presence and misfortunes of Constantia might awaken the sympathy of his own subjects, induced Tancred to send her to the Emperor, not merely without ransom but loaded with magnificent presents.

For another prisoner was implored the interposition of the Pope. King Richard of England had been seized, on his return from the Holy Land, by his deadly enemy Duke Leopold of Austria. The Emperor had compelled or bribed his surrender; he was now in a dungeon of the castle of Trefels. No sooner had the news of his capture reached his own dominions than the Archbishop of Rouen wrote to complain of this outrage against a king and a crusader, who as a crusader was under the special protection of the Holy See—"Unsheath at once, most merciful father, the sword of St. Peter; show at once your debt of gratitude to such a son of the Church, that even those of lower rank may know what succour they may expect from you in their hour of necessity." Peter of Blois, the Archdeacon of Bath, whose high reputation for letters justified the step, addressed a letter to the Archbishop of Mentz, requiring his good offices and those of the whole German clergy for the deliverance of the King. He scrupled not, in his zeal, to compare the

Imprisonment of King Richard.

Duke of Austria and the Emperor himself to Judas Iscariot, who sold the Lord, and as deserving the fate of Judas.^k Eleanor the Queen Mother addressed the Pope, letter after letter, in the most vehement and impassioned language^m—"On thee will fall all the Letters of Queen Eleanor. guilt of this tragedy: thou who art the father of orphans, the judge of widows, the comforter of those that mourn and weep, the city of refuge to all. If the Church of Rome sits silent with folded hands at such an outrage against Christ, let God arise and judge our cause. . . . Where is the zeal of Elijah against Ahab? the zeal of John against Herod? the zeal of Ambrose against Valens? the zeal of Alexander III., whom we have heard and seen awfully cutting off Frederick the father of this Prince from the communion of the faithful?" The supplication, the expostulations, became more and more bitter. "For trifling causes your cardinals are sent in all their power even to the most barbarous regions; in this arduous, in this lamentable, in this common cause, you have not appointed even a subdeacon or an acolyth. It is lucre which in our day commissions legates, not respect for Christ, not the honour of the Church, not the peace of kingdoms, not the salvation of the people. . . . You would not much have debased the dignity of the Roman See, if in your own person you had set out to Germany for the deliverance of so great a King. Restore me my son; O man of God, if thou art indeed a man of God, not a man of

^k Petri Blesensis, Epist. 64.

^m Petri Blesensis, Epist. 143, 144, 145, 146. These letters were written, it should seem, by Peter of Blois, with his usual force, his occasional felicity, occasional pedantry of scriptural illus-

tration, his play upon words. "Nobis in germanâ Germaniâ hæc mala germanant universis. Legati nobis jure testes promissi sunt, nec sunt missi: utque verum fatear, ligati potius quam legati."

blood! if thou art so lukewarm in his deliverance, the Most High may require his blood at thy hands." She dwells on the great services of the Kings of England, of Henry II. to the See of Rome: his influence had retained the King of France in fidelity to Alexander; his wealth had bought the obedience of the Romans. In a second, in a third letter, she is more pressing, more pathetic—"Can your soul be safe while you do not earnestly endeavour the deliverance of your son, the sheep of your fold, by frequent legations, by wholesome admonitions, by the thunders of commination, by general interdicts, by awful excommunications? You ought to lay down your life for him in whose behalf you are unwilling to speak or to write a single word." Cœlestine was unmoved by entreaties, remonstrances, rebukes. The promised legates never presented themselves so long as Richard was in prison.ⁿ It appears not whether from prudence or fear, but no sooner was the King released, than Cœlestine embraced his cause with ardour: he demanded the restitution of the ransom, the deliverance of the hostages. He excommunicated Duke Leopold of Austria and all who had been concerned in the imprisonment of Richard. The Duke of Austria, at length, being in danger of his life by a fall from his horse, was glad to purchase his release from the excommunication by obedience to the Pope's demands.

By the death of Tancred King of Sicily, and of Roger the heir of Tancred (he died, it was said, of grief for the loss of his son), and the rapid reconquest of Apulia, and even of Sicily itself, by the Emperor Henry, the Empire had again consolidated its strength. The realm of the Hohenstaufens extended from the Mediterranean

ⁿ Richard imprisoned, Dec. 20, 1192; released Feb. 1194.

to the Baltic. It might seem that the coming century, instead of beholding the Pope, after years of obstinate strife with the house of Swabia, at the culminating point of his power, and seeing the last blood of the Hohenstaufens flow upon the scaffold, might behold him sunk into a vassal of the Emperor. It might seem that, enclosed and cooped in on every side, holding even spiritual communications with Christendom only by the permission of the German, the Pontiff might perhaps be compelled to yield up all the haughty pretensions of the Church under long, weary, irremediable, degrading oppression. Powers which he dared not wield, or wielded in vain, would fall into contempt; the Emperor would create Popes according to his own will, and Popes so created, having lost their independence, would lose their self-respect and the respect of mankind.

But Henry himself, by the curse which, without penetrating into the divine counsels, he may be supposed to have entailed on his race by his atrocious cruelties in Italy, by the universal execration which he brought on the German name and the Ghibelline cause, by tyranny which, after much allowance for the exaggeration of hate, is too strongly, too generally attested, contributed more, perhaps, than has been generally supposed, to the sudden growth of the Papal power.

Henry appeared in Italy: Pisa and Genoa forgot their hostilities to join their fleets in his support. Pope Coelestine bowed before the storm. Though Henry had neither restored the English gold nor the hostages, though he still retained possession of the lands of the Countess Matilda, and was virtually under excommunication as participant in the guilt of Richard's captivity, the Pope ventured on no measure

The Emperor Henry in Italy.

of resistance, and Henry passed contemptuously by Rome to his southern prey. The Apulian cities opened their gates; Salerno only, in the desperation of fear for her treachery to the Empress, made some resistance, and suffered accordingly.^o Henry marched without further opposition from the Garigliano to the Straits of Messina, from Messina to Palermo. Palermo received him with open gates, with clouds of incense and joyous processions. The youthful William, the second son of Tancred, laid his crown at the feet of the Emperor, and received the hereditary Countship of Lecce.

The campaign began in August; the Emperor celebrated Christmas in Palermo A.D. 1194. There had been no sound of arms, no disturbance, except from the jealousy of the Pisans and Genoese: not a drop of blood had been shed. At Christmas, the period of peace and festivity, Henry laid before a great assembly of the realm letters (it was said forged)^p but letters which even if they did not reveal, were declared to reveal, an extensive conspiracy against his power. Bishops, nobles, the royal family, were implicated in the charges. No further evidence was offered or required. Peter de Celano sat as supreme justiciary, a man dear to the hard and ruthless heart of Henry. A judicial massacre began. Archbishops and bishops, counts and nobles—

^o The eloquent Hugo Falcandus saw the coming ruin. "Intueri mihi jam videor turbulenta barbarorum acies, et quo feruntur impetu irruentes, civitates opulentas, et loca diuturnâ pace florentia metu concutere, cæde vastare, rapinis atterere et fœdare luxuriâ. . . . Nec enim aut rationis ordine regi, aut miseratione deflecti, aut religione terreâ Teutonica novit insaniam, quam et in-natus furor exagitat et rapacitas stimu-

lat et libido præcipitat. . . . Væ tibi fons celebris et præclari nominis Arethusa, quæ ad hanc devoluta es miseriam, ut quæ poetarum solebas carmina modulari, nunc Teutonicorum ebrietatem mitiges, et eorum servias fœditati."—Apud Murator. vii. p. 251.

^p "Literas fictitias et mendosas."—*Anon. Casin.* Such were the Germans in Sicily. The French were to come

among them three sons of the Chancellor Matthew, Margantone the great naval captain, the Archbishop of Salerno—were apprehended, condemned, executed, or mutilated with barbarous variety of torture. Some were hanged, some buried alive, some burned; blinding and castration were the mildest punishments. The bodies of Tancred and his son were torn from their graves, the crowns plucked from their usurping brows. The Queen Sybilla, with her three daughters Aleria, Constantia, and Mardonia, were thrown into prison; the young William blinded and mutilated.⁹ On the very day when these fatal disclosures were made, and the work of blood began, the Empress Constantia gave birth at Jesi to Frederick Roger, afterwards the Emperor Frederick II. The Nemesis of Grecian tragedy might be imagined as presiding over the birth.

The Pope, in righteous indignation at these inhumanities, took courage, and issued the edict of excommunication against the Emperor. Excommunication, if reserved for such crimes, might have wrought more powerfully on the minds of men. But Henry was strong enough to treat such censures with disdain: he passed through Italy without condescending to notice Rome. As he passed he distributed to his faithful German followers territories, provinces, principalities. Markwald obtained Ancona, Ravenna, and Romagna. Diephold had large lands in Apulia; at a later period he became Count of Ancona. Richard the Count of that city, the brother-in-law of Tancred, having been seized as a traitor, bound to the tail of a horse,

⁹ The cruelties of Henry are darkly told, but not overcharged, in a recent work, Cherrier, *Lutte des Papes et des Empereurs de la Maison de Stabe*, Paris, 1846. See, too, Von Raumer, *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen*, b. vi. c. iii.

dragged through the streets of Capua, was hung up by the leg, till the Emperor's fool, after two days' misery, put an end to his pain by tying a great stone to his neck. Philip, the Emperor's brother, had the domains of the Countess Matilda and all Tuscany. Philip married Irene, daughter of the Byzantine Emperor and widow of King Roger of Sicily. Not yet thirty years old, Henry VI., the Hohenstaufen, absolute master of Germany and of Italy, was at a greater height of power than had been attained by his father Barbarossa, or was subsequently reached by Frederick II. He could defy another Lombard League which was forming to control him; the feuds in Germany broke not out into open war. His proposition to make the Empire hereditary in his family, on the attractive condition that he should guarantee the hereditary descent of the great fiefs, and abandon all claims on the estates of the Church, was heard with favour, and accepted by fifty-two princes of the empire. The great ecclesiastics were not indisposed to the measure; even the Pope hesitated, and only on mature deliberation declared himself opposed to the plan. But the election of his son Frederick as King of the Romans was acceded to by his brothers, by all the princes, and won the reluctant consent of Albert Archbishop of Mentz. His popularity in Germany was increased by his earnest support of a new crusade, to which the death of Saladin and the feuds among his sons might give some reasonable hopes of success. Henry did not venture to withdraw his own personal presence from his European dominions; but he was liberal in his influence, in his levies, and in his contributions to the holy cause. The only opposition to Henry's despotism was that of the gentler Empress, who tem-

A.D. 1195.

A.D. 1196.

pered by every means in her power the inhuman tyranny which still crushed her Sicilian subjects to the earth. So distasteful was her mildness, it was rumoured abroad, that it gave rise to serious dissensions between the husband and the wife, that she had even meditated an insurrection in favour of her depressed people, and the transfer of her kingdom and of her hand to some less tyrannic sovereign. But these were doubtless the fictions of those who hoped they might be true: there was no outward breach; nothing seemed to disturb the conjugal harmony.

Henry returned to his Italian dominions, to suppress in his own person all that threatened insurrection, or which might by its strength be tempted to insurrection. He levelled the walls of Capua and Naples. He crossed to Sicily, and sat down before the insignificant castle of St. John, the chieftain of which had been driven into rebellion by the fear of being treated as a rebel. On a hot autumn day he went out to hunt in the neighbouring forest, drank copiously of cold water, and exposed himself to the chill dews of the evening. A fever came on; he was with difficulty removed to Messina, and died in the arms of his wife. His son Frederick had not yet completed his second year. As soon as the Pope could be prevailed on to remove the excommunication, Henry VI. was buried in great state at Palermo.^r Three months after Cœlestine III. followed him to the grave.^s An infant was the heir of the Empire; Innocent III., in the prime of life, was Pope.

^r Henry died Sept. 28, 1197.

^s Cœlestine died Jan. 8, 1198.

BOOK IX.

CHRONOLOGY OF INNOCENT III.

POPE.	EMPERORS.	KING OF FRANCE.	KINGS OF ENGLAND.	KINGS OF DENMARK.	EMPERORS OF THE EAST.
A.D. 1198 Innocent III. 1216	A.D. 1198 Philip 1208 Otto IV. 1218 1212 Frederick II.	A.D. 1180 Philip Augustus 1223	A.D. Richard I. 1099 John 1216	A.D. Canuto VI. 1202 Waldemar II. 1241	A.D. <i>Greek.</i> Alexius III. 1202 Isaac Mourzouk <i>Latin.</i> 1204 Baldwin I. 1205 1206 Henry 1216
KING OF NAPLES.	KINGS OF HUNGARY.	ARCHBISHOPS OF RHEIMS.	ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.	KINGS OF SPAIN.	
1197 Frederick II. 1250	Emeric 1204 1204 Ladislaus 1205 1205 Andrew II. 1235	William 1202 Guy 1206 Alberic 1207	Hubert 1205 Stephen Langton 1207	<i>Castile.</i> Alfonso III. 1214 Henry I. 1217 <i>Aragon.</i> Pedro II. 1213 James I. 1218	
ARCHBISHOPS OF MILAN.	ARCHBISHOPS OF MENTZ.				
1196 Philip de Cam- pagnano 1206 1206 Uberto Parovano 1211 1211 Gerard de Sessa 1211 1211 Enrico di Sep- tula 1230	Conrad of Wit- telsbach 1200 Sigfried of Ep- sieda 1230				

BOOK IX.

INNOCENT III.



CHAPTER I.

Rome and Italy.

UNDER Innocent III., the Papal power rose to its utmost height. Later Pontiffs, more especially Boniface VIII., were more exorbitant in their pretensions, more violent in their measures; but the full sovereignty of the Popedom had already taken possession of the minds of the Popes themselves, and had been submitted to by great part of Christendom. The thirteenth century is nearly commensurate with this supremacy of the Pope. Innocent III. at its commencement calmly exercised as his right, and handed down strengthened and almost irresistible to his successors, that which, at its close, Boniface asserted with repulsive and ill-timed arrogance, endangered, undermined, and shook to its base. At least from the days of Hildebrand, the mind of Europe had become familiarised with the assertion of those claims, which in their latent significance amounted to an absolute irresponsible autocracy. The essential inherent supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal power, as of the soul over the body, as of eternity over time, as of Christ over Cæsar, as of God over man, was now an integral part of Christianity. There was a shuddering sense of impiety

in all resistance to this ever-present rule; it required either the utmost strength of mind, desperate courage, or desperate recklessness, to confront the fatal and undefined consequences of such resistance. The assertion of these powers by the Church had been, however intermittingly, yet constantly growing, and had now fully grown into determinate acts. The Popes had not merely claimed, they had established many precedents of their right to excommunicate sovereigns, and so of virtually releasing subjects from their allegiance to a king under sentence of outlawry; to call sovereigns to account not merely for flagrant outrages on the Church, but for moral delinquencies,* especially those connected with marriage and concubinage; to receive kingdoms by the cession of their sovereigns as feudal fiefs; to grant kingdoms which had no legitimate lord, or of which the lordship was doubtful and contested, or such as were conquered from infidels, barbarians, or heretics: as to the Empire, to interfere in the election as judge both in the first and last resort. Ideas obtain authority and dominion, not altogether from their intrinsic truth, but rather from their constant asseveration, especially when they fall in with the common hopes and fears, the wants and necessities of human nature. The mass of mankind have neither leisure nor ability to examine them; they fatigue, and so compel the world into their

* Innocent III. lays this down broadly and distinctly: "Cum enim non humanæ constitutioni sed divinæ potius innitatur: quia potestas nostra non ex homine sed ex Deo; nullus qui sit sanæ mentis ignorat, quin ad officium nostrum spectet de quocunque mortali peccato corrigere quemlibet Christianum, et si correctionem contempserit,

ipsum per districtiorem ecclesiasticam coercere."—Decret. Innocent. III., sub ann. 1200, cap. 13, de Judiciis. Eichhorn observes on this: "Womit denn natürlich der Grundsatz selbst, das die Kirche wegen Sündlichkeit der Handlung über jede Civilsache erkennen möge, anerkannt wurde."—Rechts-Geschichte, ii. 517.

acceptance; more particularly if it is the duty, the passion, and the interest of one great associated body to perpetuate them, while it is neither the peculiar function, nor the manifest advantage of any large class or order to refute them. The Pope had, throughout the strife, an organised body of allies in the camp of the enemy; the King or Emperor none, at least none below the nobles, who would not have preferred the triumph of the spiritual power. If such ideas are favoured by ambiguity of language, their progress is more sure, their extirpation from the mind of man infinitely more difficult. The Latin clergy had been busy for many centuries in asserting, under the specious name of their liberty, the supremacy of the Church which was their own supremacy; for several centuries in asserting the autocracy of the Pope as Head of the Church. This, which was true, at least on the acknowledged principles of the time, in a certain degree, was easily extended to its utmost limits; and when it had become part of the habitual belief, it required some palpable abuse, some startling oppugnancy to the common sense of mankind, to awaken suspicion, to rouse the mind to the consideration of its groundwork, and to decompose the splendid fallacy.

Splendid indeed it was, as harmonising with man's natural sentiment of order. The unity of the vast Christian republic was an imposing conception, which, even now that history has shown its hopeless impossibility, still infatuates lofty minds; its impossibility, since it demands for its Head not merely that infallibility in doctrine so boldly claimed in later times, but absolute impeccability in every one of its possessors; more than impeccability, an all-commanding, indefeasible, unquestionable majesty of virtue, holiness, and

wisdom. Without this it is a baseless tyranny, a senseless usurpation. In those days it struck in with the whole feudal system, which was one of strict gradation and subordination; to the hierarchy of Church and State was equally wanting the Crown, the Sovereign Liege Lord.^b

When this idea was first promulgated in all its naked sternness by Gregory VII., it had come into collision with other ideas rooted with almost equal depth in the mind of man, that especially of the illimitable Cæsarean power, which though transferred to a German Emperor, was still a powerful tradition, and derived great weight from its descent through Charlemagne. But the imperial power, from its elective character; from the strife and intrigue at each successive election; from constant contests for the imperial crown; from the opposition of mighty houses, one or two of which were almost always nearly equal in wealth and influence to the Emperor; from the weaknesses, vices, tyrannies of the Emperors themselves, had been more and more impaired; that of the Pope, notwithstanding transient obscurations, had been silently ascending to still higher estimation. The humiliation of the Emperor was degradation; it brought contempt on the office, scarcely redeemed by the abilities, successes, or even virtues of new Sovereigns; the humiliation of the Pope was a noble suffering in the cause of God and truth, the depression of patient holiness under worldly violence. In every schism the

^b A letter of Innocent to the Consuls of Milan declares that it is sacrilege to doubt the decrees of a Pope; that though he is born of sinners, of a sinful race, yet, since he fills the place of him that was without sin, he who despises him despises Christ. The cause of dispute was the excommunication of Passaguerra, against which the Milanese protested as unjust. Compare the Decretalia, ii. and iii., on the superiority of the priesthood to the temporal power.

Pope who maintained the loftiest Churchmanship had eventually gained the superiority, the Imperialising Popes had sunk into impotence, obscurity, ignominy.

The Crusades had made the Pope not merely the spiritual, but in some sort the military suzerain of Europe ; he had the power of summoning all Christendom to his banner ; the raising the cross, the standard of the Pope, was throughout Europe a general and compulsory levy, the herr-ban of all who bore arms, of all who could follow an army. That which was a noble act of devotion had become a duty : not to assume the cross was sin and impiety. The Crusades thus became a kind of forlorn hope upon which all the more dangerous and refractory of the temporal sovereigns might be employed, so as to waste their strength, if not lose their lives, by the accidents of the journey or by the sword of the Mohammedan. If they resisted, the fearful excommunication hung over them, and was ratified by the fears and by the wavering allegiance of their subjects. If they obeyed and returned, as most of them did, with shame and defeat, they returned shorn of their power, lowered in the public estimation, and perhaps still pursued, on account of their ill success, with the inexorable interdict. It was thus by trammelling their adversaries with vows which they could not decline, and from which they could not extricate themselves ; by thus consuming their wealth and resources on this wild and remote warfare, that the Popes, who themselves decently eluded, or were prevented by age or alleged occupations from embarkation in these adventurous expeditions, broke and wasted away the power and influence of the Emperors. Conrad the first Hohenstaufen had betrayed prudent reluctance to march away from distracted Germany to the Holy Land. St. Bernard

sternly demanded how he would answer at the great day of Judgement, the dereliction of this more manifest duty. The trembling Emperor acknowledged the voice of God, girt on the cross, collected the strength of the Empire, to leave their whitening bones on the plains and in the defiles of Asia Minor; he returned to Europe discomfited and fallen in the estimation of all Christendom. Frederick Barbarossa, the greatest of the Swabian house, had perished in the zenith of his power, in a small remote river in Asia Minor. During this century will appear Frederick II., probably in his heart, at least during his riper years, disdaining the enthusiasm with which the dominant feeling of the time forced him to comply, excommunicated for not taking the cross, excommunicated for not setting out to the Holy Land, excommunicated for setting out, excommunicated in the Holy Land, excommunicated for returning after having made an advantageous peace with the Mohammedans. During his whole reign he is vainly struggling to burst the fetters thus wound around him, and riveted not merely by the remorseless hostility of his spiritual antagonists, but by the irresistible sentiment of the age. On this subject there was no assumption, no abuse of Papal authority, which was not ratified by the trembling assent of Christendom. The Crusades, too, had now made the Western world tributary to the Popedom the vast subventions raised for the Holy Land were to a certain extent at the disposal of the Pope. The taxation of the clergy on his authority could not be refused for such an object; a tenth of all the exorbitant wealth of the hierarchy passed through his hands. An immense financial system grew up, Papal collectors were in every land, Papal bankers in every capital, to transmit these subsidies. The enormous increase of his

power from this source may be conjectured; the abuses of that power, the emoluments for dispensations from vows, and other evils, will appear in the course of our history.

But, after all, none of these accessory and, in some degree, fortuitous aids could have raised the Papal authority to its commanding height,^c had it not possessed more sublime and more lawful claims to the reverence of mankind. It was still an assertion of eternal principles of justice, righteousness, and humanity. However it might trample on all justice, sacrifice righteousness to its own interests, plunge Europe in desolating wars, perpetuate strife in states, set sons in arms against their fathers, fathers against sons; it was still proclaiming a higher ultimate end. It was something that there was a tribunal of appeal, before which the lawless kings, the lawless feudal aristocracy trembled, however that tribunal might be proverbial for its venality and corruption, and constantly warped in its judgements by worldly interests. There was a perpetual provocation, as it were, to the Gospel, which gave hope where it did not give succour; which might, and frequently did, offer a refuge against overwhelming tyranny; something, which in itself rebuked rugged force, and inspired some restraint on heinous immorality.

^c It may be well to state the chief points which the Pope claimed as his exclusive prerogative:—

I. General supremacy of jurisdiction; a claim, it is obvious, absolutely illimitable.

II. Right of legislation, including the summoning and presiding in Councils.

III. Judgement in all ecclesiastic causes arduous and difficult. This included the power of judging on con-

tested elections, and degrading bishops, a super-metropolitan power.

IV. Right of confirmation of bishops and metropolitans, the gift of the pallium. Hence, by degrees, rights of appointment to devolved sees, reservations, &c.

V. Dispensations.

VI. The foundation of new orders

VII. Canonisation.

Compare Eichhorn, ii. p. 500.

The Papal language, the language of the clergy, was still ostentatiously, profoundly religious; it professed, even if itself did not always respect, even though it tampered with, the awful sense of retribution before an all-knowing, all righteous God. In his highest pride, the Pope was still the servant of the servants of God; in all his cruelty he boasted of his kindness to the transgressor; every contumacious Emperor was a disobedient son; the excommunication was the voice of a parent, who affected at least reluctance to chastise. Every Pope declared, no doubt imagined, himself the vicar and representative of Christ, and it was impossible that all the darkness which had gathered around the perfect humanity, the God in man as revealed in the Gospel, could entirely obscure all its exquisite truth, holiness, and love.

If this great Idea was ever to be realised of a Christian republic with a Pope at its head—and that a Pope of a high Christian character (in some ^{Innocent III.} respects, in all perhaps but one, in tolerance and gentleness almost impossible in his days, and the want of which, far from impairing, confirmed his strength)—none could bring more lofty, more various qualifications for its accomplishment, none could fall on more favourable times than Innocent III. Innocent was an Italian of noble birth, but not of a family inextricably involved in the petty quarrels and interests of the Princedoms of Romagna. He was of the Conti,^d who derived their name in some remote time from their dignity. His father, Count Trasimondo of Segna (the name Trasi-mondo was traced to the Lombard Dukes of Spoleto,

^d The Conti family boasted of nine Popes,—among them Innocent III., Gregory IX., Alexander IV., Innocent XIII.; of thirteen cardinals, according to Ciacconius.

if truly, it implied Teutonic blood), married Claricia, of the senatorial house of Scotti. He was a Roman, therefore, by the mother's side, probably of a kindred attached to the liberties of the city. Lothair was the youngest of four brothers, born at Anagni. He had high ecclesiastical connexions, both on his father's and his mother's side. John, the famous Cardinal of St. Mark, was his paternal uncle. Paul, the Cardinal Bishop of Palestrina, by the title of St. Sergius and St. Bacchus, afterwards Pope Clement III., probably his uncle on his mother's side. The Cardinal Octavian, the firmest, ablest, and most intrepid supporter of Alexander III., was of his kindred. All these were of the high anti-
Education. Imperialist faction. The early education of Lothair, at Rome, was completed by some years of study at Paris, the great school of theology; and at Bologna, that of law. He returned to Rome with the highest character for erudition and for irreproachable manners; he became a Canon of St. Peter's. The elevation of his uncle, the Cardinal of St. Sergius and St. Bacchus, to the Pontificate as Clement III., paved the way to his
Cardinalate. rapid rise. He was elevated in his twenty-ninth year to the Cardinalate under the title vacated by his uncle. Already he was esteemed among the ablest and most judicious counsellors of the supreme Pontiff. The successor of Clement III., Cœlestine III., was of the house of Orsini, between whom and the maternal ancestors of Lothair, the Scotti, to whom Clement III. his patron belonged, was an ancient, unreconciled feud. Cœlestine III.,^e very much advanced in years, might suspect the nepotism of his predecessor, which had raised his kinsman to such almost un-

^e Cœlestine was of the house of Bobo, a branch of the Orsini.

precedented rank, and had entrusted him with affairs so far beyond his years. During Cœlestine's Popedom, the Cardinal Lothair either withdrew or was silently repelled from the prominent place which he had filled under the Pontificate of Clement. In his retirement he began to despise the ungrateful world, and wrote his treatise on "Contempt of the world and the misery of human life." The stern monastic energy of language throughout this treatise displays in another form the strength of Innocent's character: had he remained in seclusion he might have founded an order more severe than that of Benedict, as active as those which he was destined to sanction, the Dominicans and Franciscans. But he was to show his contempt of the world not by renouncing but by ruling it.^f

Cœlestine on his death-bed had endeavoured to nominate his successor: he had offered to resign the Papacy if the Cardinals would elect John of Colonna. But, even if consistent with right and with usage, the words of dying sovereigns rarely take effect. Of twenty-eight Cardinals,^g five only were absent; of the rest the unanimous vote fell on the youngest of their body, on the Cardinal Lothair. No irregularity impaired the autho-

^f This work, written in not inelegant Latin, is monastic to its core. It asserts the Augustinian notion of the transmission of original sin with repulsive nakedness. Nothing can be baser or more miserable than human nature thus propagated. I cannot help quoting a strange passage: "Omnes nascimur ejulantes ut nostram miseriam exprimamus. Masculus enim recenter natus dicit A, fœmina 'E, quotquot nascuntur ab Eva.' Quid est igitur Eva nisi heu ha! Utrumque dolentis

est interjectio, doloris exprimens magnitudinem."—i. 3. This puerility does not contrast more strongly with the practical wisdom of Innocent, than sentences like this with his haughtiness: "O superba præsumptio, et præsumptuosa superbia! quæ non tantum Angelos Deo voluisti adæquare, sed etiam homines præsumpsisti deificare." ii, c. 92.

^g The list in Ciacconius, vol. ii, p. 2. Hurter, *Leben Innocent III.*, i. 73, gives the names of the absentees.

erty of his election ; there was no murmur of opposition or schism : the general suffrage of the clergy and the people of Rome was confirmed by the unhesitating assent of Christendom. The death of the Emperor, the infancy of his son, the state of affairs in Germany, made all secure on the side of the Empire. Lothair was only thirty-seven years old, almost an unprecedented age for a Pope ;^h even a mind like his might tremble at this sudden elevation. He was as yet but in deacon's orders ; he had to accumulate those of priest, bishop, and so become Pope. It may be difficult in some cases to dismiss all suspicion of hypocrisy, when men who have steadily held the Papacy before them as the object of their ambition, have affected to decline the tiara, and played off a graceful and yielding resistance. But the strength, as well as the deep religious seriousness of Lothair's character, might make him naturally shrink from the assumption of such a dignity at an age almost without example ; and in times if favourable to the aggrandisement of the Papacy, therefore of more awful responsibility. The Cardinals who proclaimed him saluted him by the name of Innocent, in testimony of his blameless life. In his inauguration sermon broke forth the character of the man ; the unmeasured assertion of his dignity, protestations of humility which have a sound of pride. " Ye see what manner of servant that is whom the Lord hath set over his people ; no other than the vicegerent of Christ ; the successor of Peter. He stands in the midst between God and man ; below God, above

^h Walter der Vogelweide, who attributes all the misery of the civil war in Germany to Innocent, closes his poem with these words (modernised by K. Simrock) :—

" Ich hörte fern in einer Klaus
Ein jammern ohne Ende:
Ein Klausner rang die Hände;
Er klagte Gott sein bitteres Leid;
*O weh, der Papst ist allzu jung, Herr Gott,
hilf deiner Christenheit.*"

—Simrock, p. 175.

man; less than God, more than man. He judges all, is judged by none, for it is written—‘I will judge.’ But he whom the pre-eminence of dignity exalts, is lowered by his office of a servant, that so humility may be exalted, and pride abased; for God is against the high-minded, and to the lowly he shows mercy; and he who exalteth himself shall be abased. Every valley shall be lifted up, every hill and mountain laid low!” The letters in which he announced his election to the king of France, and to the other realms of Christendom, blend a decent but exaggerated humility with the consciousness of power: Innocent’s confidence in himself transpires through his confidence in the divine protection.¹

The state of Christendom might have tempted a less ambitious prelate to extend and consolidate his supremacy. At no period in the history of the Papacy could the boldest assertion of the spiritual power, or even the most daring usurpation, so easily have disguised itself to the loftiest mind under the sense of duty to God and to mankind; never was season so favourable for the aggrandisement of the Pope, never could his aggrandisement appear a greater blessing to the world. Wherever Innocent cast his eyes over Christendom and beyond the limits of Christendom, appeared disorder, contested thrones, sovereigns oppressing their subjects, subjects in arms against their sovereigns, the ruin of the Christian cause. In Italy the crown of Naples on the brows of an infant; the fairest provinces under the galling yoke of fierce German adventurers; the Lombard republics, Guelf or Ghibelline, at war within their walls, at war or in implacable animosity against each other; the Empire

¹ *Epist. i. 1, et seqq.*

distracted by rival claimants for the throne, one vast scene of battle, intrigue, almost of anarchy; the tyrannical and dissolute Philip Augustus King of France, before long the tyrannical and feeble John of England. The Byzantine empire is tottering to its fall; the kingdom of Jerusalem confined almost to the city of Acre. Every realm seemed to demand, or at least to invite, the interposition, the mediation, of the head of Christendom; in every land one party at least, or one portion of society, would welcome his interference in the last resort for refuge or for protection. Nor did Innocent shrink from that which might have crushed a less energetic spirit to despair; from the Jordan to the Atlantic, from the Mediterranean to beyond the Baltic his influence is felt and confessed; his vast correspondence shows at once the inexhaustible activity of his mind; he is involved simultaneously or successively in the vital interests of every kingdom in the western world. The history of Innocent's Papacy will be more full and intelligible by tracing his acts in succession rather than in strict chronological order, in every part of Christendom. I. In Rome, and II. In Italy. III. In the Empire. IV. In France. V. In England. VI. In Spain. VII. In the Northern kingdoms. VIII. In Bulgaria and Hungary. IX. In the Byzantine Empire and the East, in Constantinople, Armenia, and the Holy Land. Finally, X. In the wars of Languedoc with the Albigensian and other schismatics; and XI. XII. In the establishment of the two new monastic orders, that of St. Dominic and that of St. Francis.

The affairs of Rome and of Italy are so intimately blended that it may not be convenient to keep them entirely disconnected.

I The city of Rome was the first to acknowledge the

ascendancy of the new Pontiff. Since the treaty with Clement III. the turbulence of the Roman people seemed sunk to rest. As well the stirring reminiscences of their ancient grandeur as the democratic Christianity of Arnold of Brescia were forgotten. The mutinous spirit which had twice risen in insurrection against Lucius III., and had driven that Pontiff into the north of Italy, had been allayed.^k Clement had appeased them for a time by the promise of sacrificing Tusculum to their implacable hostility; his successor Cœlestine III. had consummated or extorted from the Emperor that sacrifice.^m A judicious payment distributed by Clement among the senators had reconciled them to the Papal supremacy. The great Roman families, though their private feuds were not even suspended, were allied to the church by the promotion of their ecclesiastical members to the Cardinalate.ⁿ The Roman aristocracy had furnished many names among the twenty-seven who concurred in the elevation of the Roman Lothair. Innocent pursued the policy of Clement III. The usual largess on the accession of the new Pope was silently and skilfully distributed through the thirteen quarters of the city. The prefect of the city, now the representative of the imperial authority (the empire was in abeyance), was either overawed or won to take a strong oath of allegiance to the Pope,^o by which the sovereignty of the Emperor was silently abrogated. Innocent substituted his own Justiciaries for those appointed by the senate: the

^k See vol. iii. p. 147.

^m See vol. iii. p. 158.

ⁿ In Innocent's earlier promotions I observe a Brancalione, a Pierleoni (qu. Peter Leonis), a Bisontio from Orvieto,

a Crescentius, besides several connected with the Conti.—Additions to Ciacconius.

^o Gesta, viii. Epist. 1, 23, 577, 578 The oath of Peter the Prefect, i. 577.

whole authority emanated from the Pope, and was held during his pleasure; to the Pope alone the judges were responsible; they were bound to resign when called upon by him. In his own spiritual courts Innocent endeavoured to set the example of strict and unbought justice; to remove the inveterate reproach of venality, which withheld the concourse of appellants to Rome, and was so far injurious to the people. He severely limited the fees and emoluments of his officers; three times a week he held a public consistory for smaller causes; the gravest he meditated in private, and the most accomplished canon lawyer might acquire knowledge from the decrees drawn up by Innocent himself. Even the commencement of Innocent's reign shows how the whole Christian world paid its tribute of appeal to Rome.^P There was one cause concerning the jurisdiction of the sees of Braga and Compostella over great part of Spain and Portugal; a cause for the metropolitanate of Brittany between the Bishops of Tours and Dôle; a cause of the Archbishop of Canterbury concerning the parish of Lambeth.

Yet neither could the awe, nor the dexterous management of Innocent, nor the wealth of the tributary world, subdue or bribe refractory Rome to peace. There were still factious nobles, John Rainer, one of the Peter Leonis, and John Capocio, a man of stirring popular eloquence, who endeavoured to excite the people to reclaim their rights. Still the versatile people listened with greedy ears to these republican tenets. Still the Orsini were in deadly feud with the Scotti, the maternal house of

^P Under the Lateran palace, near the kitchen, was a change of money, in which the coin of various countries, vessels of gold and silver were heaped up, exchanged, or sold, by the prætors, for the expenses of the Curia. These "tables of the money-changers" Innocent abolished at once.—Gesta, xli.

the Pope. Still were there outbursts of insurrection in the turbulent city; still outbursts of war in the no less turbulent territory; Rome was at war with her neighbours, her neighbours with each other. A.D. 1200
 Ere three years of Innocent's reign had passed, Rome, in defence of Viterclano, besieged by the Viterbans, takes up arms against Viterbo.

The Romans cared not for the liberty of Viterclano, but they had old arrears of hatred against Viterbo; and once the waters troubled, their gain was sure.^q If the Pope was against them, Rome was against the Pope; if the Pope was on their side, Viterbo revolted from the Pope. The Tuscans moved to the aid of Viterbo; but the shrewd Pope, unexpectedly, on the pretext that the Viterbans had despised his commination, and even his excommunication, took the part of the Romans; a victory which they obtained over superior forces under the walls of Viterbo was attributed to his intercession; many of them renounced their hostility to the Pope.^r A second time they marched out; they were supplied with money by the Pope's brother, Richard Count of Sora. While the Pope was celebrating mass on the holy Epiphany, they won a great victory,^s A.D. 1201
 doubtless through the irresistible prayers of the Pope; it was reported that they brought home as trophies the great bell and the chains of one of the gates of Viterbo, which were long shown in Rome. The captive Viterbans, men of rank, were sent to Canaparia,

^q "Quod non poterant in aquâ clarâ piscari, cœperunt aquam turbare."
 —Gesta, c. 133. October, 1200.

^r "Quidam qui consueverant in contradictionem Domini Papæ ora laxare, publice dicerent, quod ita jam erant ipsorum linguæ, quod nunquam de

cetero contra summum pontificem loquerentur."—Gesta, 133.

^s This latter point rests on the authority of Ciacconius, who does not give his authority.—Vit. Innocent. III., p. 8. The Gesta makes out clearly two battles.

where some of them died in misery. The most distinguished, Napoleon, Count of Campilia, and Burgudio, protonotary of Viterbo, the Pope afterwards, in compassion, kept in honourable custody in his own palace. Napoleon, to the indignation of the Romans, made his escape. The Pope even mediated a peace between Rome and Viterbo. Viterbo was humbled to the restoration of the brazen gates of the church of St. Peter, and set up again some brazen vessels in the porch, which she had borne away or broken in the days of Frederick Barbarossa.

The Pope had the strength to decide another quarrel by sterner measures. Two brothers, lords of Narni and Gabriano, were arraigned by Lando lord of Colmezzo and his brothers, for seizing some of their lands. The Pope commanded restitution. The lords of Narni and Gabriano pledged the lands to the Pope's turbulent adversaries in Rome, John Rainer, Peter Leoni, and John Capocio. The Pope instantly ordered the territories of Narni and Gabriano to be laid waste with fire and sword, suspended the common laws of war, sanctioned the ravaging their harvests, felling their fruit trees, destroying mills, driving away cattle. Innocent condescended or ventured to confront the popular leaders in the face of the people. He summoned a great congregation of the Romans, spoke with such commanding eloquence, that the menacing but abashed nobles were obliged to renounce the land which they had received in pawn, and to swear full obedience.^t

Another year, and now the Orsini, the kindred of the late Pope Cœlestine, and the Scotti, the kindred of

^t Gesta, c. 134. "Adhuc eis mi- scisso, mandatis ipsius se per omnia
nantibus et resistentibus coegit nobiles parituros juramentis et si le jussionibus
anteditos, ut pignoris contractu re- promiserunt."

Pope Innocent, are in fierce strife. The Pope had retired for the summer to Velletri. He summoned both parties, and extorted an oath to keep the peace. A.D. 1202. The senator Pandulph de Suburra seized and destroyed a stronghold of the Orsini. Not many months elapsed, a murder was committed on the person of Tebaldo, a man connected with both families, by the sons of John Oddo, the Pope's cousin. The Orsini rose; they destroyed two towers belonging to the senator of Rome. They were hardly prevented from exposing the body under the windows of the palace of the Pope's brother, under those of the Pope himself. In A.D. 1203. the next year arises new strife on an affair of disputed property. The Pope is insulted during a solemn ceremonial. The Pope's adversaries make over the contested land to the senate and the people of Rome. The Pope protests, threatens in vain; the senator is besieged in the Capitol. The Pope finds it expedient to leave the rebellious city, he flies to Palestrina, to Ferentino, and passes the whole winter at Anagni. There he fell dangerously ill.

Rome, impatient of his presence, grew weary of his absence. In the interval had broken out a new, a fiercer strife for a change in the constitution. It was proposed to abrogate the office of a single senator, and to elect by means of twelve middle men, a senate of fifty-six. The Pontiff returned amid universal acclamations. Yet Innocent so far yielded as to permit one of the Peter Leoni house to name the senator. He named Gregory, one of his kindred, a man well disposed to the Pope, but wanting in energy. Still the contest continued to rage, the eloquent Capocio to harangue the multitude. Above this anarchy is seen the calm and majestic Pope, who, as though weary of such petty

tumults, and intent on the greater affairs of the Pontificate, the humiliation of sovereigns, the reducing kingdoms to fiefs of the holy see, might seem, having quietly acquiesced in the senate of fifty-six, deliberately to have left the turbulent nobles, on one side the Orsinis, the Peter Leonis, the Capocios, the Baroncellis; on the other, the former senator Pandulph de Suburra, his own brother Count Richard, his kindred the Scotti, to vie with each other in building and strengthening their fortress palaces, and demolishing, whenever they were strong enough, those of their adversaries. To grant the wishes of the people of Rome was the certain way to disappoint them. Ere long they began to execrate the feeble rule of the fifty-six, and implored a single senator.^a But throughout at least all the earlier years of his Pontificate, Innocent was content with less real power in Rome than in any other region of Christendom.

II. But on the accession of Innocent, beyond the city walls and the immediate territory, all which belonged to or was claimed by the Roman see was in the hands of ferocious German adventurers, at the head each of his predatory foreign troops. Markwald of Anweiler, a knight of Alsace, the Seneschal of the Emperor Henry, called himself Duke of Ravenna, and was invested with the March of Ancona and all its cities. Diephold, Count of Acerra, had large territories in Apulia. Conrad of Lutzenberg,^v a Swabian knight, as Duke of Spoleto, possessed that city, its domain, and Assisi. The estates of the Countess Matilda were held by Germans in the

^a "Unde populus adeo cœpit ex-
crari, ut oportuerit Dominum Papam
ad communem populi petitionem unum
eis senatorem concedere." The last
chapters of the Gesta are full of this

wild and confused anarchy.

^v Conrad was called by the strange
name Mück-in-hirn, "fly in his brain,"
(like our "bee in his bonnet"): he
was the wildest of these wild soldiers,

name of Philip, the brother of the Emperor Henry, who had hastened to Germany to push his claims on the Empire. Some few cities had asserted their independence; the sea-coast and Salerno were occupied by Benedetto Carisomi. Of these Markwald was the most formidable; his congenial valour and cruelty had recommended him to the especial favour of Henry. He had been named by the Emperor on his deathbed Regent of Sicily.

Italy only awaited a deliverer from the German yoke. The annals of tyranny contain nothing more revolting than the cruelties of the Emperor Henry to his Italian subjects. While there was the profoundest sorrow in Germany at the loss of a monarch, if of severe justice, yet who, from his wisdom and valour, was compared with Solomon and David,^x at his death the cry of rejoicing broke forth from Calabria to Lombardy. In asserting the papal claims to the dominion of Romagna, and all to which the See of Rome advanced its pretensions, Innocent fell in with all the more generous aspirations of Italy, with the common sympathies of mankind. The cause of the Guelfs (these names are now growing into common use) was more than that of the Church, it was the cause of freedom and humanity. The adherents of the Ghibellines, at least the open adherents (for in most cities there was a secret if small Ghibelline faction), were only the lords of the German

"Omnia cum Papâ gaudent de morte tyranni . . .
Mors necat et cuncti gaudent de morte sepulti,
Apulus et Calaber, Siculus, Tuscusque Ligurque."—*J. de Ceccano, Chronic.*
Foss. Nov. Muratori, viil.

^x "Cujus mors Teutoniarum omnium omnibusque Germaniæ populis lamentabilis est in æternum, quod aliorum divitiis eos claros reddidit, terroremque

eorum omnibus in circuitu nationibus per virtutem bellicam incussit, eosque præstantiores aliis gentibus nimium ostendit futuros, ni morte præventus foret. Per sapientiam Solomonis et per fortitudinem David regis scivit parcere subjectis et debellare superbos." Theodoric von Esternach. Martene, Coll. Amp. iv. 462.

fortresses, the cities they occupied and a few of the republics which dreaded the hostility of their neighbours more than a foreign yoke, Pisa, Cremona, Pavia, Genoa.

The hour of deliverance, if not of revenge, was come. Innocent summoned Markwald to surrender the territories of the Church. Markwald was conscious of his danger, and endeavoured to lure the Pontiff into an alliance. He offered to make him greater than Pope had ever been since the days of Constantine.¹ But Innocent knew his strength in the universal, irresistible, indelible hatred of the foreign, the German, the barbarian yoke: he rejected the treacherous overtures.² City after city, Ancona, Fermo, Osimo, Fano, Sinigaglia, Pesaro, Iesi, dashed down the German banner; Camerina and Ascoli alone remained faithful to Markwald. Markwald revenged himself by sallying from the gates of Ravenna, ravaging the whole region, burning, plundering, destroying homesteads and harvests, castles and churches. Innocent opened the Papal treasures, borrowed large sums of money, raised an army; hurled an excommunication against the rebellious vassal of the Church, in which he absolved all who had sworn allegiance to Markwald from their oaths. Markwald withdrew into the south of Italy.

Conrad of Lutzenberg,^a Duke of Spoleto, beheld the fall of Markwald with consternation; he made the

¹ "Se ecclesiam magis quam ulli imperatores auxissent, amplificaturum."—Otto de S. Blaise, c. 45; Rainald, sub ann. 1298.

² Epist. i. 38. "Licet autem dominus Papa conditionem istam utilem reputaret, quia tamen multi scandalisabantur ex eâ tanquam vellet Teutonicos in Italia confovere, qui crudeli tyrannide redegerant eos in gravissimam servitu-

tem, in favorem libertatis declinans, non acceptavit oblata."—Gesta, Innocent, c. 9. Boehmer (Regesta, p. vii.) quotes this, among other passages, to show the barbarity of the Germans, the hatred of the Italians.

^a According to M. Abel (Philip der Hohenstauffer), properly Conrad of Urslingen.

humblest offers of subjection, the most liberal offers of tribute. But Innocent knew that any compromise with the Germans would be odious to his Italian subjects: he demanded instant, unconditional submission. Conrad surrendered all the patrimonial domains of the Pope in his possession without reserve; the other cities resumed their freedom. On these terms Innocent permitted the Cardinal Legate to receive at Narni Conrad's oath of unqualified fidelity on the Gospels, on the Cross, and on the Holy Reliques. He appointed the Cardinal San Gregorio Governor of the Dukedom of Spoleto, and of the County of Assisi and its domains. Conrad retired to Germany. In person Innocent visited Reate, Spoleto, Perugia, Todi; everywhere he was received as the Sovereign, as the deliverer. The Archbishop of Ravenna alone resisted the encroachments of Innocent, displayed the Imperial investiture, and preserved the territories of his church.^b Throughout Italy, the precarious state of the Imperial power, the sudden rise of a vigorous Pontifical administration, gave new life to the popular and Italian cause. The Tuscan League, the Lombard League, renewed their approaches to more intimate relations with the Pope; but to the Tuscans the language of Innocent was that of a master. Their demands to choose their own rectors with a sovereign Prior to preside over their League, he answered by a summons to unqualified submission to him, as heir to the Countess Matilda, and sovereign of the whole Duchy of Tuscany. "I have seen," he said, "with my own eyes, that the Duchy of Tuscany belongs of right to the Pope." Without the Papal protection the League could not subsist: he warned the cities

^b Murator. sub ann. 1198.

lest, rejecting it, they should fall by the sword of the stranger.^c But the most remarkable document is an address to all the cities, in which the similitude, now growing into favour, of the spiritual and temporal power to the sun and moon, the temporal only deriving a reflected light from the spiritual, is wrought out with careful study.^d But as regarded Italy, both powers met in the supreme Pontiff. The Ghibelline city of Pisa was placed under an interdict for presuming to assert its daring independence of the League: a temporary suspension of the interdict was haughtily and ungraciously granted.

The German dominion was driven into the South: there it was still strong from the occupation of the chief fortresses.^e Constantia, the widow of Henry, now Queen, or at least left natural guardian of the realm, deemed it prudent, or was actuated by her own inclinations, to separate herself from the German cause, and to throw herself and her son upon the native interest.

She sent three Neapolitan nobles to demand her infant son Frederick from Iesi, where he had been brought up by the wife of Conrad of Lutzenberg; she caused him to be crowned in Palermo as joint sovereign of Sicily. She disclaimed Markwald the Duke of Ravenna, and declared him an enemy to the king and to the kingdom. She commanded the foreign troops to leave Sicily: they retired, reluctant and brooding over revenge, to the castles on the mainland. She submitted to request the investiture of the realm for her son as a fief from the Papal See. Innocent saw his

^c Epist. i. 15, 35.

^d Epist. i. 401, and in the Gesta.

^e Epist. i. 35. "Marcualdum im-

perii seneschalcum cum Teutonicis omnibus de regno exclusit."—Rich San Germ.

own strength, and her weakness. He condescended to her petition on the condition of her paying due allegiance to him as her lord for the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, the patrimony of the Holy See.^f He seized the opportunity of enforcing hard terms, the revocation of certain privileges which had been granted by his predecessors to the faithful Norman princes as the price of their fidelity. Constantia silently yielded; she received a bull, which in the strongest terms proclaimed the absolute feudal superiority of the Pope over the whole kingdom of Naples and Sicily: that extraordinary pretension, grounded on no right but on the assertion of right, had now, by its repeated assertion on one part, its feeble denial or acceptance on the other, grown into an established usage. The bull pronounced that the kingdom of Sicily belonged to the jurisdiction and to the property of the Church of Rome. The Queen was to swear allegiance, her son to do so directly he came of age. A tribute was to be paid. The bishops, under all circumstances, had the right of appeal to Rome; all offences of the clergy, except high treason, were to be judged by the ecclesiastical courts. Sicily became a subject-kingdom, a province of the Papacy, under the constant superintendence of a Legate.

Before the bull had been prepared, Constantia fell ill. Either in an access of devotion, or of maternal solicitude for her infant son, for whom she would secure the most powerful protection, she bequeathed him to the guardianship of his liege lord the Pope.^g Innocent accepted the charge; in his consolatory letter to the child, he assured Frederick, that though God had visited him by the death of his father and mother, he had provided him

^f Epist. i. 410, 413.

^g Innocent, Epist. i. 322.

with a more worthy father—his own vicar on earth; a better mother—the Church.^b

Constantia died on the 27th of November.ⁱ Innocent was thus, if he could expel the Germans, virtually King of Sicily, master of his own large territories, and as the ally and protector of the great Republican Leagues, the dominant power in Italy; and all this in less than one year after his accession to the Papal throne.^k

But the elements of discord were not so easily awed into peace. The last will of Constantia, besides the guardianship of the Pope, had appointed a Council of Regency: the Chancellor, the subtle and ambitious Walter of Palear Bishop of Troja (whose brothers, and perhaps himself, were in dangerous correspondence with Markwald), the Archbishops of Palermo, Monreale, and Capua. She trusted not to the unrewarded piety or charity of the Pontiff: for the protection of her son Sicily was to pay yearly thirty thousand pieces of gold; ^m all his other expenses were to be charged on the revenue of the kingdom. But her death opened a new scene of intrigue and daring to Markwald. He resumed the title of Seneschal of the Empire, laid claim to the administration of Sicily and the guardianship of the infant sovereign, alleging a testament of the Emperor, which

^b Epist. i. 565.

ⁱ Aged 45; a year and 19 days after her husband.

^k He interfered soon after in the affairs of the Lombard League. Parma and Piacenza had quarrelled about the possession of Borgo San Donnino. He commanded his legate to take counsel with the bishops to keep the peace; threatened excommunication, and ordered the castle to be placed in his own

hands.—Epist. ii. 39.

^m The tarini varied in value. The ounce of gold, about 21 grammes, 10 cent. (French weight), was divided into 24 tarini. Its value would be about 2 francs, 63 c., 75 m. The 30,000 would amount to about 79,125 francs. M. Cherrier estimates that it would represent five times the amount in present money.—Lutte des Papes, ii. 40, note.

invested him in that charge. The nobles of Sicily, however they might dread or detest the Germans, were not more disposed to be the mere ministers of the Pope. They received the Legate who came to administer the oath of allegiance with coldness; he returned to Rome. Markwald, in the mean time, had placed himself at the head of a powerful band of adventurers: he fell on the town of San Germano, and had almost become master of the great monastery of Monte Casino, which was defended for eight days by a garrison of the Pope, and in which several cardinals had taken refuge. On the day of St. Maur, the beloved companion of ^{A.D. 1198.} St. Benedict, the serene sky was suddenly clouded; a terrific storm broke out, overthrew the tents of Markwald's army, and caused such a panic dread of the avenging saint, that they fled on all sides." Innocent issued a proclamation summoning the whole realm of Naples and Sicily to arms. He reminded them of their sufferings under Markwald and Markwald's master; how their princes, and even the clergy, had been tortured, mutilated, blinded, roasted (as he says) before slow fires.^o The Pope had not spared the Papal treasures: he had assembled troops for their aid from Lombardy, Tuscany, Romagna, Campania. In his warlike address to the clergy, they were commanded on every Sunday, and on every festival, to renew the solemn excommunication, with quenched candles and tolling bells, against Markwald and all his accomplices.^p

^o "Cœpit more *Teutonico* in terram monasterii desævire."—Rich San Germ. ad 1198. It is remarkable that Innocent says not a word in his letters of the miracle: he ascribes the discomfiture of Markwald to the valour of the barons and knights who had

taken arms on his side.

^p "Vix est aliquis in toto regno, qui in se vel suis personâ vel rebus, sanguineis vel amicis, grave non incurrerit per Teutonicos detrimentum."

—Reg. Innocent. No. ii.

^p Epist. i. 557 to 566.

Markwald had again recourse to craft and dissimulation. Through the Archbishop of Mentz (who was in Rome on his return from the Holy Land) he made offers to the Pope which showed that he thought Innocent as unscrupulous as himself. He asserted the bastardy of Frederick; proposed that Innocent should invest him, Markwald, with the kingdom of Sicily. He would pay the Pope at once the enormous sum of 20,000 ounces of gold;^a the like sum on being put in possession of Palermo. He would double the annual tribute, and rule the island under the absolute control of the Pope. These offers being rejected, he was seized with a sudden and passionate desire of spiritual reconciliation with the Church. It was a strange contest; Markwald endeavouring by humble civilities, by menaces, by lavish offers, to extort absolution on the easiest terms from the Cardinals. He declared himself ready to swear unreserved obedience in spiritual matters, in temporal more cautiously, to all just mandates of the Pope. Legates were sent to Veroli to receive his oath—Octavian the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, Guido Cardinal Presbyter of S. Maria in Transtevere, Ugolino Cardinal Deacon of S. Eustachio. He invited them to a banquet in a neighbouring convent, and Markwald himself served them with the utmost humility; but audible murmurs were heard at the close that they were to be taken prisoners, and compelled to grant the unconditional absolution. Octavian and Guido were frightened; Ugolino took courage, and produced a bull of the Pope, with which the wary Innocent had provided them, prescribing the form of the oath, which implied the absolute abandonment of the bailiwick of Sicily, restoration

^a Gesta, ch. xxii.

of the patrimony of St. Peter, compensation for plunder, especially of the monastery of Monte Casino; and, above all, Markwald was to swear to respect the persons of all ecclesiastics, especially of the Cardinals of the Church. There was a wild and threatening tumult among the German soldiery and the populace against the Cardinals. But Markwald had not the courage to proceed to violence. The Legates were permitted to return to Veroli: Markwald took the prescribed oath, and received absolution.

But the absolution thus obtained at Veroli by a feigned submission was soon forfeited. Markwald would not renounce, he still affected the title May, 1199. of guardian of Sicily: he called himself Seneschal. In this name the jealous sagacity of Innocent detected latent pretensions to the protectorate. An excommunication more full, if possible, more express, more maledictory, was hurled against the recreant German. Every one who supplied provisions, clothing, ships, or troops to Markwald fell under the same anathema.^r Any clerk who officiated in his presence incurred deprivation. Markwald retired to Salerno; a fleet from Ghibelline Pisa was ready to convey him to Sicily. He crossed the straits; received the submission of many cities, was welcomed by many noble families, by the whole Saracen population. Innocent pursued him with the strongest manifestoes. He addressed a letter to the counts, barons, citizens, and the whole people of Sicily. He reminded them of the atrocious cruelties perpetrated by the Emperor Henry and his German followers; announced the excommunication of Markwald, the absolution of all his adherents from their oaths

^r Epist. ii. 179; and iii. 280.

of fidelity. "He is come to Sicily with the pirate William the Fat to usurp the throne; to say of the infant Frederick, 'This is the heir, let us slay him, and take possession of his inheritance.' He is leagued with the Saracens; he is prepared to glut their throats with Christian blood, to abandon Christian wives to their lusts." Towards the Saracens, nevertheless, Innocent expresses himself with mildness; "if they remain faithful to the King, he will not merely maintain, he will augment their privileges." The Pope went further: he addressed a solemn admonition to the Saracens. "They knew by experience the gentleness of the Apostolic See, the barbarity of Markwald. They had been eye-witnesses of his cruelties, the drowning in the sea, the roasting of priests over slow fires, the flagellation of multitudes. He who was so cruel to his fellow Christians would be even more ruthless to strangers, to those of other rites and other creeds. He who could ungratefully and rebelliously rise against the son of his liege lord would little respect the rights of foreigners; all oaths to them would be despised by one who had broken all his oaths to the Roman See."* With still more singular incongruity, he assures the Saracens that he has sent as their protectors the Cardinal of St. Laurence in Lucina, the Archbishops of Naples and Tarentum, as well as his own relatives John the Marshal and Otho of Palumbria.† Markwald, notwithstanding these denunciations and addresses, pursued his way and appeared before Palermo.

In Apulia, warlike cardinals, and even James the Marshal, the cousin of the Pope, though he showed considerable military skill as well as valour, were ne

* Epist. ii. 226.

† Epist. i. 489. Nov. 24, 1199.

antagonists against the disciplined and experienced Germans, Diephold, and Frederick Malati, who held Calabria. Innocent wanted a warrior of fame and generalship to lead his forces. France was the land to supply bold and chivalrous adventurers. Sybilla, the widow of Tancred of Sicily, dethroned by Henry, had made her escape from her prison in the Tyrol. She married her eldest daughter to Walter de Brienne, of a noble but impoverished house. Walter de Brienne came to Rome to demand the inheritance of his wife, the principality of Tarentum and the county of Lecce, which Henry had settled on the descendants of Tancred. Walter was the man whom Innocent needed. He was at once invested in the possession of Tarentum and Lecce; at the same time he was sworn to assert no claim to the kingdom, but to protect the rights of the infant Sovereign. Piety, justice, and policy, equally demanded this security for the Pontiff, as guardian of Frederick; a security precarious enough from a powerful, probably an ambitious stranger. Walter returned to France to levy troops. Markwald, in the mean time, with his own forces and with the Saracens, besieged Palermo; the Papal troops, headed by the Archbishop of Naples, the Marshal and the Legate, came, the former directly by sea, to the aid of Walter the Chancellor, who had refused all the advances of Markwald. A battle took place, in which Markwald suffered a total defeat. Magded, the Emir of the Saracens, was slain. In the baggage of Markwald was found, or said to be found, a will with a golden seal, purporting to be that of the Emperor Henry. It commanded his wife and son to recognise all the Papal rights over Sicily; it bequeathed Sicily, in case of the death of his son, in the fullest terms to the Pope. It commanded the imme-

diate restitution of the estates of the Countess Matilda by the Empire to the Pope. If this will was made during the last illness of the Emperor (yet it contemplates the contingency of his wife dying before him), he might have been disposed either as leaving a helpless wife and an infant heir, to secure the protection of the Pope, and so the surrender of the Matildine territories may have been designed as a direct reward for the confirmation of his son in the Empire; or the whole may have been framed in a fit of death-bed penitence. The suspicious part was another clause, bequeathing the duchy of Ravenna, with Bertinoro, and the march of Ancona, to Markwald;^u but even this, if the Duke died without heirs, was to revert to the Roman See.

The appearance of Walter de Brienne at the head of a small but chosen band of knights; his commission by the Pope as the leader of the faithful,^x his rapid successes, his defeat of Diephold before Capua, the retreat of the Germans into their fortresses, his peaceful occupation of Tarentum, Lecce, and great part of Apulia, alarmed, or gave pretence for alarm, to the great nobles of Sicily. The ambitious churchman Walter of Troja, the Chancellor, aspired to the vacant archbishopric of Palermo. Innocent had been obliged to consent to his taking possession of the temporalities of the See, though he withheld the palium.^y The Chancellor had the strongest apprehensions of the progress of Walter de Brienne. A gradual approximation took place between the Chancellor Archbishop and Markwald. The Chancellor was to leave

^u The will is in the *Gesta*, xxvii. It is of very doubtful authenticity. Could it have been forged by Markwald, to be produced if occasion required? or was it from other hands?

^x "Domino protegente fideles ab infidelibus."—*Gesta*, c. xxx.

^y May 3, 1203.

Markwald in undisputed possession of Apulia, Markwald the Chancellor in that of Sicily. The friendship was hollow and mistrustful. Each suspected and accused the other of designs on the Crown—Markwald for himself, Walter for his brother, Gentile Count of Manupelles. Both, however, were equally jealous of Walter de Brienne: Markwald as already more than his equal in the kingdom of Naples. The Chancellor assumed loyal apprehension for the endangered rights of the infant Frederick, whom the Pope, as he suspected, would betray. Innocent was compelled to justify himself in a long letter addressed to the young Frederick, whom he warned to mistrust all around him, and to place his sole reliance on the parental guardianship of the Pope. The Chancellor Walter of Troja was now in the kingdom of Naples, levying money for the service of the realm, which he is accused of having done in the most rapacious manner, not sparing the treasures, nor even the holy vessels of the churches. He might plead, perhaps, the tribute paid by the realm to the Pope. To the Papal legate, the Bishop of Porto, he professed unbounded submission, took the oath of allegiance, and received absolution. When, however, he was commanded not to oppose Walter de Brienne, against whom he was in almost armed confederacy with the Germans, he broke fiercely out, as if in indignant patriotism: "If St. Peter himself uttered such command, he would not obey; the fear of hell should not tempt him to be guilty of such treason;" and he is said to have blasphemed (such is the term) against the Pope himself.² From the presence of the Legate he set out openly to join Diephold. A battle took place near Bari.

² Gesta, xxxiv.

Walter de Brienne, though embarrassed by the presence and the fears of the Legate, gained a complete victory: many important prisoners, among them a brother of Diephold, were taken.

But in Sicily as well as Naples the partisans of Walter of Troja, comprehending the greater part of the Norman and native nobles, were now in alliance with the Germans. Markwald entered Palermo, and became master of the person of the King. He died shortly after of an unsuccessful or unskilful operation for the stone. The palace and the person of the King were seized by a powerful Norman noble, William of Capperone. From him Walter the Chancellor, who still claimed to be Bishop of Troja, and, despite of the Pope, Archbishop of Palermo, endeavoured by a long course of intrigue to wrest away the precious charge. In the kingdom of Naples, the death of Walter de Brienne, who was surprised, taken, and who died of his wounds^a as a prisoner of Diephold, gave back the ascendancy to the German party. The Pope was constrained to accept their precarious and doubtful submission; to admit them to reconciliation with the Church. Diephold became the most powerful subject, and more than a subject in the kingdom of Naples.

Thus grew up the young Frederick, the ward of the Pope, without that pious, or at least careful education^b which might have taught him respect and gratitude to the Holy See; among Churchmen who conspired against or openly defied the head of the Church; taught from his earliest years by every party to mistrust the other; taught by the Sicilians to hate the Germans, by the

^a The battle, the 11th of June, 1205.

^b The Cardinal Cencio Savelli, afterwards the mild Honorius III., had at first the nominal charge of his education.

Germans to despise the Sicilians; taught that in the Pope himself, his guardian, there was no faith or loyalty; that his guardian would have sacrificed him, had it been his interest, to the house of Tancred. All around him was intrigue, violence, conflict. Government was almost suspended throughout Sicily. The Saracens hardly acknowledging any allegiance to the throne, warred with impartiality against the Christians of both parties; yet neither had any repugnance to an alliance with the gallant Infidels against the opposing party. Such was the training of him who was in a short time to wear the Imperial crown, to wage the last strife of the house of Hohenstaufen with his mother, rather perhaps his step-mother, the Church.

CHAPTER II.

Innocent and the Empire.

THE Empire, now vacant, might seem to invite the commanding interposition of Innocent. It opened almost a wider field for the ambition of the Pope, and for those exorbitant pretensions to power which disguised themselves as tending to promote peace and order by expanding the authority of the Church, than Italy itself. But it was not so easy to reconcile these vast demands for what was called spiritual freedom, but which was in fact spiritual dominion, with the real interests of Germany. The prosperity, the peace of the Empire depended on the strength, the influence, the unity of the temporal power; the security, the advancement of the Papacy on its weakness and its anarchy. A vigorous and uncontested Sovereignty could alone restrain the conflicting states, and wisely and temperately administered, might advance the social condition of Germany. At all events, such sovereignty was necessary to spare the realm from years of civil war, during which armed adventurers grew up, from their impregnable castles warring against each other, defying all government, wasting the land with fire and sword, preventing culture, inhibiting commerce, retarding civilisation. But a powerful Emperor had always been found formidable to the Church, at least to the temporal rule of the Papæ; his claims to Italian dominion were only sus-

pended by his inability to enforce them; and the greater his strength, the less the independence of the German prelacy. The Emperor either domineered over them, or filled the important sees with his own favourites. The Pope could not but remember the long strife of his predecessors with the house of Hohenstaufen; in them was centred all the hostility, all the danger of Ghibellinism; they seemed born to be implacable foes of the Papacy: he might naturally shrink in execration at the recent cruelties of Henry, though he could hardly augur in the infant King of Sicily so obstinate an antagonist to his successors as Frederick II.

The perpetuation of the Empire in this haughty house was in itself a cause of serious apprehension; it added immeasurably to the Imperial power, and every subordinate consideration must be sacrificed to the limitation of that power.

Immediately after the death of Henry, his brother Philip,^a abandoning his first intention of descending to the south, and of taking with him Philip retires to Germany. the young Frederick, hastened to the Alps, which he reached not without difficulty, pursued, even menaced, by the murmurs and imprecations of the Italians. Already had Henry in his lifetime obtained the oath of many of the German princes to his infant son, as King of the Romans and heir of the Empire. Philip at first asserted, and seemed honestly disposed to assert the claims of his nephew; but an infant Emperor was too contrary to German usage, manifestly so unsuited to

^a Philip had been intended for holy orders, was provost of Aix-la-Chapelle, had been chosen Bishop of Wurtzburg in 1191. In 1194 he accompanied the Emperor to Apulia; was named Duke of Tuscany, 1195; married to the Princess Irene; Duke of Swabia, 1196.

the difficult times, that Philip consented to be chosen King by a large body of princes and of prelates assembled at Mulhausen.^b But the adverse party had not been inactive. The soul of this party was Adolph of Altena, the powerful, opulent, and crafty Archbishop of Cologne. The great prelates of the Rhine and the neighbouring princes seemed to claim a kind of initiative. The Archbishop of Mentz, Conrad of Wittlesbach, was absent in the Holy Land;^c the Archbishop of Treves appeared at first on the side of the Archbishop of Cologne. They met at Andernach, and professed surprise that the rest of the princes were so slow in joining the legitimate Diet. They determined, of themselves, to raise up an antagonist to the house of Hohenstaufen. Several princes for different reasons refused to embark in the perilous contest. Berthold of Zahringen, who had once yielded, withdrew from prudence, or rather avarice.^d Bernard of Saxony, as feeling himself unequal to the burthen of Empire, and already pledged to the cause of Philip. The prelates turned their thoughts at length to the house of Henry the Lion, the irreconcilable adversary of the house of Swabia. Henry, the eldest son, was engaged in the Crusades; the second, Otho, since the house had fallen under the ban of the Empire, had resided at the court of England, under the protection of Richard of Cornwall. By his valour he had attracted the notice of his uncle, King Richard

^b At Arnstadt, in Thuringia, according to Boehmer, Pref. p. ix. Compare the passage as to the spontaneous offer of the princes.

^c Conrad of Radensburg, Bishop of

Hildesheim, later of Wurtzburg, once a fellow-student of Thomas à Becket, was also in the Holy Land; as also the eldest son of Henry the Lion.

^d Annal. Argentin.

Cœur de Lion: he had been created first Count of York, afterwards Count of Poitou. Otho could not have lived under a better training for the fostering his hereditary hatred and thirst of revenge against the house of Hohenstaufen, or for the love of chivalrous adventure. He had nothing to lose, an imperial crown to win. His uncle, Richard of England, could never forget his imprisonment in Germany, and the part taken by the Emperor in that galling ^{A.D. 1198.} and disgraceful transaction. The perfidy and avarice of Henry were to be visited in due retribution on his race.^e Otho set forth on his expedition, to gain the Imperial crown, well furnished with English gold,^f with some followers, and with provisions of war. In May he was proclaimed Emperor at Cologne; he was declared the champion of the Church: he owed his election to a few Churchmen. The Archbishop of Cologne either represented, or pretended to represent, besides his own vote, the Archbishop of Mentz. English gold bought the avaricious Archbishop of Trèves. The Flemish nobles, allied with England, were almost unanimous in favour of Otho; many other princes, who had returned from the Crusades on the news of the Emperor's death, joined either from love of war, respect for the Church, or hatred of the Hohenstaufen, the growing party.

^e By the English account King Richard by his money initiated the proceedings of Archbishop Adolph; he bought the crown for Otho: "Rex Richardus divitiis et consiliis pollens, tantum egit muneribus et xeniis suis erga Archiepiscopum Coloniae et erga proceres imperii, quod omnibus aliis omissis, Othonem nepotem suum, in ræ

strenuitatis et elegantis corporis adolescentem elegerint."—Radulph. Coggeshal, ap. Martene, v. 851. Philip asserts this in his letter to the Pope.—Apud Innocent., Epist. i. 747.

^f According to Arnold of Lubeck, 50,000 marks. "Quæ in summariis ferebant quinquaginta dextrarii."—c. vii. 17.

Nothing can be more sublime than the notion of a great supreme religious power, the representative of God's eternal and immutable justice upon earth, absolutely above all passion or interest, interposing with the commanding voice of authority in the quarrels of kings and nations, persuading peace by the unimpeachable impartiality of its judgements, and even invested in power to enforce its unerring decrees. But the sublimity of the notion depends on the arbiter's absolute exemption from the unextinguishable weaknesses of human nature. If the tribunal commands not unquestioning respect; if there be the slightest just suspicion of partiality; if it goes beyond its lawful province; if it has no power of compelling obedience; it adds but another element to the general confusion; it is a partisan enlisted on one side or the other, not a mediator conciliating conflicting interests, or overawing the collision of factions. Yet such was the Papal power in these times: often, no doubt, on the side of justice and humanity, too often on the other; looking to the interests of the Church alone, assumed, but assumed without ground to be the same as those of Christendom and mankind; the representative of fallible man rather than of the infallible God. Ten years of strife and civil war in Germany are to be traced, if not to the direct instigation, to the inflexible obstinacy of Pope Innocent III.

It was too much the interest of both parties to obtain the influence of the Pope in their favour, not to incline them outwardly at least to submit their claims to his investigation. But it was almost as certain that one party at least would not abide by his unfavourable decree: and however awful the power of excommunication with which there could be no doubt that the Pope would endeavour to compel obedience, in no in-

stance had the spiritual power, at least in later days, obtained eventual success.

Innocent assumed a lofty equity; but the house of Henry the Lion had ever been devoted to the Pope; the house of Swabia ungovernable, if not inimical. His first measure against Philip was one of cautious hostility. Philip was already under the ban of the Church—I. As implicated with his brother in the cruelties exercised against the family of the unfortunate Tancred, the rival favoured by the Pope for the throne of Sicily. II. As having held by Imperial grant the domains of the Countess Matilda, to which the Popes maintained their right by anathema against all who should withhold them from the See. The Bishop of Sutri was sent as Legate to demand of Philip the immediate release of Sybilla, the widow of Tancred, and of her daughters, who were imprisoned in Germany, as well as of the Archbishop of Salerno their partisan. The German prelates of the Rhine were commanded to support this demand, to sequester the goods of all who had presumed to assist in the incarceration of an Archbishop, in itself an act of sacrilege.⁸ The Chapter of Mentz, in the absence of the Primate, was to pronounce an interdict not only on those concerned in the imprisonment, and the whole city in which it had taken place; but also to bring under the ban of the Church all German princes who did not heartily strive for their release: if satisfaction was not instantly made, the ban spread over the whole of Germany.⁹ Philip himself was to be reminded of

Conduct of
Innocent.

Feb. 1198.

⁸ Epist. i. 24, 25.

⁹ It is remarkable that Innocent dwells on the sins of the luxurious and effeminate Sicilians, who had been

visited on that account by the cruelties of the Germans, rather than on the tyranny and inhumanity of the Germans.—Epist. 25.

his state of excommunication, as usurper of the territories of the Church. Only on his giving full satisfaction on both points, the instantaneous release of the prisoners, especially the Archbishop of Salerno, and his surrender of all the lands of the Roman See, was the Bishop of Sutri empowered to grant absolution; otherwise Philip could only receive it as a suppliant from the Pope himself. Thus the first act of the aspirant to the Empire was to be an acknowledgment of almost the highest pretensions of the Papal supremacy, a condemnation of his brother's policy, the cession of the lands of the Countess Matilda. Innocent had chosen a German by birth, perhaps from his knowledge of the language, for this important Legation, in full confidence, no doubt, that the interests of the Church would quench all feelings of nationality. But either from this nationality, from weakness, or love of peace, the Bishop of Sutri allowed himself to be persuaded by Philip to stretch to the utmost, if not to go beyond, his instructions. Philip consented in vague words to the amplest satisfaction; and on this general promise, obtained a secret absolution from the Legate. Innocent disclaimed his weak envoy; afterwards degraded him from his See, and banished him to a remote monastery, where he died in shame and grief.¹

Yet Philip stood absolved by one representing the Papal authority. This objection to the validity of his election was removed; and in most other respects his superiority was manifest. The largest and most powerful part of the Empire acknowledged him; his army was the strongest; the treasures which his brother had brought from Sicily were lavished with successful

¹ Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, i 1275. Worms, June 29, 1198.

prodigality; his garrison as yet occupied Aix-la-Chapelle, the city in which the Emperors were crowned; all the sacred regalia were in his hands. The Rhenish prelates and the nobles of Flanders stood almost alone on the side of Otho; but Richard of England had supplied him with large sums of money; and with the aid of the Flemish princes he made himself master of Aix-la-Chapelle, and was crowned in that city by the Archbishop of Cologne. Philip celebrated his coronation at Mentz, but the highest Prelate who would perform this rite was a foreigner, at least not a German, Aimo, Archbishop of the Tarentaise.

July 10, 1193.
Coronation
of two Em-
perors.
July 12, 1193.
Aug. 15, 1193.

If Richard of England was on one side in this contest. Philip Augustus of France was sure to be on the other; and besides his rivalry with England, the King of France had personal and hereditary cause for hostility to Otho; and with the house of Hohenstaufen he had ever maintained friendly alliance.*

Philip
Augustus
of France.

Innocent seemed to await the submission of the cause to his arbitration; as yet, indeed, he was fully occupied with the affairs of Rome and Italy. The friends of Otho, who could well anticipate his favourable judgement, were the first to make their appeal. Addresses were sent to Rome in the name of Richard King of England, Count Baldwin of Flanders, the city of Milan, the Archbishop of Cologne, his suffragans the Bishops of Munster, Minden, Paderborn, Cam-

Pope
Innocent.

* Godef. Mon. Arnold Lubeck. See Von Raumer, iii. p. 107. Gerv. Tilb. The King of France, writing to the Pope: "Ad hæc cum rex Angliæ per fas et nefas pecuniâ suâ mediante nepotem suum ad imperialem apicem conatur intrudere, vos nullatenus intrusionem illam, si placet, debetis admittere, quoniam in opprobrium coronæ nostræ cognoscitur redundare." —Innocent, Epist. i. 690.

bray and Utrecht, the Bishop of Strasburg, the Abbots of Verden and Corvey, Duke Henry of Brabant, with many Abbots and Counts. Most of these documents promised the most profound submission on the part of Otho to the Church; specifically abandoned the detestable practice^m of seizing the goods of bishops and abbots on their decease, and pledged all the undersigned to the same loyal protection of the Church and all her rights. The answer of Innocent was courteous, but abstained from recognising the title of Otho.

The civil war began its desolations. Philip at first A.D. 1198. gained great advantages; he advanced almost to the gates of Cologne; and retreated only on the tidings of the approach of a powerful army from Flanders. It was civil war in its most barbarous lawlessness. Bonn, Andernach, and other towns were burned; it is said that a nun was stripped naked, anointed with honey, rolled in feathers, and then set on a horse with her face to the tail, and paraded through the streets. Philip, on his side, wrought by indignation from his constitutional mildness, commanded the guilty soldiers to be boiled in hot water. The winter suspended the hostile operations.

Philip himself maintained a lofty silence towards Rome; he would not, it might seem, compromise the right of election in the princes and prelates of the realm, by what might be construed into the acknowledged arbitration of a superior authority. A year had now passed; the war, on the whole, had been to his advantage; the death of Richard of England had deprived Otho of his most formidable ally. Innocent could no longer brook delay; without his aid there was

^m "Consuetudinem illam detestabilem.

danger lest the cause of Otho should utterly fail. His expectations that both parties would lay the cause at his feet were disappointed; he was compelled to take the initiative. Unsummoned therefore by general consent, appealed to by but one party, he ascended as it were his tribunal; in a letter to the Archbishop of Cologne, though by no means committing himself, he allowed his favourable disposition to transpire somewhat more clearly. In an address to the Princes and Prelates, he declared his surprise that a cause on which depended the dignity or disgrace of the Church, the peace and unity or the desolation of the Empire, had not been at once submitted to him, in whom was vested the sole and absolute right of determining the dispute in the first and last resort. It was his duty to admonish them to put an end to this fatal anarchy. He would adjudge the crown to him who should unite the greater number of suffrages, and was the best deserving.¹¹ The merits of the case were thus left to no rigid rule of right, but vaguely yielded up to his arbitrary judgement. Philip, at the same time, found it expedient to announce his election, not to submit his claim, to the Court of the Pontiff.^o He wrote from the city of Spires, that he had received with due honour the Bishop of Sutri and the Abbot of St. Anastasia, the envoys of the Pope. He had only kept them in his court to witness the course of affairs. He sent them now to announce that by God's merciful guidance all had turned out in his favour, the obstacles to his elevation were rapidly disappearing; he entreated his Holiness to turn an attentive ear to their report. At the same time came an address from the princes and prelates; the list, both of ecclesi-

¹¹ Epist. i. 690; date probably May 20.

^o Spires, May 28.

astics and laymen, contrasted strongly with the few names which had supported the address of Otho.

Philip Augustus of France supported the demands of Philip's partisans. Among the princes were the king of Bohemia, the dukes of Saxony, Bavaria, Austria, Meran, and Lorraine, the margraves of Meissen, Brandenburg, and Moravia. The host of prelates was even more imposing. The archbishops of Magdeburg, of Treves (who had perhaps been bought back), and Besançon; the bishops of Ratisbon, Friesingen, Augsburg, Constance, Eichstadt, Worms, Spires, Brixen, and Hildesheim, with a large number of abbots, Herzfeld, Tegernsee, Elwangen. These had signed; but there were besides assenting to the address, Otho the palatine of Burgundy (Philip's brother), the dukes of Zahringen and Carinthia, the margraves of Landsberg and Bohberg; the palgraves of Thuringia, Wittlesbach, and numberless other counts and nobles; the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Archbishop of Bremen, the Bishops of Verden, Halberstadt, Merseburg, Naumburg, Osnaburg, Bamberg, Passau, Coire, Trent, Metz, Toul, Verdun, Liège. There was submission, at the same time something of defiance and menace, in their language. They declared that they had no design to straiten the rights of the Holy See; but they urged upon the Pope that he should not encroach on the rights of the Empire; they warned him against hostility towards Markwald the seneschal of the Empire, and declared themselves ready after a short repose, with the Emperor at their head, to undertake an expedition to Rome in great force.^p The Pope replied to the princes and prelates

^p The date of this address of the German princes and prelates is of some importance. Hurter places it in 1199. It is dated at Spires, v. Kal. Jun. May 28. Georgish in his *Regesta* assigns it to 1198; but if so, it ore

that he had heard with sorrow of the contested election ; he should be prepared to join the Emperor who had been elected lawfully ; he should remember rather the good than the evil deeds of the Emperor ; it was by no means his desire to trench on his temporal rights, but to act for the good of the empire as of the church. They would judge better of his proceedings against Markwald, when better informed, and when they had closed their ears against the calumniators of the Roman see.

Conrad Archbishop of Mentz,⁹ the Primate of Germany, of noble family, venerable for his age, his learning, and his character, had been absent in the Holy Land throughout all these proceedings. To him, supposing him to be yet in Palestine, Innocent addressed an epistle,^r which explained the May 3, 1199. state of the contest, manifestly with a strong bearing towards Otho ; he declared that all his measures were for the greatness, not, as turbulent men asserted, for the destruction of the Empire. He enjoined him to send orders to his diocese, that all the officers, the ecclesiastics, and the barons dependent on the church of Mentz, should support the Emperor approved by the Holy See. Conrad had already set out for Nov. 6, 1199. Europe, he passed through Rome ; and Innocent, after a long conference, invested him in full authority to re-establish peace in Germany. The Primate, on his part, promised to come to no final determination without sending previous information St. James's day, July 25. to the Pope. On the arrival of Conrad in Germany

ceded the coronation both of Otho and Philip. Von Raumer places it in his text in 1199, in his note in 1198. Boehmer in 1200.

⁹ Conrad held the cardinal bishopric of S. Sabina, with the primacy of Mentz.—Epist. ii. 293.
^r Epist. ii.

both parties consented to a suspension of arms until St. Martin's Day.

Both contending parties sent ambassadors to Innocent.

Those of Otho were urgent, imploring, submissive. In every respect would the religious
Embassies to Rome.
May 28, 1200. Otho submit himself to the wishes of the Pope.

The envoys of Philip were the provost of St. Thomas at Strasburg, and a sub-deacon of the Roman Church. Perhaps none of the great prelates would trust themselves or could be trusted on such a mission. To them Innocent seized the occasion of proclaiming in a full consistory of Cardinals the supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal power. The whole of the Old Testament was cited to his purpose. The subordination of the kingship to the priesthood in Melchisedec and Abraham; the inferiority of the anointed to him who anoints; even Christ the anointed, is inferior as to his manhood, to the Father by whom he is anointed. Priests are called gods, kings princes; the one have power on earth, the other in heaven; one over the soul, the other over the body; the priesthood is as much more worthy than the kingship as the soul than the body. The priesthood is older than the kingship: God gave Israel, who had long had priests, kings in his wrath. Only among the heathen was the kingdom the older; yet even Baal, who ruled over Assyria after the building of the tower of Babel, was younger than Shem. Then came allusions to the fate of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, to the disunion of the priesthood by the wicked schismatic Jero-boam. From thence to modern times the transition was bold but easy. The happy times of Innocent II. and the Saxon Lothair and their triumph over Conrad and Anacletus were significantly adduced: "So truth ever subdues falsehood." The allusion to Frederick Barba-

rossa was even more fine and subtle. In him the Empire was united while the Church was divided; but the schism and he who fostered the schism were stricken to the earth. Now the Church is one, the Empire divided. It concluded with the assertion that the Pope had transferred the Empire from the East to the West, that the Empire is granted as an investiture by the Pope. "We will read the letter of your lord, we will consult with our brethren, and then give our answer; may God enable us to act wisely for His honour, the advantage of the Church, and the welfare of the Empire." In his reply to the princes of Germany, the leaning of Innocent against Philip, though yet slightly disguised, was more clearly betrayed. If he had the majority of voices and the possession of the regalia, on the other hand must be taken into account the illegality of his coronation, his excommunication by the Church from which he had but fraudulently obtained absolution; the design to make the Empire hereditary in his house. The Archbishop of Cologne was arraigned in no moderate terms for presuming to submit the question to the diet of the Empire without the Pope's previous consent.*

The assembly at Boppart in the previous year had come to nothing. Otho only appeared, neither Philip nor his supporters condescended to notice the summons. Again the war broke out, and raged June, 1099. with all its ferocity. Philip fell on the hereditary territories of the house of Guelf. The Archbishop of Magdeburg burned Helmstadt; Henry, the brother of Otho, ravaged the bishopric of Hildesheim, and threw himself into Brunswick, now besieged by Philip. Philip was obliged to withdraw with great loss and dishonour; he

* Epist. vol. i. p. 691.

returned to the Rhine, where his ally the Bishop of Worms was wasting the country round his own city; he obtained a powerful ally in Conrad of Scharfenech, the coadjutor of the Bishop of Spires. The death of the peaceful Primate, Conrad of Mentz, destroyed all hopes, if hopes there were, of composing the strife by amicable negotiation. A double election for the primacy was the inevitable consequence of the all-pervading conflict. Hardly were the last obsequies paid to the remains of Conrad when the Chapter met. Both the elected prelates were men of noble German race. The partisans of Philip chose Leopold of the house of Schonfeld, who had succeeded his uncle in the See of Worms. Leopold was a churchman, strong in mind, strong in body, vigorous and violent; no less distinguished for the qualities of a warlike leader than an able prelate; he had been engaged in the Italian wars, and at least had not restrained his soldiers in the plunder of churches: his enemies described him as a tyrant rather than a bishop; and such was his daring that he is said, somewhat later, with all the pomp of burning torches, to have excommunicated the Pope himself.[†] The opposite party elected Siegfried, of the house of Eppstein, but Mentz being in possession of their adversaries, they withdrew to Bingen to confirm their election.

Innocent now determined to assume openly the function of supreme arbiter in this great quarrel. The Cardinal Guido Pierleoni, Bishop of Palestrina, appeared in Germany with a Bull containing the full and elaborate judgement. This was the tenour of the Bull:—"It belongs to the Apostolic See to pass

Pope Innocent's deliberation.

[†] Cæsar. Heisterb. Dialog. Mirac. ii. 9.

judgement on the election of the Emperor, both in the first and last resort ;" in the first, because by her aid and on her account the Empire was transplanted from Constantinople ; by her as the sole authority for this transplanting, on her behalf and for her better protection : in the last resort, because the Emperor receives the final confirmation of his dignity from the Pope ; is consecrated, crowned, invested in the imperial dignity by him. That which must be sought is the lawful, the right, the expedient." Innocent proceeds to discuss at length the claims of the three kings,^x the child (Frederick of Sicily), Philip, and Otho. He admits the lawful election, the oath twice taken, and once at least freely, by the Princes of the Empire to the young Frederick. " His cause it might seem incumbent on the Apostolic See, as the protector of the orphan, to maintain ; and lest, when come to riper years, in his wrath at having been deprived of the Empire by the Papal decree, he should become hostile to the Pope and withdraw the kingdom of Naples from her allegiance to the Holy See. But, on the other hand, on whom did this election fall ? to whom was this oath sworn ? To one not merely incapable of ruling the Empire, but of doing anything ; a child of two years old, a child not yet baptised." The Deliberation enlarges on the utter unfitness of a child for such a high office in such perilous times. " Woe unto the realm, saith the Scripture, whose king is a child. Dangerous, too, were it to the Church to unite

^u It was the Emperor, not the King of the Germans. Innocent, in theory, held to this distinction. The Germans had full right to choose their king, but their king, being also by established usage Emperor, came under the direct cognisance of the Pope.—Epist. i. 697.

^x According to M. Abel (Philip dei Hohenstauffer), the Deliberatio was not a published document ; at all events it contains the views and reasonings of Innocent. The results were to be communicated to the Princes of the Empire by his Legates.

the Empire with the kingdom of Sicily. Yet never will Frederick in riper years be able justly to reproach the See of Rome with having robbed him of his Empire; it is his own uncle who will have deprived him of that crown, of his paternal inheritance, and who is even endeavouring by his myrmidons to despoil him of his mother's kingdom, did not the holy Church keep watch and ward over his rights.^y

“Neither can any objection be raised against the legality of the election of Philip. It rests upon the gravity, the dignity, the number of those who chose him. It may appear vindictive, and therefore unbecoming in us, because his father and his brother have been persecutors of the church, to visit their sins on him. He is mighty too in territory, in wealth, in people; is it not to swim against the stream to provoke the enmity of the powerful against the Church, we who, if we favoured Philip, might enjoy that peace which it is our duty to ensue?

“Yet is it right that we should declare against him. Our predecessors have excommunicated him, justly, solemnly, and canonically: justly, because he has violently seized the patrimony of St. Peter; solemnly, in St. Peter's church on a high festivity during the sacrifice of the mass. He has obtained absolution, it is true, from our Legate, the Bishop of Sutri, but in direct contradiction to our express commands. Besides he is under the ban pronounced against Markwald and all, Germans as well as Italians, who are his partisans. It is moreover notorious that he swore fealty to the child; he is guilty therefore of perjury: he may allege that we

^y Remark this provident anticipation of Frederick's future cause of quarrel with the See of Rome, and the blame cast on his relative.

have declared that oath null; but the Israelites, when they would be released from their oath concerning Gibeon, first consulted the Lord; so should he first have consulted us, who can alone absolve from oaths. But if father shall succeed to son, brother to brother, the Empire ceases to be elective, it becomes hereditary; and in what house would the Empire be perpetuated? —a house in which one persecutor of the church succeeds to another. The first Henry who rose to the Empire (the Pope goes back to King Henry V., with whom the Hohenstaufen had but remote connexion), violently and perfidiously laid hands on Pope Paschal, of holy memory, who had crowned him; imprisoned him with his cardinals, whom he threatened to murder, until Paschal, in fear for Henry not for himself, appeased the madman by concession. The said Henry chose an heresiarch as an Antipope, set up an idol against the Church of Rome, so that the schism lasted till the time of Pope Calixtus. From this house came Frederick, who promised to subdue the rebellious Tiburtines to the See of Rome, but retained them as liegemen of the Empire, and threatened our ancestor the Chancellor Alexander, who asserted the rights of St. Peter, that if it were in the church of St. Peter he should feel how sharp-edged were the swords of the Germans; who plotted to dethrone Pope Hadrian, alleging that he was the son of a priest; who fomented a long schism against Alexander; deceived and besieged Pope Lucius in Verona. His son and successor Henry was accursed even on his accession, for he invaded and wasted the lands of St. Peter, and in contempt of the Church cut off the noses of some of the servants of our brother. He took the murderers of Bishop Albert among his followers, and bestowed large fiefs upon them. He

caused the Bishop of Osimo, because he declared that he held his see of the Apostolic throne, to be struck on the mouth, to have his beard plucked out, with other shameless indignities. By his commands Conrad put our honoured brother the Bishop of Ostia in chains, and rewarded his sacrilege with lands and honours; he prohibited all appeals from the clergy to Rome throughout the kingdom of Sicily. As to Philip himself, he has ever been an obstinate persecutor of the church; he called himself Duke of Tuscany and Campania, and claimed all the lands up to the gates of the city; he is endeavouring even now by the support of Markwald and of Diephold to deprive us of our kingdom of Sicily. If, while his power was yet unripe, he so persecuted the holy Church, what would he do if Emperor? It behoves us to oppose him before he has reached his full strength. That the sins of the father are visited on the sons, we know from holy writ, we know from many examples, Saul, Jeroboam, Baasha." The Pope exhausts the Old Testament in his precedents.

"Now, as to Otho. It may seem not just to favour his cause because he was chosen but by a minority; not becoming, because it may seem that the Apostolic chair acts not so much from goodwill towards him, as from hatred of the others; not expedient because he is less powerful. But as the Lord abases the proud, and lifts up the humble, as he raised David to the throne, so it is just, befitting, expedient, that we bestow our favour upon Otho. Long enough have we delayed, and laboured for unity by our letters and our envoys; it beseems us no longer to appear as if we were waiting the issue of events, as if like Peter we were denying the truth which is Christ; we must therefore publicly

declare ourselves for Otho, himself devoted to the Church, of a race devoted to the Church, by his mother's side from the royal house of England, by his father from the Duke of Saxony, all, especially his ancestor the Emperor Lothair, the loyal sons of the Church; him, therefore, we proclaim, acknowledge as king; him then we summon to take on himself the imperial crown."

Innocent, now committed in the strife, plunged into it with all the energy and activity of his character. To every order, to the archbishops, bishops and clergy, to the princes and nobles, to every distinguished individual, the Archbishops of Cologne and Magdeburg, the Archbishop of Aquileia, the Palgrave of the Rhine, the Landgrave of Thuringia, the King of Bohemia, the Counts of Flanders and of Brabant, were addressed letters from the See of Rome, admonitory, persuasive, or encouraging, according to their attachment or aversion to the cause of Otho. The Legate in France had directions to break off, if possible, the alliance of Philip Augustus with the Duke of Swabia:² John of England was urged to take more active measures in favour of Otho; the Cardinal Bishop of Palestrina crossed the Alps with his co-legate the Brother Philip; he had an interview in Champagne with the
January,
March.
 legate in France, the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia. They proceeded to Liège, from thence to Aix-la-Chapelle. At Neuss Otho appeared before the three Papal legates, and took an oath of fidelity to the Pope couched in the strongest terms. He swore to maintain all the terri-

² Rather later the Pope endeavours to alarm Philip Augustus. Philip (the Emperor), he says, had claimed the guardianship of Frederick II. and the possession of Sicily. If he had gained

this "in superbiam elatus aliud cogitaret, et *regnum* Francorum sibi disponeret subjugare, sicut olim disposuerat frater ejus Henricus."—*Epist. i.* 717. Did Innocent believe this?

stories, fiefs, and rights of the See of Rome, granted by all the Emperors downwards, from Louis the Pious; to maintain the Pope in the possessions which he now holds, to assist him in obtaining those which he does not now occupy; to render the Pope that honour and obedience which has ever been rendered by the pious Catholic Emperors. He swore to conduct himself as to the affairs of the Roman people, the Lombard and Tuscan leagues, according to the Pope's counsel, as also in any treaty of peace with the King of France. "If on my account the Church of Rome is involved in war, I will aid it with money. This oath shall be renewed both by word of mouth and in writing when I shall receive the imperial crown." The Cardinal Guido departed to Cologne; in the name of Innocent he

The Legate
proclaims
Otho.
June 8, 1201.

June 29.
Otho's Diet
at Cologne.

proclaimed Otho Emperor, amid the applause of Otho's partisans. He awaited the concourse of prelates and nobles which he had summoned to Cologne: few came; some even of the bishops closed their doors against the messengers of the Legate. Again he summoned them to Corvey, and began to threaten the interdict. From thence he went to Bingen, where he spoke more openly of the interdict. From Bingen letters were written to the Pope, describing the progress of Otho's affairs as triumphant. "Nothing now is heard of

Sept. 8, 1201.

Philip and his few partisans; with him as under God's displeasure every thing fails, he can gather no army; while Otho will soon appear at the head of 100,000 men." The Cardinal could hardly intend to

Philip's
Diet at
Bamberg.

deceive the Pope, he was no doubt himself deceived. At that very time were assembled at Bamberg, the Archbishops of Magdeburg and Bremen, the Bishops of Worms, Passau, Ratisbon, Constance.

Augsburg, Eichstadt, Havelberg, Brandenburg, Meissen, Naumburg, and Bamberg; the Abbots of Fulda, Herzfeld, and Kempten; the King of Bohemia, the Dukes of Saxony, Austria, Steyermark, Meran, Zahringen, the "Stadtholder of Burgundy," and a number of other princes. They expressed themselves in terms of which the contemptuousness was but lightly veiled. They refused to believe (reason would not admit, loyal simplicity would not believe) that the unseemly language which the Bishop of Palestrina, who gave himself out as the Legate of the Pope, presumed to hold regarding the Empire, had been authorised by the admirable wisdom of the Pope, or by the honoured conclave of the Cardinals. "Who has ever heard of such presumption? What proof can be adduced for pretensions, of which history, authentic documents, and even fable itself is silent? Where have ye read, ye Popes! where have ye heard, ye Cardinals! that your predecessors or your legates have dared to mingle themselves up with the election of a king of the Romans, either as electors, or as judges? The election of the Pope indeed required the assent of the Emperor, till Henry I. in his generosity removed that limitation. How dares his holiness the Pope to stretch forth his hand to seize that which belongs not to him? There is no higher council in a contested election for the Empire, than the Princes of the Empire. Jesus Christ has separated spiritual from temporal affairs. He who serves God should not mingle in worldly matters; he who aims at worldly power is unworthy of spiritual supremacy. Punish, therefore, most holy Father, the Bishop of Palestrina for his presumption, acknowledge Philip whom we have chosen, and, *as it is your duty*, prepare to crown him."

Innocent replied in somewhat less dictatorial and imperious language; "it was not his intention to interfere with the rights of the electors, but it was his right, his duty, to examine and to prove the fitness of him whom he had solemnly to consecrate and to crown."^a His Legates had instructions to proceed with the greatest caution, to pause before they proclaimed the direct excommunication of the great prelates of the realm. These prelates were already under the ban, which comprehended the partisans of Philip. But of the virtual or direct excommunication they were equally contemptuous: not a prelate was estranged from Philip or attached to Otho by the terror of the Papal censures. This array of almost all the great ecclesiastics of Germany against the Pope during this whole contest is remarkable, but intelligible enough. Almost all the richer and more powerful Bishoprics were held by sons or kinsmen of the noble houses; they were German princes as well as German prelates. The survey of the order shows at once the ecclesiastical state of the realm, and unfolds the nature of the strife. The rivals for the Primacy, the Archbishopric of Mentz, were both of noble houses—Leopold of the house of Schonfeld, Siegfried of that of Eppstein. Leopold's ambition was to retain the Bishopric of Worms with that of Mentz. The Pope at once repudiated this monstrous demand, irrespective of the ulterior claims to the Primacy, which he adjudged to Siegfried. But the Chapter of Mentz, with three exceptions, were for Leo-

^a "Non enim elegimus nos personam, sed electo ab eorum parte majori (Innocent had up to this time acknowledged the election of Otho to have been by a minority) qui vocem habere in imperatoris electione noscuntur, et ubi debuit, et a quo debuit coronato, favorem præstitimus et præstamus."—Epist. i. 711.

pold and Philip (it was the same cause to them). Mentz long refused to open her gates to the Pope's Primate. Leopold, warlike, enterprising, restless, seems to have nourished a mortal hatred to Innocent; he threw back, as has been said, the ban of the Pope, and solemnly excommunicated the successor of St. Peter; and at length, leaving both the See to which he aspired and that which he actually possessed, he descended into Italy, in order to instigate the cities of Romagna to throw off the Papal yoke. The banner of the Archbishop of Mentz floated in the van of the anti-Papal army. In many of these cities the Bishop of Worms met with success; and hence, when after the death of Philip a general amnesty was granted to his civil and ecclesiastical partisans, Leopold only was excluded, and abandoned to the vengeance of the Pope. Such was the state of the Primacy; like the Empire, an object of fierce and irreconcilable strife. The Archbishop of Treves, timid, avaricious, and time-serving, was on the side which paid him best. He had been inclined to Otho, then fell off to Philip. At one time he offered to resign his See, and then, being supported by the inhabitants of Treves, declared for Philip. He was excommunicated by the Legate; the Archbishop of Cologne was empowered to seize his domains; yet even when he was bought to the party of Philip, he made excuses to elude a public meeting and acknowledgment of the Emperor. Adolph, Archbishop of Cologne, had raised Otho to the Empire, crowned him in Aix-la-Chapelle; he had been the soul of the confederacy; but already there were dark rumours of his treachery and meditated revolt. That revolt took place at length; but wealthy Cologne repudiated her perfidious Prelate, maintained her fidelity to Otho, declared Adolph de-

posed, and elected a new Prelate, the Bishop of Bonn. The Archbishop of Saltzburg was for Philip; he was held in such high respect that to him was entrusted the protestation of the Diet of Bamberg; he alone, at a later period, seemed worked upon by the Papal influence to incline somewhat more to the cause of Otho. The Archbishop of Bremen in his remote diocese contented himself with a more quiet support of Philip; the Archbishop of Magdeburg was unmoved alike by the friendly overtures of Innocent, and by the excommunication of the Legate. The Archbishop of Besançon received Philip with the utmost pomp, led him to his cathedral, and gave him all the honours of an Emperor. The Archbishop of Tarantaise had officiated at the coronation of Philip. The Bishops of Bamberg, Halberstadt, Spire, Passau, Eichstadt, Freisingen openly showed their contempt for the Papal mandates; the three latter, in defiance of the Pope, maintained the right of the Bishop of Worms to the Primacy. The Bishop of Spire seized two servants of the Pope, imprisoned one and threatened to hang the other. The Archbishops of Besançon and Tarantaise, the Bishops of Spire and Passau were cited to Rome to answer for their conduct; they paid not the least regard to the summons.

The murder of the Bishop of Wurtzburg is a more frightful illustration of the state of things. Conrad of Rabensberg was related by his mother to the house of Hohenstaufen; he had been appointed Chancellor of the Empire by Henry. He was on his way to the Crusade, when he heard that the Chapter of Hildesheim had chosen him their Bishop. He fulfilled his vow. On his return he found that he had been elected Bishop of Wurtzburg. Conrad was tempted by the

wealthier see, which was in the neighbourhood of the house of his race. He would willingly have retained both. So important was his support to Philip, that he was confirmed in the office of Chancellor, and received the gift of the castle of Sternberg. Innocent ordered the Archbishop of Mentz to take possession of the estates of Wurtzburg; issued injunctions to the Archbishop of Magdeburg to interdict Conrad in the diocese of Hildesheim, and to command the Chapter to proceed to a new election. Yet there were secret intimations, that a man of his high character and position might find favour in Rome. To Rome he went; he returned Bishop of Wurtzburg; and if not now an opponent, but a lukewarm partisan of Philip. He was threatened with the loss of his dignity as Chancellor,^b perhaps became the object of persecution. His murder was an act of private revenge. He had determined to put down the robbers and disturbers of the peace round Wurtzburg. One of the house of Rabensberg presumed on his relationship to claim an exception from this decree; he was beheaded by the inflexible Conrad. The kinsmen of the executed robber, Bodo of Rabensberg, and Henry Hund of Falkenberg, Dec. 3, 1202. resented this act of unusual severity. Two of their followers stole into Wurtzburg, murdered the Bishop on his way to church, and mutilated his body. When Philip came to Wurtzburg, the clergy and people showed him the hand of the murdered Bishop and demanded vengeance.^c Philip gave no redress: he was charged with more than indifference to the fate of a Bishop who had fallen off to Otho. The citizens broke

^b Compare Innocent's letters.—Reg. i. 201; i. 223. He is called Chancellor at the time of his murder.

^c Arnold Lubec.—Leibnitz, ii. 726.

out, took and razed the castles of the suborners of the murder. These men fled to Rome, confessed their sin, and submitted to penance.^d The penance is characteristic of the age; it was a just but life-long martyrdom. They were to show themselves naked, as far as decency would permit, and with a halter round their necks, in the cathedral of every city in Germany, through which lay their way from Rome, till they reached Wurtzburg. There, on the four great feasts, and on the day of St. Kilian the tutelar saint of the city, they must appear and undergo the discipline of flagellation. They might not bear arms, but against the enemies of the faith, nor wear rich attire. Four years they were to serve, but in the garb of penitence, in the Holy Land. All their life they were to fast and pray, to receive the Eucharist only on their death-bed.^e

For ten dreary years, with but short intervals of truce, Germany was abandoned to all the horrors of civil war.^f The repeated protestations of Innocent, that he was not the cause of these fatal discords, betray the fact that he was accused of the guilt; and that he had to wrestle with his own conscience to acquit himself of the charge. It was a war not of decisive battles, but of marauding, desolation, havock, plunder, wasting of harvests, ravaging

Ten years' war.
A.D. 1198-1208.

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^d Raynald. sub ann. 1203.

^e The inscription on the place of the murder—

"Hic procul solo, sceleri quia parcere nolo,
Vulnera facta dolo dant habitare polo."
—*Böhmer, Fontes*, i. 36.

^f Thus says Walther der Vogelweide—

"Zu Rom hört ich lügen,
Zwei könige betrügen;

Das gab den aller-grösten Streit,
Der jemals ward in aller Zeit,
Da sah man sich entzweien
Die Pfaffen und die Laien.
Die Noth war über alle Noth;
Da lagen Leib und Seele todt.
Die Pfaffen wurden Krieger,
Die Laien blieben Sieger,
Das Schwert sie legten aus der Hand,
Und griffen zu der Stola Band,
Sie bannten wen sie wollten,
Nicht den sie bannen sollten.
Zerstört war manches Göttes haus."
—*Sinnrock*, p. 174; *Lachmann*, 3
Hurter, II. 98.

open and defenceless countries; war waged by Prelate against Prelate, by Prince against Prince; wild Bohemians and bandit soldiers of every race were roving through every province. Throughout the land there was no law: the high roads were impassable on account of robbers; traffic cut off, except on the great rivers, from Cologne down the Rhine, from Ratisbon down the Danube; nothing was spared, nothing sacred, church or cloister. Some monasteries were utterly impoverished, some destroyed. The ferocities of war grew into brutalities; the clergy, and sacred persons, were the victims and perpetrators. The wretched nun, whose ill-usage has been related, was no doubt only recorded because her fate was somewhat more horrible than that of many of her sisters. The Abbot of St. Gall seized six of the principal burghers of Arbon, and cut off their feet, in revenge for one of his servants, who had suffered the like mutilation for lopping wood in their forests.

Innocent seemed threatened with the deep humiliation of having provoked, inflamed, kept up this disastrous strife only for his own and his Emperor's discomfiture and defeat. Year after year the cause of Otho became more doubtful; the exertions, the intrigues, the promises, the excommunications of Rome became more unavailing. The revolt of the Archbishop of Cologne gave a fatal turn:⁸ the example of Adolph's perfidy and tergiversation wrought widely among Otho's most powerful partisans. There were few, on Otho's side at least, who had not changed their party; Otho's losses were feebly compensated by the defections from the ranks of Philip.

Innocent
obliged to
acknowledge
Philip.

Nov. 11,
1204.

⁸ Two grants (Böhmer's Regesta sub ann. 1205) show the price paid to the archbishop's perfidy.

At the close of the ten years the contest had become almost hopeless; even the inflexible Innocent was compelled to betray signs of remorse, of reconciliation, of accepting Philip as Emperor, of abandoning Otho,^h of recanting all his promises, and struggling out of his vows of implacable enmity and of perpetual alliance. Negotiations had begun. Philip's ambassadors were

June, 1206.

received in Rome: two Legates, Leo, the Cardinal Priest of Santa Croce, Cardinal Ugolino Bishop of Ostia and Velletri, were in Worms: Philip swore to subject himself in all things to the Pope. Philip was solemnly absolved from his excommunication.

Aug. 1207.
Christmas,
1207.

At Metz the Papal Legates beheld the victorious Emperor celebrate his Christmas with kingly splendour.¹ From this abasing position Innocent was relieved by the crime of one man.

Murder of
Philip.

The assassination of Philip by Otho of Wittlesbach placed Otho at once on the throne.

The crime of Otho of Wittlesbach sprang from private revenge. Otho was one of the fiercest and most lawless chieftains of those lawless times; brave beyond most men, and so far true and loyal to the house of Swabia. Philip had at least closed his eyes at one murder committed by Otho of Wittlesbach. He had promised him his daughter in marriage; but the father's

^h Compare Otho's desperate letter of covert reproach to Innocent, Epist. i. 754. Innocent's letter to the Archbishop of Salzburg betrays something like shame, i. 748. In 1205 Innocent reproached the bishops and prelates of Otho's party—"ex eo quod nobilis vir Dux Sueciæ visus est aliquantulum prosperare, contra honestatem propriam et fidem præstitam venientes, relicto eo cui prius adhæserant, ejus adversario

adhærent."—Epist. i. 742. The Guelfic author of the *Chronicon Placentinum* (edited under the auspices of the Duke de Luynes, Paris, 1856) boldly accuses Innocent of corruption: "audiens illum potentem esse sine timore ipsius, auro et argento corruptus," &c., p. 30.

¹ Reg. Imp. Chron. Ursberg.—Epist. i. 750, of Nov. 1. Compare Abel, *Philip der Hohenstauffer*, p. 211.

gentle heart was moved; he alleged some impediment of affinity to release his child from the union with this wild man. Otho then aspired to the daughter of the Duke of Poland. He demanded letters of recommendation from the King Philip. He set forth with them, but some mistrust induced him to have them opened and read; he found that Philip had, generously to the Duke of Poland, perfidiously as he thought to himself, warned the Duke as to the ungovernable character of Otho. He vowed vengeance. On St. Alban's day Philip at Bamberg had been celebrating the nuptials of his niece with the Duke of Meran. He was reposing, having been bled, in the heat of the day, on a couch in the palace of the Bishop. Otho appeared with sixteen followers at the door, and demanded audience as on some affair of importance; he entered the chamber brandishing his sword. "Lay down that sword," said Philip, with a scornful reproach of perfidy: Wittlesbach struck Philip on the neck. Three persons were present, the Chancellor, the Truchsess of Waldburg, and an officer of the royal chamber. The Chancellor ran to hide himself, the other two endeavoured to seize Otho; the Truchsess bore an honourable scar for life, which he received in his attempt to bolt the door. Otho passed out, leaped on his horse, and fled. So died the gentlest, the most popular of the house of Swabia.^k The execra-

^k Philip had been compelled during the long war grievously to weaken the power of his house by alienating the domains which his predecessors had accumulated. "Hic cum non haberet pecunias quibus salaria sive solda præberet militibus, primus cœpit distrahere prædia, quæ pater suus Fredericus imperator late acquisierat in Alemanniâ; sicque factum est ut nihil sibi re-

maneret præter inane nomen domini terræ, et curtiales seu villas in quibus fora habentur et pauca castella terræ." —Chron. Ursberg. 311. The poems of Walther der Vogelweide are the best testimony to the gentleness and popularity of Philip. See der Pfaffen Wahl, p. 180; especially *Die Milde*, 184. Simrock.

tion of all mankind, the ban of the Empire pursued the murderer. The castle of Wittlesbach was levelled with the ground, not one stone left on another: on its site was built a church, dedicated to the Virgin. The assassin was at length discovered in a stable, after many wanderings and it is said after deep remorse of mind, and put to death with many wounds.

CHAPTER III.

Innocent and the Emperor Otho IV.

OTHO was now undisputed Emperor; a diet at Frankfurt, more numerous than had met for many years, acknowledged him with almost unprece-^{Otho}ded unanimity. He held great diets at Nuremberg, Brunswick, Wurtzburg, Spires. He descended the next year over the Brenner into Italy to receive the Imperial crown. Throughout Italy the Guelfic cities opened their gates to welcome the Champion of the Church, the Emperor chosen by the Pope, with universal acclamation: old enemies seemed to forget their feuds in his presence, tributary gifts were poured lavishly at his feet.

The Pope and his Emperor met at Viterbo; they embraced, they wept tears of joy, in remembrance of their common trials, in transport at their common triumph. Innocent's compulsory abandonment of Otho's cause was forgotten: the Pope demanded security that Otho would surrender, immediately after his coronation, the lands of the Church, now occupied by his troops. Otho almost resented the suspicion of his loyalty; and Innocent in his blind confidence abandoned his demand.

The coronation took place in St. Peter's Church with more than usual magnificence and solemnity; magnificence which became this unwonted friendship between the temporal and spiritual powers; Oct. 24.

solemnity which was enhanced by the lofty character and imposing demeanour of Innocent. The Imperial crown was on the head of Otho; and—almost from that moment the Emperor and the Pope were implacable enemies. Otho has at once forgotten his own prodigal acknowledgment: “All I have been, all I am, all I ever shall be, after God, I owe to you and the Church.”^a Already the evening before the coronation, an ill-omened strife had arisen between the populace of Rome and the German soldiery: the Bishop of Augsburg had been mishandled by the rabble. That night broke out a fiercer fray; much blood was shed; so furious was the attack of the Romans even on the German knights, that 1100 horses are set down as the loss of Otho’s army: the number of men killed does not appear. Otho withdrew in wrath from the city; he demanded redress of the Pope, which Innocent was probably less able than willing to afford. After some altercation by messengers on each side, they had one more friendly interview, the last, in the camp of Otho.

The Emperor marched towards Tuscany; took possession of the cities on the frontier of the territory of the Countess Matilda, Montefiascone, Acquapendente, Radicofani.^b He summoned the magistrates and the learned in the law, and demanded their judgement as to the rights of the Emperor to the inheritance of the Countess Matilda. They declared that the Emperor had abandoned those rights in ignorance, that the Emperor might resume them at any time. He entered Tuscany.

^a “Quod hactenus fuimus, quod sumus et quod erimus . . . totum vobis et Romanæ ecclesiæ post Deum debere . . . gratantissime recognoscimus.”—Regest. Ep. 161.

^b Chronic. Ursberg. Ric. de S. Germ. spreto juramento. At Spire (March 22) Otho had solemnly guaranteed the patrimony of St. Peter.—Epist. Innocent. i. 762.

Sienna, San Miniato, Florence, Lucca, before all, Ghibelline Pisa, opened their gates.^c He conferred privileges or established ancient rights. He proceeded to the Dukedom of Spoleto, in which he invested Berthold, one of his followers. Diephold came Dec. 24. from the south of Italy to offer his allegiance; he received as a reward the principality of Salerno. Otho attempted Viterbo. He had his emissaries to stir up again the imperial faction in Rome. He cut off all communication with Rome; even ecclesiastics proceeding on their business to the Pope were robbed. Vain were the most earnest appeals to his gratitude, even the most earnest expostulations, the most awful admonitions, excommunication itself. Otho had learned that, when on his own side, Papal censures, Papal interdicts might be defied with impunity.

After all his labours, after all his hazards, after all his sacrifices, after all his perils, even his humiliations, Innocent had raised up to himself a more formidable antagonist, a more bitter foe than even the proudest and most ambitious of the Hohenstaufen. Otho openly laid claim to the kingdom of Apulia; master of Tuscany and Romagna, at peace with the Lombard League, he seized Orvieto, Perugia. He prepared, he actually commenced a war for the subjugation of Naples. The galleys of Pisa and Genoa were at his command; Diephold and others of the old German warriors, settled in the kingdom of Apulia, entered into his alliance.

His successes in the kingdom of Naples but inflamed his ambition; he would now add Sicily to his dominions, and expel the young Frederick, the last of the house of

^c Otho's acts are dated in almost every great city in Italy—Florence, Lucca, Milan, Pavia, Lodi, Brescia, Vercelli, Piacenza, Modena, Todi, Reate, Sora, Pisa, Terni, Ravenna, Ferrara, Parma, Capua, Aversa, Veroli. Bologna.

Hohenstaufen. It might seem almost in despair that Innocent at length, on Holy Thursday,^d uttered the solemn excommunication: he commanded the Patriarchs of Grado and Aquileia, the Archbishops of Ravenna, Milan, and Genoa, and all the Bishops of Italy to publish the ban. Otho treated this last act of sovereign spiritual authority with utter indifference. Every thing seemed to menace Innocent, and even the Papal power itself. In Rome insurrection seemed brooding for an outbreak; while Innocent himself was preaching on a high festival, John Capocio, one of his old adversaries, broke the respectful silence:—"Thy words are God's words, thy acts the acts of the devil!"

But Otho knew not how far reached the power of Innocent and of the Church. While Italy seemed to submit to his sway, his throne in Germany was crumbling into dust. For nearly three years, three years of unwonted peace, he had been absent from Germany. But he had left in Germany an unfavourable impression of his pride, and of his insatiable thirst for wealth and power. Siegfried Archbishop of Mentz, more grateful to the Pope than Otho for his firm protection in his days of weakness and disaster, accepted the legatine commission, and with the legatine commission, orders to publish the excommunication throughout Germany. The kindred, the friends of the Hohenstaufen, heard with joy that the Pope had been roused out of his infatuated attachment to their enemy; rumours were industriously spread abroad that Otho meditated a heavy taxation of the Empire, not except-

^d According to some accounts it was uttered, perhaps threatened, on the octave of St. Martin (Nov. 18, 1210.)—*Chronic. Ursberg. Ric. de San Germ.*

ing the lands of the monasteries; that as he had expressed himself contemptuously of the clergy, refusing them their haughty titles, he now proposed to enact sumptuary laws to limit their pomp. The archbishop was to travel but with twelve horses, the bishop with six, the abbot with three. By rapid degrees grew up a formidable confederacy, of which Innocent no doubt had instant intelligence, of which his influence was the secret moving power. Even in Italy there were some cities already in open hostility, in declared alliance with Innocent and Frederick. At Lodi Otho declared Genoa, Cremona, Ferrara, the Margrave Azzo under the ban of the Empire.^o At Nurem-
 berg met the Primate and the Archbishop of ^{Ascension} Treves venturing for once on a bold measure, the ^{Day.} Archbishop of Magdeburg, the Chancellor of the Empire, the Bishop of Spire, the Bishop of Basle, the Landgrave of Thuringia, the King of Bohemia, and all the other nobles attached to the house of Swabia. They inveighed against the pride of Otho, his ingratitude and hostility to the Pope; on the internal wars which again threatened the peace of Germany. The only remedy was his deposal, and the choice of another Emperor. That Emperor must be the young Frederick of Sicily, the heir of the great house, whom in evil hour they had dispossessed of the succession: to him they had sworn allegiance in his cradle, to the violation of that oath might be attributed much of the afflictions and disasters of the realm. Two brave and loyal Swabian knights, ^{A.D. 1211.} Anselm of Justingen and Henry of Niffen, were deputed and amply furnished with funds, to invite the young Frederick to resume his ancestral throne.

* Francisc. Pepin. Murat. ix. 640. Galvan. Flamma, xi. 664. Sicard Crem. vii. p. 813.

Anselm and his companions arrived at Rome. Innocent dissembled his joy; ^f he hesitated indeed to become a Ghibelline Pope; he could not but remember the ancient, rooted, inveterate oppugnancy of the house of Hohenstaufen to the See of Rome. But fear and resentment for the ingratitude of Otho prevailed; he might hope that Frederick would respect the guardianship of the Pope, guardianship which had exercised but questionable care over its ward. The Swabians passed on to Palermo; they communicated the message of the diet at Nuremberg; they laid the Empire before the feet of Frederick, now but seventeen years old. Frederick even at that age seemed to unite the romantic vivacity of the Italian, and the gallantry of his Norman race, with something of German intrepidity; he had all the accomplishments, and all the knowledge of the day; he spoke Latin, Italian, German, French, Greek, Arabic; he was a poet: how could he resist such an offer? There was the imperial crown to be won by bold adventure; revenge on Otho, who had threatened to invade his kingdom of Sicily; the restoration of his ancestral house to all its ancestral grandeur. The tender remonstrances of his wife, ^g who bore at this time his first-born son; the grave counsels of the Sicilian nobles, reluctant that Sicily should become a province of the Empire, who warned him against the perfidy of the Germans, the insecure fidelity of the Pope, were alike without effect. ^h He hastened to desert his sunny Palermo for cold Germany; to leave his gay

^f "Qui licet hoc bene vellet, tamen dissimulavit."—Rigord.

^g Frederick had been married at fifteen to Constantia, widow of K. Emeric of Hungary, daughter of Al-

fonso King of Arragon, in Aug. 1209. Henry VII. was born early in 1212.

^h Chron. Ursberg. Chron. Foca Nov. Murat. vii. 887.

court for a life of wild enterprise, and all which was so congenial to the natural impulses of his character, to war with his age, which he was already beyond. Ever after Frederick looked back upon his beloved Sicily with fond regret; there, whenever he could, he established his residence, it was his own native realm, the home of his affections, of his enjoyments.

The Emperor Otho heard of the proceedings in Germany; he hurried with all speed to repress the threatening revolt.¹ As he passed through Italy, he could not but remark the general estrangement; almost everywhere his reception was sullen, cold, compulsorily hospitable.^k The whole land was prepared to fall off. Appalling contrast to his triumphant journey but two or three years before! In Germany it was still more gloomy and threatening. He summoned a diet at Frankfort; eighty nobles of all orders assembled, one bishop, the Bishop of Halberstadt.^m Siegfried of Mentz, now Papal Legate, with Albert of Magdeburg, declared the Archbishop of Cologne, Dietrich of Heinsberg, deposed from his see under the pretext of his oppression of the clergy and the monks. Adolph, the former archbishop, the most powerful friend, the most traitorous enemy of Otho, appeared in the city, was welcomed with open arms by

March 4,
1212.

Feb. 27, 1211

¹ "Otho cum totam fere sibi Apuliam subjugasset, audito quod quidam Italiae principes ibi rebellaverant mandato apostolico, regnum festinus egreditur mense Novembris."—Ric. S. Germ. Chron. Foss. Nov. Francisc. Pepin.

^k "Gravis Italicis, Alemannis gravior, fines attingit Alemannia; a nullo uti principi occurritur, nulli gratus expicitur."—Otnrad de Fabaria, Cznon.

S. Galli, Pertz, xi. p. 170. The author, a monk of S. Gall, describes Frederick's subsequent reception at his monastery.

^m "Ubi octoginta principes ei occurrerunt *multum flenti* et de rege *Francie* conquerenti . . . Ubi curiæ archepiscopi et episcopi pauci interfuerunt, et quod de mandato domini Papæ eum excommunicatum denunciaverant."—Rem. Leod. apud Martene, v.

the clergy, and resumed the see, as he declared, with the sanction of the Pope. War, desolating lawless war, broke out again throughout Germany. The Duke of Brabant, on Otho's retreat, surprised Liège; plundered, massacred, respected not the churches; their altars

May 3. were stripped; their pavements ran with blood; a knight dressed himself in the bishop's robes and went through a profane mockery of ordination to some of his freebooting comrades. The bishop was compelled to take an oath of allegiance. He soon fled and pronounced an interdict against the Duke and his lands. The Pope absolved him from his oath.

Otho made a desperate attempt to propitiate the adherents of the house of Swabia. In Nordhausen he Aug. 7, 1212. celebrated with great pomp his nuptials with Beatrice the daughter of the Emperor Philip, to whom he had been long betrothed. This produced only more bitter hatred. Four days after the marriage Beatrice died. The darkest rumours spread abroad: she had been poisoned by the Italian mistresses of Otho.

Frederick in the mean time, almost without attendants, with nothing which could call itself an army, set off to win the imperial crown in Germany.

March, 1212. At Rome he was welcomed by the Pope, the Cardinals, and the senate. He received from Pope Innocent counsel, sanction, and some pecuniary aid for his enterprise. Four galleys of Genoa conveyed him

May 1 to July 9. with his retinue from Ostia to that city, placed under the ban of the Empire by Otho. Milan was faithful to her hatred of the Hohenstaufen;^a he

^a Compare letter of Innocent rebuking Milan for her attachment to Otho—"reprobo et ingrato, immo Deo et hominibus odioso, qui nunquam nisi mala pro bonis retribuit."—Epist. ii. 692 Oct. 21, 1212. There is a very

dared not venture into her territory; the passes of Savoy were closed against him; he stole from friendly Pavia to friendly Cremona. He arrived safe at the foot of the pass of Trent, but the descent into the Tyrol was guarded by Otho's partisans. He turned obliquely, by difficult, almost untrodden passes, and dropped down upon Coire. Throughout his wanderings the Archbishop of Bari was his faithful companion. Arnold, Bishop of Coire, in defiance of the hostile power of Como, which belonged to the league of Milan, welcomed him with loyal hospitality. The warlike Abbot of St. Gall had sworn, on private grounds, deep hatred to Otho: he received Frederick with open arms. At St. Gall he heard that Otho was hastening with his troops to occupy Constance. At the head of the knights, the liegemen of the Abbot of St. ^{August.} Gall, Frederick made a rapid descent, and reached Constance three hours before the forces of Otho. The wavering Bishop, Conrad of Tegernfeld, declared against the excommunicated Otho; Constance closed its gates against him. That rapid movement won Frederick the Empire. At Basle he was welcomed by the Bishop of Strasburg at the head of 1500 knights. All along the Rhine Germany declared for him; he had but to wait the dissolution of Otho's power; it crumbled away of itself. The primate Siegfried of Mentz, secured Mentz and Frankfort; even Leopold the deposed Bishop of Worms, the rival Archbishop of Mentz, the turbulent and faithful partisan of the house of Hohenstaufen, was permitted to resume his See of Worms.^o Frederick

curious account of the Lombard politics on this occasion in the *Chronicon Placentinum*, p. 37. Piacenza ever sided with Milan.

^o Leopold had been absolved before Philip's death, Nov. 1207. *Epist. Innocent.*, i. 731.

was chosen Emperor at Frankfort, and held his court
 Dec. 2. at Ratisbon. Otho retired to his patrimonial
 Feb. 2. domains in Saxony; he was still strong in
 the north of Germany; the south acknowledged Fre-
 derick. On the Lower Rhine were some hostilities, but
 between the rivals for the Empire there was no great
 battle. The cause of Frederick was won by Philip
 Augustus of France. Philip had welcomed, and had
 entered into a close alliance with Frederick.^p The
 King of England, the Count of Flanders, and the other
 Princes of the Lower Rhine arrayed themselves in
 league with Otho. The fatal battle of Bouvines
 May 27, 1214. broke almost the last hopes of Otho; he re-
 tired again to Brunswick; made one bold incursion,
 and with the aid of the Bishop Waldemar
 A.D. 1215. seized on Hamburg. But to his enemies
 was now added the King of Denmark. Again he re-
 treated to the home of his fathers, passed the last
 July 25. three years of life in works of piety and the
 May 19, 1217. foundation of religious houses. Long before
 his death Frederick had received the royal crown from
 the hands of Siegiried of Mentz at Aix-la-Chapelle.
 He was now undisputed King and Emperor, in amity
 with the Church; amity hereafter to give place to the
 most obstinate, most fatal strife, which had yet raged
 between the successor of St. Peter and the successor of
 the Cæsars.

^p Frederick had an interview with Louis, elder son of Philip, between
 Vaucouleurs and Tours, Nov. 1212.

CHAPTER IV.

Innocent and Philip Augustus of France.

THE kingdom of France under Philip Augustus almost began to be a monarchy. The crown had risen in strength and independence above the great vassals who had till now rivalled and controlled its authority. The Anglo-Norman dukedom, which, under Henry II., in the extent of its territory and revenues, its forces, its wealth, with his other vast French territories, had been at least equal to that of France, had gradually declined, and Philip Augustus, the most ambitious, unscrupulous, and able man who had wielded the sceptre of France, was continually watching the feuds in the royal family of England, of the sons of Henry against their father, in order to take every advantage, and extend his own dominions. With Philip Augustus Innocent was committed in strife on different grounds than in the conflict for the German empire. The Emperors and the Popes were involved in almost inevitable wars on account of temporal rights claimed and adhered to with obstinate perseverance, and on account of the authority and influence to be exercised by the Emperor over the hierarchy of the realm. The Kings of France were constantly laying themselves open to the aggressions of the Supreme Pontiff by the irregularity of their lives. The Pope with them assumed the high function of assertor of Christian morals and of the sanctity of the marriage tie, as the champion of injured and pitiable

women. To him all questions relating to matrimony belonged as arbiter in the last resort; he only could dissolve the holy sacrament of marriage; the Pope by declaring it indissoluble, claimed a right of enforcing its due observance. Pope Cœlestine had bequeathed to his successor the difficult affair of the marriage of Philip Augustus; an affair which gave to Innocent the power of dictating to that haughty sovereign.

Isabella of Hainault, the first wife of Philip Augustus, the mother of Louis VIII., had died before the king's departure for the Holy Land. Three years after his return he determined on a second marriage. Some connexion had sprung up between the kingdoms of Denmark and of France. Denmark was supposed to inherit from Canute the Great claims on the crown of England; claims which, however vague and obsolete, might be made use of on occasion to disturb the realm of his hated rival; his rival as possessing so large a part of France, his personal rival throughout the Crusades, Richard of England. Richard was now a prisoner in Germany; if Philip had no actual concern in his imprisonment, he was not inactive in impeding his liberation. Rumour spoke loudly of the gentle manners, the exquisite beauty, especially the long bright hair, of Ingeburga, the sister of the Danish king. Philip sent to demand her in marriage; it was said that he asked as her dowry the rights of Denmark to the throne of England, a fleet and an army to be at his disposal for a year. The prudent Canute of Denmark shrunk from a war with England, but proud of the royal connexion, consented to give the sum of 10,000 marks with his sister. Ingeburga arrived in France, Philip Augustus hastened to meet her at Amiens; that night, it was asserted by the queen but

strenuously denied by Philip, he consummated the marriage. The next morning, during the coronation, the king was seen to shudder and turn pale. It was soon known that he had conceived an unconquerable disgust towards his new queen. Every kind of rumour spread abroad. He was supposed to have found some loathsome personal defect, or to have suspected her purity; some spoke of witchcraft, others of diabolic influence.^a He proposed to send her back at once to Denmark; her attendants refused the disgraceful office of accompanying her, shamed and repudiated, to her brother. Ingeburga remained in France, or in the neighbouring Flanders; while the king sought means for the dissolution of this inauspicious marriage. Some of his courtiers, as might be expected, urged him to indulge his will at all hazards; others, the more sober, to struggle against his aversion. He is said a second time to have entered her chamber;^b by her account to have exercised the rights of a husband, but this he again denied. Her ignorance of the language, and her awkward manners, strengthened his repugnance. The only means of dissolving the sacrament of marriage was to prove its invalidity. The Church had so extended the prohibited degrees of wedlock that it was not difficult by ascending and descending the different lines to bring any two persons of the royal houses within some relationship. A genealogy was soon framed by which Philip and his queen were brought within these degrees.^c The obsequious clergy of France, with the Archbishop of Rheims at their head, pronounced at

Marriage of
Philip with
Ingeburga.

^a *Gesta*, ch. xlvi. "suggerente diabolo." Such is the cause assigned by the ecclesiastical writers.

^b "Asserebat autem Regina quod Rex

eam carnaliter cognoverat; Rex vero a continuo affirmabat quod ei non potuerat carnaliter commiscere."—*Gesta*, ibid.

^c *Gesta*, ibid.

once the avoidance of the marriage. The humiliating tidings were brought to Ingeburga; she understood but imperfectly, and could scarcely speak a word of French.

She cried out — “wicked, wicked France! Rome, Rome!” She refused to return to Denmark: she was shut up in the convent of Beaufort, where her profound piety still further awoke compassion, especially among the clergy.^d Philip Augustus affected to disdain, but used every violent measure to impede, her appeal to Rome.

Philip’s violent passions did not rest in the dissolution of the marriage with Ingeburga; he sought to fill her place. Yet three nobly born maidens refused the hand of the King of France, either doubting the legality of any marriage with him, or disdaining to expose themselves to his capricious rejection; among them was the daughter of Herman of Thuringia, Otho’s most powerful adherent in his conflict for the empire. At length,

Agnes of Meran. Agnes, the beautiful daughter of Bertholdt, Duke of Meran, a partisan of Philip, hazarded the dangerous step. The passion of Philip for Agnes was as intense as his hatred of Ingeburga: towards her his settled aversion became cruel persecution. She was dragged about from convent to convent, from castle to castle, to compel her to abandon her pertinacious appeal to Rome. Agnes of Meran, by her fascinating manners, no less than by her exquisite beauty, won the

^d Stephen of Tournay wrote in her behalf to the Cardinal Archbishop of Rheims. His Scriptural and classical knowledge is exhausted in finding examples for her wisdom and beauty. “Pulcra facie, sed pulchrior fide, annis juvenula sed animo cana; pene dixerim Sarrâ maturior, Rachele gratior,

Annâ devotior, Susannâ castior.” He adds, “non deformior Helenâ, non abjectior Polyxenâ.” She never sate, but always stood or knelt in her oratory. “If the Ahasuerus of France would but rightly acquaint himself with her, she would be his Esther.”—Apud Baluz. Miscell. lib. i. p. 420.

hearts of the gallant chivalry of France, as well as of their impetuous King. She rode gracefully, she mingled in all the sports and amusements of the court, even in the chase; the severe clergy were almost softened by her prevailing charms. The King of Denmark pressed the cause of his injured sister before Pope Cœlestine. The Pontiff sent a Legate to France.^e The King haughtily declared that it was no business of the Pope's. The clergy of France were cold and silent, not inclined to offend their violent sovereign. Cœlestine himself wanted courage to provoke the resentment of a monarch so powerful and so unscrupulous. So stood affairs at the death of Cœlestine.

Almost the first act of Innocent after his accession was a letter to the Bishop of Paris, in which, after enlarging on the sanctity of marriage, he expresses his profound sorrow that his beloved son Philip, whom he intended to honour with the highest privileges, had put away and confined in a cloister his lawful wife, endangering thereby his fame and salvation. The King is to be warned, that if his only son should die, as he cannot have legitimate offspring by her whom he has superinduced, his kingdom would pass to strangers. Innocent attributes to this crime of the King a famine which was affecting France; he expresses his reluctance, at the same time his determination, to take stronger measures in case of the contumacy of the King.^f How far the Bishop of Paris fulfilled the

Sept. 1198.

* To the same year, probably before the marriage to Agnes, belongs the letter of Ingeburga (apud Baluzium, *Miscell.* iii. 21). In this she asserts that three years before the date she had been married to Philip Augustus; that he had exercised the rights of a

husband; that she was now a prisoner in a lonely castle; that the king despised the letters of his holiness, refused to hear the cardinals, and disregarded the admonitions of his prelates and religious men.

^f *Epist.* 1, cccxlv., to the archbishops

Pope's commands is unknown. Before the close of the year the Pope sent as his Legate to France, Peter of Capua, Cardinal of St. Maria in Viâ Latâ, afterwards known as the Cardinal of St. Marcellus. The legate's commission contained three special charges, each of which might seem highly becoming the head of Christendom.^g I. To establish peace between the Kings of France and England. II. To preach a new crusade. III. To compel the King to receive his unjustly discarded wife. Innocent, in his letter to the King, is silent as to the marriage; his tone is peremptory, commanding not persuading peace. If Philip Augustus does not *humbly* submit to the monition of the legate within a prescribed time, the realm is to be placed under an interdict—an interdict which will suspend all sacred offices, except the baptism of infants, and the absolution of the dying. Any clerk who shall presume to violate the interdict is to be amerced by the loss of his benefices and his order. The hatred of Philip Augustus and of Richard was deep, inveterate, and aggravated by the suspicion, if not the certainty on the part of Richard, that his rival of France was not unconcerned in his long imprisonment. But at this juncture peace was convenient to Philip; he accepted the Papal mediation. Richard was more refractory; but even Richard, embarrassed with the payment of his ransom, involved in the doubtful affairs of Flanders, eager for the cause of Otho in Germany, was disposed to bow before the menace of a Papal interdict, or to conciliate the favour of Innocent.^h A truce was agreed upon for

&c., of France to receive the Legate; cclv. to the King of France. As Christ's Vicegerent the Pope is bound to enforce peace; his argument for

peace in Europe is, that war may be more actively carried on in the Holy Land. § Epist. i. 4.

^h Epist. ii. xxiii. *et seqq.*

five years; the Legate was to watch, and visit with spiritual penalties the violation of the truce. The Crusade was preached with some success. The Counts Theobald of Troyes, Louis of Blois, Baldwin of Hainault, the Count of St. Pol, the Bishops of Troyes and of Soissons, and one or two Cistercian abbots obeyed the summons, and took up the Cross.

But to the command to receive again the hated Ingeburga, and to dismiss the beloved Agnes of Meran, Philip Augustus turned a deaf and contemptuous ear. The Cardinal dared not any longer delay to execute the peremptory mandate of the Pope. This mandate, brief and imperious, allowed some discretion as to the time, none as to the manner of enforcing obedience. "If within one month after your communication the King of France does not receive his queen with conjugal affection, and does not treat her with due honour, you shall subject his whole realm to an interdict: an interdict with all its awful consequences." Twice before, for causes relating to marriage, Kings of France had been under the Papal censure; but excommunication smote only the persons of Robert I. and his Queen Bertha; that against Philip I. and Beltrada laid under interdict any city or place inhabited by the guilty couple.¹ Papal thunders had grown in terror and in power; they now struck kingdoms. The Legate summoned a council at Dijon. There appeared the Archbishops of Rheims, of Lyons, of Besançon, of Vienne, eighteen bishops, with many abbots, and high dignitaries of the Church. Two presumptuous ecclesiastics, who had been sent to cite the King, were turned ignominiously out of doors; mes-

Peace
between
England
and France.

Interdict.

Dec. 6, 1199.

¹ Sismondi, iv 121. See back, iv. p. 166

sengers however appeared from the King, protesting in his name against all further proceedings, and appealing to the Pope. The orders to the Legate were express to admit no appeal. On the seventh night of the council was pronounced the interdict with all its appalling circumstances. At midnight, each priest holding a torch, were chanted the Miserere and the prayers for the dead, the last prayers which were to be uttered by the clergy of France during the interdict. The cross on which the Saviour hung was veiled with black crape; the reliques replaced within the tombs; the Host was consumed. The Cardinal in his mourning stole of violet pronounced the territories of the King of France under the ban. All religious offices from that time ceased; there was no access to heaven by prayer or offering. The sobs of the aged, of the women and children, alone broke the silence. The interdict was pronounced at Dijon; some short delay was allowed before it was publicly promulgated in the presence of the clergy at Vienne. So for the injustice of the king towards his queen the whole kingdom of France, thousands of immortal souls were cut off from those means of grace, which if not absolutely necessary (the scanty mercy of the Church allowed the baptism of infants, the extreme unction to the dying), were so powerfully conducive to eternal salvation. An interdict was not like a war, in which the subjects suffer for the iniquities, perhaps the crimes, of their kings. These are his acts as a monarch, representing at least in theory the national will. The interdict was for the sin of the man, the private individual sin. For that sin a whole nation at least thought itself in danger of eternal damnation.

“O how horrible, how pitiable a spectacle it was (so writes one who had seen and shuddered at the workings

of an interdict) in all our cities! To see the doors of the churches watched, and Christians driven away from them like dogs; all divine offices ceased; the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord was not offered; no gathering together of the people as wont at the festivals of the saints: the bodies of the dead not admitted to Christian burial, but their stench infected the air, and the loathsome sight of them appalled the living; only extreme unction and baptism were allowed. There was a deep sadness over the whole realm, while the organs and the voices of those who chanted God's praises were everywhere mute."¹

Of the clergy of France, some in servile, or in awe-struck obedience, at once suspended all the offices of the Church. The Bishops of Paris (the Archiepiscopate of Sens was vacant), of Senlis, Soissons, Amiens, Arras, the Canons of Sens, being more immediately under royal jurisdiction, ventured on timorous representations. "The people were in a state of pious insurrection. They had assembled round the churches, and forced the doors; it was impossible to repress their determination not to be deprived of their services, their tutelary saints, their festivals. The King threatened the clergy with the last extremities." Innocent rejected their frivolous excuses, which betrayed their weak faith; the Church must no longer labour under this grievous scandal; all who had not fulfilled the Papal mandate before Holy Thursday were to answer for it at Rome. But some sense of national independence, some compassion for their people, some fear of the King, induced others to delay at least the full obedience, the Archbishop of Rheims, the Bishops of Laon, Noyon, Auxerre, Beauvais,

¹ Radulph. Coggeshal. Chron. Anglic. apud Martene, v.

Boulogne, Chartres, Orleans. The Bishop of Auxerre was the boldest, he aspired through the King to the vacant archbishopric of Sens!^k

Philip Augustus was not of a spirit to brook these encroachments; and his haughty temper was inflamed by his passion for Agnes of Meran. He broke out into paroxysms of fury. "By the sword joyeuse of Charlemagne" (we recognise the language of the Romances of the Trouvères), "Bishop," so he addressed the Bishop of Paris, "provoke not my wrath. You prelates, provided you eat up your vast revenues, and drink the wines of your vineyards, trouble yourselves little about the poor people. Take care that I do not mar your feasting, and seize your estates."^m He swore that he had rather lose half his dominions than

^k Gesta, 56.

^m Gesta, Chronique de St. Denis.

Among the most curious illustrations of the age is a poem, written by Giles Corbeil, physician of Philip Augustus, of 5925 hexameter lines. Corbeil was before known by poems on subjects relating to his profession. This new poem has but recently come to light; it was written probably under Honorius III. about 1219, but refers to the times of Innocent. It is a furious satire against the pride, luxury, and irreligiosity of the French hierarchy. The Legate under Innocent, Cardinal Gualo of Vercelli, is not spared:—

"Guttore pomposo tumido Galone relicto,
Qui Gallicanum, Crasso felicior, aurum
Sorbuat, argento mensas spoliavit, et
omnes
Divitias rapuit, harpye more rapacis;
Qui culicem colando volens glutire camelum,
Imposuit collis onus importabile nostris,
Tollere cum non posset idem, digitoque
movere;

Qui tantis iterum laqueis moderamine
nullo
Strinxit et arctavit, cœtus prohibendo
solutos,
Quod sacra conjugii plerique refragula
frangunt
Per fas atque nefas, sine lege vel ordine
currunt,
Atque vias veteres recolunt, dudumque
sepultos
Enormes renovant an: tiqui temporis actus.
Et pejus faciunt, pravusque repullulat
error.
Quæ quamvis prohibenda forent, quia
talia prorsus
Mactat et elidit divini regula juris.
Ipsa tamen, posito cunctis moderamine
rebus,
Simplicibus verbis, hortatibus atque modestis
Extirpari debuerant. anathemate
dempto."

In the account of this poem, by M. V. Le Clerc, in the xx. tome of the Hist. Littéraire de la France, will be found ample illustrations of this speech of Philip Augustus; on the dress, the table, the habits and manners of the hierarchy. The poem is called "Gera Pigna, *Ἱερα πικρα*," p. 337, et seqq.

part from Agnes of Meran, who was flesh of his flesh. He expelled many of the ecclesiastics, who dared to obey the Pope, from their benefices, and escheated all their property. The King's officers broke into the palace of the Bishop of Senlis, carried off his horses, habiliments, and plate. Ingeburga was seized, dragged from her cloister, and imprisoned in the strong castle of Etampes.ⁿ But the people, oppressed by the heavy exactions of Philip Augustus, loved him not; their affections, as well as their religious feelings, were with the clergy. The barons and high vassals threatened: they actually began to rise up in arms. Innocent might seem to have acted with sagacious policy, and to have taken the wise course to humiliate the King of France. With strange mercy, while he smote the innocent subjects of Philip, the more awful sentence of personal excommunication was still suspended over the King's head and that of Agnes of Meran; it was reserved for a last, a more crushing blow, but one perhaps which might have led to perilous consequences. He had even (he boasts of his lenity) spared the uncle of the King, the Archbishop of Rheims, who had dared to pronounce the dissolution of the marriage.^o

Philip, alarmed at the mutinous movements among the people, at length sent certain ecclesiastics and knights to Rome, to complain of the harsh proceedings of the Legate; to declare himself ready to give sureties that he would abide by the sentence of the Pope. "What sentence?" sternly exclaimed the Pope, "that which has been already delivered, or that which is to be delivered? He knows our decree: let him put away

ⁿ Addition à la Chronique de St. Denis. | ferendam duxerimus, sed terram tan-

^o "Nec in personam subintroductæ, | tum post frequentes commotiones
vel tuam sententiam aliquam pro- | subjecimus interdicto."—Epist. v. 50

his concubine, receive his lawful wife, reinstate the bishops whom he has expelled, and give them satisfaction for their losses; then will we raise the interdict, receive his sureties, examine into the alleged relationship, and pronounce our decree." The answer went to the heart of Agnes of Meran; it drove the King to fury. "I will turn Mohammedan! happy Saladin, he has no Pope above him!" But without the support of the princes and prelates of the realm even the haughty Philip Augustus must bow. He summoned a parliament at Paris; it was attended by all the great vassals of the crown. Agnes appeared in her beauty, as when she had distributed the prizes of valour at Compiègne; in her sadness (says a chronicler of the day),^p like the widow of Hector before the Greeks (she was far gone with child). The barons sate mute, not a sword flashed from its scabbard. "What is to be done?" demanded the King. "Obey the Pope, dismiss Agnes, receive back Ingeburga." So appalled were the nobles of France by the Papal interdict. The King turned bitterly to the Archbishop of Rheims, and demanded whether the Pope had declared his dissolution of the marriage a mockery. The prelate denied it not. "What a fool wert thou, then, to utter such a sentence!" The King sent a new embassy to Rome. Agnes of Meran addressed a touching epistle to the Pope. "She, a stranger, the daughter of a Christian prince, had been married, young and ignorant of the world, to the King, in the face of God and of the Church; she had borne him two children. She cared not for the crown, it was

^p Gul. Brito. I have consulted Capefigue's Philippe Auguste, but with the care with which it is necessary to read that rapid but inexact writer.

This, however, was his first and best work. There are some important letters on the subject in Langebek, Rerum Danicarum Scriptores.

on her husband that she had set her love. Sever me not from him." The inflexible Pope deigned no reply. Innocent sent the Cardinal of Ostia, a kinsman of the King of France, one of his most trusted counsellors, in compliance with the King's suppliant request, as the Legate to France. His instructions were full and explicit: he was to demand complete satisfaction for the dispossessed clergy, the banishment of the concubine ("the German adulteress" she is called by some of the coarser writers), not only from the palace but from the realm; the public reception of Ingeburga; an oath and sureties to abide by the sentence of the Church. The Cardinals (Octavian of Ostia was accompanied by John of Colonna) were received in France in a kind of trembling yet undisguised triumph; they came to deliver the land from its curse. At Vezelay they were met by the great prelates and clergy of the realm; the King received them at Sens with the utmost respect; he promised satisfaction to the Churchmen, was reconciled to the Bishops of Paris and Soissons. To the King's castle of St. Leger came the cardinals, the prelates; and in their train Ingeburga. The people thronged round the gates: but the near approach of Ingeburga seemed to rouse again all the King's insuperable aversion.⁹ The Cardinals demanded that the scene of reconciliation should be public; the negotiation was almost broken off; the people were in wild despair. At last the King seemed to master himself for a strong effort. With the Legates and some of the churchmen he visited her in her chamber. The workings of his countenance betrayed the struggle within: "The Pope does me violence," he said. "His Holiness requires but justice,"

⁹ Epist. iii. 140. Apud du Theil.

answered Ingeburga. She was led forth, presented to the Council in royal apparel; a faithful knight of the King came forward, and swore that the King would receive and honour her as Queen of France. At that instant the clanging of the bells proclaimed the raising of the interdict. The curtains were withdrawn from the images, from the crucifixes; the doors of the churches flew open, the multitude streamed in to satiate their pious desires, which had been suppressed for seven months. The news spread throughout France; it reached Dijon in six days, where the edict first proclaimed was abrogated in form. Nothing, however, could induce Philip Augustus to live with Ingeburga as his wife. He severed himself from Agnes of Meran, now a third time about to become a mother. It is said that at their parting interview their passionate kisses, sobs, and mutual protestations were heard. Her pregnancy was so far advanced that she could not leave the kingdom; she retired to a castle in Normandy; the serfs were said to see her pale form wandering, with wild gestures and dishevelled hair, upon the battlements. She brought forth a son in sorrow; he received the fitting name of Tristan.

The Legates appointed a Council for the solemn adjudication of the cause. It was to meet at Soissons at a time fancifully fixed at six months, six days, and six hours from the date of the summons. The King of Denmark and the Archbishop of Lund were cited to the support of the cause of the Danish princess. But in the mean time, with all outward show of honour, Ingeburga was but a more stately prisoner. She complained to the Pope of the favour shown by the Legate to the King: Octavian had been flattered and softened by the recognition of his relationship to Philip. Inno-

cent himself addressed the cardinals in language, which delicately suggested his dissatisfaction. If the Pope was not yet content with his victory over the King, the prelates, and clergy, who had refused instantaneous and complete obedience to the interdict, must be punished with the most abject humiliation. The Archbishop of Rheims, the Bishops of Chartres, Orléans, Melun, Noyon, Beauvais, and Auxerre were compelled to appear at Rome (the aged and the infirm were alone permitted to appear by their proctors) to express their contrition and obtain absolution at the feet of the Pontiff. The Pope prohibited the promotion of Hugo, the refractory Bishop of Auxerre, to the Archbishopric of Sens.^r

The Council of Soissons met at the appointed time in great pomp. The Cardinal Octavian presided Council of Soissons. Mar. 2, 1201. at first, without awaiting the arrival of the Cardinal of St. Paul. The King entered the city on one side; Ingeburga took up her dwelling in the convent of Notre Dame. She was received with the honours of a Queen. On the side of the King appeared a great number of learned lawyers, who pleaded at considerable length the nullity of the marriage; the Archbishop of Lund and the Danish ambassadors declared that they were present when the messengers of Philip demanded Ingeburga in marriage; having sworn in his name that he would marry her and crown her as soon as she entered his realm. They produced the oath. "We arraign you, King of France! therefore, of perjury, of breach of faith; we appeal from the Lord Octavian, your kinsman, in whom we have no trust, to the Pope." Octavian requested them to await the arrival of the

^r Gesta, lrii.

Cardinal of St. Paul. "We have appealed to the Pope," they said, and departed. But on the arrival of the Cardinal John the cause went on. Ten bishops and several abbots pleaded for Ingeburga. But an unknown champion appeared in the lists,^s and bore away the prize in defence of the injured beauty, Agnes of Meran. He was an ecclesiastic of unpretending demeanour, but such was the perspicuity, the learning, and the fervour of his speech, that the assembly sate in wonder. He disappeared at the end. So ran the legend of this unknown priest, who came to the rescue of the Queen of France. But there seemed no end to the inexhaustible arguments—they had sat fourteen days; the cardinals, the audience showed signs of impatience: they were strangely and suddenly released. One morning the King rode up to the Council; he declared that he would receive and live with Ingeburga as his wife. At once she was mounted behind him; and the King rode off with his hated spouse through the wondering streets, without bidding farewell to the perplexed cardinals. The Council was at an end. The Cardinal John returned to Rome. The Cardinal Octavian remained in France.

The motive of this extraordinary act of Philip Augustus was unknown in his own days. But in all probability he was informed that his beloved Agnes of Meran was, if not actually dying, not likely to live. Some superstitious fears arising from her death, some remorse which might awaken in the hour of affliction, some desire to propitiate the Church towards the object of his love, and to procure availing prayers for her salvation; above all, that which lay nearest to his heart, and was the object which he pressed most earnestly soon after

* Roger Hoveden.

her death, the legitimation by the Pope of the children which she had borne him, may have determined the impetuous monarch to this sudden change, if not of feeling, of conduct. To the legitimation of his sons the Pope consented. But whatever his motive, Philip could not, or would not conquer his inconceivable aversion to the person of Ingeburga. To the Pope he declared repeatedly that nothing but witchcraft could be the cause.[†] The Pope, in language somewhat remarkable, urged the King to prepare himself by prayer, by alms, and by the sacrament, in order to dissolve the spell.[‡] But in a more dignified letter, he enjoins him at least to treat her with the respect due to the descendant of kings, to the sister of a king, the wife of a king, the daughter of a king. Philip Augustus obeyed not; he eluded even this command. Ingeburga was led from castle to castle, from cloister to cloister; she was even deprived of the offices of religion, her only consolation; her bitter complaints still reached Rome; still new remonstrances were made by Innocent; till her voice seems to have been drowned in the wars of France and England, of Philip Augustus and John; and Innocent in his new function of mediator between or rather dictator to these rival monarchs, seemed to forget the neglected and persecuted Queen. Many years after Philip is said to have made her his Queen in all outward honours, but even then she was not his wife.^x

[†] See in the Grande Chronique what the monks made of this. "Un vieux clerc" (how came he there?) "avait vu le diable tout rouge . . . folâtrant

sur les genoux de la reyne, faisant postures et mines horribles."

[‡] Epist. x. 176.

^x Grandes Chroniques, sub ann. 1213.

CHAPTER V.

Innocent and England.

INNOCENT had humbled the ablest and most arbitrary King who had ruled in France since the days of Charlemagne; Philip Augustus had been reduced to elude and baffle by sullen and artful obstinacy the adversary whom he could not openly confront.* But beyond the general impression thus made of the awfulness of the Papal power, the contest with Philip led to no great results either in the history of France or of the Church. In England, the strife of Innocent, first with King John, afterwards with the barons and churchmen of England, had almost immediate bearings on the establishment of the free institutions of England. During the reign of John, disastrous, humiliating to the King and to the nation, were laid the deep foundations of the English character, the English liberties, and the English greatness; and to this reign, from the attempt to degrade the kingdom to a fief of the Roman See, may be traced the first signs of that independence, that jealousy of the Papal usurpations, which led eventually to the Reformation.

On the accession of Innocent, so long as Richard
 Richard I. lived, England was in close alliance with the
 Apostolic See. Richard was the great supporter of the Papal claimant of the Empire. At his

* Innocent consented to the legitimization of Philip's sons by Agnes of Meran Nov. 2.

desire Innocent demanded of Philip, whom he still called Duke of Swabia, as having succeeded to his brother's, the Emperor Henry's, patrimonial domains and treasures, the restitution of the large ransom extorted from Richard. Philip was bound to this act of honour and justice.^b The Duke of Austria was also threatened with excommunication, if he did not in like manner, for the welfare of his father's soul, who had taken an oath to make restitution, refund his share of the ransom money. The language of Innocent, when he assumes the mediation between France and England, though impartially lofty and dictatorial to both, betrays a manifest inclination towards England. The long account of insults, injuries, mutual aggressions, which had accumulated during the Crusade, on the way to the Holy Land, in the Holy Land, seems to perplex his judgement. But in France Philip Augustus is condemned as the aggressor; and peremptorily ordered to restore certain castles claimed by Richard.^c But Richard fell before the castle of a contumacious vassal.^d His brother John, by the last testament of Richard, by the free acclamation of the realms of England and of Normandy, succeeded to the throne. The Pope could not be expected, unsummoned, to espouse the claims of Arthur of Bretagne, the son of John's elder brother; for neither did Arthur nor his mother Constance appeal to the Papal See as the fountain of justice, as the protector of wronged and despoiled princes; and in most of the Teutonic nations so much of the elective spirit and form remained, that the line of direct hereditary succession was not recognised either by strict law or invariable usage. That the cause of Arthur was taken up by

^b Epist. i. 242.^c Epist. i. 230.^d Richard died April 6, 1199.

Philip of France, then under interdict, or at least threatened with interdict, was of itself fatal to his pretensions at Rome. But neither towards King John, in whom he hoped to find a faithful ally and a steady partisan of his Emperor Otho, does Innocent arm himself with that moral dignity which will not brook the violation of the holy Sacrament of Marriage: the dissolution of an inconvenient tie, which is denied to Philip Augustus, is easily accorded, or at least not imperiously, or inexorably denied, to John. There was a singular resemblance in the treatment of their wives by these sovereigns; except that in one respect, the moral delinquency of John was far more flagrant; on the other hand, his wife acquiesced in the loss of her royal husband with much greater facility than the Danish princess repudiated by Philip of France. John had been married for twelve years to the daughter of the Earl of Gloucester; an advantageous match for a younger prince of England. On the throne, John aspired to a higher, a royal connexion. He sought a dissolution of his marriage on the plea of almost as remote affinity. The Archbishop of Bordeaux was as obsequious to John as the Archbishop of Rheims had been to Philip Augustus. Negotiations had been concluded for an alliance with a daughter of the King of Portugal, when John suddenly became enamoured of Isabella, the betrothed wife of the Count de la Marche. Isabella was dazzled by the throne; fled with John, and was married to him. Such an outrage on a great vassal was a violation of the first principle of feudalism; from that day the Barons of Touraine, Maine, and Anjou held themselves absolved from their fealty to John. But although this flagrant wrong, and even the sin of adultery, is added to the repudiation of his lawful wife,

John's divorce and marriage.

no interdict, no censure is uttered from Rome either against the King or the Archbishop of Bordeaux. The Pope, whose horror of such unlawful connexions is now singularly quiescent, confirms the dissolution of the marriage, against which, it is true, the easy Havoise enters no protest, makes no appeal;^e for John, till bought over with the abandonment of Arthur's claim to the throne by the treacherous Philip Augustus, is still the supporter of Otho: he is the ally of the Pope, for he is the ally of the Papal Emperor.

Philip, embarrassed by his quarrel with the Pope, and the wavering loyalty of his own great vassals, who had quailed under the interdict, though he never lost sight of the great object of his ambition, the weakening the power of England in her Continental dominions and her eventual expulsion, at first asserted but feebly the rights of Arthur to the throne; he deserted him on the earliest prospect of advantage. In the treaty confirmed by the marriage of Louis, the son of Philip, with John's kinswoman, Blanche of Castile, Philip abandoned the claims of Arthur to all but the province of Bretagne; John covenanted to give no further aid in troops or money to Otho of Brunswick in his strife for the Empire.^f

But the terrors of the interdict had passed away. Philip Augustus felt his strength: the Barons of Anjou, Touraine, Poitou, Maine, were eager to avenge the in-

* Epist. v. 19, contains a sort of reproof to John for his propensity to the sins of the flesh, and gently urges repentance; but to the divorce I see no allusion, as Dr. Pauli seems, after Hurter, to do.—Geschichte Englands, p. 304.

Bishop of Ostia, to break the dangerous alliance growing up between the kings of France and England.—Epist. i. 697, and letter to John, urging the support of Otho by money ibid. and i. 714-720. Innocent declared John's oath null and void.

^f See instructions to the Legate, the

dignity offered to Hugh de la Marche. De la Marche appealed to his sovereign liege lord the King of France for redress. Philip summoned John to do homage for Aquitaine; to answer in his courts of Paris for the wrong done to De la Marche. Nor did John (so complete was the theory of feudal subordination) decline the summons. He promised to appear; two of his castles were pledged as surety that he would give full satisfaction in the plenary court of his sovereign. But John appeared not; his castles refused to surrender; Philip renewed his alliance with Arthur of Bretagne, asserted his claim to all the continental possessions of the King of England, contracted Arthur in marriage with his own daughter, as yet but of tender age. The capture, the imprisonment, the death of Arthur, raised a feeling of deep horror against John, whom few doubted to have been the murderer of his nephew.^g Philip of France now appeared in arms under the specious title, not only of a sovereign proceeding against a wrong-doing and contumacious vassal, but as the avenger of a murder perpetrated on his nephew, it was said by some by the hand of John himself.^h John had been summoned, at the accusation of the Bishop of Rennes, to answer for this crime before the Peers of France at Paris. Again John appeared not; the Court delivered its sentence, finding John Duke of Normandy guilty of

^g Wendover at first merely says, "non multo post subito evanuit." "Utinam," adds Matt. Paris, "non ut fama refert invida." Radulph de Coggeshal is bolder (he wrote in France). From his relation, through Holinshed, Shakespeare drew his exquisitely pathetic scene.

^h "Adeo quidem ut rex Johannes suspectus habebatur ab omnibus, quasi illum manu propria peremisset, unde multi animos avertebant a rege semper deinceps, ut ausi sunt, nigerrimo ipsum odio perstrinxerunt."—Wendover (ed. Coxe), p. 171.

felony and treason for the murder of the son of his elder brother, a vassal of France, within the realm of France. John had thereby violated his oath of fealty to the King of France, and all the fiefs which he held by that homage were declared forfeited to the Crown. Philip broke into Normandy, and laid siege to Château Gaillard, the key of the province. John, at Rouen, as though to drown his fears or his remorse, indulged, in the society of his young bride, in the most careless and prodigal gaiety, amusement, and debauchery; affected to despise the force of Philip, and boasted that he would win back in a day all that Philip would conquer in a year. But at the approach of Philip, even before the fall of Château Gaillard, he fled to England. He appealed to the Pope; he demanded that ecclesiastical censures should be visited on the perjured Philip Augustus, who had broken his oaths to maintain peace. At the commencement of the war Innocent had instructed the Abbot of Casamaggiore to command the adverse monarchs to make peace. “It was his duty to preach peace. How would the Saracens rejoice at the war of two such kings! He would not have the blood which might be shed laid to his account.” Philip Augustus, at a full assembly of Barons at Nantes, coldly and haughtily replied, that the Pope had no business to interfere between him and his vassal. But he avoided, either from prudence or respect, the reproach that the head of Christendom was standing forward as the protector of a murderer. The reply of Innocent from Anagni was the boldest and fullest declaration of unlimited power which had yet been made by Pope. He was astonished at the language of the King of France, who presumed to limit the power in spiritual things con-

Dec. 6.

High language of Innocent.

ferred by the Son of God on the Apostolic See, which was so great that it could admit no enlargement.¹

A.D. 1203.

“Every son of the Church is bound, in case his brother trespasses against him, to hear the Church. Thy brother the King of England has accused thee of trespass against him ; he has admonished thee ; he has called many of his great Barons to witness of his wrongs : he has in the last resort appealed to the Church. We have endeavoured to treat you with fatherly love, not with judicial severity ; urged you, if not to peace, to a truce. If you will not hear the Church, must you not be held by the Church as a heathen and a publican ? Can I be silent ? No. I command you now to hear my legates, the Archbishop of Bourges and the Abbot of Casamaggiore, who are empowered to investigate, to decide the cause. We enter not into the question of the feudal rights of the King of France over his vassal, but we condemn thy trespass—thy sin—which is unquestionably within our jurisdiction. The Decretals, the law of the Empire, declare that if throughout Christendom one of two litigant parties appeals to the Pope, the other is bound to abide by the award. The King of France is accused of perjury in violating the existing treaty, to which both have sworn, and perjury is a crime so clearly amenable to the ecclesiastical courts, that we cannot refuse to take cognisance of it before our tribunal.” But Philip was too far advanced in his career of conquest to be arrested by such remonstrances ; nor did the Pope venture on more vigorous interference ; there was no further menace of interdict or excommunication. John, indeed, as the sagacious Innocent may

Loss of
Normandy.
A.D. 1203.

have perceived, was lost without recovery—lost by his own weakness, insolence, and unpopularity. His whole Continental possessions were in revolt or conquered by Philip; a great force raised in England refused to embark. He tried one campaign in Aquitaine: some successes, some devastations, were followed by a disgraceful peace, in which Philip Augustus, July 9, 1206. having nearly accomplished his vast object, the consolidation of the realm in one great monarchy, condescended to accept the Papal mediation. From that time the King of England ceased to be the King of half France.

Normandy was not yet lost, peace not yet re-established with Philip Augustus, when John was A.D. 1205. involved in a fierce contention with his ally, Quarrel with the Pope about Arch- bishopric of Canter- bury. Pope Innocent. It arose out of the death of Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury. Who should fill the throne of Thomas à Becket—who hold the primacy of England? The question of investitures had hardly reached England, or had died away since the days of Anselm. The right of nominating to the bishoprics remained nominally in the chapters; but as the royal licence was necessary before they could proceed to the election, and the royal approval before the consecration and the possession of the temporalities, the Kings had exercised controlling power, at least over all the greater sees. The Norman kings and the Plantagenets had still filled all the great benefices with Norman prelates, or prelates approved by the Court. Becket himself was, in fact, advanced by Henry II. Some of the English sees had grown out of or were connected with monasteries, which asserted and exercised the rights of chapters. The monks of Christchurch in Canterbury claimed the election to the

Metropolitan See. The monks were at the same time most obstinately tenacious of their rights, and least capable of exercising them for the welfare of the Church and of the kingdom. At this present time there were on one side deep and sullen murmurs that the Church of England had sunk into a slave of the King. Becket had laid down his martyr life in vain.^k On the other hand, the King rejoiced in the death of Hubert, whom he suspected of secret favour towards his enemy the King of France. The second prelate of the kingdom, Geoffrey Archbishop of York, the brother of the King, had refused to permit a thirteenth, exacted by the King for the recovery of his French dominions, to be levied in his province; he had fled the realm, leaving behind him an anathema against all who should comply with the King's demands.^m The privilege of the monks of Christchurch in Canterbury to elect the Primate had been constantly contested by the suffragan prelates, who claimed at least a concurrent right of election.ⁿ At all the recent elections this strife had continued: the monks, though overborne by royal authority, or by the power of the prelates, never renounced or abandoned their sole and exclusive pretensions.

Immediately on the death of Hubert, the younger monks, without waiting for the royal licence, in the narrow corporate spirit of monkhood, hastily elected their Sub-prior Reginald to the See. In order to surprise the Papal sanction, under which

^k "Licet beatus Thomas archiepiscopus animam suam pro ecclesiasticâ posuerit libertate, nulla tamen utilitas quoad hoc in sanguine ejus erat, quoniam Anglicana ecclesia per principum insolentiam in profundâ ser-

vitute ancillata jacebat."—Gesta, ch. cxxxi. Matt. Par.

^m Wendover, pp. 154-209.

ⁿ Compare Lingard, *Hist. of England*, *in loco*.

they might defy the resentment of the King, without whose licence they had acted, and baffle the bishops who claimed the concurrent right, they had the precaution to take an oath from Reginald to maintain inviolable secrecy till he should arrive at Rome. The vanity of Reginald induced him, directly he reached Flanders, to assume the title, and to travel with the pomp of an Archbishop Elect. On his arrival at Rome, Innocent neither rejected nor admitted his pretensions. Among the monks of Christchurch, in the mean time, the older and more prudent had resumed their ascendancy; they declared the election of Reginald void, obtained the royal permission, and proceeded under the royal influence to elect in all due form John de Gray, Bishop of Norwich, a martial prelate and the great leader in the councils of the King.^o The suffragan bishops acquiesced in this election. The Bishop of Norwich was enthroned in the presence of the King, and invested in all the temporalities of the see by the King himself.

On the appeal to Rome, upon this question of strict ecclesiastical jurisdiction, all agreed. Reginald the Sub-prior and his partisans were already there; twelve monks of Christchurch appeared on the part of the King and the Bishop of Norwich; the suffragan bishops had their delegates to maintain their right to concurrent election. A.D. 1206. The Pope, in the first place, took into consideration the right of election. He decided in favour of the monks. Against their prescriptive, immemorial usage, appeared only pretensions established in irregular and violent times, under the protection of arbitrary monarchs.^p Many decisions of

^o Wendover, p. 194. R. de Coggeshal.

^p Wendover. p. 188.

the Papal See had been in favour of elections made by the monks alone; none recognised the necessary concurrence of the bishops. Policy no doubt commingled in this decree with reverence for ancient custom; the monks were more likely to choose a prelate of high churchmanlike views.—views acceptable to Rome; the bishops to comply with the commands, or at least not to be insensible to the favour of the King.

The Court of Rome proceeded to examine the validity of the late election. It determined at once to annul both that of Reginald the Sub-prior and that of John de Gray: of Reginald, because it was irregularly made, and by a small number of the electors; of De Gray, because the former election had not been declared invalid by competent authority. The twelve monks were ordered to proceed to a new election at Rome. John had anticipated this event, and taken an oath of the monks to elect no one but John de Gray. They

Stephen
Langton.

were menaced with excommunication if they persisted in the maintenance of their oath; they were commanded to elect Stephen Langton, Cardinal of St. Chrysogonus. Innocent could not have found a Churchman more unexceptionable, or of more commanding qualifications for the primacy of England. Stephen Langton was an Englishman by birth, of irreproachable morals, profound theologic learning, of a lofty, firm, yet prudent character, which unfolded itself at a later period in a manner not anticipated by Pope Innocent. Langton had studied at Paris, and attained surpassing fame and honourable distinctions. Of all the high-minded, wise, and generous prelates who have

A.D. 1207.

filled the see of Canterbury, none have been superior to Stephen Langton; and him the Church of England owes to Innocent III. And it in

himself Langton was so signally fit for the station, he was more so in contrast with his rivals—Reginald, who emerged from his obscurity to fall back immediately into the same obscurity; the Bishop of Norwich, a man of warlike rather than of priestly fame, immersed in temporal affairs, the justiciary of the realm, in whom John could little fear or Innocent hope to find a second Becket. The monks murmured, but proceeded to the election of Langton. Elias of Brantfield alone stood aloof unconsenting; he tried the effect of English gold, with which he had been lavishly supplied. Innocent, it is said, disdainfully rejected a bribe amounting to three thousand marks.¹

Innocent, aware that this assumption of the nomination to the archbishopric by the Pope, this intrusion of a prelate almost a stranger, would be offensive to the pride of the English King, had endeavoured to propitiate John by a suitable present. Among the weaknesses of this vain man was a passion for precious stones. Innocent sent him a ring of great splendour, with many gems, accompanied with a letter explaining their symbolic religious signification.² The letter was followed by another, recommending strongly Stephen Langton, Archbishop elect of Canterbury, as a man incomparable for theologic learning and for his character and manners; a person who would be of the greatest use to the King in temporal or in spiritual affairs. But the messengers of the Pope were stopped at Dover. At Viterbo,³ the Pope proceeded to the consecration of the Primate of England. The fury of John knew Rage of King John. no bounds: he accused the monks of Canterbury of

¹ Wendover, p. 212.

² Matt. Par.

³ Innocent passed the summer and autumn of 1207 at Viterbo.—Hurter li. p. 39.

having taken his money in order to travel to Rome, and of having there betrayed him. He threatened to burn their cloister over their heads; they fled in the utmost precipitation to Flanders; the church of Canterbury was committed to the monks of St. Augustine; the lands of the monks of Christchurch lay an uncultivated wilderness. To the Pope he wrote in indignation that he was not only insulted by the rejection of the Bishop of Norwich, but by the election of Langton, a man utterly unknown to him, and bred in France among his deadly enemies. The Pope should remember how necessary to him was the alliance of England; from England he drew more wealth than from any kingdom beyond the Alps. He declared that he would cut off at once all communication between his realm and Rome.^t Innocent's tone rose with that of John, but he maintained calmer dignity. He enlarged on the writings of Langton: so far from Langton being unknown to the King, John had three times written to him since his promotion to the cardinalate. He warned the King of the danger of revolting against the Church: "Remember this is a cause for which the glorious martyr St. Thomas shed his blood."

John had all the pride, in the outset of this conflict he showed some of the firm resolution, of a Norman sovereign. The Bishop of Norwich, in his disappointed ambition, inflamed the resentment and encouraged the obstinacy of the King. "Stephen Langton at his peril should set his foot on the soil of England."^u Innocent proceeded with slow but determinate measures. All

^t The letter in Wendover, 216.—
Matt. Paris.

^u According to the Burton Annals,
John threatened to hang the arch-

bishop, "si quo terram meam intra
verit, faciam suspendi." In Rolls
Publications, p. 210. 1864.

expostulation having proved vain, he armed himself with that terrible curse which had already brought the King of France under his feet. England in her turn must suffer all the terrors of interdict. William Bishop of London, Eustace Bishop of Ely, Mainger Bishop of Worcester, had instructions to demand for the last time the royal acknowledgment of Langton; if refused, to publish the interdict throughout their dioceses.* The King broke out into a paroxysm of fury; he uttered the most fearful oaths—blasphemies they were called—against the Pope and the Cardinals; he swore “by the teeth of God,” that if they dared to place his realm under an interdict he would drive the whole of the bishops and clergy out of the kingdom, put out the eyes and cut off the noses of all Romans in the realm, in order to mark them for hatred. He threatened the prelates themselves with violence. The prelates withdrew, in the ensuing Lent published the interdict, and then fled the kingdom, and with them the Bishops of Bath and Hereford. “There they lived,” says the historian, “in abundance and luxury, instead of standing up as a defence for the Lord’s house, abandoning their flocks to the ravening wolf.”^y Salisbury and Rochester took refuge in Scotland.^z Thus throughout England, as throughout France, without exception, without any privilege to church or monastery, ceased the divine offices of the church. From Berwick to the British Channel, from the Land’s-End to Dover, the churches were closed, the bells silent; the only clergy who were seen stealing silently about were those who

Interdict.
March 24,
1208.

* See in Rymer a letter of remonstrance by Pope Innocent. John answers the bishop that he will obey the Pope, “salvâ dignitate regiâ et

libertatibus regiis.”—i. p. 99.

^y Wendover, p. 224.

^z Ekwer. Continuat. Fordun. viii.

were to baptise new-born infants with a hasty ceremony ; those who were to hear the confession of the dying, and to administer to them, and to them alone, the holy Eucharist. The dead (no doubt the most cruel affliction) were cast out of the towns, buried like dogs in some unconsecrated place—in a ditch or a dunghheap—without prayer, without the tolling bell, without funeral rite. Those only can judge the effect of this fearful malediction who consider how completely the whole life of all orders was affected by the ritual and daily ordinances of the Church. Every important act was done under the counsel of the priest or the monk. Even to the less serious, the festivals of the Church were the only holidays, the processions of the Church the only spectacles, the ceremonies of the Church the only amusements. To those of deeper religion, to those, the far greater number, of abject superstition, what was it to have the child thus almost furtively baptised, marriage unblest, or hardly blessed ;^a the obsequies denied ; to hear neither prayer nor chant ; to suppose that the world was surrendered to the unrestrained power of the devil and his evil spirits, with no saint to intercede, no sacrifice to avert the wrath of God ; when no single image was exposed to view, not a cross unveiled : the intercourse between man and God utterly broken off ; souls left to perish, or but reluctantly permitted absolution in the instant of death ?

John might seem to encounter the public misery, not with resolute bravery, but with an insolence of disdain ; to revel in his vengeance against the bishops and priests who obeyed the Pope. The Sheriffs had orders to

^a Dr. Lingard, from Dunstable, p. 51, says that sermons were preached in the churchyards, marriages and churchings performed in the churchporch.—vol. iii.

compel all such priests and bishops to quit the realm, scornfully adding that they might seek justice with the Pope. He seized the bishoprics and abbeys, and escheated their estates into the hands of laymen. Some of the monks refused to leave their monasteries; their lands and property were not the less confiscated to the King's Exchequer. All the barns of the clergy were closed and marked as belonging to the royal revenue. The clergy of England were open to persecution of a more cruel nature. The marriage of the clergy still prevailed to a wide extent, under the opprobrious name of concubinage. The King seized these females throughout the realm, and extorted large sums for their ransom.^b The ecclesiastics, as they would not submit to the King's law, were out of the protection of the King's law; if assaulted on the high road, plundered, maltreated, they sought redress in vain. It was said that when a robber was brought bound before the King who had robbed and slain a priest, John ordered his release: "He has rid me of one enemy." Yet throughout all these oppressions of the Church, three prelates—his minister Peter of Winchester, Gray of Norwich (Deputy of Ireland), and Philip of Durham—were the firm partisans, the unscrupulous executors of all the King's measures.^c

^b "Presbyterorum et clericorum focariæ per totam Angliam a ministris regis captæ sunt et graviter ad se redimendum compulsæ."—Wendover, p. 223.

^c See, on the bishops, the very curious Latin song published by Mr. Wright, 'Political Songs.' Stephen is expected to be a second Becket. "Thomam habes (Cantia) sed alterum. Sed cum habebis Stephanum—Assumes tibi tympanum—Chelyn tangens sub

modulo." Bath is accused of inordinate rapacity as a collector for the king's exchequer. "Tu Norwicensis bestia!—Audi quid dicat veritas—Qui non intrat per ostia—Fur est, an de hoc dubitas?—Heu! cecidisti gravius—Quam Cato quondam tertius; Cum præsumpta electio—Justo ruat iudicio. Empta per dolum Simonis—Wintoniensis armiger—Præsides ad Scaccarium—Ad computandum impiger—Piger ad evangelium—Regis

These exactions from the clergy enabled John to conduct his campaigns in Scotland, Wales, and Ireland with success. After above a year Innocent determined to strike at the person of the King, to excommunicate him by name in the most solemn manner. Stephen Langton had obtained a relaxation of the interdict so far that Divine service might be performed once a week in the conventual churches. The Pope issued his commission to the fugitive Bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester to pronounce the sentence of excommunication, and to transmit it for publication to the few prelates who remained in the land. Every Sunday and every feast day it was to be repeated in all the conventual churches of England. Not a prelate dared to undertake the office; the whole clergy were dumb. Yet the awful fact transpired; men whispered to each other that the King was an excommunicated person; it was silently promulgated in market places, and in the streets of the cities. One clergyman, Geoffrey, Archdeacon of Norwich, who was employed in the royal exchequer, was seized with conscientious scruples as to serving an excommunicated King. He retired to Norwich. The King sent after him, ordered him to be loaded with chains, and afterwards cased in a surcoat of lead: he died in prison.

revolvens rotulum—Sic lucrum Lucam superat—Marco, Marcam præponderat—Et libræ librum subjicit.

John (William?) of London, Ely, and Worcester (the successor of S. Wulstan), are named as the three who are to eat down the three impious ones.

"Ely, parcens paucis vel nemini." Salisbury and Rochester are named with more meagre praise.—P. 10, *et seqq.* There is a spirited *à ti-papa*

song on the other side. It is chiefly on the avarice of Rome—

"Romanorum curia non est nisi forum."

It does not abstain from the Pope—

"Cum ad Papam veneris, habe pro constanti,

Non est locus pauperi, soli favet danti."

Mr. Wright suggests that the lion in the fourth verse means King John—a strange similitude!—the bishops the asses.

It is remarkable that while the interdict of one year reduced the more haughty and able Philip Augustus to submission, the weak, tyrannical, and contemptible John defied for four years the whole awful effects of interdict, and even for some time of personal excommunication. Had John been a popular sovereign, had he won to his own side by wise conciliation, by respect to their rights, by a dignified appeal to their patriotism, the barons and the people of England; had he even tempted their worse passions, and offered them a share in the confiscated property of the Church even the greatest of the Popes might have wasted his ineffectual thunders on the land. Above two years after the interdict, and when the sentence of excommunication was well known, King John held his Christmas at Windsor; not one of the great barons refused to communicate with him; even later, when Innocent proceeded to release his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, he still counted among his steadfast adherents the three bishops, Henry of Winchester, Philip of Durham, and John of Norwich; the Chancellor and a great number of the most powerful barons were firm in their loyalty. But while he defied the Pope and the hierarchy, he at the same time seemed to labour to alienate the affections of all orders in the country. He respected no rights; nothing was sacred against his rapacity or his lust. His profligate habits outraged the honour of the nobles; his passion for his Queen Isabella had burned out; not one of the wives or daughters of the highest barons was safe from his seductions or violence: against the lower orders he had re-enacted and enforced with the utmost severity the forest-laws. An obscure person ("a false theologian"), Alexander the Mason, had now found his way into the

Resistance
of John.

A.D. 1210.

A.D. 1211.

councils of the King. Alexander is charged with encouraging at once the tyrannous and irreligious disposition of the King. He declared that kings were designed by God as scourges of their subjects; that he should govern them with a rod of iron. He averred at the same time that the Pope had no right to interfere in temporal matters; that God had given only ecclesiastical powers to St. Peter. John heaped benefices, which he wrested from their right owners, on this congenial adviser; he was afterwards reduced by the Pope's interposition to the lowest beggary; the clergy triumphed in his misery.^d The exactions and barbarities of the King against the Jews would move but slight

A.D. 1210. sympathy, even if not viewed with approbation: they were seized, imprisoned, tortured, without any avowed charge, with the sole, almost ostentatious design, of wringing money from their obstinate grasp. The well-known story of the Jew who lost his teeth, one every day for seven days, before he would yield, and on the eighth redeemed what were left by ten thousand marks, even if wholly or partly a fiction, is a fiction significant of terrible truth.^e But the whole people was oppressed by heavy and unprecedented taxation. At length, when time had been given for the estrangement of the nobles and people to grow into disaffection, almost into revolt, Innocent proceeded to that last act of authority which the Papal See reserved against contumacious sovereigns. The Interdict had smitten the land; the Excommunication desecrated the person of the King; the subjects had been absolved from their fealty; there remained the act of deposition from the throne of his fathers. The sentence was pub-

^d Wendover, p. 229.

^e Wendover, 231.

licly, solemnly promulgated against the King of England; his domains were declared the lawful spoil of whoever could wrest them from his unhallowed hands.

A.D. 1213.

There was but one sovereign in Europe whom his own daring ambition, and his hatred of John, might tempt to this perilous enterprise. Philip Augustus, who had himself so bitterly complained of the insolence of the Pope in interdicting his realm, excommunicating his person, absolving his subjects from their fealty, was now religiously moved to execute the Papal sentence of deposition against his rival. He had won the continental dominions, he would possess himself of the insular territories of John. The policy of Pope Innocent with regard to the King of France had undergone a total revolution. Otho, the Emperor, the kinsman of John, who owed to the wealth of John his success in his struggle for, if not his conquest of the Empire, was now the armed enemy of the Pope; France was the ally of Frederick the Sicilian, whose claims to the Empire were befriended by Innocent. The interests of the Pope and the King of France were as intimately allied as they had been implacably opposed. At a great assembly in Soissons appeared Stephen Langton, the Bishops of London and Ely, newly arrived from Rome, the King of France, the bishops, clergy, and people of that realm. The English bishops proclaimed the sentence of deposition; enjoined the King of France and all others, under the promise of the remission of their sins, to take up arms; to dethrone the impious King of England; to replace him by a more worthy sovereign. Philip Augustus accepted the command of this new crusade. Great forces were levied for the invasion of England; secret

Philip Augustus undertakes to dethrone King John.

April 8, 1213.

negotiations carried on with the discontented nobles. The measures of John were not wanting in vigour or subtlety. He raised an immense force, which encamped on Barham Downs. The sheriffs had been ordered to summon every man capable of bearing arms; every vessel which would hold six horses was to assemble in Portsmouth harbour. He assumed the aggressive, captured some ships at the mouth of the Seine, and burned Fecamp and Dieppe. The army was so vast as to be unwieldy, and could not be supplied with provisions; but, even reduced, it amounted to 60,000 men.^f Yet in all that army there were few whom John could trust, except, perhaps, the Irish, 1500 foot and a strong force of cavalry, brought over by his fast friend the Bishop of Norwich, the Deputy of Ireland; and the Flemish mercenaries, so long as they received their pay. It was universally believed, it became matter of grave history, that John took a step of still more awful desperation; the outcast of Christendom would take refuge in Mohammedanism. He meditated a bold revolt to Islam. He despatched a secret embassy to Mohammed el Nasser, the Emir al Mouenim, the Caliph, as he was called, of the Mohammedans of Spain and Africa, offering to embrace the faith of the Korân, to own himself the vassal of the representative of the false prophet. It was still more unaccountably believed that the haughty Mohammedan treated his advances with disdain, and refused to honour the renegade Christian with his alliance. It is true that the abhorrence, the contempt of the Christian world had become allayed rather than inflamed by the Crusades; noble Christian knights and Christian kings had learned to honour

Desperation
of King
John.

^f See in Wendover the orders to the sheriffs, p. 244.

chivalry and generosity in their unbelieving foes. The strife of Richard and Saladin had been that of kings who admired the lofty qualities each of his rival; Philip Augustus was said in his wrath to have expressed his envy of the Mohammedan Nouredin, who had no Pope to control him. Frederick II. is about to appear even in more suspicious friendly approximation to the misbeliever. It is more probable that John may, in his impotent passion, have threatened, than had the courage to purpose such act of apostasy. The strong argument against it is his cowardice rather than his Christian faith. Even John must have had the sagacity to see that such alliance could give him no strength: would arm embattled Christendom against him. His anger might madden him to bold words, it would not support him in deliberate acts. But that the story was widely spread, eagerly believed, is of itself a significant historical fact.[§] But the better and wiser hope of John was in detaching the Pope himself, by feigned or by temporary submission, from the head of his own league; in making a separate peace with the Pontiff. He had sent the Abbot of Beaulieu, with five other ecclesiastics, to Rome; they had not been allowed, on account of certain informalities, to proceed in their negotiations; but the Subdeacon Pandulph, an ecclesiastic high in the confidence of Innocent, was commanded to proceed to England as Legate. Without any communication with the King of France, Pandulph presented himself at Dover before King John.^h

John by this time had passed from the height of in-

§ Matth. Paris, p. 169. Compare Lingard, who is disposed to think the story not incredible.

^h See the long curious account of this

interview in the Burton Annals, placed at Northampton, not at Dover, and in the year 1211, pp. 209 *et seqq.* Pandulph was not cardinal.

solence to the lowest prostration of fear. Not only did everything tend to deepen his mistrust of his own subjects and his suspicions of the wavering fidelity of his army, but, like most irreligious men, he was the slave of superstition. One Peter, a hermit, had obtained great fame among the people as a prophet: of all his prophecies none had made greater noise, or been received with more greediness, than a saying relating to the King; that before Ascension Day John would cease to be King of England. Peter had been seized and imprisoned in Corfe Castle, and now, just at this perilous crisis, the fatal Ascension Day was drawing on; there wanted but three days. Pandulph was an Italian of consummate ability. He was ushered into the presence of the King by two Knights Templars. His skilful address overawed the shattered mind of John to a panic of humiliation. He described in the most vivid terms the vast forces of the King of France, darkened the disloyalty of the English barons; King Philip had declared that he had the signatures of almost all of them inviting him over.¹ From the hostility of France, of the exiled bishops, of his own barons, he had everything to fear; everything to hope from the clemency of Rome. John, once humbled, knew no bounds to his abject submission; he was as recklessly lavish in his concessions as recklessly obstinate in his resistance. He was not even satisfied with subscribing the hard terms of the

May 15, 1213. treaty dictated by Pandulph; he seemed to have a desperate determination by abasing himself even below all precedent to merit the strongest protection from that

¹ "Jactat in præterea idem rex chartas habere omnium fere Angliæ magnatum de fidelitate et subjectione." —Wendover, p. 47. Yet John had great names on his side,—William, Earl of Salisbury, his bastard brother; Reginald, Count of Boulogne; Warennes, de Veres.

irresistible power which he had rashly provoked, and before which he was now bowed down; he could not purchase at too high a price his reconciliation to the See of Rome; perhaps he contemplated, not without satisfaction, the bitter disappointment of his enemy Philip Augustus, in thus being deprived of his prey.

The treaty with the Pope acknowledged the full right of Langton to the Archiepiscopal See; it repealed the sentence of banishment against the clergy, and reinstated them in their functions and their estates; it promised full restitution of all monies confiscated to the royal use, and compensation for other wrongs; a specific sum was to be paid to the Archbishop, and to each of the exiled bishops; it released from imprisonment all who had been apprehended during the contest; it reversed every sentence of outlawry; and guaranteed the clergy for the future from such violent abuse of the power of the Crown. Four barons swore to the execution of these stipulations on the part of the King; the Legate, on that of the Pope, that on their due fulfilment the interdict and the excommunication should be removed; and that the bishops should take a new oath of allegiance. But Ascension Day was not yet passed; it wanted still two days; and during those two days John had unconsciously fulfilled the prediction of the Hermit. On the vigil of that day appeared the Legate in his full pomp in the church of the Templars.

On the other side entered the King of Eng-
Submission of John.
land, and placed an instrument in the Legate's hands signed, sealed, and subscribed with his own name, with that of the attesting witnesses.—“Be it known to all men,” so ran the Charter, “that having in many points offended God and our Holy Mother the Church, as

satisfaction for our sins, and duly to humble ourselves after the example of him who for our sake humbled himself to death, by the grace of the Holy Ghost, with our own free will and the common consent of our barons, we bestow and yield up to God, to his holy apostles Peter and Paul, to our Lord the Pope Innocent, and his successors, all our kingdom of England and all our kingdom of Ireland, to be held as a fief of the Holy See with the payment of 1000 marks, and the customary Peter's pence. We reserve to ourselves, and to our heirs, the royal rights in the administration of justice. And we declare this deed irrevocable; and if any of our successors shall attempt to annul our act, we declare him thereby to have forfeited his crown." The attesting witnesses were one archbishop (of Dublin), one bishop (De Gray of Norwich), nine earls, among them Pembroke and Salisbury, and four barons. The next day he took the usual oath of fealty to the Pope; he swore on the Gospels. It was the oath of a vassal. "I, John, by the Grace of God, King of England and Lord of Ireland, from this day forth and for ever, will be faithful to God and to the ever blessed Peter, and to the Church of Rome, and to my Lord the Pope Innocent, and to his Catholic successors. I will not be accessory, in act or word, by consent or counsel, to their loss of life, of limb, or of freedom. I will save them harmless from any wrong of which I may know; I will avert all in my power; I will warn them by myself or by trusty messengers, of any evil intended against them. I will keep profoundly secret all communications with which they may entrust me by letter or by message. I will aid in the maintenance and defence of the patrimony of St. Peter, specially this kingdom of England and Ireland, to the utmost of my power, against all

enemies. So help me God and his holy Gospels." * Every year, beside Peter's pence, the realm was to pay to the Holy See, as sign of vassalage, 1000 marks—700 for England, 300 for Ireland.

By this extraordinary proceeding it is difficult to decide to what extent, according to the estimation of the time, John degraded himself and the realm of England. His first act showed that he was himself insensible to all its humiliating significance. That first act was to revenge himself on the hermit Peter. Ascension Day passed over; he instantly ordered Peter and his son to be dragged at the tails of horses, and hung on gibbets, as false prophets. But the popular feeling vindicated the truth of the prediction: John had *ceased to reign* by the surrender of his kingdom to the Pope. It was afterwards among the heaviest charges made by Louis of France, when he claimed the crown of England; it followed the accusation of the murder of his nephew Arthur, that John had unlawfully surrendered the realm to the Pope.^m The attesting witnesses were some of the grèatest nobles in the land; they were chiefly the attached partisans of John, the Bishop of Norwich, and the King's bastard brother, Salisbury; Pembroke and Warenne were afterwards among the barons who extorted the great Charter.

Innocent had added, by this act of John, another and a more powerful kingdom to that great feudal monarchy, half spiritual half temporal, which the later Popes had

* Compare the copies of the submission and the oath in Wendover with those in Rymer. In Wendover *secundarius* has been substituted (by the copyist) for *feudatorius*.

^m The passage cited by Dr. Lingard,

that he did this under compulsion from the barons, *coactus*, will bear another interpretation. He was compelled not by the counsel or control of those around him, but by the perfidious league of the others with France.

aspired to found in Rome ;ⁿ that vague and undefined sovereignty which gave the right of interfering in all the affairs of the realm, as Suzerain as well as Spiritual Father. He had succeeded, by accident in truth, and to his loss and discomfiture, in imposing an Emperor on Germany ; but still he had fixed a precedent for the decision of the Pope against a majority of the German electors. He held, at least he claimed to hold, the greater part of Italy. He did hold the kingdom of Sicily, as a fief of the Papacy ; the patrimony of St. Peter, and the inheritance of the Counts of Tuscany, as actual Lord. In France the Popes asserted the reigning family, the descendants of Hugh Capet, to have received the throne by their award. The Pope had transferred it as from the Merovingian to the Carolingian : so from the house of Charlemagne to that of Capet. In Spain, the kingdom of Arragon owned feudal allegiance. The Latin Empire of Constantinople, though won in direct prohibition of his commands, was yet subject to his undefined claim of sovereignty. Over all kingdoms conquered from the infidels he asserted his right of disposal, as well as over all islands : England held Ireland by his sovereign grant.

Pandulph had received the fealty of the King of England ; the 8000*l.* sterling, which had been stipulated as the compensation for the exiled prelates, had been paid into his hands ; he is said likewise to have received a sum of money as the first payment of the tribute to Rome, and to have trampled it contemptuously under his feet. But it was not Pan-

ⁿ During many pontificates the papal bulls and briefs speak of England as a vassal kingdom held of Rome.

dolph's policy to insult further the degraded John and Pandulph was a man who acted throughout from wary policy. It is possible that in order to take a high tone, and remove that suspicion of rapacity which attached to all the proceedings of the Court of Rome, he may have declined to receive these first fruits of his conquest; but what he did carry to France was not the fee-farm payment to Rome, but the restitution money to the English prelates.^o He appeared before the King of France, and in the name of the Pope briefly and peremptorily forbade him from proceeding to further hostilities against John, who had now made his peace with the Church. Philip Augustus burst into fury. "Had he at the cost of sixty thousand pounds assembled at the summons, at the entreaty of the Pope, one of the noblest armaments which had ever met under a King of France? Was all the chivalry of France, in arms around their sovereign, to be dismissed like hired menials when there was no more use for their services?" His invectives against the Pope passed not only all the bounds of respect, but of courtesy. But the defection of Ferrand Count of Flanders was more powerful in arresting the invasion of England, than the inhibition of Pandulph. Ferrand, whose conduct had been before doubtful, and who had entered into a secret league with the King of England, diverted on his own dominions the wrath of Philip, to whom the more alluring plunder of the rich Flemish towns seemed to offer a conquest more easy and profitable than the realm of England. Flanders, he swore, shall be France, or France Flanders. But the fleets of England joined the Flemings, and the attempted conquest of

^o Sismondi has confounded the two kinds of payment.

Flanders by Philip Augustus ended in disgraceful discomfiture.

If the dastardly mind of John was insensible to the shame of having degraded his kingdom into a fief of Rome, he might enjoy an ignominious triumph in the result of Philip's campaign. From himself he had averted all immediate danger; he had arrested the French invasion of England, and the menaced revolt of his barons; he had humbled his implacable enemy by his successes in Flanders. He had secured an ally, faithful to him in all his subsequent tyrannies, humiliations, and disasters. The vassal of the Roman See found a constant, if less powerful protector, in his lord the Pontiff of Rome. As elate in transient success as cowardly in disaster, John determined to resume the aggressive; to invade his ancient dominions in Poitou. But he was still under excommunication (Pandulph had prudently reserved the absolution till John had fulfilled the terms of the treaty by the reception of the exiled prelates). The barons refused to follow the banner of the kingdom, raised by an excommunicated monarch.

July 20, 1213. John was compelled to fulfil his agreement to St. Margaret's Day. the utmost; to drink the dregs of humiliation. The exiled prelates, Stephen of Canterbury, William of London, Eustace of Ely, Hubert of Lincoln, Giles of Hereford, landed at Dover; they proceeded to Winchester:^p there they were met before the gates by John; he fell at their feet and shed tears. The prelates raised him up, mingling, it is said, their tears with his; they conducted him into the church; they pronounced the absolution. King John swore on the Gospels to defend the Church and the priesthood; he swore also to

^p Wenaover, p. 260.

re-establish the good laws of his predecessors, especially those of King Edward; to abrogate the bad laws; to judge every man according to his right. He swore also to make ample restitution, under pain of a second excommunication, of all which he had confiscated during the exile of the prelates. He again swore fealty to the Pope and his Catholic successors.

John, now free from ecclesiastical censures, embarked for Poitou in the full hope that the realm of England would follow him in dutiful obedience. Most of the barons stood sullenly aloof; those who embarked abandoned him at Jersey. This was the first overt act in the momentous strife of the Barons of England for the liberties of England, which ended in the signature of the great Charter; and at the head of these Barons was Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury. Henry II. when he raised Becket to the Primacy of England, in order by his means to establish the temporal supremacy of the King over the Church, had not more completely mistaken the character of the man, than Innocent when he raised Langton to the same dignity, to maintain all the exorbitant pretensions of Rome over England. Langton, a more enlightened churchman, remembered not only that he was an Archbishop, but that he was an Englishman and a noble of England. He had asserted with the Pope the liberties of the Church against the King; he asserted the liberties of England against the same King, though supported by the Pope. Almost the first act of Langton was to take the initiative in the cause of the barons. John returned from Jersey in fury against the contumacious nobles; he declared his determination to revenge himself, he summoned troops to execute his vengeance. Langton sought him at Northampton, and remonstrated at his arming against his

barons before they had been arraigned and found guilty in the royal courts, as a violation of the oath sworn before his absolution. The King dismissed him with scorn, commanding him not to meddle in state affairs. But Langton followed John to Nottingham; threatened to excommunicate every one who should engage in this war before a fair trial had taken place, excepting only the King himself.⁴ The King sullenly consented to convoke a plenary court of his nobles. One meeting of the Primate and the nobles had taken place at St. Alban's; a second, ostensibly to regulate the claims of the Church upon the crown, was convened in St. Paul's, London. Langton there produced to the barons the charter of Henry I.; the barons received it with loud acclamations, and took a solemn oath to conquer or die in defence of their liberties.⁵

At Michaelmas arrived the new legate, Nicolas Cardinal of Tusculum: his special mission was the settlement as to the amount to be paid by the king for the losses endured by the clergy. He was received, though the interdict still lingered on the realm till the king should have given full satisfaction, with splendid processions.⁶ His first act was to degrade the Abbot of Westminster, accused by his monks of dilapidation of their estates, and of incontinence. The citizens of Oxford were condemned for the murder of two clerks (not without provocation): they were to present themselves at each of the churches of the city naked to their shirts, with a scourge in their hand, and to request absolution, reciting the fiftieth psalm, from the parish priest. The Cardinal, who travelled at first with seven horses

⁴ Wendover, p. 261.

⁵ Wendover, p. 263. See the charter.

⁶ Wendover, p. 275.

had soon a cavalcade of fifty. The amount of just compensation to the clergy it was impossible to calculate. Their castles had been razed, their houses burned, their orchards and their woods cut down. John offered the gross sum of 100,000 marks. The legate urged its acceptance, but was suspected of favouring the King. The bishops received in advance 1500 marks, and the affair was for the present adjourned. On the payment of this sum the interdict was raised, but what further compensation was awarded to the inferior claimants does not appear. Still meeting after meeting took place, at length the business was referred to the Pope, who awarded to the Archbishop, the Bishops of London and Ely, the sum of 40,000 marks. At St. Paul's the King gave greater form and pomp to his disgraceful act of vassalage.^t Before the high altar, in the presence of the clergy and people, John deposed his crown in the hands of the Legate, and made the formal resignation of the kingdom of England and Ireland.^u The golden seal was affixed to the deed of demission and consigned to the Pope. John did actual homage to the Legate for the kingdom of England. It was said that Stephen Langton had protested even at Winchester against this act of national humiliation. But if Langton bore this second act in silence, it was manifest that he had fallen in the favour of the Pope. The Pope was determined to support his vassal, whatever his iniquities, vices, crimes. Langton had

Second sur-
render of
the realm.

^t "Illa non formosa sed famosa subjectio."—M. Paris.

^u "Archiepiscopo conquerente et reclamante."—M. Paris. But the words are not in Wendover. Could it be the Archbishop of Dublin? The French translator of Matthew Paris, Mons.

Huillard Breholles, would transfer these complaints as if spoken at Dover, to this second transaction. This is taking great liberty with a text; but it is clear that they were not made by Stephen Langton at Dover; he had not then arrived in England.

now openly espoused the cause of his country's liberties. The Legate was empowered, without consulting the Primate or the Bishops, to appoint to all the vacant benefices; he travelled through the country attended by the royal officers and the clergy attached to the King; he filled the churches with unworthy men, or men at least thought unworthy; he suspended many ecclesiastics, and tauntingly told them to carry their complaints to Rome, while he seized their property and left them nothing to defray the expenses of their journey.* He trampled on the rights of patrons, and appointed his own clerks, many probably foreigners, to English preferments. His progress, instead of being a blessing to the land, was deemed a malediction. His final raising of the interdict was hardly a compensation for his insolent injustice. The Pope no doubt shared in the unpopularity of these proceedings. Stephen Langton the Primate summoned a council of his bishops at Dunstable; and sent certain priests to inhibit the Legate from inducting prelates and priests within the realm. Both appealed to the Pope. The Legate sent the politic Pandulph, Stephen Langton Simon his bold brother, who afterwards held the archbishopric of York in despite of Papal prohibition, to the court of Innocent. But the charter of John's submission weighed down all the arguments of Simon Langton.†

The great battle of Bouvines in Flanders, which annihilated the hopes of the Emperor Otho, and placed the Count of Flanders, as a prisoner, at the
 July 23, 1214. mercy of the merciless Philip Augustus, recalled John from Poitou, where he had made a vigorous,

* "Spreto archiepiscopi et episcoporum regni consilio."—Wendover, p. 277

† Wendover, p. 279.

and for a time successful descent. He returned discomfited, soured in temper, to confront his barons, now prepared for the deadly strife in defence of their liberties. Throughout the contest, so long as he was in England, the Primate maintained a lofty position. With the other higher clergy he stood aloof from the active contest, though he was known to be the real head of the confederacy. He was not present at the great meeting at St. Edmondsbury; he appeared not in arms; he does not seem to have left the court; the demand for the charter of Henry I. came entirely from the lay barons. On the presentation of that address he consented, with the Bishop of Ely and William Mareschal Earl of Pembroke, to be the king's sureties that he would hear and take into consideration the demands of his subjects,² and satisfy, if he might, their discontents. While the appeal to arms was yet in suspense, John, with that craft which in a nobler mind might have been wise policy, endeavoured to detach the church from the cause of the national liberties. The clergy had been indemnified for their losses, but still there was an old and inveterate grievance, the despotic power exercised by the Norman princes in the nomination to vacant bishoprics and abbacies. On the rare occasions in the early part of his reign, when he gave the royal licence for the election of a bishop or great abbot, the electors were summoned before the king; an election in the royal presence was not likely to be against the royal will. During the interdict John's revenge (it was probably the source of the enormous wealth which he had at his command) had seized the revenue of these un-

Meeting at
St. Edmonds-
bury.

A.D. 1214.

Address.
Epiphany,
1215.

* Wendover, p. 296

filled benefices. On his reconciliation with the Roman See, elections were to be in his presence, whether he were in England or on the continent. This he relaxed only on the remonstrance of the Archbishop, to permit them to take place, during his absence, before commissioners. But still the nomination was virtually in him, and him alone. He was now seized with an access of pious liberality, granted a charter of free election to all chapters and conventual churches: the charter declared that the royal licence would always be granted; if not granted, was no bar to the free election; he renounced all royal influence, and promised the royal approbation unless the King could allege lawful objection.^a That he might secure still further the protection of the church, John took the cross, and declared his intention to proceed, when relieved from his pressing cares, to the recovery of the Holy Land.

Each party endeavoured to obtain the support of Rome. The barons had aided powerfully the cause of the Church in the former contest, and now the Church, at least the Primate, made common cause with the barons. But Innocent reserved his gratitude for the vassal who had laid the crown of England at his feet. "We must maintain the rights of, repel all insurrection against, a king who is our vassal."^b In truth he understood the nature, no more than he foresaw the remote consequences of the conflict. That the Church should resist, control, dictate to the temporal sovereign, was in

^a The document is in Rymer.

^b Such were the plain words of a memorable letter of Pope Innocent (published by Prynne from the original in the Tower, p. 28). He adds: "Contra dominum suum arma movere

temeritate nefariâ præsumperunt: quodque nefandum est et absurdum cum ipse rex quasi perversus Deum et Ecclesiam offendebat, illi assistebant eidem, cum autem conversus Deo et Ecclesiæ satisfecit, ipsum impugnare præsumunt."

the order of things : that other subjects should do the same, whatever the iniquities of the sovereign or the invasion of their natural or chartered rights, unless in defence of the Church, bordered on impiety. Langton received a severe rebuke ; he was accused as the secret ringleader in this rebellion ; he was commanded to labour for the reconciliation of the king and his subjects. The barons were censured for daring to attempt to extort privileges by force from the crown—privileges to be obtained only as a free gift from the King ; the Pope condescended to promise his good offices in their behalf, if they humbled themselves before their sovereign. Of his sole authority the Pope annulled all their leagues and covenants. The Pope rebuked, censured, promised in vain.

Arms must decide the strife. At the great meeting of the barons at Brackley, Langton and the Earl of Pembroke (the Bishop of Ely was now dead) again appeared in the King's name to receive the final demands of the barons. So high were their demands, that the king exclaimed in a fury : ° “ They may as well ask my kingdom ; think they that I will be their slave ? ” But though the barons failed before Northampton, Bedford and London opened their gates. The great barons Pembroke, Warenne, and many others who had still appeared at least to be on the king's side, joined Fitzwalter and his party, the Northern Barons as they were called. London was the head-quarters of the King's adversaries. The whole realm was one. The King was compelled to submit to the great Charter.

Among the witnesses to that Charter, the first were Stephen Archbishop of Canterbury, and Henry Archbishop of Dublin. The first article guaranteed

Magna
Charta.
1215, June 15.

the rights of the Church, not indeed more strongly than the charter before granted by the King, and which had received the ratification of the Pope. The Papal envoy Pandulph was present at the august ceremony. Pope Innocent saw in this movement only the turbulence of a few factious barons; he received the representations of John's ambassadors with great indignation; he knit his brow (so writes the historian), and broke out into the language of astonishment:^d "What! have the barons of England presumed to dethrone a King who has taken the cross, and placed himself under the protection of the Apostolic See? Do they transfer to others the patrimony of the Church of Rome? By St. Peter, we cannot leave such a crime unpunished." If such unseemly language was attributed to the Pope, the formal acts of Innocent might almost justify such reports of his conduct. In his Bull^e he attributes the rebellion of the barons, after John had been reconciled to the Church, to the enemy of mankind. He is astonished that the barons have not humbly brought their grievances before his tribunal, and implored redress. The act describes the conduct of the King as throughout just, conciliatory. "Vassals, they have conspired against their Lord—knights, against their king: they have assailed his lands, seized his capital city, which has been surrendered to them by treason. Under their violence, and under fears which might shake the firmest man, he has entered into a treaty with the barons; a treaty not only base and ignominious, but unlawful and unjust; in flagrant violation and diminution of his rights and honour. Wherefore, as the Lord has said by the mouth of his prophet,—'I have set thee above the nations, and

Condemned
by Pope
Innocent.

^d Wendover, p. 313.

^e Rymer, i. p. 135.

above the kingdoms, to pluck up and to destroy, to build up and to plant;’ and by the mouth of another prophet,—‘break the leagues of ungodliness, and loose the heavy burthens;’ we can no longer pass over in silence such audacious wickedness, committed in contempt of the Apostolic See, in infringement of the rights of the King, to the disgrace of the kingdom of England, to the great peril of the Crusade. We therefore with the advice of our brethren, altogether reprove and condemn this charter, prohibiting the king, under pain of anathema, from observing it, the barons from exacting its observation; we declare the said charter, with all its obligations and guarantees, absolutely null and void.”^f

The letter of Innocent to the Barons was no less lofty and commanding. He informed them that as they refused all just terms offered by the ^{Innocent's letter.} King, and a fair judgement in the court of Rome, the King had appealed to him his liege lord. He urged them to make a virtue of necessity, themselves to renounce this inauspicious treaty, to make reparation to the King for all losses and outrages perpetrated against him, “so that the King, appeased by their reverence and humility, might himself be induced to reform any real abuses.” “For if we will not that he be deprived of his right, we will not have you oppressed, nor the kingdom of England, which is under our suzerainty, to groan under bad customs and unjust exactions.” They were summoned to depute representatives to the court of Rome, and await the final decision of that tribunal.

The Great Charter of the liberties of England was absolutely, peremptorily annulled, by the supreme

^f Dated Anagni, Aug. 4.

authority of the Pope, as Pope and as liege lord of the realm. The King was absolutely released from his oath to the statute; the King threatened with anathema if he observed, the barons if they exacted the observance.⁵ Still the rebukes, promises, threats of spiritual censure, the annulling edict, were received with utter disregard by the sturdy barons. They retorted the language of the Scripture, the phrase of Isaiah is said to have been current among them,—“Woe unto him who justifieth the wicked for reward!”

The war had broken out; the King, with the aid of two of his warlike bishops, the Chancellor-Bishop
War. of Worcester, and John de Gray of Norwich, had levied hosts of mercenary troops in Flanders; freebooters from all quarters, from Poitou and other parts of France, crowded to win the estates of the English barons, which were offered as rewards for their valour. John was pressing the siege of Rochester, which the remissness of the barons allowed to fall into his hands. He was only prevented by the prudence of one of his foreign captains, who dreaded reprisals, from ordering a general massacre of the garrison. The bull of excommunication against the barons followed rapidly the abrogation of the Charter. It was addressed to Peter Bishop of Winchester, the Abbot of Reading, and the Papal Envoy. It expressed the utmost astonishment and wrath, that Stephen Archbishop of Canterbury, and his suffragans, had shown such want of respect to the Papal mandate and of fidelity to their King; that they had rendered him no aid against the disturbers of the peace; that they had been privy to, if not actively engaged in

⁵ Magna Charta the Pope describes as “compositionem non solum vilem et turpem, verum etiam illicitam et ini-
 quam, in nimiam diminutionem et derogationem sui juris pariter et honoris.”
 The documents in Rymer, sub aza.

the rebellious league. "Is it thus that these prelates defend the patrimony of Rome; thus that they protect those who have taken up the cross? Worse than Saracens they would drive from his realm a King in whom is the best hope of the deliverance of the Holy Land." All disturbers of the King and of the realm are declared to be in the bonds of excommunication; the Primate and his suffragans are solemnly enjoined to publish this excommunication in all the churches of the realm, every Sunday and festival, with the sound of bells, until the barons shall have made their absolute submission to the King. Every prelate who disobeys these orders is suspended from his functions.

The Bishop of Winchester, the Abbot of Reading, and Pandulph in a personal interview with the Primate communicated the injunctions of the Pope. Stephen Langton demanded delay; he was about to proceed to Rome, being summoned to attend the Lateran Council. He firmly refused to publish the excommunication, as obtained from the Pope by false representations.^h The Papal Delegates declared the Primate suspended from his office, and proceeded to promulgate the sentence of excommunication. The sentence was utterly without effect. An incident of the time shows how strongly the sympathies of the clergy were with Langton. The Canons of York, after a long vacancy of the archbishopric,ⁱ

^h "Dissensiones . . . dissimulastis hactenus, et conniventibus oculis pertransitis . . . nonnullis suspicantibus . . . quod vos illis præbitis auxilium et favorem."—Rymer, sub ann. 1215. John had complained to the Pope: "Dominus vero Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus et ejus suffraganei mandata vestra executioni de-

mandare supersederunt . . . Archiepiscopus respondens, ut quod sententiam excommunicationis in eos nullo modo proferret qui bene sciebat mentem vestram."—Langton agreed, however, if John would revoke his orders for his foreign mercenaries, to pronounce the excommunication.—Rymer 1215.

ⁱ From 1212.

rejecting Walter de Grey Bishop of Worcester, the Chancellor and partisan of John, chose Simon Langton, the brother of the Primate. Two brothers, for the first and last time, held these high dignities.

A.D. 1215. The Pope, it is true, prohibited the elevation of Langton; but his election was a defiance of the King and of the Pope. The Primate, strong in the blameless dignity of his character, in the consciousness that he was acting as a Christian prelate in opposing a lustful, perfidious, and sanguinary tyrant like John, in his dignity as Cardinal of the Roman Church, feared not to confront the Pope, and to present himself at the great Lateran Council. The favour, however, with which the Pontiff and the Council heard his accusers, the envoys of King John, the Abbot of Beaulieu, Thomas of Herdington, and Geoffrey of Cracombe, the unbending severity of the Pope himself, covered him, it is said, with confusion; at least taught him the prudence of silence: the sentence of suspension was solemnly ratified by Pope and Council, and even when it was subsequently relaxed, it was on the condition that he should not return to England. Nov. 1215. Stephen at Rome. Stephen Langton remained at Rome though not in custody, yet no less a prisoner. The Canons of York were informed that the Pope absolutely annulled the election of Simon Langton; they were compelled to make a virtue of necessity, to affect joy at being permitted to elect the Bishop of Worcester, a man they acknowledged, it should seem, of one rare virtue—unblemished chastity. De Grey returned Archbishop of York, but loaded with a heavy debt to the Court of Rome, 10,000*l.* sterling.^k

^k Wendover, p. 346. He adds:—"Itaque accepto pallio episcopus memoratus obligatur in curiâ Romanâ de decem millibus libris legalium sterlingorum."

When John let loose his ferocious hordes of adventurers from Flanders, Brabant, Poitou, and other countries, like wild beasts upon his unhappy realm; when himself ravaged in the north, his bastard brother the Earl of Salisbury in the south; when the whole land was wasted with fire and sword: when plunder, murder, torture, rape, raged without control; when agriculture and even markets had absolutely ceased, the buyers and sellers met only in churchyards, because they were sanctuaries;^m when the clergy were treated with the same impartial cruelty as the rest of the people, John was still the ally, the vassal, under the special protection of the Pope. These terrible triumphs of his arms were backed by the sentence of excommunication against the barons and all their adherents.ⁿ Many of June, 1216. the noblest barons were anathematised by name; above all, the citizens of London and the Cinque Ports, for the capital boasted itself as the head-quarters of the champions of freedom. The citizens of London, however, treated the spiritual censure with utter contempt; the services went on uninterrupted, and exactly in the usual manner, in all the churches.

So also when the Barons in their desperation offered the crown to Louis, the son of Philip Augustus of France. The Legate Gualo, then on his way to England, solemnly warned Louis not to dare to invade the patrimony of St. Peter, a menace not likely to awe a son of Philip Augustus with such a prize before him. Louis indeed showed a kind of mockery of deference to the Pope, in submitting to the Holy See a statement of the

^m Wendover, p. 351.

ⁿ Wendover, p. 353. The three acts of excommunication against the

barons, of suspension against Stephen Langton, the special anathema on certain barons, with their names, are in Rymer.

title which he set up to the throne of England.^o This rested on the right of his Queen, even if the house of Castile had any claim, a younger daughter of that house. Its first postulate was the absolute exclusion of John, as attainted for murder during the reign of his brother Richard, and incapable thereby of inheriting the crown; and for the murder of his nephew, of which he had been found guilty in the court of the King of France. With the original flaw in the title of John fell of course his right to grant the island to St. Peter; and so the claim of Louis to the throne was an abrogation of that of Innocent to the suzerainty of the land. No wonder then that the sentence of excommunication was launched at once against Louis himself, and all who should invite, assist, support his descent upon England. The last act of Innocent was to command an excommunication as solemn

July 16, 1216. of the King of France himself, for guiltily con-
niving at least at an invasion of England, to be pronounced at a great synod at Melun. The French prelates interposed delay; and the death of Pope Innocent suspended for a time the execution of this mandate.

The death of Innocent was followed in but a few months by that of John, under fierce affliction for the loss of his baggage and part of his wild freebooting army, which had remorselessly ravaged great part of the kingdom, by sudden floods, as he passed from Lynn in Norfolk into Lincolnshire. John reached the Abbey of Swineshead. Intemperate indulgence in fruit excited his fever; he there made his will,^p left his young son to

^o See Rymer for the document in which Louis alleged his title to the throne of England. Louis asserts the truth of the account, that Archbishop Hubert publicly announced that on the

accession of John "non ratione successionis, sed per electionem ipsum in regem coronabat."—Rymer, sub ann. 1216.

^p The attesting witnesses to his will were the Cardinal Legate Gualo, the

the tutelage of the new Pope Honorius III., and dragged his weary and exhausted body to Newark. There he died in peace with the Church, having received the holy Eucharist, commending his body and his soul to the intercession of the pious St. Wulstan in Worcester, under the tutelar shade of whose cathedral he wished his ashes to repose. John died in peace with the Church, it was of course believed with Heaven, leaving Stephen Langton the Primate, a Cardinal of ^{Oct. 19.} the Church, suspended from his holy functions, in a kind of stately disgrace, an exile from his See; the greater part of the higher clergy under virtual excommunication as communicating with the proscribed barons; almost the whole nobility under actual excommunication, and so in peril of eternal perdition.

Thus closed the eventful reign of the meanest and most despicable sovereign who ever sat on the throne of England. Political passions, the pride of ingenuity, the love of paradox, have endeavoured to lighten the burthen of obloquy which has weighed down the memory of most of our least worthy sovereigns. Richard III. has found an apologist; but John has been abandoned utterly, absolutely, to execration and contempt. Yet from the reign of John dates, if not the first dawn, the first concentrated power of the liberties of England. A memorable example of the wonderful manner in which Divine Providence overrules the worst of men to its noblest and most beneficent designs! From this time, too, the impulses of religious independence began to stir in the hearts of men. The national English pride had been

Bishops of Winchester, Chichester, | Chester, Earl of Ferrars, Wm. Browne,
 Worcester, Aimeric de St. Maur, or | Walter de Lacy, John de Monmout,
 Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, Earl of | Savary de Mauleon, Fulk de Breauté.

deeply wounded by the degradation of the realm to a fief of the See of Rome; and the ambition of Rome had overleaped itself.¹ Future Popes were tempted to lay intolerable taxation upon the clergy, which was felt by the whole kingdom; and to inflict the almost more intolerable grievance, the filling up the English benefices by foreign ecclesiastics—if not resident, hated as draining away their wealth without condescending to regard any duties; if resident, hated still more profoundly for their pride, ignorance of the language, and uncongenial manners. Our history must show this gradual alienation and estrangement of the national mind from the See of Rome, the silent growth of Teutonic freedom.

¹ The historians, all ecclesiastics, are undeniable witnesses. We have heard Wendover. Westminster describes the charter of surrender as “omnibus eam audientibus lugubrem et detestabilem.”—Ann. 1213, p. 93.

Knighton says, “De libero fecit se servum, de dominante servientem, terramque Anglicanam quæ solebat esse libera et ab omni servitute quieta, fecit tributariam et ancillam pedisequam.”—De event. Angliæ, 1. ii. c. 25.

CHAPTER VI.

Innocent and Spain.

THE three great Sovereigns of Western Europe, the Kings of Germany, of France, and of England, had seen their realms under Papal interdict, themselves under the sentence of excommunication ; but the Papal power under Innocent not only aspired to humble the loftiest : hardly one of the smaller kingdoms had not already been taught, or was not soon taught, to feel the awful majesty of the Papacy. From the Northern Ocean to Hungary, from Hungary to the Spanish shore of the Atlantic, Innocent is exercising what takes the language of protective or parental authority, but which in most cases is asserted by the terrible interdict. The sunshine of Papal favour is rarely without the black thunder-clouds looming heavily over the land, breaking or threatening to break, in all their wrath. Nowhere is he more constantly engaged, either as claiming feudal sovereignty, as regulating the ecclesiastical appointments, as, above all, the arbiter in questions of marriage, than among the sovereigns of the petty kingdoms of Spain. These kingdoms had gradually formed themselves out of conquests from receding Mohammedanism. Spanish Christianity was a perpetual crusade ; and the Head of Western Christendom might still watch with profound anxiety these advances, as it were, of Christendom. There was nothing to prevent another inroad from Africa, ruled by powerful Mohammedan potentates ;

nothing, till the great battle of Navas de Tolosa, to guarantee Western Christendom from a new invasion as terrible as that under Tarik. A second battle of Tours ^{July 16,} might be necessary to rescue Europe from the ^{1212.} dominion of the Crescent. Innocent had the happiness to hear the tidings of Navas de Tolosa, where the Crescent fell before the united armies of the three Kings of Castile, Arragon, and Navarre. To each of the Peninsular kingdoms—Portugal, Leon, Castile, Arragon, and Navarre—Innocent speaks in the tone of a master; each, except perhaps Arragon, is in its turn threatened with interdict, his one ordinary means of compulsion.

Portugal had been formed into a Christian State by the valour of a descendant of the house of ^{Henry of} Capet; it had been organised by the wisdom ^{Portugal.} of his son Sancho. The Popes had already asserted the strange pretension that territories conquered from the Unbelievers were at their disposal, and that they had the power of raising principalities into kingdoms. Alexander III. had advanced Portugal to that dignity on condition of an annual tribute to the See of Rome. The payment was irregularly made, if not disclaimed. Innocent instructs his Legate, the Brother Rainer, a man of great discretion and trust, employed on all the affairs of Spain, to demand the subsidy; if refused, to compel it by the only authority—ecclesiastical censure. The King of Portugal is to be reminded that he may expect great temporal as well as spiritual advantage from his filial submission to the Supreme Pontiff; but if God is offended by the withholding their rightful dues from other churches, how much more grievous a sin, how heinous a sacrilege is it, to deprive of its full rights the Church which is the mistress of all

Churches!^a In the same arbitrary manner, and by the same means, Rainer was to compel the Kings of Portugal and Castile to maintain a treaty of peace, on which they had agreed, and to resist the intrigues of turbulent men, who endeavoured to plunge them again into war.

In the affairs of Leon and Castile Innocent interposed in his character as supreme arbiter on all questions of marriage. On the death of Alfonso the Emperor,^b the great kingdom of Leon had been divided between his two sons, the Kings of Leon and Castile, Fernando and Sancho. The second generation was now on each throne; both the princes bore the name of Alfonso. But instead of urging the war against the common enemy, the Unbeliever, these princes had turned their arms against each other. Alfonso of Leon had married the daughter of the King of Portugal. These sovereigns were connected by some remote tie of consanguinity; the incestuous union was declared void. Cœlestine III. placed under interdict the two kingdoms of Portugal and Leon, and the marriage, though Teresa had borne him three children (one son and two daughters), was absolutely annulled. The repudiated Teresa returned to her native Portugal.^c But Alfonso of Leon broke off this wedlock only The king of Leon. to form another more obnoxious to the ecclesiastical canons. He married Berengaria, the daughter of his cousin-german the King of Castile. The nobles of both realms rejoiced in this union, as a guarantee for peace between Castile and Leon. They would entertain

^a Epist. i. 99, 449. ^b Mariana, xi.

^c Innocent's language is express as to the revocation of the marriage: "Filiam . . . Portugallie regis, incestuose præsumperat copulare . . .

. . . unde quod illegitimè factum erat, est penitus revocatum."—Epist. ii. 75. "Verum dictus Rex Legion. ad deterriora manum extendens."—Compar. Mariana, xi. 17.

no doubt that the Papal dispensation might be obtained for a marriage, though within the prohibited degrees, yet by no means offensive to the natural feelings in the West, and of so much importance in directing the united arms of Leon and Castile against the Mohammedans. But to this deviation from the sacred canons the Pope Coelestine had expressed his determination not to accede; he sent the Cardinal Guido of St. Angelo to prohibit this second profane wedlock. The Cardinal was to pronounce the interdict against both realms, excommunication against both Sovereigns, unless the hateful contract were annulled. Under this sentence were included, as abettors of the sin, the Archbishop of Salamanca, the Bishops of Zamora, Astorga, and Leon. The Bishop of Oviedo was persecuted by the King of Leon, as inclined to obey the Pope rather than his temporal sovereign.^d Innocent was not likely to be indulgent where his predecessor had been severe. To this marriage he applies the strongest terms of censure: it is incestuous, abominable to God, detestable in the sight of man. The Brother Rainer is ordered to ratify in the most solemn manner the interdict of the kingdoms, the excommunication of the Kings. Rainer cited the Kings to appear before him. The King of Leon paid no regard to the summons; the King of Castile averted the interdict for a time by declaring his readiness to receive back his daughter. But he had no intention to restore certain castles which he had obtained as her dowry. The Archbishop of Toledo and the Bishop of Palencia on the part of the King of Castile, the Bishop of Zamora on that of the King of Leon, appeared in Rome. They could hardly obtain a hearing from the inexorable

^d Epist. i. 58, 97, 125.

Pontiff. But their representations of the effects of the interdict enforced the consideration of the Pope. They urged the danger as to the heretics. When the lips of the pastors of the people were closed, the unrefuted heretics could not be controlled by the power of the King. New heresies spring up in every quarter. How great, too, the danger as to the Saracens! The religious services and the religious sermons alone inflamed the valour of the people to the holy war against the misbelievers; their devotion, now that both prince and people were involved in one interdict, waxed cold. Nor less the danger as to the Catholics, for since the clergy refused their spiritual services, the people refused their temporal payments; offerings, first-fruits, tithes, were cut off; the clergy were reduced to beg, to dig, or, worse reproach, to be the slaves of the Jews. The Pope, with great reluctance, consented to relax the severity of the interdict, to permit the performance of the sacred offices, except the burial of the dead in consecrated ground; this was granted to the clergy alone as a special favour. But the King himself was still under the ban of excommunication; whatever town or village he entered, all divine service ceased; no one was to dare to celebrate an act of holy worship. This mandate was addressed to the Archbishop of Compostella and to all the bishops of the kingdom of Leon.^e

But his wife had been still further endeared to the King of Leon by the birth of a son; ^f and so regardless were the Leonese clergy of the Papal decree, that the baptism of the child was celebrated publicly with the utmost pomp in the cathedral church of Leon. Innocent

^e Epist. ii. 75.

^f The son by Teresa had died in infancy. Mariana, *loc. cit.*

had compared together the royal line of the East and of the West. In the East, Isabella, the heiress of the kingdom of Jerusalem, had contracted two incestuous marriages within the prohibited degrees. God had smitten with death her two husbands, Conrad of Montferrat and Henry of Champagne. He would even inflict

worse vengeance on the transgressors of the West,
A.D. 1199.

if they persisted in their detestable deed. His vaticination was singularly unfortunate. The son of this unblest union grew up a king of the most exemplary valour, virtue, and prosperity; and after his death the canonised Ferdinand was admitted into the holy assembly of the Saints. Nor was it till Berengaria had borne five children to Alfonso of Leon that her own religious scruples were awakened, and she retired from the arms of her husband to a peaceful retreat in the dominions of her father. The ban under which the kingdom had laboured for nearly five years was annulled; the five children were declared legitimate and capable of inheriting the crown. The dispute concerning the border castles was arranged by the intervention of the bishops.

The King of Navarre had incurred the interdict of
A.D. 1204.
 King of
 Navarre. Innocent on more intelligible grounds. He had made an impious treaty with the Infidels; he had even undertaken a suspicious visit to the Miramolin in Africa; he was supposed to be organising a league with the Mohammedans both of Spain and Africa against his enemies the Kings of Arragon and Castile: on him and on his realm Brother Rainer was at once to pronounce the ban, and to give lawful power to the King of Arragon to subdue his dominions. Sancho of Navarre, however, averted the subjugation of the realm: he entered into a treaty with the allied Kings of Arragon and Castile. It was stipulated in the terms

of the treaty that Pedro of Arragon should wed the sister of Navarre. But again was heard the voice of the Pope, declaring that the marriage, though the pledge and surety of peace, and of Sancho's loyalty to the cause of Christendom, being within the third degree of consanguinity, could not be. The oath which Sancho had taken to fulfil this stipulation was worse than perjury; it was to be broken at all cost and all hazard.⁶

But thus inexorable to any breach of the ecclesiastical canons, so entirely had these canons usurped A.D. 1199.
King of
Arragon. the place of the higher and immutable laws of Christian morals, here, as in the case of John of England, Innocent himself was, if not accommodating, strangely blind to the sin of marriage contracted under more unhallowed auspices. Pedro of Arragon was the model of Spanish chivalry on the throne. He aspired to be the leader of a great crusading league of all the Spanish kings against the Unbelievers. Innocent A.D. 1204. himself had the prudence to allay for a time the fervour of his zeal. The court of Pedro, like that of his brother, the Count of Provence, was splendid, gay, and dissolute: the troubadour was welcome, with his music and his song, to the joyous prince and the bevy of fair ladies, who were not insensible to the gallant King or to the amorous bards. But Pedro, while he encouraged the gay science of Provence, was inexorable to its religious freedom. He was hitherto severely orthodox, and banished all heresy from his dominions under pain of death. The kingdom flourished under his powerful rule: the King's peace was proclaimed for the protection of widows and orphans, roads and markets, oxen at the plough and all agricultural implements, olive-

⁶ Epist. i. 556. Compare Abarca, *Anales de Aragon*, xviii. 7.

trees, and dovecotes. The husbandman found a protector, his harvests security, under the King's rule.^b

The Kings of Arragon had never been crowned on their accession; they received only the honour of knighthood. From Counts of Barcelona, owing allegiance to the descendants of Charlemagne, they had gradually risen to the dignity of Kings of Arragon. But the last sign of kingship was wanting, and Pedro determined to purchase that honour from the hand which assumed the power of dispensing crowns: he would receive the crown at Rome from the Pope himself, and, as the price of this condescension, hesitated not to declare the kingdom of Arragon feudatory to the See of Rome, and to covenant for an annual tribute to St. Peter. On his journey to Rome he visited his brother at his court in Provence. The beauty and the rich inheritance of Maria, the only daughter of the Count of Montpellier, whose mother was Eudoxia, the daughter of the Emperor of the East, attracted the gallant and ambitious Pedro. There was an impediment to the marriage, it might have been supposed, more insuperable than the ties of consanguinity. She was already married, and had borne two children, to the Count of Comminges;ⁱ she afterwards, indeed, asserted the nullity of this marriage, on the plea that the Count of Comminges had two wives living at the time of his union with her. But the easy Provençal clergy raised no remonstrance. Innocent, if rumours reached him (he could hardly be ignorant),

^b Hurter, p. 598.

ⁱ " Si bien Doña Maria de Montpellier fue en *santidad* y valor ornamento de el estado de Reynas, y traia en dote tan ricos y oportunos pueblos." Abarca, indeed, says, " Ella

ni era hermosa ni doncella." He adds that she had been forced to this marriage, neither legitimate nor public, with the Count of Comminges; see also on her two daughters, and the count's two wives—i. p. 225.

closed his ears to that which was not brought before him by regular appeal. The espousals took place at Montpellier,^k and Pedro set forth again for Rome. He sailed from Marseilles to Genoa, from Genoa to Ostia. He was received with great state: two hundred horsemen welcomed him to the shore; the Senator of Rome, the Cardinals, went out to meet him; he was received by the Pope himself in St. Peter's; his lodging was with the Canons of that church.

Three days after took place the coronation of the new feudatory king (thus was an example set to the King of England) in the Church of San Pancrazio beyond the Tiber, in the presence of all the civilians, ecclesiastical dignitaries of Rome, and of the Roman people.^m He was anointed by the Bishop of Porto, and invested in all the insignia of royalty—the robe, the mantle, the sceptre, the golden apple, the crown, and the mitre. He swore this oath of allegiance:—"I, Pedro, King of Arragon, profess and declare that I will be true and loyal to my lord the Pope Innocent, and to his Catholic successors in the See of Rome; that I will maintain my realm in fidelity and obedience to him, defend the Catholic faith, and prosecute all heretical pravity; protect the liberties and rights of the Church; and in all the territories under my dominion maintain peace and justice. So help me God and his Holy Gospel."

The King, in his royal attire, proceeded to the Church of St. Peter. There he cast aside his crown and sceptre, surrendered his kingdom into the hands of the Pope, and received again the investiture by the sword,

^k He soon repented of his ill-sorted marriage. Abarca says he set off "para salir el bien de ellos (desvios de el Rey con la Reyna); y alexarse

mas de ella," and hoped to get a divorce from the Pope.

^m St. Martin's day. Gesta, c. 120.

presented to the Pope. He laid on the altar a parchment, in which he placed his realm under the protection of St. Peter; and bound himself and his successors to the annual tribute of two hundred gold pieces.ⁿ So was Arragon a fief of the Roman See; but it was not without much sullen protest of the high-minded Arragonese. They complained of it as a base surrender of their liberties; as affording an opening to the Pope to interfere in the internal affairs of the kingdom with measures more perilous to their honour and liberty. Their discontent was aggravated by heavy burthens laid upon them by the King. They complained that in his private person he was prodigal, and rapacious as a ruler. When these proceedings were proclaimed at Huesca they were met with an outburst of reprobation, not only from the people, but from all the nobles and hidalgos of the kingdom.^o Pedro of Arragon will again appear as Count of Montpellier, in right of his wife, if not on the side of those against whom the Pope had sanctioned a crusade on account of their heretical pravity; yet as the mortal foe, as falling in battle before the arms, of the leader of that crusade, Simon de Montfort.

The lesser kingdoms of Europe, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, those on the Baltic, were not beyond the sphere of Innocent's all-embracing watchfulness, more especially Bohemia, on account of its close relation to the Empire. The Duke of Bohemia had dared to receive the royal crown from the excommunicated Philip.^p The Pope lifts up his voice in solemn

March 1,
1201.

ⁿ They bore the Moorish name of Massimute, from the King Jussuf Massemut; each was worth six solidi.

^o Mariana, lib. xi. p. 362. "Solo

alegre para los Romanos; y despues infeliz y triste para los Aragoneses. Abarca. King Pedro did not succeed in getting rid of his wife.

^p Epist. i. 707.

rebuke. The Bohemian shows some disposition to fall off to Otho; the great prelates of Prague and Olmutz are ordered to employ all their spiritual power to confirm and strengthen him in that cause. Hopes are held out that Bohemia may be honoured by a metropolitan see.

To the King of Denmark Innocent has been seen as the protector of his injured daughter; throughout, Denmark looks to Rome alone for justice and for redress. Even Thule, the new and more remote Thule, is not inaccessible to the sovereign of Christian Rome. We read a lofty but affectionate letter addressed to the bishops and nobles of Iceland.^a A legate is sent to that island. They are warned not to submit to the excommunicated and apostate priest Swero, who aspired to the throne of Norway. Yet, notwithstanding the Pope, Swero the apostate founded a dynasty which for many generations held the throne of Norway.

The kingdom of Hungary might seem under the special protection of Innocent III.: it was his aim to urge those warlike princes to enter on the Crusades. Bela III. died, not having fulfilled his vow of proceeding to the Holy Land. To his elder son Emeric he bequeathed his kingdom; to the younger, Andrew, a vast treasure, accumulated for this pious end, and the accomplishment of his father's holy vow. Andrew squandered the money, notwithstanding the Pope's rebukes, on his pleasures; and then stood up in arms against his bro-

^a Epist. i. On all these minor transactions, for which I have not space, Hurter is full and minute. Hurter, I think, is an honest writer; but sees all the acts of Innocent | through a haze of admiration, which brightens and aggrandises them. Never was the proverb more fully verified, proselytes are always enthusiasts.

ther for the crown of Hungary. His first insurrection ended in defeat. The Pope urged the victorious Emeric to undertake the Crusade; yet the Pope could not save Zara (Jadara), the haven of Hungary on the Adriatic from the crusaders, diverted by Venice to the conquest. Andrew, ere long, was again in arms against his royal brother; the nobles, the whole realm were on his side; a few loyal partisans adhered to the King. Emeric advanced alone to the hostile van; he threw off his armour, he bared his breast; "who will dare to shed the blood of their King?"^r The army of Andrew fell back, and made way for the King, who confronted his brother. He took the rebel by the hand, and led him away through his own hosts. Both armies broke out in loyal acclamations. Andrew was a prisoner, and sent to a fortress in Croatia. Emeric, before he undertook the Crusade, would have his infant son Ladislaus crowned: a few months after, he was dying, and compelled to entrust his heir to the guardianship of his rebel brother. Ere long the mother and her royal son were fugitives at Vienna; but the timely death of the infant placed the crown on the head of Andrew. After some delay, Andrew atoned in the sight of the Pope for all the disobedience and ambition of his youth, by embarking at the head of a strong Hungarian army for the Holy Land. The King of Hungary could not overawe the fatal dissensions among the Christians, which thwarted every gallant enterprise. He returned after one ineffective campaign. Yet Andrew of Hungary left behind him the name of a valiant and prudent champion of the Cross. He returned to his kingdom

^r Compare Mailath, *Geschichte der Magyaren*, especially for the striking scene of Emeric in the army of his brother.—v. i. p. 141. A.D. 1203.

in the year of Innocent's death.^s The Golden Bull, the charter of the Hungarian liberties, was the free and noble gift of Andrew of Hungary.

Innocent extended his authority over Servia, and boasted of having brought Bulgaria, even Armenia (the Christian Crusader's kingdom), under the dominion of the Roman See.

^s A.D. 1216. On Andrew's crusade see Michaud and Wilken, *in loc.* Brequigny ii. 487, 489.

CHAPTER VII.

Innocent and the East.

INNOCENT III., thus assuming a supremacy even more extensive than any of his predecessors over the kingdoms of the West, was not the Pontiff to abandon the East to its fate; to leave the sepulchre of Christ in the hands of the Infidels; to permit the kingdom of Jerusalem, feeble as it was, to perish without an effort in its defence; to confess, as it were, that God was on the side of Mohammedanism, that all the former Crusades had been an idle waste of Christian blood and treasure, and that it was the policy, the ignominious policy of Christendom to content itself with maintaining, if possible, the nearer frontier, Sicily and Spain.

Yet the event of the Crusades might have crushed a less lofty and less religious mind than that of Innocent to despair. Armies after armies had left their bones to crumble on the plains of Asia Minor or of Galilee; great sovereigns had perished, or returned discomfited from the Holy Land. Of all the conquests of Godfrey of Bouillon remained but Antioch, a few towns in Palestine, and some desert and uncultivated territory. The hopes which had been excited by the death of Saladin, and the dissensions between his sons and his brother, Melek al Adhel, had soon been extinguished. The great German Crusade, in which the Archbishops of Mentz and of Bremen, the

Bishops of Halberstadt, Zeitz, Verden, Wurtzburg, Passau and Ratisbon, the Dukes of Austria, Carinthia and Brabant, Henry the Palgrave of the Rhine, Herman of Thuringia, Otho Margrave of Brandenburg, and many more of the great Teutonic nobles had joined, had ended in disgraceful failure. The death of the Emperor Henry gave them an excuse for stealing back ignominiously, single or in small bands, to Europe; they were called to take their share in the settlement of the weighty affairs of the Empire; the Archbishop of Mentz lingered to the last, and at length, he too turned his back on the Holy Land. The French, who had remained after the departure of Philip Augustus, resented the insufferable arrogance of the Germans; the Germans affected to despise the French. But their only achievement, as Innocent himself tauntingly declared, had been the taking of undefended Berytus; while the Unbeliever boasted that he had stormed Joppa in the face of their whole host, with infinite slaughter of the Christians. All was dissension, jealousy, hostility. The King of Antioch was at war with the Christian King of Armenia. The two great Orders, the only powerful defenders of the land, the Hospitallers and the Templars, were in implacable feud. The Christians of Palestine were in morals, in character, in habits, the most licentious, most treacherous, most ferocious of mankind. Isabella, the heiress of the kingdom, had transferred the short-lived sceptre to four successive husbands. It rested now with Amalric, King of Cyprus. Worst of all, terrible rumours were abroad of suspicious compliances, secret correspondences, even secret apostasies to Mohammedanism, and not only of single renegades. If those rumours had not begun to spread concerning the dark dealings of the Templars with

forbidden practices and doctrines, which led during the next century to their fall, Innocent himself had to rebuke their haughty contempt of the Papal authority. In abuse of their privilege, during times of interdict, whenever they entered a city, they commanded the bells to ring and the divine offices to be publicly celebrated. They impressed with the sign of the cross, and affiliated to their order for a small annual payment of two or three pence, the lowest of mankind, usurers and other criminals, and taught them that, as of their order, whether they died in excommunication or not, they had a right to be buried with the rites of the Church in consecrated earth: it was said that the guilty, licentious and rapacious order wore not the secular garb for the sake of religion, but the garb of religion for the sake of the world.*

But the darker the aspect of affairs, the more firmly throughout his Pontificate seemed Innocent to be persuaded that the Crusade was the cause of God. Among his first letters were some addressed to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and to Conrad of Mentz with the Crusaders of Germany. In every new disaster, in every discomfiture and loss, the Popes had still found unfailing refuge in ascribing them to the sins of the Christians: and their sins were dark enough to justify the strongest language of Innocent. To the Patriarch he pledges himself to the most earnest support, exhorts him and his people to prayer, fasting, and all religious works. It needed but more perfect faith, more

Innocent
urges the
Crusade.

* "Dum utentes doctrinis dæmoniorum in cujusque tructanni pectore Crucifixi signaculum imprimunt . . . asserentes quod quicumque duobus vel tribus denariis annuis collatis eisdem.

se in eorum fraternitatem contulerint, carere de jure nequeant ecclesiasticâ sepulturâ etiamsi interdicti."—Epist. x. 121. This letter belongs to the year 1208.

holiness, and one believer would put to flight twelve millions; the miracles of God against Pharaoh and against the Philistines would be renewed in their behalf. For the first two or three years of Innocent's Pontificate, address after address, rising one above another in impassioned eloquence, enforced the duty of contributing to the Holy War. In the midst of his contest with Markwald, his strife concerning the Empire, his interdict against the King of France, he forgot not this remoter object. This was to be the principal, if not the exclusive theme of the preaching of the clergy.^b In letters to the Bishop of Syracuse, to all the Bishops of Apulia, Calabria and Tuscany, he urges them to visit every city, town, and castle; he exhorts not only the nobles, but the citizens to take up arms for Jesus Christ. Those who cannot assist in person are to assist in other ways, by furnishing ships, provisions, money. Somewhat later came a more energetic epistle to all archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, and princes and barons of France, England, Hungary, and Sicily. He spoke of the insulting language of the enemies of Christ.^c "Where," they say, "is your God, who cannot deliver you out of our hands? Behold, we have defiled your sanctuaries. We have stretched forth our arm, we have taken at the first assault, we hold, in despite of you, those your desirable places, where your superstition had its beginning. We have weakened and broken the lances of the French, we have resisted the efforts of the English, we have repressed the strength of the Germans. Now, for a second time we have conquered the brave Spaniards. Where is your God? Let him arise and protect you and himself." The Pope bitterly

^b Epist. i. 302.^c Epist. i. 336.

alludes to the campaign of the Germans, the capture of defenceless Berytus, the loss of well-fortified Joppa. The Vicar of Christ himself would claim no exemption from the universal call ; he would, as became him, set the example, and in person and in estate devote himself to the sacred cause. He had, therefore, himself invested with the cross two cardinals of the Church, who were to precede the army of the Lord, and to be maintained, not by any mendicant support, but at the expense of the Holy See. The Cardinal Peter was first to proceed to France, to settle the differences between the Kings of England and France, and to enlist them in the common cause ; the Cardinal Soffrido to Venice, Contributions required. to awaken that powerful Republic. After the Pope's example, before the next March, every archbishop, bishop, and prelate was to furnish a certain number of soldiers, according to his means, or a certain rate in money for the support of the crusading army. Whoever refused was to be treated as a violator of God's commandments, threatened with condign punishment, even with suspension. To all who embarked in the war Innocent promised, on their sincere repentance, the remission of all their sins, and eternal life in the great day of retribution. Those who were unable to proceed in person might obtain the same remission in proportion to the bounty of their offerings and the devotion of their hearts. The estates of all who took up the cross were placed under the protection of St. Peter. Those who had sworn to pay interest for sums borrowed for these pious uses were to be released from their oaths ; the Jews were especially to be compelled by all Christian princes to abandon all their usurious claims on pain of being interdicted from all commercial dealings with Christians. "If the soldiers of the Cross

so entering on their holy course, should walk in the way of the Lord, not as those before them, in revellings and drunkenness, and in licentious indulgences in foreign lands, of which they would have been ashamed at home, they would trample their enemies down as mice under their feet."

But Christendom heard the address of the Pope with apathy approaching to indifference. So utterly might the fire seem extinct, which on former occasions ran wild through Europe, and such was the jealousy which had been raised of the rapacity of the Roman court, that sullen murmurs were heard in many parts, that all this zeal was but to raise money for other ends; that only a small part of the subsidies levied for the defence of the Holy Land would ever reach their destination. Nor was this the suspicion of the vulgar alone, it seems to have been shared by the clergy.^d The Pope was compelled to stand on his defence; to repel the odious charge, to disclaim all intention that the money was to be sent to Rome; to appoint the bishop of each diocese with one Knight Templar, and one Knight of St. John, as the administrators of this sacred trust.^e

More than a year elapsed; the supplications for aid from King Amalric and King Leo of Armenia, from the Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem became more urgent. Innocent found it necessary to make a stronger and more specific appeal to the sluggish and unawakened clergy. On the last day of the ^{General} century issued forth a new proclamation to the arch-
taxation.

^d Walter der Vogelweide, Badulf de Diceto. Compare Wilken, p. 80.

^e "Non est ab aliquo præsumendum, ut ea, quæ a fratribus et coepiscopis nostris, et tam prælatis quam

subditis ecclesiarum, in opus tam pium erogari mandavimus, propriis velimus usibus applicare, aut aliorum eleemosynas cupiditate quadam terræ sanctæ subtrahere."—Epist. i. 409.

bishops, bishops, and prelates of Tuscany, Lombardy, Germany, France, England, Hungary, Sclavonia, Ireland, Scotland. The Pope and his cardinals, and the clergy of Rome, had determined in this pressing exigency, to devote a tenth of all their revenues to the succour of the Holy Land. All prelates and clergy in Latin Christendom were summoned to contribute at least a fortieth to this end. But they were assured that this was not intended as a permanent tax, it was a special burthen not to be drawn into precedent. How criminally hard-hearted he^f who should refuse so small a boon in this hour of need to his Creator and Redeemer! These funds were to be deposited in a safe place, the amount notified to Rome. From this enforced contribution were exempted the Cistercian and Carthusian monks, the Præmonstratensian canons, and the hermits of Grandmont: it was left to their devout hearts to fulfil their part in the common sacrifice; but it was suggested that not less than a fiftieth could be just; and there was a significant menace that they would be deprived of all their privileges, if they were slow and sparing in their offerings. In like manner all Christian people were to be called upon incessantly, at masses appointed for the purpose. In every church was to be an alms'-chest with three keys, one held by the bishop, one by the parson of the parish, one by a chosen laic. The administration was committed to the Bishops, the Knights of the Hospital, and those of the Temple. These alms were chiefly designed to maintain poor knights who could not afford the voyage to the Holy Land; but for this they were to serve for a year or more, and obtain a certificate of such service under

* "Sciat autem se culpabiliter durum et dure culpabilem."—Epist. ii. 270.

the hand of the King and the Patriarch of Jerusalem, of the Grand Masters of the Templars and of the Hospitallers, and one of the Papal Legates. If they died or fell in battle, what remained of their maintenance was to be assigned to the support of other soldiers of the Cross.

The demands of the Pope met with no opposition, yet with but scanty compliance. At the Council of Dijon, held concerning the interdict of the King of France, by Peter, Cardinal of Capua, the clergy voted not a fortieth but a thirtieth of their revenue to this service: but the collection encountered insurmountable difficulties; and Innocent found it necessary to address a still sterner rebuke to the clergy of France. "Behold, the crucified is crucified anew! he is again smitten, again scourged; again his enemies take up their taunting reproach, 'If thou be the Son of God, save thyself; if thou canst, redeem the land of thy birth from our hands, restore thy cross to the worshippers of the cross.' But ye, I say it with grief, though I ask you again and again, will not give me one cup of cold water. The laity, whom you urge to assume the cross by your words, not by your acts, take up against you the words of Scripture, 'They bind heavy burthens upon us, but themselves will not move them with one of their fingers.' Ye are reproached as bestowing more of God's patrimony on actors than on Christ; as spending more on hawks and hounds than in His aid; lavish to all others, to Him alone sparing, even parsimonious."*

But Richard and Philip of France suspended not their animosities; and hardly was Richard dead when the interdict fell upon France. Germany was distracted with

* Gesta, c. 84.

the claims of the rival Emperors. It needed more than the remote admonitions of the Holy See to rekindle the exhausted and desponding fanaticism of Christendom. Without a Peter the Hermit, or a St. Bernard, Urban II. and Eugenius III. would not have precipitated Europe upon Asia. The successor of these powerful preachers, it was hoped, had appeared in Fulk of Neuilly.^h Already had Fulk of Neuilly displayed those powers of devout eloquence, which work on the contagious religious passions of multitudes. The clergy of Paris and its neighbourhood were not famous for their self-denial, and Fulk of Neuilly had been no exception to the common dissoluteness. He had been seized, however, with a paroxysm of profound compunction; he was suddenly a model of the severest austerity and devout holiness. He became ashamed of his ignorance, especially of the Holy Scriptures; he, a teacher of the people, wanted the first elements of instruction. He began to attend the lectures of the learned men in Paris, especially of the celebrated Peter the Chanter. With style and tablet he noted down all the vivid and emphatic sentences which he heard; he taught to his parishioners on Sunday what he had learnt during the week. He wrought unexpected wonders on the minds of his simple hearers: his fame spread; he was invited to preach in neighbouring churches. He himself was hardly aware of his powers, till on a memorable sermon preached in the open street, that of Chaupel, in Paris, to a crowd of clergy and laity, his hearers suddenly began to tear off their clothes, to throw away their shoes, to cast themselves at his feet, imploring

^h Ranulf de Coggeshale and James de Vitry are most full on Fulk of Neuilly: the other authorities, in Michaud, Wilken, and Hurter.

him to give them rods or scourges to inflict instant penance on themselves. They promised to yield themselves up to his direction. Everywhere it was the same: usurers laid down their ill-gotten gains at his feet; prostitutes forswore their sins and embraced a holy life. But it should seem, that the first passion for his preaching died away; the public mind had become more languid, and Fulk of Neuilly retired to the diligent and faithful care of his own flock at Neuilly.

Just at this time died his teacher, Peter the Chanter. On that eloquent man Innocent had relied for the effective preaching of the Crusade in France; with his dying lips Peter bequeathed his mission to Fulk of Neuilly. With this new impulse the fervid preaching of Fulk kindled to all its former energy and power. He now, in his zeal for the cross, assailed higher vices—the somnolence of the prelates, the unchastity of the clergy; he denounced the popular heresies; many were converted from their errors; over a softer class of sinners he again obtained such influence, that from the gifts which flowed in to him on all sides, he gave to some marriage portions, for others he founded the convent of St. Anthony in Paris as a refuge from the world. His reputation reached Rome. Soon after his accession, Innocent wrote a letter highly approving the holy zeal of Fulk, urged him to devote all his exertions to the sacred cause, to choose some both of the Black and White Monks, with the sanction of the Legate Peter of Capua, as his assistants, and thus to sow the good seed through the breadth of the land.¹

Again Fulk of Neuilly set out from place to place; he was everywhere hailed as the worthy successor of

¹ Epist. i. 398. Villehardouin.

Peter the Hermit. The wonders which he wrought in the minds and hearts of men were believed to be accompanied by miraculous powers of healing and of blessing. But in the display of his miraculous powers, the preacher showed prudence and sagacity. Some he healed instantaneously; to others he declared that their cure would be prejudicial to their salvation, and, therefore, displeasing to God; others must wait the fitting time, they had not yet suffered long enough the chastening discipline of the Lord. He blessed many wells, over which chapels were built and long hallowed by popular veneration. Before the close of the year, full of fame as the preacher of the cross, Fulk of Neuilly attended, the great meeting of the Cistercian Order, and himself took the cross with the Bishop of Langres. Yet the Order declined to delegate any of their body as attendants of the preacher. They gave him, however, a multitude of crosses to distribute, which were almost snatched from his hands by the eager zeal of his followers, as he left the church. The news spread that, like Peter the Hermit, he was about himself to head a crusade; thousands flocked around him, but he would only receive the poor as his followers; he declined the association of the rich.

He pursued his triumphant career with the full sanction of his Bishop, through Normandy and Brittany, Burgundy and Flanders, everywhere preaching the crusade, everywhere denouncing the vices of the age avarice, usury, rapacity. Nobles, knights, citizens, serfs, crowded around him; they took the cross from his hands, they gazed in astonishment at his miracles; their zeal at times rose to an importunate height; they tore his clothes from him to keep the shreds as hallowed reliques. Fulk seems to have been somewhat pas-

sionate, and not without humour. Once, a strong and turbulent fellow being more than usually troublesome, he shouted aloud that he had not blessed his own garments, but would bless those of this man. In an instant the zeal of the multitude was diverted; they fell upon the man, tore his whole dress in tatters, and carried off the precious shreds. Sometimes he would keep order by laying about him vigorously with his staff; those were happy who were wounded by his hallowed hands; they kissed their bruises, and cherished every drop of blood shed by his holy violence. At the close of three years Fulk of Neuilly could boast, in another assembly of the Cistercian Order, that 200,000 persons had received the cross from his hands.

Yet, as before, the eloquence of Fulk of Neuilly wanted depth and intensity; its effects were immediate and violent, but not lasting. It might be, that he either disdained or neglected those ostentatious austerities, which to the vulgar are the crowning test of earnestness. He wore, indeed, a sackcloth shirt next his skin, and kept rigidly the fasts of the Church; but on other occasions he ate and drank, and lived like other men. He was decently shaved, wore seemly attire, he did not travel barefoot, but on an easy palfrey. It might be that his reserve in working miracles awoke suspicion in some, resentment in others who were disappointed in their petitions. But the deep and real cause of his transitory success, was the general jealousy which was abroad concerning the misapplication of the vast funds raised for the service of the Holy Land. Offerings had streamed to him from all quarters; he had received vast subsidies: these he devoted to supply the more needy knights, who took the cross, with arms and provisions for their pilgrimage. But the rapacity

of Rome and of the clergy had settled a profound mistrust throughout mankind: like Innocent, Fulk was accused of diverting these holy alms to other uses.^k From the time that he began to receive these lavish offerings, the spell of his power was broken; as wealth flowed in, awe and respect fell off. He did not live to witness the crusade of which, even if his motives were thus with some clouded by suspicion, he had been the great preacher; he died of a fever at Neuilly in the year 1202. The large sums which he had deposited in the abbey of the Cistercians were faithfully applied to the restoration of the walls of Tyre, Acre, and Berytus, which had been shaken by an earthquake; and to the maintenance of poor knights in the Holy Land. The death of Fulk is attributed by one writer to grief at the mal-appropriation of a large sum deposited in another quarter.^m Nor was Fulk's example without followers. Preachers of the Cross rose up in every part of England and France; the most effective of whom was the Abbot Martin, the head of a Cistercian convent, that of Paris, in Alsace, who himself bore a distinguished part in the Crusade which never reached the Holy Land.

The admonitions and exhortations of the Pope, the preachings of Fulk of Neuilly, of the Abbot Martin, and their followers, had at length stirred some of the

^k "Ipse (Fulco) ex fidelium elemosynis maximam cœpit congregare pecuniam quam pauperibus cruce signatis, tam militibus quam aliis proposuerat erogare. Licet autem causâ cupiditatis vel aliquâ sinistrâ intentione collectas istas non faceret, occulto Dei judicio, ex tunc ejus auctoritas et prædicatio cœpit valde diminui apud homines, et, crescente pecuniâ, timor et

reverentia decrescebat." — Jac. Vitriac. "Tandem (Fulco) sub obtentu Terræ Sanctæ, prædicationi quæstuosæ insistens, quod nimiam pecuniam aggregavit, quasi ad succursam terræ Hierosolymitanæ, et quod erat ultra modum iracundus." — Anonym. Chron. of Laon, in Bouquet, viii. p. 711.

^m Hugo Plagon, cited by Wilken v. p. 105.

young hearts among the secondary Princes of France. At a tournament at Cery in Champagne, Thiebault the Count of Champagne and Brie, at ^{Crusade of Cery.} the age of twenty-one, and Louis Count of Blois and Chartres, at the age of twenty-seven, in an access of religious valour, assumed the Cross. The bishops and the nobles of the land caught the contagious enthusiasm: at Cery, Rainald de Montmirail and Simon de Montfort, Garnier Bishop of Troyes, Walther of Brienne, and the Marshal of Champagne Geoffroy of Villehardouin; the great names of Dampierre, of de Castel and Rochfort were enrolled in the territory of Blois; in the royal domains, the Bishop of Soissons, two Montmorencies, a de Courcy, a Malvoisin, and a Dreux.

The following year (1200) Baldwin Count of Flanders, with his wife Maria, sister of Count Thiebault of Champagne, his nephew Diedrich, Jacob of Avenes, William and Conon of Bethune, Hugh of St. Pol, and his brother Peter of Anvers, the Count of Perche and his brother, swore the solemn oath for the deliverance of the holy sepulchre. The Crusade was determined, but it was now become matter of deep deliberation as to the safest and most advantageous way of reaching the shores of Palestine. The perils and difficulties of the land journey, the treachery of the Greeks, the long march through Asia Minor, had been too often and too fatally tried: but how was this gallant band of Frenchmen to provide means for maritime transport?

Religion by her invasion of the East had raised a rival, which began as ancillary, and gradually grew up to be the mistress of the human mind—commercial enterprise. Venice was rising towards the ^{Venice.} zenith of her greatness, if with some of the danger and the glory of the Crusades, with a far larger share of the

wealth, the arts, the splendour of the East. The sagacious mind of Innocent might seem to have foreseen the growing peril to the purely religious character of the Crusades; but he miscalculated his power in supposing that a papal edict could arrest the awakened passion for the commodities of the East, and the riches which accrued to those who were their chief factors and distributors to Europe. There was already a canon of the Lateran Council under Alexander III. prohibiting, under pain of excommunication, all trade with the Saracens in instruments of war, arms, iron, or timber for galleys. Innocent determined to prohibit all commerce whatever with the Mohammedans during the war in the East. The republic, according to her usual prudence, sought not by force and open resistance what she might better gain by policy; she sent two of her noble citizens, Andrea Donato and Benedetto Grillon, to Rome to represent with due humility, that the republic of Venice, having no agriculture, depended entirely on her commerce; and that such restriction would be her ruin. Innocent brought back the edict to its former limits. He positively prohibited the supply of iron, tow, pitch, sharp stakes, cables, arms, galleys, ships, and ship-timber, either hewn or unhewn. He left the rest of their dealings with the kingdom of Egypt and of Babylon till further orders entirely free, expressing his hope that the republic would show her gratitude by assisting to the utmost the Christians in the East.ⁿ

Venice alone could furnish a fleet to transport a powerful army. After long debate the three Counts of Flanders, of Champagne, and of Blois, agreed to despatch each two ambassadors to Venice to frame a treaty for the conveyance of their forces. The ambas-

ⁿ Epist. i. 539.

sadors of the Count of Flanders were Conon de Bethune and Alard Maquerau ; those of the Count of Blois, John of Friaise and Walter of Gandonville ; those of the Count of Champagne, Miles of Brabant and Geoffroy of Villehardouin, the historian of the Crusade.^o The envoys arrived in Venice in the first week of Lent ; they were received with great courtesy by the Doge, ^{A.D. 1201.} the aged Henry Dandolo ; they were lodged in a splendid palace, as became the messengers of such great princes ; after four days they were summoned to a public audience before the Doge and his Council. "Sire," they said, "we are come in the name of the great barons of France, who have taken the cross, to avenge the insults against our Lord Jesus Christ, and by God's will to conquer Jerusalem. As no power on earth can aid us as you can, they implore you, in God's name, to have compassion on the Holy Land, to avenge with them the contumely on Jesus Christ, by furnishing them with ships and other conveniences to pass the sea." "On what terms?" inquired the Doge. "On any terms you may please to name, provided we can bear them." "It is a grave matter," answered the Doge ; "and an enterprise of vast moment. In eight days ye shall have your answer." At the end of eight days the Doge made known the terms of the republic. They would furnish palanders and flat vessels to transport 4500 horses and 9000 squires, and ships for 4500 knights and 20,000 infantry, and provision the fleet for nine months. They were to receive four marks of silver for each horse, for each man two ; the total 85,000 marks.^p They promised

Villehardouin, i. 11.

^p " Représentant environ quatre millions et demi de la monnaie actuelle."—Daru, i. 267. " Le septier

de bled valait de cinq à six sols, le marc d'argent cinquante et quelques sols."—Sismacryi reckons 4¼ millions

to man 50 galleys of their own to join the expedition.

Treaty
with Ville-
hardouin. The bargain was ratified in a great public assembly of ten thousand of the Venetian citizens before the church of St. Mark. The ambassadors threw themselves on the pavement and wept. The grave Venetians expressed their emotions by loud acclamations. Mass was celebrated with great solemnity; the next day the agreements were reduced to writing, and signed by the covenanting parties. The ambassadors returned. At Piacenza they separated, four to visit Pisa and Genoa and implore further aid; they were coldly received by those jealous republics. Villehardouin and Maquerau returned to France. Villehardouin found his young master the Count of Champagne at Troyes, dangerously ill; the youth, in his joy at beholding his faithful servant, mounted his horse for the last time; he died in a few days. Thiebault was to have been at the head of the Crusade. The command was offered to the Duke of Burgundy, to the Count of Bar le Duc; the proudest nobles declined the honour; it was accepted by the Marquis Boniface of Montferrat. The armament suffered another heavy loss by the death of the Count of Perche.

Between Easter and Whitsuntide in the following Crusaders
assemble. year (1202) the Crusaders were in movement in all parts. But Venice was thought by some to have driven a hard bargain; among others there was some mistrust of the republic. Innocent had given but a reluctant assent to the treaty of Villehardouin. Baldwin himself and his brother kept their engagement with Venice. The Count of Flanders manned his own fleet, himself embarked his best troops, which set sail for Palestine round by the Straits of Gibraltar. Some went to Marseilles. Multitudes passed onwards on the chance of easier freight to the south of Italy. The French and

Burgundians arrived but slowly, and in small divisions, at Venice; they were lodged apart in the island of St. Nicolas; among these was Baldwin of Flanders. The Count of Blois was at Pavia, on his way to the south of Italy, where he was stopped by Villehardouin, and persuaded to march to Venice. The Republic kept her word with commercial punctuality; never had been beheld a nobler fleet; her ships were in the highest order, amply sufficient for the whole force which they had stipulated to convey. They demanded the full amount of the covenanted payment, the 85,000 marks, and declared themselves ready at once to set sail. The Crusaders were in the utmost embarrassment; they bitterly complained of those who had deserted them to embark at other ports.^a There were multitudes of poor knights who could not pay; others who had paid, sullenly demanded, in hopes of breaking up the expedition, that they should at once be embarked and conveyed to their place of destination. The Count of Flanders, the Count Louis of Blois, the Count of St. Pol, and the Marquis of Montferrat, contributed all their splendid plate, and stretched their credit to the utmost; there were yet 34,000 marks wanting to make up the inexorable demand.

The wise old Doge saw his advantage; his religion was the greatness of his country. It is impos-
Venetians propose conquest of Zara.
 sible not to remember in the course of events, by which the Crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land^r became a crusade for the conquest of the Eastern

^a "Ha! cum grant domages fu quant li autre qui allèrent as autres pors, ne vindrent illuec." — Villehardouin, c. 29.

^r There is a curious and full ac-

count of this Crusade and the taking of Constantinople in the *Annales Herbi-polenses*, apud Pertz, *H. G. S.* xvi. pp. 12 *et seqq.*

Empire, that Henry Dandolo had been, if not entirely, nearly blinded by the cruelty of the Byzantine court. His sagacity could scarcely foresee the fortuitous circumstances which led at length to that unexpected victory of the West over the East, but he had the quick-sightedness of ambition and revenge to profit by those circumstances as they arose. He proposed to his fellow citizens, with their full approval he explained to the Crusaders, that Venice would fulfil her part of the treaty, if in discharge of the 34,000 marks of silver they would lend their aid in the conquest of Zara,* which had been wrested from them unjustly, as they said, by the King of Hungary. The gallant chivalry of France stood aghast; that knights sworn to war for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre should employ their arms against a Christian city, the city of a Christian King under the special protection of the Pope! that the free armies of the cross should be the hirelings of the Venetian republic! But the year was wearing away; the hard necessity bowed them to submission. The Doge pursued his plan with consummate address. As though he too shared in the religious enthusiasm which was to

Sept. 2 be gratified in all its fulness after the capture of Zara, on the great festival of the Nativity of the Virgin, Dandolo ascended the pulpit in the church of St. Mark. In a powerful speech he extolled the religious zeal of the pilgrims: "Old and feeble as I am, what can I do better than join these noble cavaliers in their holy enterprise? Let my son Rainier take the rule in Venice; I will live or die with the pilgrims of the Cross." But there was a careful stipulation behind, that Venice was to share equally in all the conquests of

* Called also Jadara.

the Crusaders. The Doge advanced to the altar, and fixed the cross in his high cotton cap; the people and the pilgrims melted into tears.

No sooner was this over than a new and unexpected event excited the utmost amazement among the French pilgrims: the appearance of messengers from the young Prince Alexius Comnenus, entreating the aid of the Crusaders to replace his father on his rightful throne of Constantinople. After the overthrow of the first noble line of Comnenus, the history of Byzantium had for some years been one bloody revolution; a short reign ended in blinding or death was the fate of each successive Emperor. Isaac Angelus, hurried from the sanctuary in which he had taken refuge to be placed on the throne, had reigned for nearly ten years, when he was sup-
Arrival of Alexius Comnenus in Venice.
A. D. 1185 to 1195.
 planted by the subtle treason of his brother Alexius. Isaac was blinded, his young son Alexius imprisoned. But mercy is a proscribed indulgence to an usurper; a throne obtained by cruelty can only be maintained by cruelty. Alexius abandoned himself to pleasure; in his Mohammedan harem he neglected the affairs of state, he increased the burthens of the people, he even relaxed his jealousy of his brother and nephew. The blind Isaac, in a pleasant villa on the Bosphorus, could communicate with his old partisans and the discontented of all classes. The son was allowed such freedom as enabled him to make his escape in a Pisan vessel, under the disguise of a sailor, and to reach Ancona. From Ancona he hastened to Rome; the son of a blinded father, to seek sympathy; a prince expelled from his throne by an usurper, to seek justice; an exile, to seek generous compassion from the Vicar of Christ. He was coldly received. Innocent had already been tempted by

some advances—religious advances—on the part of the usurper: he would not risk the chance of subjugating the Eastern Church to the See of Rome through the means of the sovereign in actual possession. The sister of young Alexius was the wife of Philip of Swabia; perhaps this alliance with his enemy operated on the policy of Innocent. Alexius proceeded to the court of Philip; he was received with generous courtesy; at Verona he was introduced to a great body of Crusaders, and implored their aid in the name of Philip. His messengers were now in Venice appealing to the chivalry, to the justice, the humanity, the compassion of the gallant knights of France, and the lofty senators of the republic. Did this new opening for the extension of the power and influence of Venice, or for revenge against the perfidious Greeks of Constantinople, expand at once before Dandolo into anticipations of that close which made this crusade the most eventful, the most important to Christendom, to civilisation, even perhaps beyond the first conquest of Jerusalem and the establishment of the Christian kingdom in the Holy Land? The Doge and the Pilgrims listened with undisguised sympathy to the appeal of young Alexius; but as yet with nothing beyond earnest expressions of interest in his cause. Both parties were fully occupied, one in urging, the other in sullenly preparing themselves for the expedition against Zara. A large body of Germans had now arrived, under Conrad Bishop of Halberstadt, Count Berthold of Katzenellenbogen, and other chiefs. The Abbot Martin had crossed the Tyrolese Alps with a vast band of followers of the lower orders. Martin himself lived with the austerity of a monk in the camp: all the splendid offerings lavished upon him by the way were spent on his soldiery. In each of two days it is said he expended

a hundred marks of silver, seventy on the third. He was entertained for eight days in the palace of the Bishop of Verona, and at length arrived with all his host at Venice. The indignation of the Germans, and of the followers of Abbot Martin, was vehement when they were told of the meditated attack on Zara. They had heard that Egypt was wasted with famine, from the failure of the inundation of the Nile; that the Paynims of Syria were in profound distress from earthquakes and bad harvests; they remonstrated against this invasion of the lands of their ally the King of Hungary, who had himself taken up the Cross. The Venetians held the Crusaders to their bond: Zara or the rest of the marks of silver was their inflexible demand. The Germans, as the French, were compelled to yield. The Pope himself had no influence on the grasping ambition of the republic.

And this was Pope Innocent's Crusade, the Crusade to which he looked as the great act of his Pontificate! Now when it was assembled in its promising, overpowering strength, it had been seized and diverted to the aggrandisement of Venice. He sent his Legate Peter of Capua, with the strongest remonstrances, to interdict even the Venetians from the war against Christian Zara, and to lead the other Pilgrims directly to the Holy Land. The Venetians almost contemptuously informed the Cardinal that he might embark on board their fleet as the preacher and spiritual director of the Crusaders, but on no account must he presume to exercise his legatine power; if he refused these terms he might return from whence he came. The Abbot Martin entreated the Cardinal to release him from his vow; as he could not at once proceed against the Saracens, he would retire to his peaceful cloister

The Pope
interferes in
vain.

The Cardinal Peter implored him to remain, if possible, with the other ecclesiastics, to prevent the shedding of Christian blood. For himself he shook the dust from his feet, and left the contumacious city. Letters from Innocent, menaces of excommunication were treated with as slight respect; only some few of the French, some of the Germans, withdrew; the Marquis Boniface of Montferrat alleged important affairs, and declined as yet to take the command of the Crusade.

Never did Crusade set forth under more imposing auspices. No doubt the martial spirit of all ranks could not resist the spreading enthusiasm, when four hundred and eighty noble ships, admirably appointed, with banners and towers, blazing with the arms and shields of the chivalry of Europe, expanded their full sails to the autumnal wind, and moved in stately order down the Adriatic. It seemed as if they might conquer the whole world.^t On the eve of St. Martin's day they were off Zara; the haven was forced; they were under the walls of the city; they landed; the knights disembarked their horses. The sight of this majestic fleet appalled the inhabitants of Zara; they sent a deputation to surrender the city on the best terms they could obtain. The Doge, with mistimed courtesy, replied, "that he must consult the counts and barons of the army." The Counts and Barons assembled round the Doge advised the acceptance of the capitulation. But without the tent where they sate was Simon de Montfort, with others whose object it was to break up the misguided army.^u

"Et bien semblaient estone qui terre de:st conquerre."—Villehardouin

^u So says Villehardouin; perhaps he foresaw the yet undeveloped character of De Montfort.

De Montfort taunted the Zarans with their dastardly surrender of so strong a city:—"We are Christians, we war not against our brother Christians." Simon de Montfort then retired, and from that time stood aloof from the siege. When the Doge demanded the presence of the ambassadors that they might ratify the treaty, they had disappeared; the city walls were manned for obstinate defence. At the same time rose Guido the Abbot of Vaux Cernay:—"In the name of the Pope I prohibit the assault on his Christian cities: ye are Pilgrims, and have taken the Cross for other ends." The Doge was furious; he reproached the Crusaders with having wrested from him a city already in his power; he summoned them to fulfil the treaty to which they had sworn. The greater part either could not or would not resist the appeal. The siege began again, and lasted for five days. On the sixth Zara opened her gates. The Doge took possession of the city in the name of his republic: but divided the rich spoil equally with the Crusaders.

Zara was taken, but that was not enough; the presence of the crusading army was necessary to maintain the city against any sudden attack of ^{Zara taken.} the King of Hungary, and to strengthen and secure the Dalmatian possessions of Venice. The Doge represented to the Barons that the bad season was now drawing on: Zara offered safe and pleasant winter quarters, with abundance of provisions. Throughout Greece and the East there was scarcity: they could obtain no supplies in the course of their voyage. The Barons yielded, as they could not but yield, to those arguments. The city was divided: the Venetians occupied the part nearest the

port and their ships ; the French the rest. But among the pilgrims there were many who felt bitterly that they were only slaves in the hands of the Venetians ; their religious feelings revolted against the occupation of the Christian city ; they called it “ the city of transgression.” Three nights after broke out a fierce and sanguinary quarrel between the Franks and Venetians, which was with great difficulty allayed by the more sage and influential of each host. Fourteen days after this arrived the Marquis of Montferrat, the Commander-in-Chief of the Crusade : though he and many of the French knights had designedly remained in Italy till the conquest of Zara ; now that this conquest was achieved they joined the army of the pilgrims.

Winter quarters. Two weeks later came those who had accompanied Alexius to the court of Philip of Swabia, with ambassadors from King Philip. They appeared before an assembly held in the palace occupied by the Doge of Venice. “ We are here on the part of King Philip and the Prince of Constantinople his brother-in-law, before the Doge of Venice and the Barons of this host. King Philip will entrust his brother-in-law in the hand of God, and in yours. You are armed for God, for the right, for justice ; it becomes you, therefore, to restore the disinherited to his rightful throne. Nor will it be less to your advantage than to your honour ; for your advantage in your great design, the conquest of the Holy Land. As soon as you restore Alexius to his throne, he will first submit the Empire of the Romans to obedience to Rome, from which it has been separated so long. In the next place, as he knows that you are exhausted by the vast cost of this armament, he will give you two hundred thousand marks of silver, and supply the whole army with provisions. He

will either join the armament against Egypt in person, or send ten thousand men, to be maintained for a year at his charge. During his lifetime he will maintain five hundred knights for the defence of the Holy Land."

No sooner had the Barons met the next day to discuss this high matter, than Guido, the Cistercian Abbot of Vaux Cernay, rose and declared emphatically that they came not to wage war on Christians; to Syria they would go, and only to Syria. He was supported by the faction desirous of dissolving the armament. It was replied that they could now do nothing in Syria; that the only way to subjugate permanently the Holy Land was by Egypt or by Greece. Even the clergy were divided: the Cistercian Abbot of Loces, a man of high esteem for his profound piety, took the other side. Words ran high even among those holy persons.

The treaty was accepted (they could not without shame refuse it) by the Marquis of Montferrat, Treaty with Alexius. the Count of Flanders, Hennegau, the Count of Blois, and the Count of St. Pol; yet only eight knights more dared to set their hands to this doubtful covenant. But all the winter there were constant defections in the army; some set out by land, and were massacred by the barbarous Sclavonians; some embarked for Syria in merchant vessels; at a later period Simon de Montfort quitted the camp with many noble followers, and joined the King of Hungary. "If God," says Villehardouin, "had not loved the army, it would have melted away through the contending factions." It was the Papal ban, either actually in force, or impending in all its awful menace over the pilgrim army, which was alleged as the summons to all holy men to abandon the unhallowed expedition. The bishops in the army had taken upon themselves to suspend this

anathema. The Barons determined to send a mission to Rome to deprecate the wrath of the Pope. The Bishop of Soissons, John of Noyon the Chancellor of the Count of Flanders, ecclesiastics of fame for learning and holiness, with the knights John of Friaise and Robert de Boves, were, not without mistrust, sworn solemnly on the most holy reliques, to return to the army. The oath was broken by Robert of Boves, whom the army held as a perjured knight. Their mission was to explain to the Pope that they had been compelled, through the treacherous abandonment of the enterprise by those crusaders who had embarked in other ports, to obey the bidding of Venice, and to lend themselves to the siege of Zara. Innocent admitted their plea—it was his only course. He gave permission to the Bishop of Soissons and John of Noyon provisionally to suspend the interdict till the arrival of his legate, Peter of Capua; but the Barons were bound under a solemn pledge to give full satisfaction to the Pope for their crime. Yet notwithstanding the bold remonstrance of John of Noyon (Innocent commanded him to be silent), they were compelled to bear a brief letter of excommunication against the Venetians. Boniface had the prudence to prevent the immediate publication of that ban. He sent to Rome their act of submission, couched in the terms dictated by the Cardinal Peter; and intimated that the Venetians were about to send their own messengers to entreat the forgiveness of the Pope for the conquest of Zara. But the Venetians made no sign of submission. Positive orders were given to deliver the brief of excommunication into the hands of the Doge. If the Doge received it, he received it with utter indifference; and two singular letters of Innocent prescribe the course to be followed by the absolved Crusaders, thus

of necessity, on board the fleet of Venice, in perpetual intercourse with the profane and excommunicated Venetians. They might communicate with them as far as necessity compelled so long as they were on board their ships; no sooner had they reached the Holy Land, than they were to sever the ungodly alliance; they were on no account to go forth to war with them against the Saracens, lest they should incur the shameful disaster of those in the Old Testament, who went up in company with Achan and other sinners against the Philistines.⁷

The mission of the Crusaders had been entirely silent as to the new engagement to place the young Alexius on the throne of Constantinople. Innocent either knew not or would not know this new delinquency. He received the first authentic intelligence from the legate Peter of Capua. The Pope's letters denounced the whole design in the most lofty admonitory terms. "However guilty the Emperor of Constantinople and his subjects of blinding his brother and of usurping the throne, it is not for you to invade the Empire, which is under the especial protection of the Holy See. Ye took not the cross to avenge the wrongs of the Prince Alexius; ye are under the solemn obligation to avenge the Crucified, to whose service ye are sworn." He intimated that he had written to the Emperor of Constantinople to supply them with provisions; the Emperor had faithfully promised to do so. Only in the case that supplies were refused them, then, as soldiers of Him to whom the earth and all its produce belonged, they might take them by force; but still in the fear of God, faithfully

Innocent
condemns the
expedition to
Constanti-
nople.

⁷ Epist. vi. 99, 100.

paying or promising to pay for the same, and without injury to person.

But already the fleet was in full sail for Corfu, the Prince Alexius on board. Of the excommunication against the Venetians no one took the slightest heed, least of all the Venetians themselves. Fleet off Constantinople. Simon de Montfort alone, who had stood aloof from the siege of Zara, on the day of embarkation finally separated himself from the camp of the ungodly, who refused obedience to the Pope. With his brother and some few French knights he passed over to the king of Hungary, and after many difficulties reached the Holy Land. In truth, the Crusaders had no great faith in the sincerity of the Pope's condemnation of the enterprise against Constantinople. The subjugation of the heretical, if not rival, Church of Byzantium to the Church of St. Peter, had been too long the great aim of Papal ambition, for them to suppose that even by more violent or less justifiable means than the replacing the legitimate Emperor on the throne and the degradation of an usurper, it would not soon reconcile itself to the Papal sense of right and justice. Some decent regard to his acknowledgment of, to his amicable intercourse with the usurper, might be becoming; yet even as a step to the conquest of the Holy Land, it might well be considered the most prudent policy. In a short time the submission of the Greek Church, the departure of the Crusaders under better auspices to the Holy Land (for as yet even the ambitious Venetians could hardly apprehend the absolute conquest of Constantinople, and the establishment of a Latin Empire), would allay the seeming resentment of Innocent. In the mean time, no doubt many hearts were kindled with the romance of this new adventure and the desire to behold this second

Rome; vague expectations were entertained of rich plunder, or at least of splendid reward for their services by the grateful Alexius; it is even said that many were full of strange hopes of more precious spoils, the pillage of the precious reliques which were accumulated in the churches of Constantinople, and of which the heretical Greeks ought to be righteously robbed for the benefit of the more orthodox believers of the West.

The taking of Constantinople and the foundation of the Latin Empire concern Christian history in Taking of Constantinople. their results more than in their actual achievements. The arrival of the fleet before Constantinople; the ill-organised defence and pusillanimous flight of the usurper Alexius; the restoration of the blind Isaac Angelus and his son; the discontent of the Greeks at the subservience of young Alexius to the Latins; his dethronement, and the elevation of Alexius Ducas (Mourzoufle) to the throne; the siege; the murder of the young Alexius; the flight of Mourzoufle, and the storming of the city by the Crusaders, were crowded into less than one eventful year.² A Count of Flanders sat on the throne of the Eastern Cæsars.

Europe, it might have been expected, by the Latin conquest of Constantinople and of great part Partition of the conquest. of the Byzantine Empire, would have become one great Christian league or political system; European Christendom one Church, under the acknowledged supremacy of the Pope. But the Latin Empire was not that of a Western sovereign ascending the Byzantine throne, and ruling over the Greek population undisturbed in their possessions, and according to the

² The fleet reached Constantinople the eve of St. John the Baptist, June 23, 1203. The storm took place April 13, 1204.

laws of Justinian and the later Emperors of the East. His followers did not gradually mingle by intermarriages with the Greeks, and so infuse, as in other parts of Europe, new strength and energy into that unwarlike and effete race. The Emperor was a sovereign elected by the Venetians and the Franks, governing entirely by the right of conquest. It was a foreign settlement, a foreign lord, a foreign feudal system, which never mingled in the least with the Greeks. The Latins kept entirely to themselves all honours, all dignities (no Greek was admitted to office), even all the lands; the whole country, as it was conquered, was portioned out as Constantinople had been, into great fiefs between the Venetians and Franks. This western feudal system so established throughout the land implied the absolute, the supreme ownership of the soil by the conquerors. The condition of the Greeks under the new rule depended on the character of their new masters. In Constantinople the high-born and the wealthy had gladly accepted the permission to escape with their lives; the Crusaders had taken possession of such at least of their gorgeous palaces and splendid establishments as had escaped the three fires which during the successive sieges had destroyed so large a part of the city.^a When the Marquis of Montferrat took possession of Thessalonica he turned the inhabitants out of all the best houses, and bestowed them on his followers: in other places they were oppressed with a kind of indifferent lenity. But they were, in truth, held as a race of serfs, over whom the Latins exercised lordship by the right

^a In the conflagration on the night of the capture, caused by some Flemings, who thought by setting fire to the houses to keep off the attack of the Greeks, as many houses were destroyed, according to Villehardouin, as would be found in 'hues of the largest cities in France.

of conquest; they were left, indeed, to be governed, as had been the case with the subject Roman population in all the German conquests, by their own laws and their own magistrates. The constitution of the Latin Empire was the same with that of the kingdom of Jerusalem, founded in the midst of a population chiefly Mohammedan; their code of law was the Assises of Jerusalem. No Greek was admitted to any post of honour or dignity till after the defeat and capture of the Emperor Baldwin. Then his successor, the Emperor Henry, found it expedient to make some advances towards conciliation; he endeavoured to propitiate by honourable appointments some of the leading Greeks. But to this he was compelled by necessity. The original Crusaders gradually died off, or were occupied in maintaining their own conquests in Hellas or in the Morea; only few adventurers, notwithstanding the temptations and promises held out by the Latin Emperors, arrived from the West. The Emperor in Constantinople became a sovereign of Greeks. It is surprising that the Latin Empire endured for half a century: had there been any Greeks of resolution or enterprise, Constantinople at least might have been much sooner wrested from their hands.

The establishment of Latin Christianity in the East was no less a foreign conquest. It was not the conversion of the Greek Church to the Establishment of Latin Christianity. creed, the usages, the ritual, the Papal supremacy of the West; it was the foundation, the super-induction of a new Church, alien in language, in rites, in its clergy, which violently dispossessed the Greeks of their churches and monasteries, and appropriated them to its own uses. It was part of the original compact between the Venetians and the Franks, before the final attack on the city, that the churches of Constantinople should be

equally divided between the two nations: the ecclesiastical property throughout the realm was to be divided, after providing for the maintenance of public worship according to the Latin form by a Latin clergy, exactly on the same terms as the rest of the conquered territory. The French prelates might, indeed, claim equal rights, as having displayed at least equal valour and confronted the same dangers with the boldest of the barons. The vessels that bore the bishops of Soissons and Troyes, the *Paradise* and the *Pilgrim*, were the first which grappled with the Towers of Constantinople: from them were thrown the scaling ladders on which the conquerors mounted to the storm; the episcopal banners were the first that floated in triumph on the battlements of Constantinople.^b

Like the Emperor Alexius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, John Camaterus, had fled, but it was at a time and under circumstances far less ignominious. The clergy had not been less active in the defence of the city, than the Frankish bishops in the assault. After the flight of Mourzoufle they had chiefly influenced the choice of Theodore Lascaris as Emperor; the Patriarch had presented him to the people, and with him vainly endeavoured to rouse their panic-stricken courage. It was not till the city was in the hands of the enemy that the Patriarch abandoned his post. He was met in that disastrous plight described by Nicetas, riding on an ass, reduced to the primitive Apostolic poverty, without scrip, without purse, without staff, without shoes. It was time, indeed, to fly from horrors and unhallowed crimes which he could not avert. The Crusaders had advanced to the siege of Constantinople in the name of

* See the despatch to Pope Innocent announcing the taking of Constantinople.

Christ; they had issued strong orders to respect the churches, the monasteries, the persons of the clergy, the chastity of the nuns. The three Latin bishops had published a terrible excommunication against all who should commit such sacrilegious acts of violence. But of what effect were orders, what awe had excommunications for a fierce soldiery, flushed with unexpected victory, let loose on the wealthiest, most luxurious, most dissolute capital of the world, among a people of a different language, whom they had been taught to despise as the most perfidious of mankind, the base enemies of all the former armies of the Cross, tainted with obstinate heresy? Nicetas, himself an eye-witness and sufferer in these terrible scenes, may be suspected of exaggeration, when he contrasts the discipline and self-denial of the Mohammedans, who under Saladin stormed Jerusalem, with the rapacity, the lust, the cruelty of the Christian conquerors of Constantinople. But the reports which had reached Pope Innocent would hardly darken the truth. "How," he writes, "shall the Greek Church return to ecclesiastical unity and to respect for the Apostolic See, when they have beheld in the Latins only examples of wickedness and works of darkness, for which they might well abhor them worse than dogs? Those who were believed to seek not their own but the things of Christ Jesus, steeping those swords, which they ought to have wielded against the Pagans, in Christian blood, spared neither religion, nor age, nor sex; they were practising fornications, incests, adulteries, in the sight of men; abandoning matrons and virgins dedicated to God to the lewdness of grooms."

° Innocent. Epist. viii. 126 (apud Brequigny and Du Theil). Compare the whole detailed account in Wilken, v. p. 301, *et seq.*

Nor were they satisfied with seizing the wealth of the Emperors, the spoils of the princes and the people; they lifted their hands to the treasures of the churches; what is more heinous! the very consecrated vessels; tearing the tablets of silver from the very altars, breaking in pieces the most sacred things, carrying off crosses and reliques." Some revolting incidents of this plunder may be gathered from the Historians. Many rushed at once to the churches and monasteries. In the Church of Santa Sophia the silver was rent off from the magnificent pulpit: the table of oblation, admired for its precious material and exquisite workmanship, broken to pieces. Mules and horses were led into the churches to carry off the ponderous vessels; if they slipped down on the smooth marble floor, they were forced to rise up by lash and spur, so that their blood flowed on the pavement. A prostitute mounted the Patriarch's throne, and screamed out a disgusting song, accompanied with the most offensive gestures. Instead of the holy chants the aisles rung with wild shouts of revelry or indecent oaths and imprecations. The very sacred vessels were not spared; they were turned into drinking cups. The images were robbed of their gold frames and precious stones. It is said that the body and blood of the Lord were profanely cast down upon the floor, and trodden under foot.⁴

There was one kind of plunder which had irresistible attraction for the most pious, that of reliques. These, like the rest of the spoil, were to have been brought into the common stock, to be divided according to the stipu-

⁴ Wilken conjectures that the expression of Nicetas may refer to a casket, which was supposed to contain some of the actual body and blood imparted by the Lord to his disciples before his crucifixion.—See Wilken, p. 305.

lated rule. But even the Abbot Martin^e was guilty of this holy robbery. His monastery of Paris in Alsace, as well as the churches of the bishops present at the siege, those of Soissons and Halberstadt, boasted of many sacred treasures from Constantinople, which might have been fairly obtained, but which were supposed to have been more than the just share of those warlike dignitaries.^f

No sooner was order restored than the Franks and Venetians took possession of the churches as their own; the principal clergy had fled, the inferior seem to have been dismissed or were driven out as if they had been Mohammedan Imauns: of provision for the worship of the Greeks according to their own ritual, in their own language, nothing is heard. After the election of the Emperor the first act was the election of a Patriarch. It was an article of the primary compact, that of whichever nation, Venetian or Frank, the Emperor should be chosen, the nomination of the Patriarch should be with the other. In the election of the Emperor it was a significant circumstance, that of the twelve electors, those of the Franks were all ecclesiastics—the Bishops of Troyes, Soissons, Halberstadt, Bethlehem, and Ptolemaïs, with the Abbot of Loces. Those of Venice were lay nobles. The Bishops of Sois-

* “Indignum ducens sacrilegium, nisi in re sacra, committere.”—Gunther, who gives a full account of this holy theft of the Abbot Martin. His spoil was a stain (vestigium) of the blood of the Lord, a piece of the Holy Cross, the arm of the apostle James, no small portion of the bones of John the Baptist, some of the milk of the Blessed Virgin, and many more.—Wilken, Gunther. See, too, the theft of the head of S. Clement, Pope and

martyr, by Dalmatius of Sergy from the Biblioth. Cluniac, also in Wilken. The note in Wilken, v. p. 306, is full of curious details.

^f Some ventured to doubt the virtue of these acts. The Abbot Urspergensis says of Martin's plunder: “An furtivæ sint, judicet, qui legit. An videlicet Dominus Papa talem rapinam in populo Christiano factam potuerit justificare, sicut furtum Israelitici populi in Egypto justificatur autoritate divinâ.”—p. 256.

sons and of Troyes would have placed the blind old Doge Dandolo on the imperial throne: his election was opposed by the Venetians. Pantoleon Barbo alleged the ostensible objection, the jealousy which would spring up among the Franks. But probably the wise patriotism of Dandolo himself, and his knowledge of the Venetian mind, would make him acquiesce in the loss of an honour so dangerous to his country. A Doge of Venice exalted into an Emperor, taking up his residence in the Palace of Constantinople instead of amid their own lagunes, would have been the lord, not the accountable magistrate, of the republic. Venice might have sunk to an outpost, as it were, of the Eastern Empire. But Venice, though consenting to the loss of the Empire, made haste to secure the Patriarchate.[¶] The Venetians immediately

Election of Patriarch. appointed certain of their own ecclesiastics Canons of Santa Sophia, in order to give canonical form to the election. By a secret oath^h these canons were sworn never to elect into their chapter any one but a Venetian.¹ With their wonted sagacity, their first choice fell on Thomas Morosini, of one of their noble families, as yet only in sub-deacon's orders, but of a lofty and unblemished character, who had been some time at Rome, and was known to stand high in the estimation of the Pope. The Venetians, who, when they had any great object of ambition at stake, treated with utter contempt the Papal interdict, yet never wan-

¶ Pope Innocent boldly asserts that the Church of Constantinople was raised into a Patriarchate by the See of Rome. Was this ignorance or mendacity?

^h Wilken has cited this oath from the Liber Albus, in the archives of Vienna.—vol. v. p. 330.

¹ The Patriarch was absolved from his oath that he would appoint only Venetian canons into the chapter of S. Sophia. The Church was to receive a fifteenth of all property, with some exceptions, gained by the conquest of Constantinople. Tithes were to be paid.

tonly provoked that dangerous power ; now, as always when it suited their schemes, were among the humblest and most devout subjects of the Holy See. Nor was Innocent disinclined to receive the submission of the lords of one-half of the Eastern Empire.

The Pope had watched with intense anxiety the progress of the Crusade towards Constantinople. He had kept his faith with the usurper, who had promised to unite the Greek Church to the See of Rome ; he had asserted the exclusive religious object of the Crusades, by protesting first against the siege of Zara, and then against the diversion to Constantinople : the Venetians, at least, were still under the unrevoked excommunication. But the ignominious flight of his ally, the Emperor Alexius, had released him from that embarrassing connexion. No sooner was the young Alexius on the throne, than the Pope reminded him of the protestations of submission which he had made, when a suppliant for aid at the court of Rome, and which he had renewed when on board the Pilgrim fleet. He urged the Crusaders to enforce this acknowledgment of the Papal supremacy. This great blessing to Christendom could alone justify the tardy fulfilment of their vows for the reconquest of the Holy Land.

Masters of Constantinople, their victory achieved, Franks and Venetians vied in their humble addresses to the Holy Father. The Emperor Baldwin, by the hands of Barochias, the Master of the Lombard Templars, informed the Pope of his election to the Empire of Constantinople, and implored his ratification of the treaty with the Venetians,^k those true and zealous allies, with-

^k The letter of Baldwin describes the Greeks in the most odious terms, as playing a double game between the Western Christians and the Unbelievers ; as framing disastrous treaties with the Mohammedans, and sup-

out whose aid he could not have won, without whose support he could not maintain, the Eastern Empire, founded for the honour of God and of the Roman See. He extolled the valiant acts of the bishops in the capture of the city. He entreated the Pope to admonish Western Christendom to send new supplies of warriors for the maintenance of his Empire, and to share in the immeasurable temporal and spiritual riches, which they might so easily obtain. The Pope was urged to grant to them, as to other soldiers of the Cross, the plenary absolution from their sins. Above all, he pressed that clergy should be sent in great numbers to plant the Latin Church, not in blood, but in freedom and peace throughout the noble and pleasant land. He invited the Pope to hold a general Council at Constantinople. These prayers were accompanied with splendid presents from his share of the booty.^m

The Venetians were not less solicitous now to propitiate the Holy Father. Already they had sent to the Legate, Peter of Capua, at Cyprus; they implored this prelate, whom they had treated before with such contemptuous disregard, to interpose his kind offices and to annul the excommunication.

Venetians
address the
Pope.

plying them with arms, provisions, and ships; while they refused all these things to the Latins. "But (he is addressing the Pope) it is the height of their wickedness obstinately to disclaim the supremacy of Rome." "*Hæc est quæ in odium apostolici culminis, Apostolorum principis nomen audire vix poterat, nec unam eidem inter Græcos ecclesiam concedebat qui omnium ecclesiarum accepit ab ipso Domino principatum.*" The Latins were

greatly shocked at the Greek worship of pictures. "*Hæc est quæ Christum solis didicerat honorare picturis.*" They sometimes, among their wicked rites, repeated baptism. They considered the Latins not as men, but as dogs, whose blood it was meritorious to shed. This is an evidence of the feelings of the Crusaders towards the Greeks. — Apud Gesta Innocent. c. xci.

^m Compare Raynaldus, sub anno.

The Legate had sent the Treasurer of the church of Nicosia, with powers to receive their oath of future obedience to the Roman See and the fulfilment of their vows as soldiers of the Cross, and provisionally to suspend the interdict, which was not absolutely revocable without the sanction of the Pope. Two Venetian nobles were now despatched to Rome by the Doge. They were to inform the Pope, that, compelled by the treachery of the young Emperor Alexius, who had attempted to burn their fleet, with their brethren the temporal and spiritual pilgrims, they had conquered Constantinople for the honour of God and of the Roman Church, and in order to facilitate the conquest of the Holy Land. They endeavoured to explain away their attack on Zara; they could not believe that the inhabitants of that city were under the Pope's protection, therefore they had borne in patience the excommunication, till relieved from it by the Cardinal Peter.

Innocent replied to both the Emperor and the Doge with some reserve, but with manifest satisfaction. He had condemned, with the severity Innocent's answer. which became the Holy Father, the enormities perpetrated during the storming of the city, the worse than infidel acts of lust and cruelty, the profane plunder and violation of the churches. But it was manifestly the divine judgement, that those who had so long been forbore in mercy, and had been so often admonished not only by former Popes, but by Innocent himself, to return to the unity of the Church, and to send succours to the Holy Land, should forfeit both their place and their territory to those who were in the unity of the Church, and sworn to deliver the sepulchre of Christ: in order that the land, delivered from the bad, should be com-

mitted to good husbandmen, who would bring forth good fruit in due season.ⁿ

The Pontiff took the new Empire under the special protection of the Holy See. He commanded all the Sovereigns of the West, and all the prelates of the Church, archbishops, bishops, and abbots, to maintain friendly relations with the new Latin kingdom, so important for the conquest of the East. He ratified the revocation of the excommunication against the Venetians by his Legate the Cardinal Peter. He declined, indeed, to accede to the prayer of the Doge to be released from his vow, from his obligation to follow the Crusade to the Holy Land, on account of his great age and feebleness; but the refusal was the highest flattery. The Pope could not take upon himself to deprive the army of the Cross of one endowed by God with such exalted gifts, so valiant, and so wise: if the Doge would serve God and his Church henceforth with the same glorious ability with which he had served himself and the world, he could not fail of attaining the highest reward.

Innocent assumed at once the full ecclesiastical administration. There was one clause in the compact between the Franks and the Venetians, which called forth his unqualified condemnation; they had presumed to seize the property of the Church, and after assigning what they might think fit for the maintenance of the clergy, to submit the rest to the same partition as the other lands. This sacrilegious article the bishops and the abbots in the army were to strive to annul with all their spiritual authority; the Emperor and the Doge of Venice were admonished to abrogate it as injurious to

ⁿ This is from the letter to the Marquis of Montferrat, in the *Gesta*, c. xcii.

the honour, and as trenching on the sovereign authority of the Roman Church. Nor would Innocent admit the right of the self-elected Chapter, or worse, a Chapter appointed by lay authority, to the nomination of the Patriarch. He absolutely annulled this uncanonical proceeding; but from his high respect for Thomas Morosini, and the necessity to provide a head to the Church of Constantinople of his own authority, he invested Morosini with the vacant Patriarchate.^o Morosini was allowed to accumulate within a few days the orders of Deacon, Priest, and Bishop; the Pope invested him with the Archiepiscopal pall. Innocent at the same time bestowed the highest privileges and powers on the new Patriarch, yet with studious care that all those privileges and powers emanated from, and were prescribed and limited by the Papal authority.^p He might wear the pall at all times in all places, except in Rome and in the presence of the Pope; in processions in Constantinople he might ride a white horse with white housings. He had the power of absolving those who committed violence against a spiritual person; to anoint kings within his Patriarchate at the request and with the sanction of the Emperor; to ordain at the appointed seasons and appoint all qualified persons, to distribute, with the advice of sage counsellors, all the goods of the Church, without the approbation of Rome in each special case. But all these privileges were the gifts of a superior; the dispensation with appeal in certain cases, only confirmed more strongly the right of receiving appeals in all others. Of the dispossessed and

^o "Elegimus et confirmavimus eisdem Ecclesiæ Patriarcham."—Epist. viii. 20.

^p The patriarchate of Constantino-

ple, Innocent averred, owed its original superiority over the patriarchate of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, to a grant from the successor of St. Peter

fugitive Patriarch no notice is taken either in this or any other document; the Latin Patriarch was planting a new Church in the East as in a Pagan land.

Thus then set forth the Latin Patriarch to establish a Latin Church in the East. The Emperor had before entreated the Pope to send a supply of breviaries and missals and rituals according to the Roman use, with clergy competent to administer to the Latins. He requested also some Cistercian monks to teach the churches of Antony and Basil the true rules and constitutions of the monastic life.⁴ Innocent appealed to the prelates of France to supply this want of clergy for the new Church of the East. To the bishops he denounced the heresies of the Greeks; first their departure from the unity of the Church, then their denial of the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son as well as from the Father; their use of leavened bread in the Eucharist. "But Samaria had now returned to Jerusalem; God had transferred the Empire of the Greeks from the proud to the lowly, from the superstitious to the religious, from the schismatics to the Catholics, from the disobedient to the devoted servants of God."⁵ He addressed the high school of Paris to send some of their learned youth to study in the East, the source and origin of knowledge; he not only opened a wide field to their spiritual ambition, the conversion of the Greeks to the true Apostolic faith; he described the East as a rich land of gold and silver and precious stones, as overflowing with corn, wine, and oil. But neither the holy desire of saving the souls of the Greeks, nor the noble thirst for knowledge, nor the promise of these temporal advantages (which, notwithstanding the splendid spoil sent home

⁴ Epist. viii. 70.

⁵ Gesta, xciv.

by some of the crusaders, and the precious treasures of art and of skill which were offered in their churches, they must have known not to be so plentiful, or so lightly won), had much effect; no great movement of the clergy took place towards the East. Philip Augustus made a wiser, but not much more successful attempt; he established a college of Constantinople in the University of Paris for the education of young Greeks, who, bringing with them some of the knowledge and learning of the East, might be instructed in the language, the creed, and the ritual of the West. This was the first unmarked step to the cultivation of the study of Greek in the West, which some centuries afterwards was so powerfully to assist in the overthrow of the sole dominion of Latin Christianity in Europe.

Thus, then, while Rome appointed the Patriarch of Constantinople, and all the churches within the dominion of the Latins adopted the Roman ritual, by the more profound hatred, on the one side contemptuous, on the other revengeful, of the two nations, the reconciliation of the Eastern and Western Churches was farther removed than ever. No doubt this inauspicious attempt to subjugate, rather than win, tended incalculably to the obstinate estrangement, which endured to the end. The Patriarch, John Camaterus, took refuge in the new Empire founded by Theodore Lascaris in Nicæa Greek Patriarch at Nicæa. and its neighbourhood: to him, no doubt, the clergy throughout Greece maintained their secret allegiance. Nor was the reception of the new Latin Patriarch imposing for its cordial unanimity. Before Morosini disembarked, he sent word to the shore that the clergy and the people should be prepared to meet him with honourable homage. But the Frank clergy stood aloof; they had protested against the election being left to the

Venetians; they declared that the election had been carried by unworthy subtlety; that the Pope himself had been imposed upon by the crafty republicans. Not one appeared, and the only shouts of rejoicing were those of the few Venetians. The Greeks gazed with wonder and disgust at the smooth-faced prelate, without a beard, fat as a well-fed swine; on his dress, his demeanour,^a the display of his ring. And the clergy, as beardless as their bishop, eating at the same table, like to him in dress and manners, were as vulgar and revolting to their notions. The contumacious French hierarchy would render no allegiance whatever to the Venetians; the excommunication which the Patriarch fulminated against them they treated with sovereign contempt. The jealousy of the Franks against the Venetian Primate was not without ground. The Venetians had from the first determined to secure to themselves in perpetuity, and, as they could not accept the temporal dominion, to make the great ecclesiastical dignitaries hereditary in their nation; so to establish their own Popedom in the East. But Innocent had penetrated their design; he had rigidly defined the powers of the new Patriarch, and admonished him, before he left Rome, not to lend himself to the ambition of his country; to appoint the canons of Santa Sophia for their worth and knowledge, not for their Venetian birth; the Legate was to exercise a controlling power over these appointments. From Rome Morosini had proceeded to Venice, to embark for his Patriarchate. He had been received with bitter reproaches by the son of the Doge and many of the counsellors and nobles, as having betrayed his country; as having weakly aban-

^a Nicetas, *in loco*.

done to the Pope the rights and privileges of Venice. They threatened not to furnish him with a ship for his passage; he was deeply in debt, his creditors beset him on all sides; he was compelled to take an oath before the Senate that he would name none but Venetians, or at least those who had resided for ten years in the Venetian territory, as canons of Santa Sophia; and to take all possible measures that none but a Venetian should sit on the Patriarchal throne of Constantinople.^t If even dim rumours of these stipulations had reached the French clergy, their cold reception of the Patriarch is at once explained. So deep, indeed, was the feud, that Innocent found it necessary to send another Legate to Constantinople, the Cardinal Benedict, who enjoyed his full and unlimited confidence. The former Legate to the East, Peter of Capua, with his colleague the Cardinal Soffrido, had caused great dissatisfaction to the Pope. He had released the Venetians from their interdict, he had deserted his proper province, the Holy Land; and, in a more open manner than Innocent thought prudent, entered into the great design for the subjugation of the Greek Empire. He had absolved the crusaders, on his own authority, from the fulfilment, for a limited period, of their vows to serve in Palestine. He had received a strong rebuke from Innocent, in which the Pope dwelt even with greater force on the cruelties, plunders, sacrileges committed after the storming of Constantinople. The Saracens in Palestine, instead of being kept in the salutary awe with which they had been struck by the capture of Constantinople, could

^t Innocent heard of this extorted oath; he immediately addressed a letter to the Patriarch, positively prohibiting him from observing it; from the profane attempt to render the patriarchate hereditary among the Venetian aristocracy.—Gesta, c. xc.

not be ignorant that the Crusaders were now released from their vow of serving against them; and would fall with tenfold fury on the few who remained to defend the Holy Land.

The Cardinal Benedict, of Santa Susanna, conducted^u his office with consummate skill; perhaps the disastrous state of affairs awed even the jealous clergy with the apprehension that their tenure of dignity was but precarious. The Emperor Baldwin had now fallen a captive into the hands of the King of Bulgaria; his brother Henry, the new Sovereign, made head with gallantry, but with the utmost difficulty, against the Bulgarians, who, with their wild marauding

hordes, spread to the gates of Constantinople;

A.D. 1206.

Theodore Lascaris had established the new Greek Empire in Asia. The Cardinal not only reconciled the Frank clergy to the supremacy of the Patriarch, Morosini himself was inclined to the larger views of the churchman rather than the narrow and exclusive aims of the Venetian. He gladly accepted the Papal absolution from the oath extorted at Venice; and, so far from the Venetians obtaining a perpetual and hereditary majority in the Chapter of Santa Sophia, or securing the descent of the Patriarchate in their nation, of the line of the Latin Patriarchs after Morosini there was but one of Venetian birth. The Legate established an ecclesiastical constitution for the whole Latin Empire. The clergy were to receive one-fifteenth of all possessions, cities, castles, tenements, fields, vineyards, groves, woods, meadows, suburban spaces, gardens, salt-works, tolls, customs by sea and land, fisheries in salt or fresh waters; with some few exceptions in Constantinople and

^u Gesta, xiv.

its suburbs reserved for the Emperor himself. If the Emperor should compound for any territory, and receive tribute instead of possession, he was to be answerable for the fifteenth to the Church; he could not grant any lands in fief, without reserving the fifteenth. Besides this, all monasteries belonged to the Church, and were not reckoned in the fifteenth. No monastery was to be fortified, if it should be necessary for the public defence, without the permission of the Patriarch or the Bishop of the diocese. Besides this, the clergy might receive tithe of corn, vegetables, and all the produce of the land; of fruits, except the private kitchen-garden of the owner; of the feed of cattle, of honey, and of wool. If by persuasion they could induce the landowners to pay these tithes, they were fully entitled to receive them. The clergy and the monks of all orders were altogether exempt, according to the more liberal custom of France, from all lay jurisdiction. They held their lands and possessions absolutely, saving only allegiance to the See of Rome and to the Patriarch of Constantinople, of the Emperor and of the Empire.*

Even towards the Greeks, as the new Emperor discovered too late the fatal policy of treating the conquered race with contemptuous hatred, so Toleration of Greeks. the ecclesiastical rule gradually relaxed itself, and endeavoured to comprehend them without absolute abandonment of their ritual, and without the proscription of their clergy. Where the whole population was Greek, the Patriarch was recommended to appoint a Greek ecclesiastic; only, where it was mixed, a Latin.† Even the Greek ritual was permitted where the obstinate

* Dated 16 Calends, April. Confirmed at Ferentino, Nones of August.

† *Gesta*, ch. cii.

worshippers resisted all persuasions to conformity, till the Holy See should issue further orders. Nor were the Greek monasteries to be suppressed, and converted, according to Latin usage, into secular chapters; they were to be replaced, as far as might be, by Latin regulars; otherwise to remain undisturbed. This tardy and extorted toleration had probably no great effect in allaying the deepening estrangement of the two churches. Nor did these arrangements pacify the Latin Byzantine Church; there were still jealousies among the Franks of the Venetian Patriarch, excommunications against his contumacious clergy by the Patriarch, appeals to Rome, attempts by the indignant Patriarch to resume some of the independence of his Byzantine predecessors, new Legatine commissions from the Pope, limiting or interfering with his authority.

A.D. 1209.

Even had the Latin conquerors of the East the least disposition to resist the lofty dictation of the Kings of Bulgaria Pope in all ecclesiastical concerns, they were not in a situation to assert their independence as the undisputed sovereigns of Eastern Christendom. On Innocent might depend the recruiting of their reduced, scattered, insufficient forces by new adventurers assuming the Cross, and warring for the eventual liberation of the East, and so consolidating the conquest of the Eastern Empire; on Innocent might depend the deliverance of their captive Emperor, of whose fate they were still ignorant. The King of Bulgaria, by the submission of the Bulgarian Church to Rome, was the spiritual subject of the Pope. Henry, while yet Bailiff of the Empire, during the captivity of Baldwin, wrote the most pressing letters, entreating the mediation of the Pope with the subtle Johannitius. The letters described the insurrection of the perfidious Greeks, the

invasion of the Bulgarians, with their barbarous allied hordes, the fatal battle of Adrianople, in which Baldwin had been taken prisoner: the Latins fled to the Pope as their only refuge above all kings and princes of the earth; they threw themselves in prostrate humility at his parental feet.

Innocent delayed not to send a messenger to his spiritual vassal, the King of Bulgaria; but his letter was in a tone unwontedly gentle, persuasive, unauthoritative. He did not even throw the blame of the war with the Franks of Constantinople on the King of Bulgaria: he reminded him that he had received his crown and his consecrated banner from the Pope, that banner which had placed his kingdom under the special protection of St. Peter, in order that he might rule his realm in peace. He informed Johannitius that another immense army was about to set out from the West to recruit that which had conquered the Byzantine Empire; it was his interest, therefore, to make firm peace with the Latins, for which he had a noble opportunity by the deliverance of the Emperor Baldwin.² "This was a suggestion, not a command. On his own part he would lay his injunction on the Emperor Henry to abstain from all invasion of the borders of Bulgaria; that kingdom, so devoutly dedicated to St. Peter and the Church of Rome, was to remain in its inviolable security!" The Bulgarian replied that "he had offered terms of peace to the Latins, which they had rejected with contempt; they had demanded the surrender of all the territories which they accused him of having usurped from the Empire of Constantinople, themselves being the usurpers of that Empire. These lands he occupied

² Epist. viii. 132.

by a better right than they Constantinople. He had received his crown from the Supreme Pontiff; they had violently seized and invested themselves with that of the Eastern Empire; the Empire which belonged to him rather than to them. He was fighting under the banner consecrated by St. Peter; they with the cross on their shoulders, which they had falsely assumed. He had been defied, had fought in self-defence, had won a glorious victory, which he ascribed to the intercession of the Prince of the Apostles. As to the Emperor, his release was impossible; he had already gone the way of all flesh." It is impossible not to remark the dexterity with which the Barbarian avails himself of the difficult position of the Pope, who had still openly condemned the invasion of Constantinople by the Crusaders, and had threatened, if he had not placed them under interdict for that act; how he makes himself out to be the faithful soldier of the Pope. Nor had either the awe or fear of Innocent restrained the King of Bulgaria from putting his prisoner to a cruel death (this seems to be certain, however the manner of Baldwin's death grew into a romantic legend^a), nor did he pay the slightest regard to the pacific counsels of Rome; the consecrated banner of St. Peter still waved against those who had subdued the Eastern Empire under allegiance to the successor of St. Peter. Till his own assassination, Johannitus of Bulgaria was the dangerous and mortal foe of the Latins in the Empire of the East.

The conquest of Constantinople by the Latins, that strange and romantic episode in the history of the Cru-

^a Ephraim, l. 7406, 7, p. 300; note on Villehardouin, and Alberic des trois Fontaines, on the impostor who represented him.—Gesta Ludov. viii. apud Duchesne, Matt. Paris. edit. Bonn; Nicetas, p. 847; George Acropolita, p. 24, give different versions of his death. See also Ducange's

sades, in its direct and immediate results might seem but imperfect and transitory. The Latin Empire endured hardly more than half a century, the sovereignty reverted to its old effete masters. The Greeks who won back the throne were in no respect superior either in military skill or valour, in genius, in patriotism, in intellectual eminence, to those who had been dispossessed by the Latins. The Byzantine Empire had to linger out a few more centuries of inglorious inactivity; her religion came back with her, with all its superstition, with nothing creative, vigorous, or capable of exercising any strong impulse on the national mind. As the consolidation therefore of Europe into one great Christian confederacy the conquest was a signal failure; as advancing, as supporting the Christian outposts in the East, it led to no result; the Crusades languished still more and more; they were now the enterprises of single enthusiastic princes, brilliant, adventurous expeditions like that of our Edward I.; even national armaments like those of St. Louis of France, whom his gallant chivalry followed to the East as they would on any other bold campaign, obedient to, even kindled by, his fanatic fervour, rather than by their own profound religious zeal. They were no longer the wars of Christendom, the armed insurrections of whole populations, maddening to avenge the cause of the injured Son of God, to secure to themselves the certain absolution for their sins and everlasting reward.

But the immediate and indirect results on the Latin and more especially on the Italian mind, constituted the profound importance of this event, and were at once the sign and the commencement of a great revolution. A new element had now entered into society, to contest

Effects of conquest of Constantinople.

with the warlike and religious spirit the dominion over human thought. Commercial Venice had now taken her place with the feudal monarchies of Transalpine Christendom, and with Rome the seat of ecclesiastical supremacy. A new power had arisen, which had wrested the generalship and the direction of a Crusade from the hands of the most mighty prelate who had filled the chair of St. Peter, had calmly pursued her own way in defiance of interdict, and only at her own convenient time, and for her own ends, stooped to tardy submission and apology.

Venice almost alone reaped the valuable harvest of Advantages secured by Venice. this great Crusade. Zara was the first step to her wide commercial empire; she had wisely left the more imposing but precarious temporal sovereignty in Constantinople to her confederates; to them she abandoned whatever kingdoms, principalities, or baronial fiefs they might win upon the mainland; but she seized on the islands of the Archipelago as her own. Constantinople was not her seat of empire, but it was her central mart; the Emperor had to defend the walls on the land side, the factories of Venice at Pera were amply protected by her fleets. Wherever there was a haven there waved the flag of St. Mark: the whole coast and all the islands were studded with her mercantile establishments.

Venice had been thwarted by the natural jealousy of the Church, by the vigilance and authority of the Pope, and by the defection of Morosini himself, her Patriarch, in her bold project of retaining in her own hands the chief ecclesiastical dignity of the new Empire. It was a remarkable part of the Venetian policy, that though jealous of any overweening ecclesiastical authority at home, within her own lagunes; abroad, in her colonies

and conquests, she was desirous of securing to herself and her sons all the high spiritual dignities, and so to hold both the temporal and ecclesiastical power in her own hands. Venice, by her fortune, or by her sagacity, had never become, never aspired to become the seat of an archiepiscopate; the city was a province first of Aquileia, then of Grado; but the Archbishop was no citizen of Venice; he dwelt apart in his own city; he was at times a stately visitor, received with the utmost ceremony, but still only a visitor in Venice; he could not be a resident rival and control upon the Doge and the senators. Hence Venice alone remained comparatively free from ecclesiastical intrigue; the clergy took no part, as clergy, in the affairs of state; they had no place in the successive senatorial bodies, which at different periods of the constitution ruled the republic. Hence, even from an earlier period she dared to take a firmer tone, or to treat with courteous disrespect the mandates of the supreme Pontiff; the Republic would sternly assert her right to rule herself of her own sole and exclusive authority; but in her settlements she would not disdain to rule by the subsidiary aid of the ecclesiastical power.

Among the first acts of Ziani, the Doge who succeeded Henry Dandolo, was the appointment of the Abbot of St. Felix in Venice to the arch-^{Archbishop} bishopric of Zara. ^{of Zara.} he obtained the consecration and confirmation from the obsequious Primate of Grado. Not till then did he condescend to request the Papal sanction; to demand the pall for the new archbishop.

Innocent seized the opportunity of abasing the pride of Venice, of disburthening his mind of all his wrath, perhaps his prescient apprehensions of her future unruliness. "We have thought it right in our patient love

to rebuke your ambassadors for the many and heinous sins wickedly committed against God, the Roman Church, and the whole Christian people—the destruction of Zara; the diversion of the army of the Lord, which ought not to have moved to the right or the left, from their lawful enemies the perfidious Saracens, against faithful Christian nations; the contumelious repulse of the Legate of the Roman See; the contempt of our excommunication; the violation of the vow of the Cross in despite of the crucified Saviour. Among these enormous misdeeds we will not name those perpetrated in Constantinople, the pillage of the treasures of the Church, the seizure of her possessions, the attempt to make the sanctuary of the Lord hereditary in your nation by extorting unlawful oaths. What reparation can ye make for this loss to the Holy Land by your misguiding to your own ends an army so noble, so powerful, raised at such enormous cost, which might not only have subdued the Holy Land, but even great part of the kingdom of Egypt? If it has been able to subdue Constantinople and the Greek Empire, how much easier Alexandria and Egypt, and so have obtained quiet possession of Palestine? Ascribe it not then to our severity, but to your own sins, that we refuse to admit the Abbot of St. Felix, whom ye call Archbishop of Zara. It would be a just offence to all Christian people if we should seem thus to sanction your iniquity in the seizure of Zara, by granting the pall of an archbishop in that city to a prelate of your nomination.”^b

The Pope called on the Venetians to submit and make satisfaction for all their crimes against the Holy See ;

^b *Gesta, civ.*

on making that submission he would suspend the censure which the whole world expected to fall on the contumacious republic. We hear not that Venice trembled at this holy censure; history records no proof of her fear or submission. A.D. 1206.

Through Venice flowed into Western Europe almost all those remains of ancient art, and even of ancient letters, which had some effect in awakening the slumbering genius of Latin Europe. The other western kingdoms were content mostly with reliques; perhaps the great marts of Flanders, and the rising Hanse Towns had some share, more or less direct, in Eastern commerce; but besides the religious spoils, Venice alone, and through Venice Italy, was moved with some yet timid admiration of profaner works, such as the horses of Lysippus, which now again stand in her great Place of St. Mark. Venice, after the conquest of Constantinople, became a half Byzantine city. Her great church of St. Mark still seems as if it had migrated from the East; its walls glow with Byzantine mosaic; its treasures are Oriental in their character as in their splendour.

CHAPTER VIII.

Innocent and the Anti-Sacerdotalists.

THE Crusades had established in the mind of men the maxim that the Infidel was the enemy of God, and therefore the enemy of every true servant of God. The war, first undertaken for a specific object, the rescue of the Saviour's sepulchre, that indefeasible property of Christ and Christendom long usurped by lawless force, from the profane and sacrilegious hands of the Mohammedan idolaters (as they were absurdly called), had now become a general war of the Cross against the Crescent, of every Christian against every believer in the Korân. Christian and unbeliever were born foes, foes unto death. They might hold the chivalrous gallantry, the loyalty, and the virtue, each of the other, in respect: absolute necessity might compel them to make treaties which would partake in the general sanctity of such covenants; yet to these irreconcilable antagonists war was the state of nature; each considered it a sacred duty, if not a positive obligation, to extirpate the hostile faith. And in most Mohammedan countries the Christian had the claim of old possession; he fought for the recovery of his own. Mohammedanism had begun in unprovoked conquest; conquest was its sole tenure; and conquest might seem at least a part of its religion, for with each successive race which rose to power among the Mohammedans the career of invasion began again; the frontiers of Christendom were invested

or driven in. All warfare, therefore, even carried into the heart of Mohammedanism, was in some degree defensive, as precautionary and preventive of future aggression; as aspiring to crush, before it became too formidable, a power which inevitably, when again matured, would be restrained by no treaty. Foreign subjugation, subjugation of Christian countries, was at once a part of the creed, and of the national manners. The Nomad races, organised by a fanatic faith, were arrayed in eternal warfare against more settled and peaceful civilisation. The Crusades in the North of Germany against the tribes of Teutonic or Slavonian race might claim, though in less degree, the character of defensive wars: those races too were mostly warlike and aggressive. The Teutonic knights were the religious and chivalrous descendants of the Templars and the Hospitallers.^a

But according to the theory of the Church, the erring believer was as declared an enemy to God as the Pagan or the Islamite, in one respect more inexcusable and odious, as obstinately resisting or repudiating the truth. The heretic appeared to the severely orthodox Christian as worse than the unbeliever: he was a revolted subject, not a foreign enemy.^b Civil wars are always the most ferocious. Excommunication from the Christian Church implied outlawry from Christian society; the heretic forfeited not only all dignities, rights, privileges, immu-

^a The Teutonic order was as yet in its infancy; it obtained what may be called an European existence (till then it was a brotherhood of charity in the Holy Land) under Herman de Salza, the loyal friend of Frederick II.

^b The Troubadour who sings of the Albigensian war expresses the common sentiment: "Car les Français de France, et ceux d'Italie . . . et le monde entier leur court sus, et leur porte haine, plus qu'à Sarrasins."—Fauriel, p. 77.

nities, even all property, all protection by law; he was to be pursued, taken,^c despoiled, put to death, either by the ordinary course of justice (the temporal authority was bound to execute, even to blood, the sentence of the ecclesiastical court), or if he dared to resist, by any means whatever: however peaceful, he was an insurgent, against whom the whole of Christendom might, or rather was bound at the summons of the spiritual power to declare war; his estates, even his dominions if a sovereign, were not merely liable to forfeiture, but the Church assumed the power of awarding the forfeiture, as it might seem best to her wisdom.^d The army which should execute the mandate of the Church was the army of the Church, and the banner of that army was the Cross of Christ. So began Crusades, not on the contested borders of Christendom, not in Mohammedan or heathen lands, in Palestine, on the shores of the Nile, among the Livonian forests or the sands of the Baltic, but in the very bosom of Christendom; not among the implacable partisans of an antagonistic creed, but among those who still called themselves by the name of Christians.

The world, at least the Christian world, might seem to repose in unresisting and unrepining subjection under the religious autocracy of the Pope, now at the zenith of his power. However Innocent III., in his ostentatious claim of complete temporal supremacy as a branch of his spiritual power,

Apparent religious quiet of reign of Innocent III.

to repose in unresisting and unrepining subjection under the religious autocracy of the Pope, now at the zenith of his power. However Innocent III., in his ostentatious claim of complete temporal supremacy as a branch of his spiritual power,

^c Pierre de Vaux Cernay considers every crime to be centered in heresy. The heretic is a wild beast, to be remorselessly slain wherever he is found. —Passim.

^d Even the Emperor Henry IV.

almost admitted that, if guilty of heresy, he would have justly incurred dethronement. His argument against the injustice of Hildebrand is, that he is convicted of no heresy.

as directly flowing from the established principles of his religious despotism, might have to encounter the stern opposition of the temporal sovereigns Philip of Swabia, Otho IV., Philip Augustus, or the Barons of England; yet within its clear and distinct limits that supremacy was uncontested. No Emperor or King, however he might assert his right to his crown in defiance of the Pope, would fail at the same time to profess himself a dutiful son and subject of the Church. Where the contest arose out of matters more closely connected with religion, it was against the alleged abuse of the power, not against the power itself, which he appealed when he took up arms. But there was a secret working in the depths of society, which, at the very moment when it was most boastful of its unity, broke forth in direct spiritual rebellion in almost every quarter of Christendom. Nor was it the more watchful and all-pervading administration of Innocent III., which detected latent and slumbering heresies; they were open and undisguised, and carried on the work of proselytism, each in its separate sphere, with dauntless activity. From almost every part of Latin Christendom a cry of indignation and distress is raised by the clergy against the teachers or the sects, which are withdrawing the people from their control. It is almost simultaneously heard in England, in Northern France, in Belgium, in Bretagne, in the whole diocese of Rheims, in Orleans, in Paris, in Germany, at Goslar, Cologne, Trèves, Metz, Strasburg. Throughout the whole South of France, and it should seem in Hungary, this sectarianism is the dominant religion. Even in Italy these opinions had made alarming progress. Innocent himself calls on the cities of Verona, Bologna, Florence, Milan, Placentia, Treviso, Bergamo, Mantua, Ferrara, Faenza, to cast out these

multiplying sectaries. Even within or on the very borders of the Papal territory Viterbo is the principal seat of the revolt.

In one great principle alone the heresiarchs of this age, and their countless sects, conspired with dangerous unity. It was a great anti-sacerdotal movement; it was a convulsive effort to throw off what had become to many the intolerable yoke of a clergy which assumed something beyond Apostolic power, and seemed to have departed so entirely from Apostolic poverty and humility. It was impossible that the glaring contrast between the simple religion of the Gospel, and the vast hierarchical Christianity which had been growing up since the time of Constantine, should not, even in the darkest and most ignorant age awaken the astonishment of some, and rouse a spirit of inquiry in others. But for centuries, from this embarrassing or distressing contrast between Apostolic and hierarchical Christianity, almost all who had felt it had sought and found refuge in monachism. And monachism, having for its main object the perfection of the individual, was content to withdraw itself out of worldly Christianity into safe seclusion; being founded on a rule, an universal rule, of passive submission, it did not of necessity feel called upon, or seem to itself justified in more than protesting against, or condemning by its own austere indigence, the inordinate wealth, power, or splendour of the clergy, still less in organising revolutionary resistance. Yet unquestionably this oppugnancy was the most active element in the jealous hostility between the seculars and the regulars, which may be traced in almost every country and in every century. We have heard the controversy between Peter Damiani and Hildebrand, each of whom may be accepted as

Principle of
union amongst
Sectaries.

the great champion of his class, which though it did not quench their mutual respect, even their friendship, shows the irreconcilability of the conflict. Yet each form of monasticism had in a generation or two become itself hierarchical; the rich and lordly abbot could not reproach the haughty and wealthy bishop as an unworthy successor of the Apostles. Clugny, which by its stern austerities had put to shame the older cloisters, by the time of St. Bernard is become the seat of unevangelical luxury and ease. Moreover, a solemn and rigid ritual devotion was an essential part of monachism. Each rule was more punctilious, more minute, more strict, than the ordinary ceremonial of the Church; and this rigid servitude to religious usage no doubt kept down multitudes, who might otherwise have raised or followed the standard of revolt. There were no rebellions to any extent in the monastic orders, so long as they were confined in their cloisters; it was not till much later, that among the Begging Friars, who wandered freely abroad, arose a formidable mutiny, even in the very camp of the Papacy.

The hierarchy, too, might seem to repose securely in its conscious strength; to look back with quiescent pride on its unbroken career of victory. The intellectual insurrection of Abélard against the dominant philosophy and against the metaphysic groundwork, if not against the doctrine, of the dominant Christianity, had been crushed, for a time at least, by his own calamities and by the superior authority of St. Bernard. The republican religion of Arnold of Brescia had met its doom at the stake; the temporal and spiritual power had combined to trample down the perilous demagogue rather than heresiarch. But doctrines expire not with their teachers. Abélard left even in high places, if not

disciples, men disposed to follow out his bold speculations. But these were solitary abstruse thinkers, like Gilbert de la Porée, or minds which formed a close esoteric school; no philosophising Christian ever organised or perpetuated a sect. Arnold no doubt left behind him a more deep and dangerous influence. In many minds there lingered from his teaching, if no very definite notions, a secret traditionary repugnance to the established opinions, an unconscious aversion to the rule of the sacerdotal order.

The Papacy, the whole hierarchy, might seem, in the wantonness of its despotism, almost deliberately to drive Christendom to insurrection. It was impossible that the long, seemingly interminable conflict with the imperial power, even though it might end in triumph, should not leave deep and rankling and inextinguishable animosities. The interdicts uttered, not against monarchs, but against kingdoms like France and England; the sudden and total cessation of all religious rites; the remorseless abandonment, as it were, of whole nations to everlasting perdition for the sins or alleged sins of their sovereigns, could not but awaken doubts; deaden in many cases religious fears—madden to religious desperation. In France it has been seen that satire began to aim its contemptuous sarcasms at the Pope and the Papal power. In the reign of John, the political songs, not merely in the vernacular tongue but in priestly or monastic Latin, assume a boldness and vehemence which show how much the old awe is dropping off; and these songs, spread from convent to convent, and chanted by monks, it should seem, to holy tunes, are at once the expression and the nutriment of brooding and sullen discontent: discontent, if as yet shuddering at aught approaching to

heresy, at least preparing men's minds for doctrinal licence.*

Nor were the highest churchmen aware how by their own unsparing and honest denunciations of the abuses of the Church, they must shake the authority of the Church. The trumpet of sedition was blown from the thrones of bishops and archbishops, of holy abbots and preachers of the severest orthodoxy; and was it to be expected that the popular mind would nicely discriminate between the abuses of the hierarchical system and the system itself? The flagrant, acknowledged venality of Rome could not be denounced without impairing the majesty of Rome; the avarice of Legates and Cardinals could not pass into a proverb and obtain currency from the most unsuspecting authorities, without bringing Legates, Cardinals, the whole hierarchy into contempt

* See Mr. Wright's Political songs and poems of Walter de Mapes, among the most curious volumes published by the Camden Society. In the *Carmina Burana* (from the monastery of Benedict Buren, published by the Literary Union of Stutgard, 1847) we find the same pieces, some no doubt of English origin. This strange collection of amatory as well as satirical pieces shows that the licence, even occasionally the grace and beauty of the Troubadour, as well as his bitter tone against the clergy, were not confined to the South of France, or to the Provençal tongue:—

‘Cum ad papam veneris, habe pro constanti
Non est locus pauperi, soli favet danti;
Vel si munus præstitum non est aliquanti.
Respondit, hæc tibia non est michi tanti.
Papa, si rem tangimus nomen habet a re;
Quicquid habent alii, solus vult palpare;
Vel si verbum gallicum vis apocopare,
Pæz, pæz, dit le mot, si vis impetrare.
Papa quærit, chartula quærit, bulla quærit,
Porta quærit, cardinalis quærit, cursor
quærit,

Omnes quærent; et si quod des, un-
deerit,
‘Totum mare salsum est, tota causa perit.’
—p. 14, 18

Here is another, out of many such passages:—

“Roma, turpitudinis jacens in profundis,
Virtutes præposterat opibus immundis
Vacillantis animi fluctuans sub undis,
Diruit, ædificat, mutat quadrata rotundis.
Roma cunctos erudit, ut ad opes trans-
volent,
Plus quam Deo, Mammonæ, cor et manus
immolet;
Sic nimirum palmites malæ stirpe re-
dolent:
Cui caput infirmum, cetera membra
dolent.”

From another publication of Mr. Wright's, “*Early Mysteries*,” p. xxv.

“Quicquid male, Roma, vales,
Per immundos cardinales,
Perque nugas Decretales;
Quicquid cancellarii
Peccant vel notarii,
Totum camerarii
Superant Papales.”

—Compare Hist. Littér. de la France, vol. xxii. 147, 8. I had selected the same quotations.

We have heard Becket declaim, if not against the Pope himself (yet even the Pope is not spared), against the court and council of the Pope as bought and sold. The King, he says, boasts that he has in his pay the whole college of cardinals; he could buy the Papacy itself, if vacant. And, if Becket brands the impiety, he does not question on this point the truth of the King. Becket's friend, John of Salisbury, not only in the freedom of epistolary writing, but in his grave philosophic works, dwells, if with trembling reverence yet with no less force, on this indelible sin of Rome and of the legates of Rome.^f We have heard Innocent compelled to defend himself from the imputed design of fraudulently alienating for his own use contributions raised for the hallowed purposes of the Crusade.

All these conspiring causes account for the popularity of this movement; its popularity, not on account of the numbers of its votaries, but the class in which it chiefly spread: the lower or middle orders of the cities, in many cases the burghers, now also striving after civil liberties, and forming the free municipalities in the cities; and in those cities not merely opposing the authority of the nobles, but that not less oppressive of the bishops and the chapters.

This wide-spread, it might seem almost simultaneous revolt throughout Latin Christianity (though in fact it had been long growing up, and, beat down in one place, had ever risen in another); this insurrection against the dominion of the clergy and of the Pope, more or less against the vital doctrines of the faith, but universally against the sacerdotal system, comprehended three

^f "Sed Legati sedis Apostolicæ manus suas excutiant ab omni munere, qui interdum in provincias ita debacchantur ac si ad ecclesiam flagellandam

egressus sit Sathan a facie domini." He adds, "Non de omnibus sermo est."—Polycratic. v. 15.

classes. These, distinct in certain principles and tenets, would of necessity intermingle incessantly, melt into, and absorb each other. Once broken loose from the authority of the clergy, once convinced that the clergy possessed not the sure, at all events, not the exclusive power over their salvation; awe and reverence for the churches, for the sacraments, for the confessional, once thrown aside; they would welcome any new excitement; be the willing and eager hearers of any teacher who renounced the hierarchy. The followers of Peter de Brueys, or of Henry the Deacon, in the South of France, would be ready to listen without terror to the zealous and eloquent Manichean; the first bold step was already taken; they would go onward without fear, without doubt, wherever conviction seemed to flash upon their minds or enthrall their hearts. In most of them probably the thirst was awakened, rather than fully allayed; they were searchers after truth, rather than men fully satisfied with their new creed.

These three classes were—I. The simple Anti-Sacerdotalists, those who rejected the rites and repudiated the authority of the clergy, but did not depart, or departed but in a slight degree, from the established creeds; heretics in manners and in forms of worship rather than in articles of belief. These were chiefly single teachers, who rose in different countries, without connexion, without organisation, each dependent for his success on his own eloquence or influence. They were insurgents, who shook the established government, but did not attempt to replace it by any new form or system of opinions and discipline.

Three
classes.

II. The Waldenses, under whom I am disposed, after much deliberation, to rank the Poor Men of Lyons. These may be called the Biblical Anti-Sacerdotalists.

The appeal to the Scriptures and to the Scriptures alone from the vast system of traditional religion, was their vital fundamental tenet.

III. The Manicheans, characterised not only by some of the leading doctrines of the old Oriental system, not probably clearly defined or understood, by a severe asceticism, and a hatred or contempt of all union between the sexes, but also by a peculiar organisation, a severe probation, a gradual and difficult ascent into the chosen ranks of the Perfect, with something approaching to a hierarchy of their own.

I. Not long after the commencement of the twelfth century, Peter de Bruelys preached in the south of France for above twenty years.⁶ At length he expiated his rebellion in the flames at St. Gilles in Languedoc. Peter de Bruelys had been a clerk; he is taunted as having deserted the Church on account of the poverty of his benefice. He denied infant baptism, it is said, because the parents brought not their children with offerings; he annulled the sacrifice of the altar, because men came not with their hands and bosoms loaded with gifts and with wax-lights.

Peter de Bruelys is arraigned by Peter the Venerable, as denying — I. Infant baptism. II. Respect for churches. III. The worship of the cross. The cross on which the Redeemer was so cruelly tortured, ought rather to be an object of horror than of veneration. IV. Transubstantiation and the Real Presence. It is

⁶ The date is doubtful. Peter the Venerable wrote his confutation after the death of Peter de Bruelys: he asserts that Peter had disseminated his heresy in the dioceses of Arles, Embrun, Die, and Gap: he afterwards

went into the province of Narbonne. Baronius dated this work of Peter the Venerable in 1146. Clemençet in 1135. Fuesslin, a more modern authority, with whom Gieseler agrees, in 1126 or 1127.

asserted, but not proved, that he rejected the Eucharist altogether; he probably retained it as a memorial rite. V. Prayers, alms, and oblations for the dead. To these errors was added an aversion to the chanting and psalmody of the Church; he would perhaps replace it by a more simple and passionate hymnology.^h How did each of these heretical tenets strike at the power, the wealth, the influence of the clergy! What terrible doubts did they throw into men's minds! How hateful must they have appeared to the religious, as to the irreligious! "What!" says the indignant Peter the Venerable, on the first of these tenets (we follow not out his curious, at times strange refutation of the rest), "have all the saints been baptised in infancy, yet, if infant baptism be null, have perished unbaptised, perished therefore eternally? Is there no Christian, not one to be saved in all Spain, Gaul, Germany, Italy, Europe?" In another respect the followers of Peter de Brueys rejected the usages of the Church, but in no rigid or ascetic, and therefore no Manichean spirit. They ate meat on fast days, even on Good Friday. They even summoned their people to feast on those days. This was among the most revolting acts of their wickedness; as bad as acts of persecution and cruelty, of which they are accused; it shows at once their daring and the great power which they had attained. "The people are rebaptised, altars thrown down, crosses burned, meat publicly eaten on the day of the Lord's Passion, priests scourged, monks imprisoned, or compelled to marry by terror or by torture"ⁱ

^h Compare Flathe, *Vorläufer der Reformation*, Hahn, *Manichäische Ketzerei*, p. 408, *et seqq.*

ⁱ Peter Venerab., in *Max. Biblioth.*

Patr., p. 1034. This refutation is the chief authority about Peter de Brueys, and his followers, called Petri-bussians.

But the fire which burned Peter de Brueys neither discouraged nor silenced a more powerful and more daring heresiarch. To the five errors of de Henry the Deacon. Brueys, his heir, Henry the Deacon, added many more.^k The description of the person, the habits, the eloquence of Henry, as it appeared to the incensed clergy, is more distinct than that of his doctrines. Henry had been a monk of Clugny, and was in deacon's orders. He is first heard of at Lausanne (though according to some reports his career began in Italy), but his influence over the popular mind and his hostility to the clergy first broke forth in its fulness at Le Mans. The Bishop of that see, Hildebert, incautiously gave him permission to preach, and then departed himself on a visit to Rome. The rapid changes in Henry's countenance are likened to a stormy sea: his hair was cropped, his beard long; he was tall of stature, quick in step, barefooted in the midst of winter, rapid in address, in voice terrible. In years he was but a youth; yet his deep tones seemed, according to the appalled clergy of Le Mans, like the roar of legions of devils; but he was wonderfully eloquent. He went to the very hearts of men, and maddened them to a deep implacable hatred of the clergy. Yet at first some even of the clergy sate at the feet of the persuasive teacher and melted into tears. But as he rose to the stern denunciation of their vices, they saw their alienated flocks gradually look on them with apathy, with contempt, with aversion. Some who attempted to meet the preacher in argument were beaten, rolled in the mire, hardly escaped with their lives, were only pro-

^k *Acta Episcoporum Cenomansium* (in Mabillon, *Vet. Analect.* iii. 312) Henry began in 1116.

tected, and in secret hiding-places, by the magistrates. They attempted a gentle remonstrance: they had received Henry with brotherly love, and opened their pulpits to him; he had returned peace with enmity, sowed deadly hatred between the clergy and the people, and betrayed them with a Judas kiss. To the messenger who read this expostulation Henry sternly and briefly replied, "Thou liest." But for the officers of the Count who accompanied him the man had been stoned to death.

Henry was no Manichean; he was rather an apostle of marriage. His influence, like that of many of the popular preachers, was greatest among the loose women. That unhappy race, of strong passions, oppressed with shame and misery at their outcast and forlorn condition, are ever prone to throw themselves into wild paroxysms of penitence. They stripped themselves, if we are to believe the accounts, naked; threw their costly robes, their bright tresses, into the fire. Henry declared that no one should receive a dowry, gold, silver, land, or bridal gifts. All rushed to marriage, the poorest with the poorest, *even within the prohibited degrees*. Henry himself is said to have looked with too curious and admiring eyes on the beauty of his adoring proselytes. Young men of rank and station wedded these reclaimed harlots in coarse robes which cost the meanest price. These inauspicious marriages ended but ill. The passion of self-sacrifice soon burned out in the youths; they grew weary, and deserted their once contaminated wives. The passion of virtue with the women, too, died away; they fell back to their old courses.

Bishop Hildebert, on his return from Rome, was met by no procession, no rejoicing at the gates. The people mocked his blessing: "We have a father, a bishop, far above thee in dignity wisdom, and holiness." The mild

Bishop bore the affront: he forced an interview on Henry, and put him under examination. Henry knew not how—probably refused—to repeat the Morning Hymn. The Bishop declared him a poor ignorant man, but took no harsher measure than expulsion from his diocese.

Henry retired to the South of France, and joined Peter de Brueys as his scholar or fellow apostle. After Brueys was burned, he retired into Gascony, fell into the hands of the Archbishop of Arles, and
A.D. 1134. was sent to the Council of Pisa. Innocent II. condemned him to silence, and placed him under the custody of St. Bernard. He escaped and returned to Languedoc. Desertion of churches, total contempt of the clergy, followed the eloquent heresiarch wherever he went. The Cardinal Bishop of Ostia was sent by Eugene III. to subdue the revolt; the Cardinal Alberic demanded the aid of no less a colleague than St. Bernard: “Henry is an antagonist who can only be put down by the conqueror of Abélard and of Arnold of Brescia.” Bernard’s progress in Languedoc might seem an uncontested ovation: from all quarters crowds gathered; Toulouse opened her gates; he is said by his powerful discourses to have disinfected the whole city from heresy. He found, so he writes, “the churches without people, the people without priests, the priests without respect, the Christians without Christ, the churches are deemed synagogues, the holy places of God denied to be holy, the sacraments are no longer sacred, the holy days without their solemnities.” Bernard left Toulouse, as he hoped, as his admirers boasted, restored to peace and orthodoxy.^m

Yet Bernard’s victory was but seeming or but tran-

^m Epist. 241, vol. i. p. 237.

sient. Peter de Brueys and Henry the Deacon had only sowed the dragon seed of worse heresies, which sprung up with astonishing rapidity. Before fifty years had passed the whole South of France was swarming with Manicheans, who took their name from the centre of their influence, the city of Albi. Toulouse is become, in the words of its delegated visitors (the Cardinal of S. Chrysogonus, the Abbot of Clairvaux, the Bishops of Poitiers and Bath), the abomination of desolation; the heretics have the chief power over the people, they lord it among the clergy: as the people, so the priest.ⁿ

The Anti-Sacerdotalists had at the same time,^o or even earlier, found in the north a formidable head in Tanchelin of Antwerp, a layman, with his disciple, a renegade priest named Erwacher. Tanchelin appears more like one of the later German Anabaptists. He rejected Pope, archbishops, bishops, the whole priesthood. His sect was the one true Church. The Sacraments (he denied transubstantiation) depended for their validity on the holiness of him who administered them. He declared war against tithes and the possessions of the Church. He was encircled by a body-guard of three thousand armed men; he was worshipped by the people as an angel, or something higher; they drank the water in which he had bathed. He is accused of the grossest licence. A woman within the third degree of relationship was his concubine. Tanchelin began his career in the cities on the coast of

Tanchelin.

ⁿ "Ita hæretici principabantur in populo, dominabantur in clero; eo quod populus, sic sacerdos," *et seqq.* Epist. Henric. Abbat. Clairv. apud Mansi, A.D. 1178; and in Maitland, **Facts and Documents.**

^o From 1122 to 1125. Script. apud Bouquet, xiii. 108, *et seqq.* Epist. Frag. Ecclesiae. Sigebert, apud Pertz, viii. Vita Norberti, apud Bolland, Jun. 1. Hahn, p. 458.

Flanders; he then fixed himself at Utrecht. The bishops and clergy raised a cry of terror. Yet Tanchelin, with the renegade Erwacher, dared to visit Rome. On his return he was seized and imprisoned in Cologne by the Archbishop, escaped, first fixed himself in Bruges, finally in Antwerp, where he ruled with the power and state of a king. He was at length struck dead by a priest, but his followers survived; no less a man than St. Norbert, the friend, almost the equal of St. Bernard, was compelled to accept the bishopric of Utrecht, to quell the brooding and dangerous revolt.

Another wild teacher, Eudo de Stella, an illiterate rustic, half-revolutionised Bretagne. He gave himself out "as he that should come," was followed by multitudes, and assumed almost kingly power. He was with difficulty seized; his life was spared; he was cast into prison under the charge of Suger, Abbot of St. Denys. He died in prison; his only known tenet is implacable hostility to churches and monasteries.^p

These, though the most famous, or best recorded Anti-Sacerdotalists, who called forth the Bernards and the Norberts to subdue them, were not the only teachers of these rebellious doctrines. In many other cities nothing is known, but that fires were kindled and heretics burned, in Oxford, in Rheims, in Arras, in Besançon, in Cologne, in Trèves, in Vezelay.^q In this latter stately monastery, probably a year or two before the excommunication of King Henry's friends by Becket, that awful triumph

^p Gul. Neubrig. sub ann. 1197. Continuat. Sigebert, apud Pertz, viii.

^q Some of these may have been Manicheans, or held opinions bordering on Manicheanism. On *Oxford*, Gul. Neubrig. ii. c. 13. *Arras*, in 1183,

perhaps 1083. *Besançon*, 1200. Cæsar Heisterbac, v. 15. *Cologne*, God. Monach. ad ann. 1163. *Trèves*, Gesta Trevir. i. 186. They passed under the general name of Cathari; in France they were often called tisserands (weavers).

of the sacerdotal power, the Archbishops of Lyons and Narbonne, the Bishops of Nevers and Laon, and many abbots and great theologians, sate in solemn judgement on some, it should seem, poor ignorant men, called Publicans.* They denied all but God; they absolutely rejected all the Sacraments, infant baptism, the Eucharist, the sign of the cross, holy water, the efficacy of tithes and oblations, marriages, monkhood, the power and functions of the priesthood. Two were disposed to recant. They were examined at the solemn festival of Easter, article by article; they could not explain their own tenets. They were allowed the water ordeal. One passed through safe; the other case was more doubtful, the man was plunged again, and condemned, to the general satisfaction. But the Abbot having some doubt, he was put to a more merciful death. Appeal was made to the whole assembly: "What shall be done with the rest?" "Let them be burned! let them be burned!" And burned they were, to the number of seven, in the valley of Ecouan.⁹

II. In Northern France these adversaries of the Church seem to have been less inclined to ^{Biblical} speculative than to practical innovations. It ^{Anti-Sacer-} ^{dotalists.} was an hostility to the clergy, and to all those ritual and sacramental institutions in which dwelt the power

* Idonei or popolicolæ.

⁹ Historia Vezeliac. sub fine, in Guizot, Collection des Mémoires, vii. p. 335. All these burnings were by the civil power, to which the heretics, having been excommunicated, were given up. Yet Eichhorn observes that neither the law of the Church nor the Roman law had any general penalty against heretics beyond confis-

cation of goods. "Obschon weder ein Kirchengesetz noch das Römische Recht etwas anderes als confiscation ihres vermögens *allgemein* gebot." Two statutes of Frederick II. (A.D. 1222) made the punishment, which had become practice law. "Welche allgemeine Praxis wurden, in Verbrennen bestehen sollte."—T. ii. p. 521.

and authority of the clergy. In Southern France Manicheism almost suddenly swallowed up the followers of the simple Anti-Sacerdotalists, Peter de Bruveys and Henry the Deacon. In Italy, perhaps, the political element, introduced by Arnold of Brescia, mingled with the Paulician Manicheism which stole in after the Crusades, and appeared almost simultaneously in many parts of Europe. In the valleys of the Alps it was a pure religious movement. Peter Waldo was the St. Francis of heresy, the Poor Men of Lyons were the Minorites—the lowest of the low. Some of them resembled more the later Fraticelli in their levelling doctrines, in their assertion of the kingdom of the Spirit; in some respects the wilder Anabaptists of the Church of Rome.

The simplicity of the Alpine peasants was naturally averse to the wealth of the monastic establishments which began to arise among them; there might survive some vague tradition of the iconoclasm and holiness of Claudius of Turin, or of the later residence of Arnold of Brescia in Zurich. But whether the spiritual parents, the brethren, the offspring of Peter Waldo^t—whether

^t The date of Waldo is doubtful from 1160 to 1170. Stephanus de Borbone de VII. Donis Spiritus, iv. c. 30, professes to have heard the origin of the sect from persons living at the time. The passage is quoted in the Dissertation of Ricchinius, prefixed to Moneta, c. xxxvii. The two famous lines in the Noble Leyczion appear to assign a proximate date to the Biblical Anti-Sacerdotalists of the Valleys:—

“Ben ha mile cent anez compli entierament,
Que fo scripta l' ora, car son al denier
temp.”

I see no reason for, every reason against,

reckoning these 1100 years from the delivery of the Apocalypse, a critical question far beyond the age, or from any period but the ordinary date of our Lord. All it seems to assert is that the 1100 years are fully passed, and that the “latter days” are begun. This in the usual religious language would admit, at least, any part of the twelfth century. The authenticity of these lines is asserted and argued to my mind in a conclusive manner by the highest authority, Mons. Raynouard, *Poésies des Troubadours*, vol. ii. p. cxlii. Compare, for similar dates especially,

his teachers or his disciples—these blameless sectaries, in their retired valleys of Piedmont, clung with unconquerable fidelity to their purer, less imaginative faith. But whencesoever this humbler Biblical Christianity derived its origin, it received a powerful impulse from Peter Waldo. Waldo was a rich merchant of Lyons; his religious impressions, naturally strong, were quickened by one of those appalling incidents which often work so lastingly on the life of religious men. In a meeting for devotion a man fell dead, some say struck by lightning. From that time religion was the sole thought of Peter. He dedicated himself to poverty and the instruction of the people.[¶] His lavish alms gathered the poor around him in grateful devotion. He was by no means learned, but he paid a poor scholar to translate the Gospels and some other books of Scripture.^{*} Another grammarian rendered into his native tongue some selected sentences from the Fathers. Disciples gathered around him; he sent them, after the manner of the seventy, two by two, into the neighbouring villages to preach the Gospel. They called themselves the Humbled; others called them the Poor Men of Lyons.[‡]

Two of Waldo's followers found their way to Rome.

Dante Paradiso, xi.; Gilly, Introduction, p. xxxviii.

This question is now set at rest by the discovery of the lost Waldensian MSS., presented by Morland to the University of Cambridge. It is clear that the date is 1400, not 1100. In one MS. there is an erasure; but the 4 can be traced with a glass. In another it is clearly "Ben ha mil e ceccans." See the paper by Mr. Bradshaw, librarian, to whom the discovery is due. Report of Cambridge Antiquarian Society, May 12, 1862.

There is a very curious extract on the voluntary poverty of the Church. I leave my former note unaltered. 1864.

[¶] On Waldo, Reinerius Saccho, c. iv. v.; Alanus de Insulis; Stephan. de Borbone de VII. Don. Spirit. S.

^{*} Chronicle of Laon, apud Bouquet, xiii.; Gilly, p. xciv.

[‡] The name Insabatati is derived by Spanheim (Hist. Christ. Sæc. xii.) from their religious observance of the Sabbath, in opposition to the holidays of the Church. It is more probably from the word *sabat*, a wooden shoe.

They presented a book, written in the Gallo-Roman language; it contained a text and a gloss on the Psalter, and several books of the Old and New Testament. The Papal See was not so wise as afterwards, when Innocent III., having superciliously spurned the beggarly Francis of Assisi, was suddenly enlightened as to the danger of estranging, the advantage of attaching, such men to the service of the Church. The example of Waldo may have acted as a monition. The two were received in the Lateran Council by Alexander III. The Pope condescended to approve of their poverty, but they were condemned for presuming to interfere with the sacred functions of the priesthood.² When they implored permission to preach, they were either met by a hard refusal, with derision, or ungraciously required to obtain the consent of the jealous clergy. Their knowledge of Scripture seems to have perplexed John of Salisbury, who writes of them with the bitterness of a discomfited theologian.

As yet it is clear they contemplated no secession from the Church; they were not included under the condemnation of heretics in the Council, but they persisted in preaching without authority. They were interdicted by the Archbishop of Lyons. Waldo resolutely replied with that great axiom, so often misapplied, and for the right application of which the conscience must be enlightened with more than ordinary wisdom, "That he must obey God rather than man."

From that time the Poor Men of Lyons were involved in the common hatred which branded all opponents of the clergy with obloquy and contempt. They were

² The accounts of these proceedings at the Council of the Lateran appear to me to be thus reconcilable with no great difficulty. De Mapes; Chronic. Laon; Stephen Borbone; Moneta.

now comprehended among the heretics, condemned by Lucius III. at the Council of Verona.^a Their hostility to the Church grew up with the hostility of the Church to them. They threw aside the whole hierarchical and ritual system, at least as far as the conviction of its value and efficacy, along with the priesthood. The sanctity of the priest was not in his priesthood, but in his life. The virtuous layman was a priest (they had aspired to reach that lofty doctrine of the Gospel), and could therefore administer with equal validity all the rites; even women, it is said, according to their view, might officiate. The prayers and offerings of a wicked priest were altogether of no avail.^b Their doctrine was a full, minute, rigid protest against the wealth of the Church, the power of the Church.^c The Church of Rome they denied to be the true Church: they inexorably condemned the homicidal engagements of popes and prelates in war. They rejected the seven Sacraments, except Baptism and the Eucharist. In baptism they denied all effect of the ablution by the sanctity of the water. A priest in

Poor Men
of Lyons.

^a Mansi, Concil. Veronens. 1184. Their preaching without licence was the avowed cause of their condemnation. "Catharos et Paterinos et eos, qui se humiliatos vel pauperes de Lugduno falso nomine mentiuntur, Passaginos, Josepinos, Arnaldistas, perpetuo decernimus anathemate subjacere. Et quoniam nonnulli sub specie pietatis virtutem ejus, juxta quod ait apostolus, denegantes, auctoritatem sibi vindicant prædicandi: cum idem apostolus dicat, *quomodo prædicabunt nisi mittantur*. Rom. x. 15. Omnes qui vel prohibiti, vel non missi, præter auctoritatem ab aposto-

licâ sede vel episcopo loci susceptam, publicè vel privatim prædicare præsumpserint, pari vinculo perpetui anathematis innodamus."

^b Alani de Insulis, ii. 1.

^c They seem to have anticipated a doctrine, afterwards widely adopted by the followers of the Abbot Joachim and the Fraticelli, that the Church was pure till the days of Sylvester. Its apostacy then began. "In eo (Silvestro) defecit quousque ipsi eam restaurarent: tamen dicunt quod semper fuerint aliqui, qui Deum tenebant et salvabantur."—See also Noble Leyczion, l. 409. Reinerii Summa. Martene, v. 1775.

mortal sin cannot consecrate the Eucharist. The transubstantiation takes place not in the hand of the priest, but in the soul of the believer. They rejected prayers for the dead, festivals, lights, purgatory, and indulgencies. The only approach towards Manicheism, and that is scarcely an approach, is that married persons must not come together but with the hope of having children. In no instance are the morals of Peter Waldo and the Alpine Biblicists arraigned by their worst enemies. There is a compulsory distinction, an enforced reverence, a speaking silence. They who denounce most copiously the immoralities, the incredible immoralities of other sects in revolt against the hierarchy, acknowledge the modesty, frugality, honest industry, chastity, and temperance of the Poor Men of Lyons. Their language was simple and modest. They denied the legality of capital punishments.^d

The great strength of the followers of Peter Waldo was no doubt their possession of the sacred Scriptures in their own language. They read the Gospels, they preached, and they prayed in the vulgar tongue.^e They

^d It is much to have extorted a milder damnation from Peter de Vaux Cernay. He derives the Waldenses from Waldo of Lyons. "They were bad, but much less perverse than other heretics." He describes them almost as a sort of Quakers. They wore sandals, like the apostles. They were on no account to swear, or to kill any one. They denied the necessity of episcopal ordination to consecrate the eucharist.—c. ii. apud Bouquet; or in Guizot, *Collection des Mémoires*.

^e The third cause assigned by Reinerius Sacchio for their rapid progress

is "Veteris et Novi Testamenti in vulgarem linguam ab ipsis facta translatio quæ quidem edita est in urbe Metensi." They were strong in Metz. Alberic, *Chronica*. ad ann. 1200. But was the Romaunt version understood in Metz? There was more than one popular version.—See Preface by Le Roux de Lincy to the iv. *Livres des Rois*, *Documents Inédits*.—Compare the letter of Innocent III. (ii. 141) on this subject.

Two of the other causes assigned are the ignorance and irreverence of some of the clergy.

Dr. Gilly has rendered the valuable

rejected the mystical sense of the Scriptures. But besides the sacred Scriptures, they possessed other works in that Provençal dialect, in many parts of Southern France almost entirely devoted to amatory or to satiric songs. With them alone it spoke with deep religious fervour. The "Noble Lesson" is a remarkable work from its calm, almost unimpassioned simplicity; it is a brief, spirited statement of the Biblical history of man, with nothing of fanatic exaggeration, nothing even of rude vehemence; it is the perfect, clear morality of the Gospel. The close, which arraigns the clergy, has nothing of angry violence; it calmly expostulates against their persecutions, reproves the practice of death-bed absolution, and the composition for a life of wickedness by a gift to the priest. Its strongest sentence is an emphatic assertion that the power of absolving from mortal sin is in neither cardinal, bishop, abbot, pope, but in God alone.^f

It is singular to find these teachers, whose whole theory was built on strict adherence to the letter of the Bible, mingled up with those whose vital principle was the rejection of the Old Testament and some part of the New. It might seem to require almost more than the fierce blindness of polemic hatred to confound them together. But it is not in the simplicity of the "Noble

service of printing the Romaunt version of the Gospel according to St. John. Dr. Gilly thinks that he has proved this version to be older, as quoted in it, than the Noble Leyczion. The quotations do not seem to me to be conclusive; they are like in many words, unlike in others. It is a very curious fact, if it will bear rigid critical investigation, that the Romaunt Version sometimes follows the old

Versio Itala (as printed by Sabatier) rather than the Vulgate.—Dr. Gilly's Preface.

^f "Ma yo aus o dire, car se troba el ver,
Que tuit li Papa, que foron de Silvestre
entiro en aquest,
E tuit li cardinal li vesque e tuit li aba,
Tuit aqueste ensem non han tan de po-
testa
Que ilh poissan perdonar un sol pecca
mortal;
Solamente Dio perdona que autre non ho
po far."—408-412.

—Raynouard, p. 97.

Lesson" alone, as contrasted with the whole system of traditional, legendary, mythic religion; the secret is in that last fatal sentence—the absolute denial of Papal, of priestly absolution.^g

III. To these Anti-Sacerdotal tenets of the more speculative teachers, and the more practical antagonism of the disciples of Waldo, a widespread family of sects added doctrinal opinions, either strongly coloured by, or the actual revival and perpetuation of the ancient Eastern heresies. Nothing is more curious in Christian history than the vitality of the Manichean opinions. That wild, half poetic, half rationalistic theory of Christianity, with its mythic machinery and stern asceticism (like all asceticism liable to break forth into intolerable licence), which might seem congenial only to the Oriental mind; and if it had not expired, might be supposed only to linger beyond the limits of Christendom in the East, appears almost suddenly in the twelfth century, in living, almost irresistible power, first in its intermediate settlement in Bulgaria, and on the borders of the Greek Empire, then in Italy, in France, in Germany, in the remoter West, at the foot of the Pyrenees.^h

^g The doctrinal differences could not but be discerned. "Et illi quidem Valdenses contra alios (Arianos et Manicheos) acutissime disputabant." So writes one of their most ardent adversaries, the Abbot of Puy Laurens. —In prologo.

^h On the Albigenian wars the chief authorities, besides the papal letters and documents, are the Chronicle of Peter de Vaux Cernay (I sometimes quote him in Latin from Bouquet, sometimes in French from Guizot,

Collection des Mémoires); the Abbot de Puy Laurens (*ibid.*); the Guerre des Albigeois; and the Gestes Glorieuses, in Guizot: and the very curious Romaunt poem, Guerre des Albigeois, published by Mons. Fauriel (Documents Historiques). I cite him as the Troubadour. The Troubadour attributes his song (canson, chanson) to Master William of Tudela, a very learned man, greatly admired by clerks and laymen, endowed with the gift of geomancy, by which he predicted the

The tradition of Western Manicheism breaks off about the sixth century; if it subsisted, it was in such obscurity as to escape even the jealous vigilance of the Church.¹ But in the East its descent is marked by the rise of a new, powerful, and enduring sect, the Paulicians. The history of Latin Christianity may content itself with but a brief and rapid summary of the settlements, migrations, conquests, calamities of the Paulicians; till they pass the frontier of the Greek Empire, and invade in the very centre the dominions of the Latin Church.^k Their name implies that with the broader principles of Manicheism, they combined some peculiar reverence for the doctrine, writings, and person of St. Paul. In an Eastern mind it is not difficult to suppose a fusion between the impersonated, deified, and oppugnant powers of good and evil, and St. Paul's high moral antagonism of sin and grace in the soul of man, the inborn and hereditary evil and the infused and imparted righteousness. The war within the man is but a perpetuation of the eternal war throughout the worlds.

destruction of the land. This personage was at first, erroneously as M. Fauriel shows, supposed to have been the poet. The poet says that he wrote it at Montauban, and denounces the niggardly nobles, who had neither given him vest nor mantle of silk, nor Breton palfrey to amble through the land. "But as they will not give a button, I will not ask them for a coal from their hearth. . . . The Lord God, who made the sky and the air, con-founded them, and his holy mother Mary." —p. 17. On the change in the Troubadour's politics, see forward. The *Histoire de Languedoc*, by Dom. Vaissette is an invaluable and honourably impartial work.

¹ Mr. Maitland has been unable to discover any notice of Manicheism in Europe for more than 400 years; from the sixth century to the burning of the Canons at Orleans in 1017 or 1022. Gieseler has one or two very doubtful references. I doubt, with Mr. Maitland, the Manicheism of these Canons.—*Facts and Documents*, p. 405. The account of the Canons is in Adhemar apud Bouquet, x. 35, and Rodulf Glaber. Those of Arras (*Acta Synod. Atrab. apud Mansi*, sub ann. 1025) are far more suspicious.

^k The history of the Paulicians has been drawn with such vigour, rapidity, fulness, and exactness by Gibbon, that I feel glad of this excuse.—c. liv.

The Paulicians burst suddenly into being, in the neighbourhood of Samosata. Their first apostle, Constantine, is said to have wrought his simpler system out of the New Testament, accidentally bestowed upon him, especially from the writings of St. Paul. His disciples rejected alike the vast fabric of traditional belief, which in the Greek and Latin Churches had grown up around the Gospel; and the cumbrous and fantastical mythology of the older Manicheism.^m The Paulicians spread over all the adjacent regions, Asia Minor, Pontus, to the borders of Armenia and the shores of the Euphrates. Persecution gave them martyrs, the first of these was their primitive teacher. The blood of martyrs, as with Christianity itself, seemed but to multiply their numbers and strength. They bore, during many successive reigns, in Christian patience the intolerant wrath of Justinian II., of Nicephorus, of Michael I., of Theodora. Their numbers may be estimated by the report that during the short reign of that Empress perished 100,000 victims. Persecution at length from a sect condensed them into a tribe of rebels. They rose in revolt. Their city Tephrike, near Trebisond, became the capital of an independent people. They leagued with the Mohammedans: they wasted Asia Minor. Constantine Copronymus, with their own consent, transported a great body of Paulicians into Thrace, as an outpost to the Byzantine Empire. John Zimisces conducted another great migration to the valleys of Mount Hæmus. From their Bulgarian settlements (they had mingled apparently to a considerable extent with the Bulgarians), the Crusades,

^m The Paulicians disclaimed Manes. *Προθύμως ἀναθεματίζουσι Σκυθιανὸν Βουδδᾶν τε καὶ Μανέντα.*—Petr. Sicul. p. 42.

the commerce which arose out of the Crusades, opened their way into Western Europe. Manicheism, under this form, is found in almost every great city of Italy. The name of Bulgarian (in its coarsest form) is one of the appellations of hatred, which clings to them in all quarters. At the accession of Innocent III. Manicheism is almost undisputed master of Southern France.ⁿ

Western Manicheism, however, though it adhered only to the broader principles of Orientalism, the two co-equal conflicting principles of good ^{Western} and evil, the eternity of matter and its implacable hostility to spirit, aversion to the Old Testament as the work of the wicked Demiurge, the unreality of the suffering Christ, was or became more Manichean than its Grecian parent Paulicianism. The test which distinguishes the Manichean from the other Anti-Sacerdotalists is the assertion, more or less obscure, of those Eastern doctrines; the more visible signs, asceticism; the proscription, or hard and reluctant concession of marriage, or of any connexion between the sexes; and the strong distinction between the Perfect and the common disciples. They were called in disdain the Puritans (Cathari), an appellation which perhaps they did not disdain; and it is singular that the opprobrious term applied by the married clergy to the Monastics (Paterines) is now the common designation of the Manichean haters of marriage. Western Manicheism is but dimly to be detected in the eleventh century. The

ⁿ Some of the Catholic writers assert distinctly their Greek descent. "Illi vero qui combusti sunt [those at Cologne] *dixerunt nobis in defensione suâ* hanc hæresin usque ad hæc tempora occultatam fuisse a tempori-

bus martyrum in Græciâ, et quibusdam aliis terris." See also Reiner apud Martene, *Thes.* v. 1767, who mentions the "Bulgarian community." Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.* v. 83.

Canons of Orleans were, if their accusers speak true, profligates rather than sectarians. Those burned by Heribert, Archbishop of Milan, were accused of two strangely discordant delinquencies, both irreconcilable with Manicheism—Judaism and Paganism. These heretics held the castle of Montforte, in the diocese of Asti. They were questioned: they declared themselves prepared to endure any sufferings. They honoured virginity, lived in chastity even with their wives: never touched meat, fasted, and so distributed their prayers that in no hour of the day were orisons not offered to the Lord. They had their goods in common. They believed in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; *in the power of binding and loosing; in the Old and New Testament.* Their castle stood a siege. It was taken at length by the resistless arms of the Archbishop. All endeavours were made to convert the obstinate sectarians. At length in the market-place were raised, here a cross, there a blazing pyre. They were brought forth, commanded to throw themselves before the cross, confess their sins, accept the Catholic faith, or to plunge into the flames; a few knelt before the cross; the greater number covered their faces, rushed into the fire, and were consumed.^o

But in the twelfth century Manicheism is rampant, bold, undisguised. Everywhere are Puritans, Paterines, Populars, suspected or convicted or confessed Manicheans. The desperate Church is compelled to resort to the irrefragable argument of the sword and the stake.

^o Sub ann. 1031. Landulph. Sen. ii. c. 27, apud Muratori, R. It. S. iv. If the human race, said one, would abstain from fleshly connection, men would breed like bees, without conjunction. Did they know that they were quoting an ancient orthodox Father? They said they had a Supreme Pontiff—not the Bishop of Rome—probaoly, the Holy Spirit.

Woe to the prince or to the magistrate who refused to be the executioner of the stern law. During the last century, Wazon, Bishop of Liège, had lifted up his voice, his solitary voice, against this unchristian means of conversion; ^p no such sound is now heard; if uttered, it is overborne by the imperious concord of prelates in Council, by the authoritative voice of the Pope. The Crusade begins its home mission. In Cologne, the ready populace throw the heretics into the flames.^q Cologne. The clergy, the Archbishop of Nicæa, desired a more deliberate and solemn judgement. The calmness of the heretics in the fire amazed, almost appalled, their judges.

The chief seat of these opinions was the South of France. Innocent III., on his accession, found not only those daring insurgents scattered in the cities of Italy, even, as it were, at his own gates (among his first acts was to subdue the Paterines of Languedoc. Viterbo), he found a whole province, a realm, in some respects the richest and noblest of his spiritual domain, absolutely dissevered from his Empire, in almost universal revolt from Latin Christianity. This beautiful region, before the fatal crusade against the Albigensians, had advanced far more rapidly towards civilisation than any other part of Europe; but this civilisation was entirely independent of or rather hostile to ecclesiastical influence. Languedoc (as also Provence), the land of

^p Gesta Episcop. Leodens. c. 59. Gieseler, note, p. 413.

^q 1146. Evervini Epist. ad Bernard. in Mabillon. With these, though in their condemnation of marriage (which they did not explain), and in their organization (the Perfect

and the hearers) Manichean, the dominant tenets were simply Anti-Sacerdotalist. Some said human souls were apostate spirits imprisoned in the flesh.—Ekberti, Sermon xiii. in Biblioth. P. P. Lugdun.

that melodious tongue first attuned to modern poetry, was one of the great fiefs of the realm of France, but a fief which paid only remote and doubtful fealty; it was almost an independent kingdom. The Count of Toulouse^r was suzerain of five great subordinate fiefs. I. Narbonne, whose Count possessed the most ample feudal privileges. II. Beziers, under which Viscounty held the Counts of Albi and Carcassonne. III. The Countship of Foix, with six territorial vassalages. IV. The Countship of Montpellier, now devolved on Pedro, King of Arragon. V. The Countship of Quercy and Rhodéz. The courts of these petty sovereigns vied with each other in splendour and gallantry. Life was a perpetual tournament or feast. The Count of Toulouse and his vassals had been amongst the most distinguished of the Crusaders; they had brought home many usages of Oriental luxury. Their intercourse with the polished Mussulman Courts of Spain, if war was not actually raging, or even when it was, had become courteous, almost friendly. Their religion was chivalry, but chivalry becoming less and less religious; the mistress had become the saint, the casuistry of the Court of Love superseded that of the confessional. There had grown up a gay licence of manners, not adverse only to the austerity of monkish Christianity, but to pure Christian morals.

The cities had risen in opulence and splendour. Many of them had preserved their Roman municipal institutions: their Consuls held the supreme power in defiance of temporal and spiritual lords. In the cities the Jews were numerous and wealthy; against them the religious prejudices had worn away and mitigated into social

^r Capefigue, Philippe Auguste, iii. 1.

intercourse. Literature, at least poetry, had begun to speak to the prince and to the people. But if the Romaunt among the peasants of the Alpine valleys confined itself to grave and holy lessons, in Languedoc it was the amatory or satiric song of the Troubadour. Notwithstanding the lofty homage of Dante,^s the exquisite flattery of Petrarch's emulation, it may be doubted whether the Provençal poetry so prematurely refined, subtle, and effeminate, would, if uncrushed with the rest of the Provençal civilisation by the revengeful Church, ever have risen to an honourable height. The Troubadour (though he might occasionally urge the pious glory of adventure in the Holy Land) was in general content with being the Poet Laureate of the Courts of Love. The war hymn seemed to have expired on the lips of the fierce Bertrand de Born. It has ceased to be passionate, is become ingenious; it is over-refined in word and thought, often coarse in matter. But this was the song and the music in the castle hall, at the perpetual banquet. The chant in the castle chapel was silent, or unheard. The priest was either pining in neglect, or listening, as gay as the rest, to the lively troubadour.^t Nor was the Troubadour without his welcome song in the city; it

Provençal
Poetry.

^s See on Arnold Daniel, Dante Puratorio, xxvi. 118. Petrarch, Triunfo d'Amore, Petrarch's general imitation of the Provençal poets. Whoever will read the Florilegium in the second volume of M. Raynouard will hardly deny the Provençal poets the praise of grace and delicacy. The Epic on the war of the Albigenses, infinitely curious as history, as poetry is stone dead; Girart de Ronsillon appears not very

hopeful; if Ferabras be indeed Provençal, not northern, "that strain is of a higher mood." See the very interesting notices by the late M. Fauriel in his new volume (the 22nd) of the *Hist. Littéraire de la France*, pp. 167, *et seqq.*, and on Bertrand de Born, the friend and rival poet of Richard Cœur de Lion. Also Diez. *Troubadours*, p. 179.

^t Raynouard.

was there the bitter satire on the clergy, the invective against the vices, the venality of Rome, against the pilgrimage to Rome, against the morose bishop, if such bishop there were, or against the Legate himself.

In no European country had the clergy so entirely, Low state of the clergy. or it should seem so deservedly forfeited its authority. In none had the Church more absolutely ceased to perform its proper functions. If heresy was the cause of the degradation of the Church, the self-degradation of the Church had given its strength to heresy; the profession which was the object of ambition, of awe if not of reverence, of hatred if not of love, in other parts of Christendom, had here fallen into contempt. Instead of the old proverb for the lowest abasement, "I had rather my son were a Jew," the Provençals said, "I had rather he were a priest."^u

The knights rarely allowed their sons to enter into orders, but, to secure the tithes to themselves, presented the sons of low-born vassals to the churches, whom the bishops were obliged to ordain for want of others. The heretics had public burial-grounds of their own, and received larger legacies than the Church. This was not the work of Peter de Brueys, or of Henry the Deacon. That work must have been half done for the heresiarchs by the wealthy, indolent, luxurious clergy. Men, in a religious age, will have religion; and it can hardly be supposed that the Provençal mind had generally outgrown the ancient ritualistic faith, if that faith had been administered with dignity, with gentleness, with decency.

St. Bernard's conquest had passed away with his pre-

^u William de Puy Laurens. I quote either the Latin from Bouquet, or the French from Guizot's Collection des Mémoires.

sence. Not many years after, a council at Lomberes^x (near Albi) arraigns a number of persons of Manichean opinions, rejection of the Old Testament, erroneous tenets on baptism and the Eucharist, repudiation of marriage. They extort an unwilling, seemingly an insincere assent to the orthodox creed. Thirteen years after, the Count of Toulouse himself (Raymond V.) raises a cry of distress. Five distinguished prelates, with the sanction of the Kings of England and of France, the Cardinal Peter Chrysogonus at their head, find the whole country almost in possession of the heretics.^y

A.D. 1165.

A.D. 1178.

So basked the pleasant land in its sunshine; voluptuousness and chivalrous prodigality in its castles,^z luxury and ease in its cities: the thunder-cloud was far off in the horizon. The devout found their religious excitement in the new and forbidden opinions. There was for the more hard and zealous an asceticism which put to shame the feeble monkery of those days; for the more

^x Acta in Mansi, sub ann. Compare for all this period Vaissette, Hist. de Languedoc, iii. in init.

^y "This heresy, which the Lord curse (says the devout Troubadour), had in its power the whole Albigeois, Carcassonne, and Lauragais, from Beziers, to Bordeaux."—Fauriel, p. 5; Vaissette, sub ann. "Churches were in ruins, baptism refused, the eucharist in execration, penance despised. Sacraments anéantis—on introduisit les deux principes."—p. 47. Raymond V. died in 1194. He had burned many heretics.

^z "Dans la fameuse fête de Beaucaire, où se réunirent une multitude de chevaliers des pays Provençaux,

d'Aquitaine, d'Aragon, et de Catalogne, les princes Provençaux semblèrent vouloir rivaliser de faste extravagant avec les despotes Asiatiques; le comte de Toulouse gratifia de cent mille sous d'argent le Seigneur Raymond d'Argent, qui les distribua entre tous les chevaliers présents. Bertrand Raimbaud, Comte d'Orange, fit labourer tous les environs du château et y fit semer jusqu'à trente mille sous en deniers. Raymond de Venous fit brûler, par ostentation, trente de ses plus beaux chevaux devant l'assemblée."—Hist. de Languedoc, iii. 37. "Le Midi délirait à la veille de sa ruine."—Michelet, and also H. Martin, Histoire de France, iv. p. 189.

simply pious, the biblical doctrines; and what seems to have been held in the deepest reverence, the Consolation in death, which, administered by the Perfect alone (men of tried and known holiness), had all the blessing, none of the doubtful value of absolution bestowed by the carnal, wicked, worldly, as well as by the most sanctified, priest.

Innocent had hardly ascended the Pontifical throne, when he wrote, first, a strong letter to the Archbishop of Auch; in a few months after, a mandate, addressed to all the great prelates in the south of France; the Archbishops of Aix, Narbonne, Auch, Vienne, Arles, Embrun, Tarragona, Lyons, with their suffragans: to all the princes, barons, counts, and all Christian people. This Papal Manifesto broadly asserted the civil as well as religious outlawry of all heretics;^a the right to banish them, to confiscate their property, to coerce, or to put them to death. The temporal sovereigns were, at the summons of the two Legates, Rainer and Guy (Cistercian monks), to carry these penalties submissively into effect,^b they were offered the strong worldly temptation of all the confiscated estates, and indulgences the same as they would have obtained by visiting the churches of St. Peter or St. James of Compostella.

^a Innocent names as the obnoxious heretics the Valdenses, the Cathari, and the Paterini. He acknowledges their works of love; but with the charity of a churchman of that age, ascribes these to dissembling artifice, in order to obtain proselytes. "Justitiæ vultum præterdunt, et studentes simulatis operibus caritatis, eos amplius circumveniunt, quos ad reli-

gionis propositum viderint ardentius aspirare."—Apud Baluz., i. 94.

^b "Postquam per prædictum fratrem Rainerum fuerint excommunicationis sententiâ innodati, eorum bona confiscant, et de terra suâ proscibant." The further "animadversio" is indicated by a significant allusion to the stoning of Achan, the son of Carmi.

But these first measures only aggravated the evil. The mission of these Cistercian brethren as Papal Legates, and that of the Cardinal John, were alike without effect.^c To the honour of the Sovereigns of the great fiefs they were not moved by the temporal or spiritual boons. Nor could this refusal of the nobles to perform the rigorous behest of the Pope be attributed altogether to humanity. Their wives and families, if not themselves, were deeply implicated in the religious insurrection. In one assembly, held in the year 1204,^d five of the most distinguished ladies of Provence, among them Esclarmonde, widow of Jordan Lord of Lisle Jourdain, and sister of the Count of Foix,^e were admitted into the heretical community. At the public reception of these ladies by one of the Perfect, they gave themselves up to God and his Gospel, promised for the future to eat neither meat, eggs, nor cheese, to allow themselves only vegetables and fish. They pledged themselves further neither to swear nor to lie, to abstain from all carnal intercourse, and to be faithful to the sect even unto death.

Cistercian
brethren,
1200.

New powers were demanded; sterner and more active agents required to combat the deepening danger. The Pope looked still to the monastic orders, to the spiritual descendants of St. Bernard. Peter of Castelnau and Raoul, of that Order, were now charged with the desperate enterprise. These first Inquisitors were invested with extraordinary powers; to them was transferred the whole episcopal authority;

New Legates.

^c "Mais (Dieu me bénisse! je ne puis autrement dire) si non que les hérétiques ne font pas plus de cas de sermons que d'une pomme gâtée."—Fauriel, p. 7. This preaching lasted five years.

^d Vaissette, Hist. de Languedoc, iii. p. 133. Preuves, p. 437.

^e The other sister and the wife of the Count of Foix were Waldensians.—Petr. V. C. vi. 10.

the ordinary jurisdiction was superseded at their will; the Archbishop of Narbonne accuses them of extending the powers with which they were endowed for the suppression of heresy, to punish the excesses even of the clergy.^f They retorted by laying informations in Rome against the Archbishop; they deposed the Bishop of Viviers; suspended the Bishop of Beziers; he had refused to excommunicate the consuls of his city infected with heresy. The Legates assembled the bailiffs, the

A. D. 1203.

Count of Toulouse, and the Consuls of the city, and extorted an oath to expel the "good men" from the land. The oath had no effect; Toulouse, the deceitful,^g went on in its calm tolerance. To these Papal Legates, to Peter of Castelnau, and to Raoul, was associated Arnold d'Amouri, the Abbot of Citeaux, the Abbot of Abbots, a man whose heart was sheathed with the triple iron of pride, cruelty, bigotry. The sermons of Arnold were met with derision.^h The Papal Legates travelled through the land from city to city, in the utmost hierarchical pomp, with their retinue in rich attire, and a vast cavalcade of horses and sumpter mules. It was on their second circuit that they encountered, near Montpellier (in Montpellier alone the King of Arragon had attempted to enforce the expulsion of the heretics), the Spanish Bishop of Osma, on his way to the north, with (the future saint) Dominic. The

^f "Deinde cum pro hæreticis expellendis solummodo legatio prima vobis injuncta fuisset, vos ad ampliandam vestræ legationis potestatem, clericorum excessus hæresim esse interpretantes, multa contra formam mandati, et in detrimentum ecclesiæ Narbonensis egistis."—Epist. ad Innocent. III. apud *Vaissette*, Preuves, May 29, 1204.

^g "Tolosa, tota dolosa."—Petr. de V. C.

^h Of Arnold writes the Troubadour: "Ce saint homme s'en alla avec les autres par la terre des hérétiques, leur prêchant de se convertir, mais plus il les priaît, plus ils se railiaient de lui et le tenaient pour sot."—p. 7.

dejected Legates bitterly mourned their want of success. "How expect success with this secular pomp?" replied the severer Spaniards. "Sow the good seed as the heretics sow the bad. Cast off those sumptuous robes, renounce those richly-caparisoned palfreys, go barefoot, without purse and scrip, like the Apostles; out-labour, out-fast, out-discipline these false teachers." The Spaniards were not content with these stern admonitions; the Bishop of Osma and his faithful Dominic sent back their own horses, stripped themselves to the rudest monkish dress, and led the way on the spiritual campaign. The Legates were constrained to follow. Yet, notwithstanding their boasted triumphs in all the conferences, which were held at Verfeil, Caraman, Beziers, at Carcassonne, Montreal, Pamiers; notwithstanding their wise compliance with the counsel of Dominic, notwithstanding the exertions of that eloquent and indefatigable man and the preachers whom he had already begun to organise, their barefoot pilgrimage, their emulous or surpassing austerities, Heresy bowed not its head; it was deaf to the voice of the charmer. The temporal power must be commanded to do the work which the spiritual cannot do. Already the Legates had wrung the unwilling sentence of expulsion of the heretics from the municipal authorities of Toulouse. Yet it was a concession of fear, not of persuasion. The assemblies were still held, if with less ostentation, hardly with disguise.¹

¹ "Tandem illæ duæ *olivæ!* illa duo candelabra lucentia ante Dominum servis servilem incutientes timorem, minantes eis rerum dilapidationem, regum ac principum dedignationem intimantes, hæresium objurationem, hæreticorum expulsionem eis persuaserunt; sicque ipsi non virtutis amore sed, secundum poetas 'cessabant peccare mali formidine pœnæ,' quod manifestis maliciis demonstrarunt. Nam statim perjuri effecti, et miseræ suæ

Toulouse must have a Bishop at least of energetic character. In the time of Bishop Fontevraud the episcopal authority had sunk so low that he could not exact even his lawful revenues, and when he went on his visitation he was obliged to demand a guard from the Count for his personal safety. He was succeeded by Raymond de Rabenstein, who passed the three years of his episcopate, which he had gained by simony, in war with one of his vassals, by which he had so utterly ruined his finances, that he submitted quietly to be deposed at the will of the Pope. His successor, Fulk of Marseilles,^k was of a different, even less Christian character. There is no act of treachery or cruelty throughout the war in which the Bishop of Toulouse was not the most forward, sanguinary, unscrupulous. Fulk in his youth had been a gay Troubadour. The son of a rich Genoese, settled at Marseilles, he despised trade, wandered about to the courts of the more accomplished princes of the day, Richard of England, Alphonso of Arragon, and the elder Raymond of Toulouse. Fulk delighted the nobles with his amorous songs (still to be read in their unchastened warmth) and aspired

recidivum patientes, in conventiculis suis, ipso noctis medio, prædicantes hæreticos occultabant."—Petr. V. C. apud Bouquet. See also Gul. de Pod. Laurent., apud Bouquet, and Vit. S. Dominic. apud Bolland.

^k The songs of Fulk of Marseilles may be found in Raynouard, vol. ii. See also Fauriel, Hist. de la Poésie Provençale, vol. ii. Life of Fulk, Hist. Littéraire de la France, xviii. p. 586, &c. "Après avoir donné la moitié de sa vie à la galanterie, il livra sans retenue l'autre moitié à la

cause de tyrannie, du meurtre et de spoliation, et malheureusement il en profita." He had a remarkable talent for poetry:—"Amant passionné des dames, apôtre fougueux de l'Inquisition, il ne cessa de composer des vers qui portèrent l'empreinte de ses passions successives." Compare his verses to the Lady of Marseilles and his Hymn to the Virgin. He was at the court of Cœur de Lion at Poitiers; of Raymond V.; of Alphonso II. of Arragon; of Alphonso IX., king of Castile. Dante places him in Paradise.

to the favour of high-born ladies. The wife and both the sisters of Barral, Viscount of Marseilles, were the objects of his lyric adoration. Repulsed by Viscountess Adelheid, he was seized with a poetic passion for Eudoxia, wife of William of Montpellier. On the death of this prince, by which he was greatly shocked, he threw himself into a cloister; the passion of devotion succeeded to worldly passions. The monastic discipline scourged all tenderness out of his heart, and by unchristian cruelty to himself, he trained himself to far more unchristian cruelty towards others.

Eight years had now passed of ineffective preaching, menace, fulmination. The Sovereign of the land must be summoned to be the Lictor of the Papal Mandate, the executioner on his own subjects of the awful sentence of blood, by shedding which, with hypocrisy which only aggravates cruelty, the Church held itself sullied; such sentence here, indeed, it wanted the power to accomplish without the civil aid.

Raymond VI. Count of Toulouse is darkly coloured by the hatred of the sterner among the writers of the Church of Rome as a concealed heretic, Count Raymond of Toulouse. as a fautor of heretics, as a man of deep dissimulation and consummate treachery. He appears to have been a gay, voluptuous, generous man, without strength of character enough to be either heretic or bigot. Loose in his life, he had had five wives, three living at the same time, the sister of the Viscount of Beziers, the daughter of the King of Cyprus, the sister of Richard of England; on the death of the last he married the sister of King Pedro of Arragon. The two latter were his kindred within the prohibited degrees. This man was no Manichean! Yet Raymond, even though his wives were thus uncanonically wed, is subject to no

high moral reproof from the Pope; it is only as refusing to execute the Papal commands against his subjects (towards him at least unoffending), that he is the victim of excommunication, is despoiled of realm, of honour, of salvation.¹

Raymond had succeeded to the sovereignty four years^m before the accession of Innocent III. The first event of his reign was his excommunication for usurpation (as it was called) on the rights of the clergy of St.

Gilles. This excommunication it was one of

A.D. 1123.

Innocent's first acts to remove. The position of the Count of Toulouse and of his nobles had been strange and trying for the most courageous and wisest of men. They knew that they could not persuade, they could hardly hope to defend, they were called upon to persecute their subjects, their peaceful, perhaps attached subjects, for a crime of which at least they did not feel the atrocity. They were commanded to be the obeisant executioners of punishments not awarded by themselves, of which they did not admit the justice, of which they could not but see the inhumanity. They were summoned by the Church, which was itself, by its negligence, its dissoluteness, its long-continued worldliness,

¹ Compare on Raymond Petr. V. C. c. iv. The Abbot had heard from a Bishop a speech of Raymond's: "Quod monachi Cistercienses non poterant salvare, quia tenebant oves, quæ luxuriam exercebant. O hæresis inaudita!" All his stories he relates on the authority of the Abbot Arnold, Raymond's deadly enemy. Many irreverent speeches were attributed to him, some implying heresy. "I see the devil made this world; nothing turns out as I wish." Playing at

chess with his chaplain, he said, "The God of Moses, in whom you believe, will not help you." The following are still more improbable. He said of a heretic of Castres, who had been mutilated, and dragged out a miserable life, "I had rather be he than king or emperor." "I know that I shall lose my realm for the 'good men:' I will bear the loss of my realm, even of my life, in their cause."

^m A.D. 1194. Vaissette, p. 101.

its want of Christianity, at least a main cause of the evil.ⁿ They were peremptorily ordered to desolate their country; to expel, or worse, to pursue to death a large part, and that the most industrious, most prosperous of their subjects; thus to repay the obedience and love of those among whom they had been born and had lived, who had followed their banner, rendered loyal allegiance to their lawful demands. They were to leave their towns in ruins, their fields uncultivated, or to people their land with strangers; to incur the odious suspicion of aiding the Church in order to profit by the plunder of their vassals, to enrich themselves out of confiscations; and all these hard measures were to be taken perhaps against the friends of youth, against kindred, against men whose blameless lives won respect and admiration.^o

Peter de Castelnau, the Legate, determined at length on extreme proceedings; the times, he thought, gave him an auspicious occasion. Private wars ^{Peter de Castelnau.} had broken out, in which Count Raymond and some of the other nobles were engaged. In these wars the property of the Church was not religiously respected; in the sieges of towns their fields and vineyards suffered waste; some of the nobles at war with Raymond alleged as their excuse the hostilities in which they were involved. The Legates peremptorily called on all the belligerent parties to make peace, in order to combine

ⁿ "Cujus rei culpa forte pro magnâ parte refundi poterat in prælatos, utpote qui saltem latrare potuerant, reprehendere et mordere." Such is the ingenuous confession of a writer on the side of the Church. — Gul. de Pod. Laur. apud Bouquet, xix. p. 199.

^o Compare the pathetic sentence in the same author: "Quare ergo de terra, dixit episcopus, eos non expellitis et fugatis? At ait ille, non possumus; sumus enim nutriti cum eis, et habemus de nostris consanguineis apud ipsos, et eos honeste vivere contemplamur."—Ibid., f. 200.

their forces against those worse enemies the heretics. Raymond did not at once obey this imperious dictation. Peter of Castelnau uttered the sentence of excommunication, and placed his whole territory under an interdict. Instead of repressing this bold assumption of power on the part of his Legate, Innocent addressed a letter to Raymond, perhaps unexampled in the furious vehemence of its language. It had no superscription, for it was to a man under sentence of excommunication. No epithet of scorn was spared :—“ If with the Prophet (it began) I could break through the wall of thy heart, I would show thee all its abominations.” It threatened him with the immediate vengeance of God, with every temporal calamity, with everlasting fire. “ Who art thou, that when the illustrious King of Arragon and the other nobles, at the exhortation of our Legates, have consented to terms of peace, alone looking for advantage in war, like a carrion bird preying on carcases, refuseth all treaties?” It charged him with violating his repeated oaths to prosecute all heretics in his dominions, with rejecting the appeal of the Archbishop of Arles in the course of war to spare all monasteries, and to abstain from arms on Sundays and holidays.† “ Impious, cruel, and direful tyrant, thou art so far gone in heretical pravity, that when reprov'd for thy defence of heretics, thou saidest that thou wouldest find a bishop of the heretics who would prove his faith to be better than that of the Catholics.” It charged him with bestowing offices of trust and honour on Jews; with seizing and fortifying churches. Innocent ended with the menace of depriving him of his territory, which he declared that

† It might be inquired whether these provisions were afterwards enforced on the Crusaders.

he held of the Church of Rome;^a of arraying all the neighbouring princes against him as an enemy of Christ, and a persecutor of the Church; and of offering his realm as a prize to the conqueror who might subdue it, in order that it might escape the disgrace of being ruled by a heretic.^r

The denunciation of the victim was immediately followed by the summons to the executioner. A ^{Letter of Innocent.} Papal letter was addressed to the King, to all ^{Nov. 17, 1207.} the counts, barons, nobles, and to all faithful Christians in France; to the Counts of Vermandois and Blois, the Count of Bar, the Duke of Burgundy, the Count of Nevers, commanding them to take up arms for the suppression of the heretics in the South of France. Their own territories in the mean time were placed under the protection of St. Peter and the Pope; all who dared to violate them were exposed to ecclesiastical censure.^s All the estates and the goods of the heretics were to be confiscated and divided among those who should engage in this holy enterprise, and the same indulgences granted as for a Crusade in the Holy Land, so soon as war should be declared against Raymond of Toulouse, the disobedient vassal of the Church, the protector and abettor of heretics.

In the mean time Peter of Castelnau was not inactive; he secretly stirred up the Lords of Languedoc against Raymond. Raymond made peace, and thereby

^a "Terram quam noscis ab Ecclesiâ Romanâ tenere, tibi faciemus auferri."

^r "Telle est cette lettre fulminante du Pape Innocent III. à Raymond VI., Comte de Toulouse, dont le principal motif est le refus que ce Prince avait fait de conclure la paix avec ses vassaux

du Marquisat de Provence, avec lesquels il étoit en guerre, afin de joindre ses armes aux leurs pour exterminer les hérétiques."—Vaissette, iii. 151. Innocent. Epist. x. 61. May 28, 1207.

^s Epist. x. 149.

fondly supposed himself delivered from the excommunication. But the inexorable Peter stood before him, reproached him to his face with cowardice, accused him of perjury, and of abetting heresy. He renewed the excommunication in all its plenitude.

Conceive at this instant, a Pontiff like Innocent, with all his lofty notions of the sanctity, the inviolability of every ecclesiastic, confirmed by the consciousness of his yet irresistible power, receiving the intelligence of the barbarous murder of his Legate; another Becket fallen before a meaner sovereign; the sacred person of his Legate transfixed by the lance of an assassin.^t That the terror and hatred of the clergy in Languedoc should instantly and obstinately ascribe the crime to Raymond himself, that Innocent in his eager indignation should adopt their version of the death of Peter, excites no wonder. Their report, publicly countenanced by the Pope, was this: that the Legates had been invited to a conference at St. Gilles, that the Count had sternly refused to ratify the satisfaction which he had promised, that he had uttered dark menaces against the Legates. The Legates had passed the night under an armed guard on the shores of the Rhône; in the morning, when they were crossing the river, Peter of Castelnau was transfixed with a lance by one of the emissaries of Count Raymond. He only lived long enough to breathe out, "God pardon them, as I pardon them."^u Raymond

Jan. 15, 1208.

^t "Quand le Pape sut, quand lui fut dite la nouvelle, que son légat avait été tué, sachez qu'elle lui fut dure; de la colère qu'il en eût, il se tint la machoire, et se mit à prier Saint Jacques, celui de Compostella, et Saint Pierre, qui est enséveli dans la Chapelie de Rome. Quand il eut fait son oraison, il éteignit le cierge, 15 Jan. 1208."—Apud Fauriel, p. 9.

^u Innocent. Epist. xi. 26. The Troubadour says, "Un des écuyen

was afterwards charged with having admitted the assassin into his intimate intercourse.

Strong contemporary evidence, as well as all the probabilities of the case, absolutely acquit the Count of Toulouse of any concern in this crime. It may have been done by some rash partisan who thought that he was fulfilling his master's wishes; but one writer states that Raymond was never known to be so moved to anger as by this event. He was not of that passionate temperament which might be hurried into such a deed. He could not but see at once its danger, its impolicy, and its uselessness. The enemy of Raymond was not the individual monk, but the whole hierarchy, and the Pope himself; and he must have known too that of his own partisans all the superstitious, all the timid, all the religious would be estranged by an awful crime perpetrated on the sacred person of a legate of the Pope.*

The dying prayer of the Legate may have been accepted in heaven; on earth it received barren admiration, but touched no heart with mercy.

Innocent at once assumed the guilt of Raymond. He proclaimed it in letters to the Archbishops of Narbonne, Arles, Embrun, Aix, Vienne, and their suffragans; to the Archbishop of Lyons and his suffragans. Every Sunday and every holy

Innocent
condemns
Count
Raymond.

(du Comte) qui en avait grande rancune, et voulait se rendre désormais agréable à son Seigneur, tua le Légat en trahison." "He fled to Beaucaire, where his relations lived."—p. 9.

* Raymond, according to the Hist. des Albigeois, would have punished the assassin (he had fled to Beaucaire), if he could have caught him, to the satisfaction of the Legate. "Le dit

Comte Raimond étoit si courroucé et fâché de ce meurtre, comme ayant été fait par un homme à lui, que jamais il ne fut si courroucé de chose au monde."—Hist. de la Guerre des Albigeois; Guizot, Coll. des Mémoires, xv. 4. All modern writers, D. Vaissette, Capefigue, Hahn, even Hurter more doubtfully, exculpate Raymond.

day was to be published the excommunication of Raymond of Toulouse the murderer, and all his accomplices: no faith was to be kept with those who had kept no faith; ^y all his subjects were absolved from their oath of allegiance: every one was at liberty to assault his person, and (only reserving the right of his suzerain the King of France) to seize and take possession of his lands, especially for the holy purpose of purging them of heresy. The only terms on which Raymond could be admitted to repentance were the previous absolute expulsion of all heretics from his dominions.

But the blood of the martyr ^z (as he at once became) called for more active vengeance. Innocent ^{Crusade.} seized the instant of indignation at this almost unprecedented and terrible crime, to awaken the tardy zeal, to inflame the ambition and rapacity of those, who at the same time might win to themselves, by the favour of the Church, a place in heaven and a goodly inheritance upon earth. "Up," he writes to Philip Augustus of France; "Up, soldiers of Christ! Up, most Christian king! Hear the cry of blood; aid us in wreaking vengeance on these malefactors." With strange perverted quotations from the sacred Scriptures, he makes Moses and St. Peter, the Fathers, as he calls them, of the Old and New Testaments, predict this amicable union of the royal and sacerdotal powers, and the two swords (one of which his gentle master afterwards commanded the rash disciple to put away) autho-

^y "Cum juxta sanctorum patrum canonicas sanctiones, qui Deo fidem non servat, fides servanda non est." Epist. Innocent. xi. 26.

^z Peter of Castelnau's body would have wrought wonderful miracles, but

for the obstinate incredulity of the people. "Claris jam, ut credimus, miraculis coruscasset, nisi horum incredulitas impediret." And the passage of St. Luke is adduced without hesitation.

rise the united Crusade of the kingdom of France and the Church of Rome against the inhabitants of Languedoc. "Up," in the same tone, cried the Pope to all the adventurous nobles and knights of France, and offered to their valour the rich and sunny lands of the South.^a

The Crusade was thus not merely an outburst of religious zeal, it took into close alliance strong motives of political ambition, perhaps the hostility of rival races. Philip Augustus, who had almost expelled the King of England from the continent, aspired to raise the feudal sovereignty of the crown over the great fiefs of the South to actual dominion. Instead of an almost independent prince, the Count of Toulouse, with his princely nobles, must become an obedient vassal and subject. The French of the North up to this period had vainly endeavoured to extend their rule over the Gallo-Roman, or Gothic Roman population of the South. The language divided and defined the two yet unmingled races. A religious crusade was a glorious opportunity to break the power of these rival sovereigns rather than dependent vassals. Throughout the war the Crusaders are described as the Franks, as a foreign nation invading a separate territory. While there was little of the sympathy of kindred or of order to prevent the princes and nobles of Northern France from wreaking the vengeance

^a "Attende per Moïsem et Petrum, patres videlicet utriusque Testamenti, signatam inter regnum et sacerdotium unitatem, cum alter regnum sacerdotale prædixit et reliquis regale sacerdotium appellavit; ad quod signandum Rex Regum et Dominus dominantium Jesus Christus, secundum ordinem Melchisedek sacerdotis et regis, de utra-

que voluit stirpe nasci, sacerdotali videlicet et regali. Et princeps Apostolorum, 'Ecce gladii duo hic,' id est simul, dicenti Domino, 'satis est,' legitur respondisse, ut materiali et spirituali gladiis sibi invicem assistentibus, alter per alterum adjuvetur."—Epist. ibid. And the world heard with awe this sanguinary and impious nonsense!

of the Church upon the rebellious Princes of Languedoc, the great warlike prelates of France were bound by a still stronger tie to the endangered cause of their brother prelates of the South. There had been quite enough of heresy threatening the peace of almost every diocese of France to awaken their jealous vigilance. The less they possessed the virtues of churchmen the more fierce their warlike zeal for the Church. So in the first ranks of the Crusade appear the Archbishops of Rheims, Sens, Rouen. The wealth and prosperity of the Southern provinces, the hope of plunder, was of itself sufficient incentive to the baser adventurers; to the nobler there was the chivalrous passion for war and enterprise; while the easier mode of obtaining pardon for sins, without the long, and toilsome, and perilous and costly journey to the Holy Land, brought the superstitious of all ranks in throngs under the consecrated banners. The clergy everywhere preached with indefatigable activity this new way of attaining everlasting life; the Cistercian convents threw open their gates, the land was covered with monks haranguing on the same stirring topic. From all parts of France they assembled in countless numbers at Lyons; a second not less formidable host was gathering in the West; the number is stated at 500,000, 300,000, at least 50,000 men of arms.^b

^b "Il s'y croisa tant de gens que personne ne les saurait nombrer ni estimer, et elle a cause des grands pardons et des absolutions, que le Légat avait donné à tous ceux qui se croiseroient pour aller contre les hérétiques."—Hist. de la Guerre, Guizot, xv. 5. "Cependant aussi en France et en tous les autres royaumes . . . les peuples se croisent, dès qu'ils apprennent le pardon de leurs pêchés, et jamais je pense, ne fut fait si grand host, que celui fait alors contre les hérétiques."—Famriel, p. 15. Petr. V. C. adds that to obtain the indulgence they were to be "contriti et confessi."

Raymond, as he well might, stood aghast; he had done all in his power to obtain peace from Rome. He rejected the gallant proposal of his nephew the Viscount of Beaucaire, to summon their vassals and kindred, garrison their castles, and stand boldly on their defence.^c He sent an embassy to Rome, the Archbishop of Auch, the Abbot of Condom, de Rabenstein the ex-Bishop of Toulouse, the Prior of the Hospitallers (he had yet some ecclesiastics on his side, hated with proportionate intensity by his enemies).^d The demands of Innocent were hard, and those, it is said with something of old Troubadour malice, gained by many presents;^e the surrender of seven of his chief castles as guarantees for the Count's submission.

A new Legate had been named, Milo the Notary of the Papal Court, a man of milder views, of whom Raymond, under the fond delusion of hope, said that he was a Legate after his own heart. But this was only craft on the part of the Pope; it was not yet his object to drive Count Raymond, before his great vassals were subdued, to desperation. Milo was accompanied by Theodisc, a canon of Genoa, of less yielding character; and no measure was to be taken without the approbation of Arnold, the Cistercian Abbot.^f The Bishop of Conferans was added to the legatine commission. Milo was enjoined to use all wise dissimulation; every thing was to be done to lull and delude Count Raymond.^g The Legates appeared in Languedoc; it was

^c Histoire des Guerres.

^d "Execrabiles et malignos Archiepiscopum Auxitanum," &c.—Petr. V. C. c. ix.

^e "Ils disent si bonnes paroles et sont tant de présents."—p. 19.

^f The Pope says expressly to Milo: "Abbas Cistercii totum faciet, et tu organum ejus eris: Comes enim Tolosanus eum habet suspectum; tu non eris ei suspectus."

^g Epist. xi. 232. "Cum talis dolus

of no auspicious omen that they had first visited France.^h

From religious awe, from conscious inability to resist, perhaps from some generous hope of obtaining gentler terms for his devoted subjects, Raymond of Toulouse submitted at once in the amplest manner to the demands of his inexorable enemies, to the personal abasement inflicted by the Church. The scene of his humiliation may not be passed over. At a Council at Montelimart he was cited to appear before the Legates at Valence. There he first surrendered, as security for his absolute submission, his seven strong castles—Oppede, Montferrand, Balmas, Mornac, Roquemaure, Fourgues, Fanjaux.¹ He was then led, naked to the girdle, to the porch of the abbey church, and in the presence of the Legates, and not less than twenty bishops, before the holy Eucharist, before certain reliques, and the wood of the true cross, with his hand upon the holy Gospels, he acknowledged the justice of his excommunication, and swore full allegiance to the Pope and to his Legate. He swore to give ample satisfaction, according to the Pope's orders, on all the charges made against him, now recapitulated with terrible exactness—his refusal to make peace, his protection of heretics, his violations of ecclesiastical property. If he did not fulfil his oath his seven castles were at once escheated to the Church of Rome: the

prudencia sit dicendus." Such are Innocent's own damning words. The whole letter is in the same tone.

^h Raymond had endeavoured to obtain the protection of Philip Augustus, his liege lord for Languedoc; of the Emperor Otho, of whom he held the

Marquisate of Provence. The King and Emperor were at war (Philip therefore did not join the Crusade); each refused to interpose, unless on condition of breaking with his enemy.

¹ See in Vaissette, p. 162, the situation and strength of these castles.

county of Melgueil, which he held of the Church of Rome, reverted to its liege lord: himself fell under excommunication, his lands under interdict; his compurgators, the Consuls of the towns in his dominions, were absolved from their allegiance, that allegiance passed to the Church of Rome. He swore further to respect the rights of all the churches in the provinces of Narbonne, Arles, Vienne, Auch, Bordeaux, Bourges. The Consuls of Avignon, Nismes, and St. Gilles took their compurgatorial oath to his fulfilment of all these stipulations; the governors of the seven castles not to restore them to the Count of Toulouse without the consent of the Pope. These ceremonies ended, the Count, with a rope round his neck, and scourged, as he went, on his naked shoulders, was led up to the high altar: there after a solemn recapitulation of the Pope's commands before it, and a reiteration of the same commands after it, he received the absolution.^k But his humiliation was not complete; by a well-contrived accident, the crowd was so great that they were obliged to lead him close by the tomb of the murdered Peter of Castelnau; naked, bleeding, broken-spirited, he was forced to show his profound respect to that spot.^m

But he has not yet drunk the dregs of humiliation: new difficulties arise; new demands are made: Raymond joins the Crusade. the Count himself must take up the cross against his own loyal subjects; he must appear at the head, he must actually seem to direct the operations of the invading army. Two only of his knights follow his example. His deadly enemy assigns one nobler motive

^k Petr. V. C. c. xii.

^m "O justum Dei judicium! quem anim contempserat vivum, ei reverentiam compulsus est exhibere et defuncto."—Petr. V. C. apud Bouquet, xix. 80.

for this act, that he might avert the Crusade from his own subjects, another (the vulgar suggestion of hatred) hypocrisy.ⁿ He did not leave the army till after the fall of Carcassonne.

The war was inevitable; not even the Pope could now have arrested it; and the Pope himself is self-convicted of the most cunning dissimulation. This vast army must have its reward in plunder and massacre.^o The subtle distinction is at hand, it is not waged against the Count of Toulouse, against the Count of Languedoc, but against the heretics.

Never in the history of man were the great eternal principles of justice, the faith of treaties, common humanity so trampled under foot as in the Albigensian war. Never was war waged in which ambition, the consciousness of strength, rapacity, implacable hatred, and pitiless cruelty played a greater part. And throughout the war it cannot be disguised that it was not merely the army of the Church, but the Church itself in arms. Papal legates and the greatest prelates headed the host, and mingled in all the horrors of the battle and the siege. In no instance did they interfere to arrest the massacre, in some cases urged it on. "Slay all, God will know his own," was the boasted saying of Abbot Arnold, Legate of the Pope, before Beziers. Arnold was the captain-general of the army.^p Hardly one of the great prelates of France stood aloof. With the first

ⁿ "Ut sic terram suam a cruce signatorum infestatione tueretur . . . O falsum et perfidissimum cruce signatum! Comitem Tolosanum dico, qui crucem assumpsit, non ad vindicandam injuriam crucifixi, sed ut ad tempus celare possit suam et tegere pravitatem."—Ibid.

^o "Man wollte," writes Hurter, who would apologise for the Crusade, "so grosse Rüstungen nicht vergeblich unternommen haben!" The army of the faith (the faith of Jesus Christ!) must not disperse without blood and plunder!

^p Vaissette.

army were, at the head of their troops, the Archbishops of Rheims, Sens, Rouen; their suffragans of Autun, Clermont, Nevers, Bayeux, Lisieux, Chartres. The Western host was led by the Archbishop of Bordeaux, the Bishops of Limoges, Bazas, Cahors, Agen. A third force moved under the Bishop of Puy. The great engineer was the Archdeacon of Paris. Fulk Bishop of Toulouse has been described as the ecclesiastical De Montfort of the Crusade.^a We have the melancholy advantage of hearing the actual voice of one of the churchmen, who joined the army at an early period; and whose language may be taken as the expression of the concentrated hatred and bigotry, which was the soul of the enterprise. The Historian Peter, Monk of Vaux Cernay, attendant on his uncle, the Abbot of that monastery, is the boastful witness to all these unexampled cruelties. Monkish fanaticism could not speak more naturally, more forcibly. With him all wickedness is centred in heresy. The heretic is a beast of prey to be slain wherever he may be found.^r And if there might be some palliation for the clergy of Languedoc, who had been neglected, treated with contumely, perhaps with insult, had seen their churches not only deserted, perhaps sacrilegiously violated, the Monk of Vaux Cernay was a stranger to that part of France.^s

^a Fulk had now altogether forgotten all the favours of Raymond, of the kings of Castile and Arragon. "Il ne vit dans Raymond VI., et dans Pierre II., roi d'Arragon, leur fils, que des princes qui se refusaient à l'extermination des hérétiques, que des rebelles, qui ne se soumettaient pas implicitement à la domination du clergé, et il devint le plus acharné de leurs ennemis."—Hist. Littér. xix. p. 596.

^r e. g. "Les Nôtres passèrent au fil d'épée ceux qu'ils purent trouver, mettant tout à feu et à sang. Pour quoi soit en toutes choses beni le Seigneur qui nous livre quelques impies, bien que non pas tous!"—Coll. des Mémoires, p. 303.

^s Peter (who dedicates his work to Innocent III.) seems to have been as ignorant, as cruel and fanatic. His notions of the opinions of the heretics

The army which moved from Lyons along the Rhône came from every province of France. Its numbers were never known. The Troubadour declares that God never made the clerk who could have written the muster-roll in two months, or even in three. He reckons twenty thousand knights, two hundred thousand common soldiers, not reckoning the townsmen and the clerks.^t The chief secular leaders were Eudes Duke of Burgundy, Hervé Count of Nevers, the Count of St. Pol, and Simon de Montfort Count of Leicester. The army advanced along the Rhône, joined as it proceeded by the vast contingents of the Archbishop of Bordeaux and the Bishop of Puy. At Montpellier they were met by the young and gallant Viscount of Beziers,^u who having urged his uncle Count Raymond to resistance, now endeavoured to avert the storm from his two cities, Beziers and Carcassonne. But his ruin was determined.^x The army appeared before Beziers, which in the strength of its walls and the courage of its inhabitants^y (the Catholics made common cause with

are a strange wild jumble. They were not only Manicheans, denying the Old Testament, and Docetæ: they held the most horrible doctrines concerning John the Baptist, "one of the worst of devils;" and our Lord himself, who was spiritually in the person of Paul. (Is this Paulicianism?) The Good God had two wives, Collent and Collebent, by whom he had sons and daughters. Another sect said "God had two sons, Christ and the Devil." Peter's history is in Bouquet, t. xix., and in M. Guizot's Collection of Mémoires, t. xv.

^t "Dieu ne fit jamais latiniste ou clerc si lettré—qui (de tout cela) pût raconter la moitié ni le tiers [of their

crosses, banners, and barded horses] ou écrire les noms des (seuls) prêtres et abbés." The Archbishop of Bourges was alone prevented from serving by death.—Fauriel, 15.

^u According to the Troubadour, the Viscount was "bon Catholique; je vous donne pour garanti maint clerc et maint chanoine (mangeant) en réfectoire."—p. 27.

^x "Der Legat ergrimmete ob solcher Hartnäckigkeit, wohl an denn rief er, so soll auch kein Stein auf dem andern, kein leben geschont werden."—Hurter, p. 309.

^y "Fortis enim et nimium locuples, populosaque valde—urbs erat, arma-

the rest) ventured on bold defiance. The Bishop Reginald of Montpellier demanded the surrender of all whom he might designate as heretics. On their refusal of these terms, the city was stormed.^z A general massacre followed; neither age nor sex were spared; even priests fell in the remorseless carnage. Then was uttered the frightful command, become almost a proverb, "Slay them all, God will know his own." In the church of St. Mary Magdalene were killed seven thousand by the defenders of the sanctity of the Church. The account of the slain is variously estimated from twenty thousand even up to fifty thousand. The city was set on fire, even the Cathedral perished in the flames.^a

The next was Carcassonne. The Viscount of Beziers, in his despair, had thrown himself into the city with a strong body of troops. The monk re-<sup>Of Carcas-
sonne.</sup>lates with special indignation that these worst of heretics and infidels destroyed the refectory and the cellars of the Canons of Carcassonne, and even (more execrable!) the stalls of their church, to strengthen their defences. Pedro King of Arragon appeared as mediator in the

tisque viris et milite multo—freta."

—Gul. Brito.

* The Troubadour relates a singular circumstance: the first attack was made by the "Roi des Ribauds," with 15,000 truands, in shirts and breeches, but without chausses. They climbed the walls, and swarmed in the trenches. They got all the plunder, which they were obliged to give up to the Barons. —p. 35. Was this wild rout a common part of a crusading army?—See the *Geste of Jerusalem*, where the *Roi des Ribauds* plays the same part in the taking of Antioch and Jerusalem.

—Hist. Lit. de la France, t. xxii. p. 363-377.

* "O justissima divinæ dispensationis mensura! Fuit enim capta civitas sæpe dicta in festo S. Mariæ Magdalena." The monk howls out his delight at this judgement of God on account of a tenet, which he absurdly ascribes to the heretics, "S. Mariam Magdalenam fuisse concubinam Christi." The Viscount of Beziers had left the town (probably to defend Carcassonne; as did the Jews: "Les Juifs l'ont suivi de près." The Jews had no vocation to wait and be massacred.

camp of the Crusaders. Carcassonne was held as a fief of the King. He pleaded the youth of the Viscount; asserted his Catholic belief, his aversion to heresy: it was not his fault if his subjects had fallen away: he was ready to submit to the Legate. The only terms they would offer were, that he might retire with twelve knights; the city must surrender at discretion. The proud and gallant youth declared that nothing should induce him (he had rather be flayed alive) to desert the least of his subjects.^b The first assaults, though on one occasion the bishops and abbots and all the clergy went forth chanting "Veni Creator Spiritus,"^c on another were lavish in their promises of absolution,^d ended in failure.

Carcassonne, if equal care had been taken to provision as to fortify the city, might have resisted for a year that disorderly host. But multitudes from all quarters had found refuge within its walls. The wells began to fail; infectious diseases broke out. Ere eight days the Viscount accepted a free conduct from an officer of the Legate: he hoped to obtain moderate terms for his subjects. Most of the troops made their escape by subterranean passages, and the defenceless city came into the power of the Crusaders.^e The people were allowed to leave the town, but almost naked;^f they were pillaged to the utmost.

August 15.

^b "Cela (dit alors le roi entre ses vœux) se fera tout aussitôt qu'un âne volera dans le ciel."—Fauriel, p. 51.

^c Peter V. C. xvi.

^d "Les évêques, les prieurs, les moines, et les abbés . . . s'en vont criant, vite au pardon (croisés) que faisez vous?"—Fauriel, 51.

^e The modern historians of this war

have wrought up a Walter Scott scene of treachery, on slender foundations. Barran et Darragan, Croisades contre les Albigeois.

^f "Egressi sunt ergo omnes nudi de civitate, nihil secum præter *peccatum* portantes." Peter V. C.—"on ne leur avait pas laissé en sus (chose) qui valût un bouton."—Fauriel, 55

But the Legate would not allow his soldiers, under pain of excommunication, to share the plunder. It was to be reserved for a powerful baron, who was to rule the land and extirpate the heretics for ever. The Viscount had given himself up as a hostage;^g he was treated as a prisoner, cast into a dungeon, where he died in a few months, not without suspicion of poison administered by Simon de Montfort. But a broken spirit and foul dungeon air may relieve Simon from a charge always asserted, rarely to be proved or disproved. The Viscount died at the age of twenty-four.^h

Death of
Viscount
of Beziers.
Nov. 10, 1209.

The law of conquest was now to be put in force. The lands of a heretic were as the lands of a Saracen. The question was to which of the orthodox army should be assigned the first fruits of the victory. The French nobles, the Dukes of Burgundy, the Counts of Nevers and St. Pol, with disdainful indignation refused the reward of a mercenary: they had land enough of their own; nor would they set the perilous example of setting up the fiefs of France to the hazard of the sword. The zeal of Simon de Montfort was not so noble nor so disinterested.ⁱ He was invested, on the Pope's authority, with all the lands conquered or to be conquered during the Crusade. This was of fearful omen to Raymond of Toulouse. Only a sovereign of the whole land, of unimpeachable devotion to the Holy See, of indefatigable

^g "Et chose grandement folle, fit-il, a mon avis." This historian paints the treachery of the Legate very darkly. Vaissette says that he was seized during a conference. I have followed the account least unfavourable to the perfidious Legate-Abbot.

^h Innocent's letter has *miserabiliter interfectus*. This was the accusation of the King of Arragon.

ⁱ Peter ascribes to him a show of repugnance. The historian briefly says that Simon, "qui le désirait, le prit."

activity, dauntless courage, inflexible resolution, an iron heart, could subdue the realm to ecclesiastical obedience.

The submission of Raymond had been complete; it might be suspected of insincerity, it assuredly was compulsory; yet he had accepted the hard terms, and surrendered his castles, had undergone the basest personal humiliation.^k The Pope had even expressed his approbation, and welcomed him back into the bosom of the Church. Up to the taking of Carcassonne, it might be with a bleeding heart, he had remained in the Crusaders' army. He had even attempted to conciliate Simon de Montfort, by the demand of De Montfort's daughter in marriage for his son.

But Raymond had been too deeply injured to be forgiven; and nothing less than the whole South could fully repay the zeal and valour of the Crusaders. The treachery of the Count rests on suspicion; that of the Legate, and it must be sadly confessed, of the Pope himself, on his own words. Treachery was his deliberate, avowed design. Innocent had enjoined, and now only followed out his policy of deceiving Count Raymond by feigned reconciliation, so to separate him from the rest of the Languedocian nobles, and to destroy them, one by one, with the greater ease. And to justify this, the Vicar of Christ abuses the words of an Apostle of Christ.^m

^k Epist. xii, 90. The monk relates this story:—Two heretics were condemned to be burned. One offered to recant. A great altercation arose whether he was to be spared. The Count decided that he should be burned. "If he is a true convert, the fire will be an expiation for his sins. If not, it will be a just penalty

for his sins." The man was saved by something like a miracle.—c. xxii. Can this be true?

^m "Quia vero a nobis sollicitè est requisitum, qualiter procedendum sit circa comitatum eundem fidei exercitui (cruce) signatorum, quatenus ad apostoli dicentis, '*Cum essem astutus, dolo vos cepi,*' magisterium recur

The Legates were apt disciples of their master. It was easy to demand impossible things, to assume the breach of the stipulations on which the Count had received absolution, and to claim the forfeiture. The Legates seem to have dreaded the influence of Raymond's agents at Rome; they suspected even the Pope of weak lenity. The Count had boasted that the Emperor Otho, and even the King of France, had interceded in his behalf. Instead, therefore, of immediately renewing the excommunication and the interdict on account of fifteen articles, on which they charged him with not having fulfilled his promises, they allowed him a certain time to give full satisfaction. The seven castles, they significantly hinted, of which he prayed the restitution, were strong enough to resist any attack, and had already escheated to the See of Rome.^a

Raymond had hardly returned to Toulouse, when an embassy arrived from the Legate Arnold and Simon de Montfort, demanding the instant surrender of all heretics and all abettors of heresy within his dominions to the ecclesiastical power, and of all their property to be at the disposal of the Crusaders. In vain it was pleaded by some of the designated fautors of heresy that they were of orthodox belief, and had been already reconciled to the Church by the Legate himself. In vain Count Raymond declared that he appealed to the Pope. At Valence the excommunication was again hurled against his person, the interdict

Sept. 1209.

rentes, cum talis dolus prudentia potius sit dicendus, cum eorundem signatorum prudentioribus opportuno consilio, divisos ab ecclesiæ unitate divisum capere studentes, dummodo videritis quod ex hoc item comes vel aliis minus assistere, vel per se ipsum

minus debeat insanire, non statim incipientes ab ipso, sed eo primitus *arte prudentis dissimulationis eluso*, ad extirpandos alios hæreticos transeat.^a—Epist. 232.

^a Compare the two letters of Milo, the Legate, to the Pope.—xii. 106, 107

laid on his dominions. Raymond seized the desperate measure of going himself to Rome, and throwing himself on the justice, he might fondly hope the mercy, of the Pope. Innocent, in the mean time, had committed himself to a triumphant approbation of all the exploits of the Crusaders; he had invested Simon de Montfort in the conquered territories, and exhorted him, for the remission of his sins, as he had extirpated, so to keep his new realm free from the contagion of heresy.^o Simon de Montfort is his beloved son, the acknowledged hero of the Holy War.^p

Raymond visited the Court of France before he went to Rome. His reception by the Pope was not promising. The Pope, by one account, heaped on him so many reproaches as almost to reduce him to despair.^q According to others, he was received with courtesy by the Pope and by the Cardinals. Innocent spoke with fairness on the restitution of the castles: it did not become the Church of Rome to enrich itself with such spoils: the right of the Count was by no means annulled by the cession. The Pope condescended to hear the confession of Count Raymond; showed him the Veronica, and allowed him to touch the holy face

^o In remissionem tibi peccaminum injungentes quatenus attendendo prudenter quod non minor est virtus quam quærere, parta tueri.—Epist. xii. 123.

^p The Pope wrote to the Archbishops of Arles, Besançon, Vienne, Aix, Narbonne, Lyons, and others, to compel by ecclesiastical censures all who had lent money to the Crusaders, especially the Jews—there must have been more than censures against the Jews—not to exact interest (it passed

under the odious name of usury) for their loans.—xii. 136.

^q “Quem Dominus Papa tot conviciis lacessivit, contumeliis tot confudit, quod quasi in desperatione positus, quid ageret, ignorabat. Ipsum siquidem dicebat incredulum, crucis persecutorem, fidei inimicum, et vere sic erat.”—Petr. V. C. c. 33. The monk may have given to the Pope some of his own bitter passion. The historian says Raymond was received with honour.

of the Lord ; he gave him absolution ; bestowed on him a costly mantle and a precious ring from his own fingers. The harshness would perhaps be hardly less Papal than these specious courtesies. From Innocent's words and acts, it is clear that these outward honours were cautiously, jealously, if not deceptively bestowed. Notwithstanding the absolution, Count Raymond was to appear in three months before a council to be assembled by the Legates, to purge himself from all charge of countenancing heretics, and all concern in the murder of Peter of Castelnau. What may be called the secret instructions to the Legate (Milo was dead), to the Abbot Arnold, recommended him to consult on all points the Canon Theodisc, who was alone in possession of the Pope's real sentiments. But Theodisc was to act only under the orders of Arnold, to be his instrument of deception, under the bait of feigned gentleness to conceal the iron hook of severity, and so delude again the devoted Count.* It was Innocent's object not to goad him to despair. Raymond must not be driven to head the strong reaction which had already begun against the usurpation and tyranny of De Montfort.†

The success of the Crusade had been beyond expectation : the two strong cities, Beziers and Carcassonne, had fallen in little more than two months. From the panic, and from force, five hundred

Progress of
Crusade.

* "In hamo sagacitatis tuæ positus quasi esca, ut per eam piscem capias fluctuantem, cui tanquam saluberrimam tuæ piscationis abhorrenti doctrinam quodam prudenti mansuetudinis artificio severitatis ferrum necessarium est abscondi." And Innocent again makes his favourite quotation : "Cum essem astutus dolo vos cepi."

† "Veruntamen cogitans Dominus Papa, ne in desperationem versus ecclesiam, quæ in Narbonensi provincia erat, impugnaret acrius et manifestius dictus comes, indixit ei." He orders him to clear himself of the crime of heresy, and that of the murder.—Petr. V. C. c. 35.

castles and towns had surrendered or yielded after a short siege.^t The Count of Toulouse, the King of Arragon, had issued decrees against the heretics. The Count of Foix (De Montfort had entered Castres), with Albi, Pamiers, Mirepois, offered terms. Simon de Montfort had now a kingdom. But on the approach of winter, far the larger part of the French barons, bishops, and knights returned home; De Montfort remained with the few troops whom he could afford to pay. The Pope, indeed, commanded the archbishops to give up to Simon, for the maintenance of his army, large sums which the heretics, or those accused of heresy, had deposited in their hands for safe custody. But many towns had already raised the standard of revolt; the King of Arragon resolutely refused his homage for the parts of the territory which were his fiefs. But with the spring new crusaders crowded around De Montfort's banner, the Bishops of Chartres and Beauvais. Many towns and castles, Alyonne, Bram, Alairac, Ventalon, Montreal, Constassa, Puyvert, Castres, Lomberes, fell.

^t Siege of
Minerve.
A.D. 1210.

Minerve, a fortress of great strength at the border of the Cevennes, on a high rock girded by deep ravines, made a long and vigorous resistance. Provisions failed; the lord of the castle proposed to surrender. Now appeared the darkening atocity of the war.^u Even De Montfort would have accepted the

^t "Captisque fere quingentis tum castellis, quæ per possessos suos diabolus habitabat."—Petr. V. C.

^u According to the monk of Vaux Cernay, Gerald de Pepieux had betrayed Simon de Montfort; he was a cruel enemy of the faith, and had barbarously mutilated some of his soldiers.—c. 27. Mutilation became

a common practice. The monk, of course, lays the blame of commencing it on the heretics, for Simon was the gentlest (mitissimus) of mankind.—c. 34. Montfort, in fact, had put to the sword the garrisons of several castles belonging to Pepieux. The whole garrison of Montlaur was hanged. A hundred of that of Bram had their

capitulation ; but the fiercer Cistercian Abbot, unwilling that the enemies of God should escape, sought even fraudulent means of baffling or eluding the treaty. De Montfort left it to the decision of the Abbot, who as a churchman could not openly urge the rejection of pacific terms.* Arnold decided that of the heretics all *believers* who should absolutely submit to the mandates of the Church, should have their lives spared : even the Perfect, of whom there were multitudes, might escape if they would recant. A fierce knight, Robert de Molesme, the agent of De Montfort with the Pope, protested against this ill-timed leniency. "Fear not," said the Abbot, "few will there be whose lives will be spared." Minerve surrendered. The cross was placed on the keep of the castle, the banner of De Montfort waved below it. Arnold was right.† The Abbot of Vaux Cernay preached in vain to the heretics ; the women were more obstinate than the men. A hundred and forty of the Perfect spared their persecutors the trouble of casting them on the vast pile ; they rushed headlong of their own accord into the flames.

July 23.

The castle of Termes was of still greater strength ; it might defy with a prudent and resolute commander (an

eyes put out ; one eye was left to the captain, in order to conduct his soldiers to Cabaret.—Vaissette, iii. p. 191. A priest, who had revolted from De Montfort, was taken to Carcassonne, degraded, dragged at the tail of a horse through the town, then hanged.

* Histoire de la Guerre, Petr. V. C. I quote the French : "A ces paroles l'Abbé fut grandement marri pour le désir qu'il avait que les ennemis du

Christ fussent mis à mort, et n'osant cependant les y condamner vu qu'il était moine et prêtre."—In Collection des Mémoires.

† Petr. V. C. c. 36, 37. Miracles followed the capture of Minerve, "et ils brûlaient maint felon d'hérétique (fils) de pute chienne, et mainte folle mécreante, qui brait dans le feu." Such is the brief merciless account of the Troubadour, p. 79. Compare the Histoire, c. xviii.

obstinate heretic) any attack. The siege lasted four months; the Bishops of Beauvais and Chartres, as well as the Count Robert and the Count of Poitou, retired in despair.² The great engineer, the Archdeacon of Paris, adhered to the army to the last. The garrison broke away at length through subterranean passages. The Governor was taken and shut up in a dungeon for life; the town given up to plunder; the heretics burned; their shrieks were mocked by their persecutors.^a

The Count of Toulouse now urged the fulfilment of the Pope's decree. He offered to appear before a Council to justify himself concerning the charges on which he was arraigned. But the crafty churchmen, the Genoese Canon Theodisc (the depositor of the Pope's secret views), and the Abbot Arnold (with whom was now joined the Bishop of Riez), had other intentions.

They contrived delays; they made demands, and insisted that such demands should be rigidly accomplished before they would admit him to compurgation.^b A council was at length held at St. Gilles. When the Count found his adversaries so utterly implacable, he was moved, it is said, to tears.

^a The French knights were so disposed to gain the advantages of Indulgences on the easiest terms, that the Legate was obliged to order that no one should receive an Indulgence without forty days' service. Petr. V. C. c. 43.

^a In this fearful civil war the Bishop of Carcassonne was among the Crusaders. His brother, William of Rochfort, as the monk says, one of the worst and most cruel enemies of the Church, was with Raymond, who commanded in Termes.

^b "Cum intrasset magister Theodiscus Tholosan, habuit secretum colloquium cum Abbate Cisterciensi super admittendâ purgatione Comitum Tholosani. Magister vero Theodiscus, utpote circumspectus et providus, ad hoc omnimodis aspirabat, ut possit de jure repellere ab indicandâ ei purgatione comitem memoratum." They charitably averred "facillime, immo lubentissime, per se et suos complices pejerare."—c. 39.

The stony-hearted churchman scoffed in Scriptural language at his hypocritical weeping.^c He left St. Gilles burthened with a new anathema. Another conference at Narbonne was equally without effect, and still another at Montpellier. At length, at a council in Arles, the Legates boldly threw off all concealment of their inflexible hatred. They summoned the Count before their tribunal, and haughtily commanded him not to leave the city without their permission.^d Feb. 1212.

Their terms were these: I. That Count Raymond should lay down his arms, dismiss his troops, not retaining a single follower. II. That he should be obedient to the Church, pay all the expenses which they might charge on him, and during his whole life submit himself without contradiction. III. In the whole kingdom no one should eat of more than two kinds of meat. IV. That he should expel all heretics and their abettors from his dominions. V. That before the end of the year he should deliver up to the Legate and to Count de Montfort every person whom they might demand, to be dealt with according to their arbitrement. VI. No one in his dominions, either noble or serf, was to wear costly garments, only dark and coarse mantles. VII. He was to raze all fortresses and castles in his dominions. VIII. No one of his men, unless a noble, was to live within any walled town. IX. No taxes to be levied in

^c "In diluvio aquarum multarum ad Deum non approximatis." So the Vulgate. Our version is, "Surely in the floods of great waters they shall not come nigh him." Ps. xxxii. 6. The canon spake thus: "Sciens quod lacrymæ illæ non erant lacrymæ devotionis et pœnitentiæ sed nequitia et doloris"—(doli?)—Ibid.

^d The Legates were greatly offended that Count Raymond had left Montpellier abruptly, without even the courtesy of taking leave. He had seen an evil omen (says the monk), the St. Mark's bird. "Ipsè enim more *Saracenorum* in volatu et castri avium et cæteris auguriis spem habebat."—Petr. V. C.

the land, except the ancient and statutable payments. X. Every head of a family was to pay yearly fourpence to the Legate, to be collected by the Legate's agents. XI. All tithe to be restored to the Church, and all arrears of tithe. XII. When the Legate travelled through the land, he was to be entertained without cost: his meanest follower was not to pay for anything. XIII. When he had executed all these conditions, Count Raymond was to set out on a crusade against the infidel Turks, and not return without permission of the Legate. XIV. All these terms duly fulfilled, his lands would be restored to him by the Legate and the Count de Montfort.^e

These terms were dictated, it was thought, by the Count's irreconcilable enemy, the Bishop of Toulouse. The King of Arragon was in Arles. He had been jealously watching the course of events.^f At Montpellier he had reluctantly received the homage of Simon de Montfort for Carcassonne. At the same time he had strengthened his connexion with the House of Toulouse by the marriage of his daughter Sancha with the young Count Raymond. At these extravagant demands, Raymond broke out into bitter laughter. "You are well paid," said the King of Arragon. The ban of excommunication was again pronounced, with more than usual solemnity.

Raymond hastened to Toulouse; he summoned the Council of the city. The Toulousans declared that they would submit to the worst extremity rather than accept such shameful conditions. There was the same enthu-

^e Histoire de la Guerre, xx. Vaissette, iii. note xvi. Chroniques apud Bouquet, p. 136.

^f Compare the long and striking account of the Troubadour, p. 99.

siasm throughout his dominions. "They would all die. They would eat their own children ere they would abandon their injured sovereign."^g

War was now declared, but war on what unequal terms! Here stood De Montfort, the resistless conqueror, the absolute model of a crusading chieftain; of noble birth, Lord of Amauri in France, of Evreux in Normandy, Count of Leicester in England. We have seen De Montfort stand majestically alone in the army before Zara, the one knight loyal to the Pope. Faithful to the cause of the Cross, he was unsurpassed in valour as in military skill; beloved by his army, and not alone from their perfect reliance on his unbroken success; his soldierlike gentleness to the true servants of Christ vied with his remorseless hatred of the unbeliever. Which of these virtues did not secure him the most profound adoration from the hierarchy of which he was the champion? A holy monk of the Abbot Arnold's own Cistercian house was interrupted, it was told, in his prayers for the Count of Leicester by a voice from Heaven: "Why pray for him? for him so many pray incessantly, there is no need for thy orisons." And now De Montfort's three ruling passions—religion, ambition, interest, conspired to his grandeur. On the other hand, was the irresolute Count Raymond, only goaded into valour by intolerable fraud and wrong; who without bigotry had betrayed and persecuted the religion of his subjects; now debased by the most miserable humiliation; without military skill, with no fame for prowess in battle; mistrusted by all, as mistrusting himself.

^g "Les hommes du pays, chevaliers et bourgeois, quand ils entendirent la charte qui leur fut lue . . . dirent qu'ils aimaient mieux être tous tués ou pris, que de souffrir, ou de faire rien au monde (une chose) qui ferait d'eux tous des serfs, des vilains, ou des paysans."—Fauriel, 102.

Yet the war has in some degree changed its character: it has still all the blackening ferocity of a religious war; but it is also the revolt of a high-spirited nation against a foreign invader; a noble determination to cast off a cruel and usurping tyranny. The Troubadour, the poet of the war, for above three thousand verses has dwelt on the glory of the temporal and spiritual champions of the faith, Simon de Montfort and the Bishop Fulk of Toulouse. He has revelled in the sufferings of the heretics, mocked the shrieks of the burning women.^h There is a sudden change. The Crusade is now a work of savage iniquity, outraging humanity and religion; Count Raymond is the noblest, most injured of men. But the high Provençal patriotism of the Troubadour is only the love of his country, attachment to the ancient house of the Counts of Toulouse: he has no sympathy for heretic or Albigensian.

In Toulouse the Count and the Bishop could not but come into collision. There was civil war in the city. The Count had foolishly yielded up the strong citadel, "The Narbonnaise." In the city the zealous Catholics prevailed. The Bishop organised a strong confraternity to root out with armed force the heretics, usurers, and Jews. They attacked, and in their religious zeal, pillaged and demolished houses. The borough, on the other side, was inhabited by the nobles. There the heretics had the chief power. Against the White Brethren of the Bishop were arrayed the Black Brethren of the citizens. The Bishop refused to celebrate, to permit the celebration, of any divine office, so long as the city was infected by the presence of an ex-

^h "Mainte folle hérétique beugle dans le feu." This is of the females burned at Mireux.—Compare Fauriel's preface.

communicated person. He had the modesty to request the Count to retire, on the pretence of an excursion, in order that he might perform at least one uncontaminated and undisturbed function.ⁱ The Count sent word by some of his soldiers that the Bishop himself must leave the city. "I was not elected to my see by a temporal prince, but by ecclesiastical authority. Let him come if he dare; I will encounter his sword with the holy chalice." Yet the Bishop thought himself more safe in the camp of De Montfort, now engaged in the siege of Lavour.^k

Lavour belonged to Roger Bernard, Count of Foix, of all the Provençal princes the most powerful and most detested by the Church, as, if not a Siege of Lavour. heretic, a favourer of heretics. In this case the charge was an honour rather than a calumny. The Count of Foix is claimed by the Waldensians, if not as one of themselves, as having encouraged his son in freedom of faith.^m A man of profound religion, the Count of Foix had been the first to raise the native standard against De Montfort; he was a knight of valour as of Christian faith. Before Lavour, the besieging engines were surmounted with a cross; and it was held sacrilegious im-

ⁱ The Bishop, says the Troubadour, had been established "pour Seigneur dans la ville, avec grande solemnité, comme un empereur."—p. 103.

^k Petr. V. C. c. 51.

^m According to the life of Roger Bernard, son of the Count by Hologarai, quoted in Perrin, Histoire des Chrétiens Albigen (Genève, 1615), p. 140, the Count of Foix, on his submission in 1222, answered the Legate—"Certes je vous dirai que je n'ai jamais désiré que de maintenir ma

liberté: car je suis dans le maillot de franchise. . . . Pour le Pape, je ne l'ai point offensé: car il ne m'a rien demandé comme Prince que je ne lui aye obéi. Il ne se doit mesler de ma religion, veu qu'un chacun la doit avoir libre. *Mon père m'a recommandé toujours ceste liberté, afin qu'étant en cette posture, quand le ciel crouleroit je le puisse regarder d'un œil ferme et assuré, estimant qu'il ne me pourrait faire de mal,*" &c. ⁷ owe this citation to Gieseler, p. 592.

piety, when the besieged, having battered down one limb of the cross, presumed to scoff. One day the besiegers attempted to storm the city; the engines were driven to the walls, the besieged hurled burning wood and fat upon them; amid all this horrible tumult, the Bishops and the Legates, as before, stood chanting, "Come, Holy Ghost!" At the fall of Lavour Simon had been irritated by the surprise of a detachment of five thousand German crusaders, who had been cut to pieces by the Count of Foix. The barbarity at Lavour passed all precedent even in this fearful war. A general massacre was permitted; men, women, children were cut to pieces, till there remained nothing to kill except some of the garrison and others reserved for a more cruel fate. Four hundred were burned in one great pile, which made a wonderful blaze, and caused universal rejoicing in the camp.ⁿ Aymeric of Montreal, the commander, was brought with eighty nobles (Lavour seems to have been thought a safe place of refuge) before De Montfort. He ordered them all to be hanged;° the overloaded gibbets broke down; they were hewn in pieces. Giralda, the Lady of Lavour, was thrown into a well, and

May 5,
1211. huge stones rolled down upon her. She was pregnant: her merciless enemy would not even spare her fame; they reported that she accused herself of the most revolting incest.^p The Troubadour, on the other hand, praises her virtue, her chastity: "no poor man ever left her house without being fed." Soon after, Simon de Montfort surprised a camp of Count Raymond.

■ "Les envoyant ainsi brûler d'un feu éternel."—*Gestes Glorieuses* in Guizot, Coll. des Mémoires.

° "Jamais (says the poet) dans la Chrétienté si haut baron ne fut je

crois pendu, avec tant d'autres chevaliers à ses côtés."—p. 113.

^p "De fratre et filio se concepisse dixit."—*Chron. Turcn.* apud Faurel, p. 113.

The Bishops preached in vain to five hundred heretics, but converted not one; sixty, however, they burned with great joy.[¶] From Lavaur De Montfort advanced to the siege of Toulouse. The Bishop was in his camp. At the Bishop's command, all the clergy, barefooted, and bearing the host, marched out of the city; they were followed by five hundred of the White Brethren. But want of supplies, and the bold sallies of the garrison, forced him to break up the siege; he revenged himself by wasting the gardens, vineyards, and meadows. At the end of the year, when the Crusaders returned home, De Montfort himself was besieged in Castel Naudary: he revenged himself by a terrible defeat of the Count de Foix.

June 27,
1211.

During the close of the year and the following one, the war raged, still to the advantage of De Montfort. The Archbishops of Rheims, Rouen, the Bishops of Paris, Laon, Toul were with him. At one time even Innocent, moved perhaps by the murmurs of Philip Augustus who began to be jealous of the growing power of De Montfort, seemed to waver into justice.[†] He commanded the restitution of the lands of the Counts of Foix and Comminges, and of Gaston de Bearn. He suspended his indulgences to the Crusaders. But he soon revoked again his own concessions, returned to his haughty and hostile tone, ordered the whole people to be raised by the offer of indulgences against the men of Toulouse and their allies. At a great parliament at Pamiers, De Montfort appeared as a Sovereign Prince; already the estates of the

Nov. 1211.
De Montfort
Sovereign
Prince.

¶ The Toulousans did not wage the war with less ferocity: at the taking of Pajols, sixty knights were slain or hung.

† Petr. V. C. 70. The Pope was "nimis credulus falsis suggestionibus dicti regis" (of France); afterwards he acted, "re melius cognitâ."

Languedocian nobles were awarded to the northern conquerors. It was enacted that noble women, heiresses of free fiefs, should only marry the nobles of France, those who spoke the Langue d'Oil. To win popularity against the nobles, the peasants and serfs were declared exempt from arbitrary payments. The churchmen must not be without their share of the spoil. The Legate Arnold obtained the Archbishopric of Narbonne. The successor of Stephen Harding and St. Bernard was not content with the metropolitan dignity; he assumed the proud feudal title, involving great secular rights, of Duke of Narbonne. The Abbot of Vaux Cernay had the Bishopric of Carcassonne; other Cistercian monks received wealthy benefices. The Archbishop of Auch, the Bishop of Beziers were deposed;^a the engineer, the Archdeacon of Paris, declined the Bishopric of Beziers.

Count Raymond, before the close of the year, had lost all but Toulouse and Montauban; he fled to the King of Arragon; the gallant Spaniard declared that he would support his cause (he was connected by a double tie) against the wicked race who would despoil him of his heritage.^b The Consuls of Toulouse addressed a supplication likewise to the King against their Bishop and against the Legate. They declared that they always gave proofs of their orthodoxy against convicted heretics; they had burned many, were ready to burn more.^u They accused the Legate and the Bishop of excommu-

^a The Archbishop of Auch, Bernard de la Barthe (a Troubadour poet), resisted his degradation till 1214; he still boldly adhered to the side of Raymond.

^b "Il est mon beau frère, dit-il, il a épousé une de mes sœurs, et l'autre je l'ai donnée pour femme à son fr.

J'irai donc les secourir contre cette mechante race, qui veut leur enlever leur héritage."—Fauriel, p. 199.

^u "Unde multos combussimus, et adhuc cum invenimus, idem facere non cessamus."—See the petition in Bouquet, p. 206.

nicating them, because they employed routiers (the soldiers of fortune) whom themselves did not scruple to buy off by higher pay, though guilty of the worst and most sacrilegious crimes. The very soldiers who had murdered certain priests (on this the monk of Vaux Cernay dwells, as the great crime of the Toulousans) had been enlisted among his own troops by the Legate.

The King of Arragon, before he engaged in the war, made an appeal to the Pope. Innocent was again shaken, and began to have some mis-^{King of Arragon.}trust in the representations of his Legates. He had set in motion a terrible engine, he could not arrest or regulate its movements. The Pope wrote to the Archbishop of Narbonne (the Abbot Arnold) and to Simon de Montfort, recounting the charges made against them. "They had not only invaded lands infected with heresy, but stretched out their rapacious hands to seize those of Catholics;"^v while the King of Arragon was engaged against the Saracens, they had infringed on his rights, waged war on his vassals, and occupied his territories. Count Raymond had offered to surrender all his dominions to his son, against whom was no charge or suspicion of heresy. Raymond should be admitted (the Pope now urged, or had before urged) to compurgation."^w Simon de Montfort was accused of wantonly shedding Catholic blood, under the pretence of extirpating heresy;^w he was commanded to restore the

^v "Ad illas nihilominus terras, quæ super hæresi nullâ notabantur infamiâ manus avidas extendistis."—Epist. xv. 212.

^w "Quod tu convertens in Catholicos manus tuas, quibus suffecisse debuerat in homines hæreticæ pravitatis extendi per cruce signatorum exercitum

ad effusionem justî sanguinis et innocentium injuriam provocasti."—Epist. xv. 213. Simon is impaled on the horns of a pontifical dilemma. Either the inhabitants were Catholics or heretics: if Catholics, he had no right to invade their lands; if heretics, he ought not to let them live peaceably under his dominion.

territories which he had unjustly usurped, to the King of Arragon. But even the all-powerful Innocent was powerless in the cause of justice and humanity: his compunctious visitings of mercy found no hearing even among the churchmen of the Crusade. The Council of Lavaur, attended by two archbishops as Legates, and by a great number of prelates, with one voice, determined to come to no terms with the "tyrant and heretic of Toulouse." If his dominions were restored to him heresy must triumph. All the representations of the King of Arragon in favour of the Counts of Toulouse, of Foix, and Comminges, and of Gaston de Bearn, were contemptuously rejected. Their letters were absolutely furious—"Arm yourself, my Lord Pope, with the zeal of Phineas; annihilate Toulouse, that Sodom, that Gomorrah, with all the wretches it contains; let not the tyrant, the heretic Raymond, nor even his young son, lift up his head; already more than half crushed, crush them to the very utmost." Innocent was once more on their side; he threatened the King of Arragon with a new Crusade.^x

The great victory of Muret, in which Simon de Montfort with very inferior forces (he had at most about 1000 men-at-arms, about 400 squires) totally defeated,

^x Epist. xvi. 28, 40. Hurter, with whom all Innocent's acts must be saintly, is obliged to take refuge in the imperfect information of the Pope, and the abuse of his confidence by his agents: an excuse for a weak pontiff, but not for one whose sagacity and penetration are so highly coloured by Hurter himself. "Wenn während dieses Krieges manches sich ereignete was mit Betrübniß erfüllen muss,

oder wenn derselbe in Raum und Zeit weiter sich erforderte, als die Erreichung des Zwecks, wozu er unternommen worden, so fällt hiervon keine Schuld auf Innocenz, der nicht überall sehen, in vielem auf Berichte von Männern sich verlassen musste, die seinen Vertrauen zu ihnen nicht immermehr so ehrten, wie es dem Besten der Kirche wünschbar war.' Vorrede— p. vi. Gestes Glorieuses.

with the loss of one knight and a few common soldiers, the combined forces of the King of Arragon and the Count of Toulouse, seemed to decide for ever the fate of the devoted land.⁷ Pedro of Arragon, the victor of Naves de Tolosa, was slain; his infant son, afterwards James I., fell into the hands of the conqueror at Carcassonne. The Counts of Toulouse, the father and son, fled.

The Pope, on the occasion of his sending a new Legate, the Cardinal Deacon, Peter of Benevento, Cardinal of St. Mary in Aquiro, in strange apocalyptic language celebrates this triumph,⁴ "The Red Horse (the Count of Toulouse) and his soldiers, conjoined with the Black Horse of heresy, had been discomfited. The sign which Innocent had raised on the dark mountain had gathered the valiant and the holy of the Lord to his aid. They had trampled down the pride of the Chaldeans." The new Legate received the submission of the conquered princes, the Counts of Foix and Comminges and Rousillon, and the Viscount of Narbonne. They were sworn to renounce all heresy, all protection, all connivance with heretics; to surrender, if required, all their principal fortresses to the Church of Rome and her Legate, to give no succour to the city of Toulouse. If they fulfilled not these conditions, their castles escheated to the Pope; they were excommunicate, declared enemies and traitors to the Roman See. Even the Count of Toulouse was permitted to make his submission, but under harder conditions. Our compassion for the fate of Count Raymond

Battle of
Muret.
Sept. 12, 1213

April 18,
1214.

⁷ Guizot, xv. 343. While the battle was going on, the whole clergy, bishops, abbots, continued chanting, so that they seemed "plutôt hurler que prier." They

chose the day of battle, that of the elevation of the cross.—Puy Laurent.

⁴ Epist. xvi. 167, dated Jan. 17. 1214.

is mitigated by the horror of his last act; he surprised his brother Baldwin, who had fallen off to De Montfort, and hung him on a walnut tree.^a Raymond now surrendered all his dominions, which he had before made over to his son, without reservation, to the See of Rome. He placed his person at his enemies' disposal, and offered to retire to England, if they should so decree, till he could make his peace. He promised to procure the submission of his son to the mercy of the Pope. Yet, if we are to believe the monk of Vaux Cernay, even mercy on these terms was but a fraud practised on the nobles, to give De Montfort time to subdue the still refractory cities, Agen, Cahors, Toulouse; a pious fraud suggested by God's Holy Spirit!^b

Simon de Montfort had strengthened himself by the marriage of his son with Beatrice, heiress of Dauphiny. At a council at Montpellier, held Jan. 8, 1215, the Legate demanded the advice of five archbishops, twenty-eight bishops, many abbots and dignitaries, as to the course to be pursued with regard to the conquered territory. With one assent they chose Simon de Montfort Prince and Sovereign of the whole land. Thus all the native and hereditary princes were deposed; the old ancestral house of Toulouse, erewhile the greatest territorial principedom in France without excepting even the King, connected by blood or marriage with all the Sovereigns of Europe,

^a It is even said, but by the Monk, that the Count of Foix and his son tied the rope.

^b "Egit ergo misericorditer divina dispositio, ut dum Legatus hostes fidei qui Narbonæ erant congregati, alliceret et compesceret fraude suâ, Comes Mon-

tisfortis et peregrini, qui venerunt a Franciâ, possent transire ad partes caturcenses et aginenses, et suos, immo Christi impugnare inimicos. O Legati fraus pia! O pietas fraudulenta!"—Petr. V. C. c. 78.

was despoiled of all : the whole of Languedoc, Catholic, as well as heretical inhabitants, were transferred to a new master.^c

Toulouse submitted; Prince Louis, son of Philip Augustus, who had now joined the Crusade, the Cardinal, the Bishop Fulk, and Simon de Montfort, held secret councils, whether to pillage or burn the city; but De Montfort did not wish to ruin himself by destroying his own splendid and hard-won capital.^d The Legate took possession of the strong castle, the Narbonnaise. The young Count withdrew to England, followed, after some time, by his father. The Crusade of Prince Louis of France was a triumphant procession—he met no resistance. The walls of Toulouse and Narbonne were thrown down. But if the pomp was with Prince Louis, the gain of the victory was with De Montfort. Philip Augustus had never approved of his son's Crusade; he beheld this new realm of De Montfort with no favourable eyes. When Louis appeared before him, on his return from the South, and described the wealth and power of Simon, the King gave no answer.^e

^c "C'est ainsi que Raymond VI., Comte de Toulouse, fut dépouillé de tous ses états, et que ce Prince, le plus grand terrier qui fut alors dans le royaume, sans en excepter le roi même, se vit enfin réduit à ne posséder plus une pouce de terre, sans que les liens de sang qui l'attachaient à presque tous les souverains de l'Europe fussent capables de le mettre à l'abri des entreprises de ceux qui en voulaient plus à ses dominions qu'à sa croyance." —Vaissette, p. 285.

^d "Cependant le fils du Roi de France, qui consent à mal, Don Simon,

le Cardinal, et Folquet tous ensemble proposent en secret de saccager (d'abord) toute la ville; puis d'y mettre le feu ardent (pour la brûler). Mais Don Simon réfléchit, que s'il détruit la ville, ce sera à son dommage."—Fauriel, 223. The advice of the Bishop in the Historian is even more atrocious.

^e "Rex vero Franciæ auditis quod filius suus cruce signatus esset multum doluit, sed causam doloris ejus non est nostrum exponere." The monk's silence is significant.—Petr. V. C.

The fourth Lateran Council,^f one of the most numerous ever held in Christendom,^g was called upon to decide the course to be taken against heretics, and especially the fate of Languedoc. It assumed the full power of deposing a Sovereign Prince, and awarding his dominions to a stranger. Count Raymond of Toulouse was for ever excluded from the sovereignty of the land, condemned to pass the rest of his life in exile, in some place appointed for him to do fit penance. A pension of 400 marks was reserved out of his revenues, which he would forfeit by any act of disobedience to the Church. To his wife, the sister of the King of Arragon, her dowry was secured on account of her virtue and piety. Provence and some other cantons, yet unconquered by the Crusaders, were to be reserved under the custody of trustworthy persons, as an inheritance for the young Count of Toulouse, if, when of age, he should have been obedient to the Church. As to the Counts of Foix and Comminges, nothing was enacted, but they were allowed some hopes of pardon.

Such were the acts of the Lateran Council. But the Troubadour^h and the Historian describe the debates,

^f The Council of Lateran declared the unity of God who created of nothing both souls and bodies (the Aristotelian doctrines of the eternity of matter had begun to prevail) the unity of the Church, out of which none can be saved: it first authoritatively proclaimed Transubstantiation.

^g So great was the concourse of people that the good bishop of Amalfi was suffocated in the throng.—Chron. Amalf. apud Murat, A. T. i. p. 246. There were the Patriarchs of Constan-

tinople and Jerusalem, of Antioch and Alexandria (by deputy), 71 archbishops, 412 bishops, 860 abbots or priors.

^h It is a curious question, whether the history is a prose version of the poem: if so, it is a free one, as it differs in many particulars. If the poem is the original, how far is it poetical? how far has the poet, who is usually unpoetically historical, here indulged invention? Poetically it is the best, the only part of the poem which is alive.

which led at length to these imperious decrees. Passages in other writers leave no doubt that the decision was resisted by many of the most powerful and generous prelates; ⁱ and confirmed with reluctance by the Pope himself. The Lateran Council, according to this account, was a long conflict between the temporal princes who demanded the restoration of their estates, and were supported by some of the Secret History. most distinguished churchmen, and the ecclesiastics of Languedoc; Arnold the Archbishop of Narbonne (though even he, from a personal quarrel about the rights of the Church of Narbonne, was somewhat moderated in his admiration of Simon de Montfort), and Fulk, the Bishop of Toulouse, the implacable enemy of Raymond. Innocent, the haughty Innocent, appears in the midst; mild, but wavering; seeing clearly that which was just, humane, merciful, and disposed to the better course; but overborne by the violence of the adverse party, and weakly yielding to that of which his mind and heart equally disapproved.^k The whole scene is so characteristic as well as dramatic, that the chief points may be accepted (certainly they formed part of the popular belief) as to the proceedings of that great Council.

Raymond and his son, accompanied by the Counts of Foix and Comminges, and many other nobles of Languedoc, were admitted to the presence of the Pope, seated in full consistory among his cardinals and other

ⁱ "Verum quidem est quod fuerint aliqui, etiam quod est gravius, de Prælatiis, qui nostræ fidei adversi, pro restitutione dictorum Comitum laborabant; sed non prævaluit consilium Abitophel, frustratum et desiderium malignorum."—Petr. V. C. c. 83.

^k Hurter, solicitous to catch any gleams of equity and gentleness, which may soften the sterner characters of his hero and saint, follows without hesitation the history, not perceiving the humiliation of Innocent, thus reduced to be the tame instrument of the bigotry of others.

prelates: they knelt before him; the young Raymond presented letters from the King of England (who had received hospitably and made splendid presents to his nephew). The King of England expressed his indignation at the usurpation of the inheritance of Raymond by Simon de Montfort. The Pope was moved by the beauty and graceful bearing of the young Prince, thought of his wrongs, and wept.^m

Count Raymond began at length to represent the aggressions and injustice of the Legate and of De Montfort, who, notwithstanding all his submission to the Pope, and all the treaties, had despoiled him of his territories. He was followed by the Counts of Foix and Comminges complaining of the pillage of their lands, and the lawless massacre of their subjects. "The Church not only should not sanction, it should prohibit such cruelties in a land which was absolutely free from all taint of heresy, and in every respect submissive to the Church."ⁿ The Pope having heard the depositions, and read the letters of the King of England, was in great wrath with the Legate and with De Montfort. First one of the Cardinals, then Berengar, Abbot of St. Tiberi, rose and supported the complaints of the appellants. Fulk, the Bishop of Toulouse, sternly denied all these asseverations. He defied the Count de Foix to deny that his dominions swarmed with heretics; in proof of this, the castle of Monsegur had been surprised,

^m "Le Pape considère l'enfant et son air, il connaît sa noble race, il sait les torts . . . de l'Eglise et du clergé, ennemis (du Comte), et il a le cœur si troublé de piété et de souci . . . qu'il en soupire, et en pleure de ses deux yeux."—Fauriel, p. 127. The Pope, says the poet, declared that

Count Raymond was not mécréant, but catholique de fait et de propos.

ⁿ The speech of the Count de Foix in the poem is striking.—pp. 249-251. We hear nothing of the enormities charged against De Foix by the monk of Vaux Cernay. But did the Count renounce all heresy?

and all the inhabitants burned; "the sister of the Count de Foix had brought her husband to an evil end on account of these heretics; she had lived in Pamiers without daring to leave the city; the heretics had greatly increased through her influence. Count Raymond and the Count de Foix could not deny that they had surprised and put to the sword six thousand German Crusaders, on their way to join the army of the Legate." The Count de Foix fearlessly replied, that he was not responsible for the acts of his sister; the castle of Monsegur was hers, left to her by her father; she was its lawful Sovereign. The Germans were robbers, who were ravaging the country. "For the Bishop of Toulouse, your Holiness is greatly deceived in him; under the show of good faith and amity he is always concerting treachery: his actions are devilish: it is entirely through his malignity that the city of Toulouse has suffered ruin, waste, robbery: more than ten thousand men have perished through him. Thus the Legate and the Count de Montfort make common cause in their iniquity." The Baron of Vilamour deposed with great gravity to the atrocities perpetrated by De Montfort; Raymond de Roquefeuille to the treachery by which the Viscount de Beziers, no heretic, had been betrayed into their power, and the manner of his death. The Pope listened in silence to these solemn charges; at their close he was heard to sigh deeply.

No sooner had the Pope withdrawn,^p than he was beset by the prelates and cardinals in the party of the Legate and of De Montfort. They urged, that if they

° "Il ne s'effraye point, et parle
fièremment, regardé, entendu, écouté de
tous."

^p Into a garden, says the poet, to
dissipate his chagrin and divert his
thoughts.

were compelled to surrender the territories and lordships which they had won, no one would embark in the cause of the Church, or run any hazard in her defence. The Pope took down a book (was it the Bible?), and showed them that if they did not make restitution of all the lands they had usurped, they would be guilty of great sin.^a "Wherefore, I give leave to Raymond of Toulouse and his heirs to recover their lands and lordships from all who hold them unjustly." Then might be seen those prelates murmuring against the Pope like men in desperation.^b The Pope stood aghast at their violence. The Precentor of Lyons, one of the most learned clerks in the world, rose, with great dignity, and rebuked the insolence and contumacy of the prelates. "You know well, my Lords, the submission of Count Raymond, and the surrender of his castles. If you do not restore, and compel to be restored to him his lands, you will be justly reproached by God and man. Henceforth no one will have any reliance on you or your decrees; and that will be great disgrace and dishonour to the whole Church militant. And I say to you, Bishop of Toulouse, that you are greatly in fault; that you betray your want of charity to Count Raymond, and to the people of which you are the pastor; you have kindled a fire in Toulouse which will never be extinguished; you have caused the death of ten thousand men, and will of many more, if by your false representations you persist in your wrongful course. Through you the Court of Rome is defamed throughout the world; so many men should not be despoiled and destroyed to gratify the pride and violence of one."

^a "Et y trouve un sort," says the poet. Sortes Biblicæ were not uncommon.

^b The poet says, "Folquet notre Evêque . . . parle au Pape, aussi doucement qu'il peut."—p. 243.

The Pope seems to have been appalled; he gently exculpated himself, as innocent of these iniquities, into which he had been betrayed by ignorance of the real facts. Even the Archbishop of Narbonne, the Legate Arnold, alienated from De Montfort, supported the Precentor of Lyons. But the wily Genoese, Theodisc, who had been so much in the confidence of Innocent, adhered to De Montfort. He urged his valuable services, that he had swept the land of heretics, that he had been the champion of the Church and her rights. Innocent, having heard both parties, declared to Theodisc, that the contrary of his statements was true. "The Legate had oppressed the good and just, and left the wicked without punishment: complaints had reached him from all quarters, against the Legate and De Montfort."

The prelates demanded that at least the territories of Bigorre, Carcassonne, Toulouse, Agen, Quercy, the Albigeois, Foix and Comminges (the whole conquests of the Crusaders), should be left to De Montfort. "If he be deprived of these lands," they boldly declared, "we swear that we will aid him in their maintenance against all and in defiance of all."* The Pope calmly answered that nothing should tempt him to injustice; "even if Raymond were guilty, his son was blameless; and the son was not to bear the iniquity of the father."

It is difficult to imagine Innocent III. thus confronted, compelled into injustice, by men who boasted themselves to be better churchmen than the Pope. But the decree of the Lateran Council, despoiling Raymond of Toulouse of all his lands and awarding them to De

* "Et si cas es, que tu, senhor, ly | tots nos ly ayudaran et secouren."—
 vellas ostar le dit pays, et terre, nos te | Guerre des Albigeois, Bonquet, p.
 promenten et juran, que tots envers | 159.

Montfort, is an undeniable historic fact, rests on a decree of Innocent himself, addressed to all Christendom, and confirmed by his successor Honorius III.†

Yet, according to the historian, Innocent attempted a compromise. He offered the territory of the Venaisin to the younger Raymond, in compensation for the land of Toulouse, which could not be wrested from the strong hand of De Montfort.‡ “If he has courage,” the poet makes the Pope say, “the youth will recover his land;” and he then makes a prophet of the Pope, “The stone will at length be hurled, and all the world will say that it has fallen on the head of the sinner.” Count Raymond retired to Viterbo, leaving his son under the protection of the Pope. Young Raymond at length departed with the benediction of the Pope.*

There is war again in Languedoc, but no longer a Crusade for the extirpation of heresy, it is the iron hand of an usurping conqueror, determined to maintain his conquests; on the other side, no partial, but a general insurrection of the whole people in favour of their hereditary princes against a foreign invader, a gallant attempt again and for ever to break the yoke of a tyrant, to return to the milder rule of their ancient sovereigns. No sooner had the two Counts landed at Marseilles, than they were greeted by a burst of enthusiasm. Avignon, Tarascon, and other cities

† Bouquet, pp. 598, 599; p. 722.

‡ “Barons, reprend le Pape, puisque *je ne puis la lui ôter, qu'il la garde bien s'il peut: et qu'il ne s'en laisse pas chasser, car jamais de mon vouloir il ne sera prêché pour lui.*”—Fauriel, p. 255.

* The parting between the Pope and young Raymond is touchingly told by

the Troubadour. The Pope gives him good advice, and recommends him to wait for better times. “It is hard,” says the youth, “that a man of Winchester is to share my land with me! All I ask is that I may be permitted to reconquer my dominions if I can.” “God grant you,” said the Pope, “a good beginning and a good ending.”

opened their gates. Young Raymond is soon at the head of a force which enables him to declare war against De Montfort, and to form the siege of Beaucaire. Now became more manifest every day the decline in the power of the clergy; ^y the Crusaders themselves have misgivings as to the holiness of their cause. De Montfort's most ardent admirers begin to discern the darker parts of his character, his inordinate ambition, his insatiable rapacity. Simon de Montfort is himself astonished that God should cease to confine exclusive favour to himself, and should seem disposed to the sinful youth. ^z

Toulouse was eager to receive the heir of her ancient house. De Montfort was obliged to hasten to secure its wavering fidelity by the sternest measures. He treated it like a conquered city, exacted enormous sums. The Bishop had exhorted the noblest inhabitants to go out in procession to welcome the Count. ^{Risings in Toulouse.} But the plunder of the city by the Bishop and the Count were so shameless, that in a general rising, Guy de Montfort and the Bishop were driven out. De Montfort again forced his way within the walls, was again

^y See the speech of Bertrand of Avignon in the poem. "Car nous avons éprouvé et senti avec douleur, que les clercs on menti quand ils nous disaient, qu'en répandant le feu, qu'en frappant de glaive, qu'en forçant notre vrai seigneur à s'en aller faidit . . . nous obéirons tout bonnement à Jesus Christ."—p. 299.

^z "Beau père," says Guy de Montfort, in the poem, "il (Dieu) a vu et jugé votre conduite, pourvu que tout le bien et tout l'argent (du pays) soient à vous, vous prenez peu de soucie de la mort des hommes."—p. 345. Com-

pare 445, Gul. de Pod. Laurent. c. xxvii. It is difficult to mark the precise turning point of the Troubadour into a flaming patriot. The restoration of "parage," chivalry, and courtesy is his delight. Yet Simon, in his own esteem, is still the champion of the Church. "Puisque l'Eglise m'a octroyée le pays; puisque je suis de l'Eglise les œuvres, les ordres et les discours: puisque je suis bien méritant et mon adversaire pêcheur, c'est pour moi, dis-je, grande merveille que Dieu favorise (cet enfant)."—

repelled, having set the city on fire in many places. But the citizens unwisely accepted the treacherous mediation of the Prelate. "I swear by God and the holy Virgin, and the body of the Redeemer, by my whole order, the Abbot and other dignitaries, that I give you good counsel, better have I never given. If the Count inflict on you the least wrong, bring your complaints before me, and God and I will see you righted." The citizens, on the persuasion of the Bishop, gave the hostages demanded (the citadel, the Narbonnaise, still in the power of De Montfort, was crowded with them), they restored the prisoners which they had taken, and, more strangely still, surrendered their arms.^a The first act of De Montfort, who was hardly dissuaded by better counsel from totally destroying the city, was the demand of 30,000 marks of silver, the demolition of the walls and every stronghold in the city, and the plunder of the inhabitants to the very last piece of cloth or measure of meal. "O noble city of Toulouse!" exclaims the poet, "thy very bones are broken!"

So closed the year 1216, during which Pope Innocent III. had died, and had been succeeded by Honorius III.

During the ensuing year the war with the young Count Raymond continued to the advantage of De Montfort. On a sudden the old Count,^b with a body of Spanish soldiers, appeared before Toulouse. The city received him with the utmost joy; new walls were hastily raised, new trenches dug. Many of the nobles levied troops and threw themselves into

July 16,
A.D. 1217.

^a Gul. de Pod. Laurent. gives a different view of this affair.—c. xxxix.

^b The suddenness of the appearance of Count Raymond is indicated by a fine touch in the poem. The Countess

de Montfort is told that she must fly at once. "La Comtesse, quand elle l'entend, bat ses deux mains l'une contre l'autre. Quoi, dit-elle, et j'étais si heureuse hier."

the city. First Guy de Montfort,^c then Simon himself, who hurried to the spot, were ignominiously repulsed. The Bishop of Toulouse and the wife of Montfort sought aid in France. A new Crusade was preached. Pope Honorius entered with ardour into the cause of De Montfort. It was again that of the whole clergy. Once more excommunications were menaced in some cases, uttered in others. The new King of Arragon was threatened with interdict; the consuls of Toulouse, Avignon, Marseilles, Tarascon, and other cities, the young Count Raymond, the Count de Foix were summoned under this penalty to renounce their alliance with rebellious Toulouse. For nine months the siege continued. If the sentiments attributed by the Troubadour to the Legate were either true, or supposed to be true by the inhabitants of Toulouse, it may account for the obstinacy of their defence. "The fire of hell has again kindled in this city, which is full of sin and crime. The old Lord is again within its walls, against whom whosoever will wage war will be saved before God. You are about to reconquer the city, to break into the houses, out of which no single soul, neither man nor woman, shall escape alive! not one shall be spared in church, in sanctuary, in hospital! It is decided in the secret counsels of Rome, that the deadly and consuming fire shall pass over them."^d But the counsels of Rome were not those of Divine Providence. At the close of the nine months Simon headed an attack; a stone from

^c In the poem Guy de Montfort is contrasted with Simon de Montfort, whom he calls "dur et tyran," and declares that God will punish his treacheries.

^d Fauriel, 433. See before this

the dialogue of the Cardinal and the Bishop, 429; and after, 455. "Et si quelques uns des vôtres y meurent en combattant, le Saint Pape et moi leurs sommes garants, qu'ils porteront (au ciel) la couronne des innocents."

an engine struck the champion of Jesus Christ (as he was called by his admirers) on the head: he had just time to commend himself to the mercy of God and of the holy Virgin. God was reproached with his death, the divine justice was arraigned. It is added by the monkish historian, still faithful to his fortunes, that he received likewise five wounds with arrows; and in this respect he is likened to the Redeemer in whose cause he died, and with whom "we trust he is in bliss and glory."^e

The war did not end with the death of Simon de Montfort; but the religious character, which it had once more assumed, again died away.

A Crusade was headed by Louis of France; but that was only a bold and premature attempt of the sovereign to unite the great domain of Southern France to the crown. After the capture and atrocious massacre of Marmande, and a short and unsuccessful siege of Toulouse, Louis returned inglorious to his father's dominions. A truce was made between the young Count Raymond, and Amaury de Montfort.^f It was said that Raymond proposed to marry the daughter of his rival. Two years after

Crusade of
Prince Louis.
Aug. 1, 1219.

A.D. 1224.

^e "Vous entendez crier hautement —O Dieu, tu n'es pas juste—puisque tu as voulu la mort du comte et que tu as souffert (un tel) dommage. Bien fol est qui te defend, et se fait ton serviteur."—Fauriel, 573. In Toulouse the triumphant cry was that he died without confession. The Bishop's eulogy was this: "Jamais en ce monde ne faillit moins que lui; et depuis que Dieu endura le martyr et fut mis en croix, il ne voulut et ne souffrit jamais une aussi grande mort que celui du

Comte." The Count of Soissons replied: "Je vous reprend à bon droit, pour que Sainte Eglise n'ait pas (de votre dire) mauvais renom; ne le nommez pas sanctissime, car nul ne mentit si fort que celui qui l'appelle saint, lui qui est mort sans confession."—p. 577. Compare the Poet's language, p. 587.

^f It is a curious illustration of the manners. "Sub treugæ securitate comes Tolosanus entravit Carcassonam, et ibi cum comite Amalrico jacuit unâ nocte."

Amaury made over his dominions to Louis VIII., King of France.

The vengeance of the Church followed the older Raymond even after death. Dying excommunicate he could not be buried in holy ground. In vain his son adduced proofs that he had given manifest signs of penitence on his deathbed: notwithstanding a solemn inquest held by commissaries appointed by the Pope, and the examination of above one hundred witnesses, ^{Aug. 1, 1222.} the inexorable sentence was still unrepealed; the infected body was still unburied; it remained for three hundred years in the sacristy of the Knights Templars. To posterity the great crime of Raymond is the barbarous execution of his brother Baldwin. Baldwin, indeed, had deserted, betrayed, taken up arms against him; but there had never been fraternal love between them. Raymond, it was said, had withholden part of his brother's inheritance. And mercy, though it ought to be the virtue of the persecuted, rarely is so.

The vast army which descended on Languedoc under Louis, now King of France, was that of conquest rather than a Crusade. The cities were appalled, they opened their gates; Avignon alone made a noble resistance. Count Raymond bowed before the storm. On ^{Nov. 8,} his return, after the seeming submission of ^{1226.} almost the whole land, Louis died of exhaustion and fatigue at Montpensier in Auvergne.

The treaty of Paris, after the accession of St. Louis, restored peace, for a time at least, to the ^{Apr. 12, 1229.} afflicted land. The terms were dictated by ^{Treaty of} Paris. the Papal Legate, approved by the King of France

Count Raymond VII. swore:—I. Fealty to his liege lord the King of France and to the Church. II. He swore to do immediate justice on all heretics, their abettors and partisans, even though his vassals, kindred or friends. III. To detect, in order to their punishment, all such heretics, according to the rules laid down by the Legate, and to pay for two years two marks, afterwards one mark, on the conviction of each heretic. IV. To maintain peace in his realm. Besides to maintain the rights of the Church; to respect, and cause to be respected, all sentences of excommunication, and to compel all persons excommunicate to reconcile themselves within a year to the Church, under pain of confiscation of their property. To restore all estates and immunities to the Church; to pay, and enforce the due payment of tithes; to pay to certain Cistercian abbeys, Clairvaux, and others, 10,000 marks of silver; to pay 5000 marks for the fortification of the citadel, the Narbonnaise, and those in other cities, to be held as securities by the King of France; to maintain certain professors of theology; to take the cross for five years in some Mohammedan country. On these, and other conditions relating to the boundaries of his dominions, of which he was obliged to abandon large portions (his daughter was to be married to the son of the French King), Raymond VII., never accused of heresy, received absolution. The same scene took place as with his father. With naked shoulders, bare feet, the son of Raymond of Toulouse was led up the church of Notre Dame, scourged as he went by the Legate. “Count of Narbonne, by virtue of the powers entrusted to me by the Pope, I absolve thee from my excommunication.” “Amen,” answered the Count. He rose from his knees, no longer sovereign of the South of France, but a vassal

of limited dominions.^b His father on his penance renounced seven castles, the son seven provinces.ⁱ

But though the open war was at an end, the Church still pursued her exterminating warfare against her still rebellious subjects. The death of Simon de Montfort had given courage to the Albigensians. Bartholomew of Carcassonne, who had fled, it was said, to that land (the Bulgarian) where dwelt the Pope of the Manicheans, re-appeared; he called himself the vicar of that mysterious pontiff, he re-organised the churches. Another teacher, William of Castries, was ordained, it was said, Bishop of Rases. The Inquisition continued its silent, but not less inhuman, hardly less destructive crusade. That tribunal, with all its peculiar statutes, its jurisdiction, its tremendous agency, was founded during this period. It is difficult to fix its precise date; but it is coincident with the establishment of a special court, legatine or charged with those peculiar functions which superseded the ordinary episcopal jurisdiction, and appropriated to itself the cognisance, punishment, suppression of heresy.

The statutes of the Council of Toulouse, framed after the successful termination of the war, in order absolutely to extirpate every lingering vestige of heresy, form the code of persecution, which not

Council of
Toulouse.
A.D. 1229.

^b Barran et Darragan. It is to be regretted that this work has preferred to be an historical romance rather than a history. The authors have failed in both; it is neither Walter Scott nor Livy or Tacitus.

ⁱ See in Vaissette the territories ceded to the King of France. "On voit par ce traité, que les principaux instigateurs de la guerre contre Ray-

mond songeoint bien moins de sa catholicité, qu'à le déposséder de ses dominions et à s'enrichir de ses dépouilles. . . . Quant à sa propre personne il ne fut jamais suspect d'hérésie, et il ne fut excommunié que parceque il ne voulait pas renoncer ses justes prétensions sur la patrimoine de ses ancêtres."—Hist. de Languedoc, iii. 374.

merely aimed at suppressing all public teaching, but the more secluded and secret freedom of thought. It was a system which penetrated into the most intimate sanctuary of domestic life; and made delation not merely a merit and a duty, but an obligation also, enforced by tremendous penalties.

The archbishops, bishops, and exempt abbots, were to appoint in every parish one priest, and three or more lay inquisitors, to search all houses and buildings in order to detect heretics, and to denounce them to the archbishop or bishop, the lord, or his bailiff, so as to ensure their apprehension. The lords were to make the same inquisition in every part of their estates. Whoever was convicted of harbouring a heretic forfeited the land to his lord, and was reduced to personal slavery. If he was guilty of such concealment from negligence, not from intention, he received proportionate punishment. Every house in which a heretic was found was to be razed to the ground, the farm confiscated. The bailiff who should not be active in detecting heretics was to lose his office, and be incapacitated from holding it in future. Heretics, however, were not to be judged but by the bishop or some ecclesiastical person. Any one might seize a heretic on the lands of another. Heretics who recanted were to be removed from their homes, and settled in Catholic cities; to wear two crosses of a different colour from their dress, one on the right side, one on the left. They were incapable of any public function unless reconciled by the Pope or by his Legate. Those who recanted from fear of death were to be immured for ever. All persons, males of the age of fourteen, females of twelve, were to take an oath of abjuration of heresy, and of their Catholic faith; if absent, and not appearing within fifteen days, they were

held suspected of heresy. All persons were to confess, and communicate three times a year, or were in like manner under suspicion of heresy. No layman was permitted to have any book of the Old or New Testament, especially in a translation, unless *perhaps* the Psalter, with a breviary, or the Hours of the Virgin. No one suspected of heresy could practise as a physician. Care was to be taken that no heretic had access to sick or dying persons. All wills were to be made in the presence of a priest. No office of trust was to be held by one in evil fame as a heretic. Those were in evil fame who were so by common report, or so declared by good and grave witnesses before the bishop.^k

But statutes of persecution always require new statutes rising above each other in regular gradations of rigour and cruelty. The Legate found Council of Melun. the canons of Toulouse to be eluded or inefficient. He summoned a council at Melun, attended by the Archbishop of Narbonne and other prelates. The unhappy Count of Toulouse was compelled to frame the edicts of this council into laws for his dominions.^m The first provision showed that persecution had wrought despair. It was directed against those who had murdered, or should murder, or conceal the murderers of persecutors

^k The statutes of Toulouse in Mansi, sub ann. Compare Limborch, *Historia Inquisitionis*. Among the other decrees of the Council was one which declared the absolute immunity of all clerks from taxation, unless they were merchants or married (*mercatores vel uxorati*). If one succeeded to the inheritance of a lay fief, he was answerable for its burthens. They were likewise free from tolls (*peages*). Every person was bound to attend church on

Sundays and holidays. The statutes against private wars were in a more Christian spirit, only beyond the age. Every male above 14 was sworn to keep the peace; and heavy penalties denounced against all who should violate it. This was perhaps a law of foreign conquerors in a subjugated land.

^m *Conventus Meldunensis. Statuta Raimondi, A.D. 1233. Labbe Concil. sub ann.*

of heretics. A reward of one mark was set on the head of every heretic, to be paid by the town, or village, or district to the captor. It was evident that the heretics had now begun to seek concealment in cabins, in caves, and rocks, and forests; not merely was every house in which one should be seized to be razed to the ground, but all suspected caves or hiding places were to be blocked up; with a penalty of twenty-five livres of Toulouse to the lord on whose estate such houses or places of concealment of evil report should be found. Those who did not assist in the capture of heretics were liable to punishment. If any one was detected after death to have been a heretic his property was confiscated. Those who had made over their estates in trust, before they became heretics, nevertheless forfeited such estates. Those who attempted to elude the law by moving about under pretence of trade or pilgrimage, were ordered to render an account of their absence.

A.D. 1233. A council at Beziers enforced upon the clergy, under pain of suspension, or of deprivation, the denunciation of all who should not attend divine service in their churches on the appointed days, especially those suspected of heresy.

Yet heresy, even the Manichean heresy, was not yet extinguished. Many years, as will appear,ⁿ must intervene of the administration of the most atrocious code of procedure which has ever assumed the forms of justice; more than one formidable insurrection; the forcible expulsion of the terrible Inquisition; the assassination, the martyrdom as it was profanely called, of more than one inquisitor, before the South of France collapsed into final spiritual subjection.

ⁿ See on for the proceedings of the Inquisition.

Yet, Latin Christianity might boast at length to have crushed out the life, at least in outward appearance, of this insurrection within her own borders. No language of Latin descent was permanently to speak in its religious services to the people, to form a Christian literature of its own, to have full command of the Scriptures in its vernacular dialect. The Crusade revenged itself on the poetry of the Troubadour, once the bold assailant of the clergy, by compelling it, if not to total silence, to but a feeble and uncertain sound.

END OF VOL. V.

HISTORY
OF
LATIN CHRISTIANITY;

INCLUDING THAT OF
THE POPES TO THE PONTIFICATE OF NICOLAS V.

By HENRY HART MILMAN, D.D.,
DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S.

IN NINE VOLUMES.—Vol. VI.

FOURTH EDITION.

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HISTORY OF LATIN CHRISTIANITY.

BOOK IX.—*continued.*

CHAPTER IX.

New Orders. St. Dominic.

THE progress of the new opinions in all quarters, their obstinate resistance in Languedoc, opinions, if not yet rooted out, lopped by the sword, and seared by the fire, had revealed the secret of the fatal weakness of Latin Christianity. Sacerdotal Christianity, by ascending a throne higher than all thrones of earthly sovereigns, by the power, the wealth, the magnificence of the higher ecclesiastics, had withdrawn the influence of the clergy from its natural and peculiar office. Even with the lower orders of the priesthood, that which in a certain degree separated them from the people, set them apart from the sympathies of the people. The Church might still seem to preach to all, but it preached in a tone of lofty condescension; it dictated rather than persuaded; but, in general, actual preaching had fallen into disuse; it was in theory the special privilege of the bishops, and the bishops were but few who had either the gift, the inclination, or the leisure from their secular, judicial, or warlike occupations to preach even in their cathedral cities; in the

Preaching
rare.

rest of their dioceses their presence was but occasional; a progress or visitation of pomp and form, rather than of popular instruction. The only general teaching of the people was the Ritual.

But the splendid Ritual, admirably as it was constituted to impress by its words or symbolic forms the leading truths of Christianity upon the more intelligent, or in a vaguer way upon the more rude and uneducated, could be administered, and was administered, by a priesthood almost entirely ignorant, but which had just learned mechanically, not without decency, perhaps not without devotion, to go through the stated observances. Everywhere the bell summoned to the frequent service, the service was performed, and the obedient flock gathered to the chapel or the church, knelt, and either performed their orisons, or heard the customary chant and prayer. This, the only instruction which the mass of the priesthood could convey, might for a time be sufficient to maintain in the minds of the people a quiescent and submissive faith, nevertheless, in itself could not but awaken in some a desire of knowledge, which it could not satisfy. Auricular confession, now by Innocent III. raised to a necessary duty, and to be heard not only by the lofty bishop, but by the parochial priest, might have more effect in repressing the uneasy or daring doubts of those who began to reason; doubts which would startle and alarm the uneducated priest, and which he would endeavour to silence at once by all the terrors of his authority. Though the lower priesthood were from the people, they were not of the people; nor did they fully interpenetrate the whole mass of the people. The parochial divisions, where they existed, were arbitrary, accidental, often not clearly defined; they followed in

general the bounds of royal or aristocratical domains. A church was founded by a pious king, noble, or knight, with a certain district around it; but in few countries was there any approach to a systematic organisation of the clergy in relation to the spiritual wants and care of the whole Christian community.

The fatal question of the celibacy of the clergy worked in both ways to the prejudice of their authority. The married clergy, on the whole no doubt the more moral, were acting in violation of the rules of the Church, and were subject to the opprobrious accusation of living in concubinage. The validity of their ministrations was denied by the more austere; the doctrines of men charged with such grievous error lost their proper weight. The unmarried obeyed the outward rule, but by every account, not the bitter satire of enemies alone but the reluctant and melancholy admission of the most gentle and devout, in general so flagrantly violated the severer principles of the Church, that their teaching, if they attempted actual teaching, must have fallen dead on the minds of the people.

The earlier monastic orders were still more deficient as instructors in Christianity. Their chief, if not their sole exclusive and avowed object, was the salvation, or, at the highest, the religious perfection of themselves and of their own votaries. Solitude, seclusion, the lonely cell, their own unapproached, or hardly approached, chapel, was their sphere; their communication with others was sternly cut off. The dominant, the absorbing thought of each hermit, of each cœnobite, was his own isolation or that of his brethren from the dangerous world. But to teach the world they must enter the world. Their influence, therefore beyond their convent walls was but subordinate and

accessory. The halo of their sanctity might awe, attract others; the zeal of love might, as to their more immediate neighbours, struggle with the coercive and imprisoning discipline. But the admiration of their sanctity would act chiefly in alluring emulous votaries within, rather than in extending faith and holiness beyond their walls. Even their charities were to relieve their own souls, to lay up for themselves treasures of good works, rather than from any real sympathy for the people. The loftier notion of combining their own humiliation with the good of mankind first dawned upon the founders of the Mendicant orders. In the older monasteries beneficence was but a subsidiary and ancillary virtue. The cultivation of the soil was not to increase its fertility for the general advantage; it was to employ their own dangerous energies, to subdue their own bodies by the hard discipline of labour. At all events, the limit of their influence was that of their retainers, tenants, peasants, or serfs, bounded by their own near neighbourhood. No sooner indeed had any one of the older Orders, or any single monastery attained to numbers, rank or influence, than it became more and more estranged from the humbler classes; the vows of poverty had been eluded, the severer rule gradually relaxed; the individual might remain poor, but the order or the convent became rich; narrow cells grew into stately cloisters, deserts into parks, hermits into princely abbots. It became a great religious aristocracy; it became worldly, without impregnating the world with its religious spirit; it was hardly less secluded from popular intercourse than before; even where learning was cultivated it was the high scholastic theology: theology which, in its pride, stood as much aloof from the popular mind as the feudal bishop or the mitred abbot.

But just at this time that popular mind throughout Christendom seemed to demand instruction. There was a wide and vague awakening and yearning of the human intellect. It is impossible to suppose that the lower orders were not to a certain extent generally stirred by that movement which thronged the streets of the universities of Paris, Auxerre, Oxford, with countless hosts of indigent scholars, which led thousands to the feet of Abélard, and had raised logical disputations on the most barren metaphysical subjects to an interest like that of a tournament. An insatiate thirst of curiosity, of inquiry, at least for mental spiritual excitement, seemed almost suddenly to have pervaded society.

Intellectual
movement.

Here that which was heresy, or accounted to be heresy, stepped in and seized upon the vacant mind. Preaching in public and in private was the strength of all the heresiarchs, of all the sects. Eloquence, popular eloquence became a new power which the Church had comparatively neglected or disdained since the time of the Crusades; or had gone on wasting upon that worn-out and now almost unstimulating topic. The Petrobussians, the Henricians, the followers of Peter Waldo, and the wilder teachers at least tinged with the old Manichean tenets of the East, met on this common ground. They were poor and popular; they felt with the people, whether the lower burghers of the cities, the lower vassals, or even the peasants and serfs; they spoke the language of the people, they were of the people. If here and there one of the higher clergy, a priest or a canon, adopted their opinions and mode of teaching, he became an object of reverence and notoriety; and this profound religious influence so obtained was a strong temptation to religious minds. But all

Heresy.

these sects were bound together by their common revolutionary aversion to the clergy, not only the wealthy, worldly, immoral, tyrannical, but the decent but inert priesthood, who left the uninstructed souls of men to perish. In their turn, they were viewed with the most jealous hatred by the clergy, not merely on account of their heterodox and daring tenets, but as usurping their office, which themselves had almost let fall from their hands. We have seen the extent to which they prevailed; nothing less might be apprehended (unless coerced by the obedient temporal power, and no other measure seemed likely to succeed) than a general revolt of the lower orders from the doctrines and rule of the hierarchy.

At this time, too, the rude dialects which had been slowly forming by the breaking up of the Roman Latin and its fusion with the Teutonic, were growing into regular and distinct languages. Latin, the language of the Church, became less and less the language of the people. In proportion as the Roman or foreign element predominated, the services of the Church, the speech in which all priests were supposed to be instructed, remained more or less clear and intelligible. It was more so where the Latin maintained its ascendancy; but in the Teutonic or Slavonian regions, even the priesthood had learned Latin imperfectly, if at all; and Latin had ceased to be the means of ordinary communication; it was a strange, obsolete, if still venerable language. Even in Italy, in Northern and Southern France, in England where the Norman French kept down to a certain extent the old free Anglo-Saxon (we must wait more than a century for Wyclyffe and Chaucer), in Spain, Latin was a kindred, indistinctly significant tongue, but not that of common

New lan-
guages.

use, not that of the field, the street, the market, or the fair. But vernacular teaching was in all quarters coetaneous with the new opinions; versions of the sacred writings, or parts of the sacred writings, into the young languages were at once the sign of their birth, and the instrument of their propagation. These languages had begun to speak, at least in poetry, and not only to the knightly aristocracy. The first sounds of Italian poetry were already heard in the Sicilian court of the young Frederick II.: Dante was ere long to come. The Provençal had made the nearest approach perhaps to a regular language; and Provence, as has been seen, lent her Romaunt to the great anti-hierarchical movement. In France the Trouvères had in the last century begun their inexhaustible, immeasurable epopées; but these were as yet the luxuries of the court and the castle, heard no doubt by the people, but not what is fairly called popular poetry,^a though here and there might even now be heard the tale or the fable. Germany, less poetical, was at once borrowing the knightly poems on Charlemagne, and King Arthur, and the Crusades; emulating France, reviving the old classical fables, among them the story of Alexander; while in Walter the Falconer^b are heard tones more menacing, more ominous of religious revolution, more daringly expressive of Teutonic independence.

But this gradual encroachment of the vernacular

* See in the 22nd vol. of the Hist. Littéraire de la France the description and analysis of the innumerable Chansons de Geste, Poèmes d'Aventure. With all these were mingled up, both in Germany and France, as interminable hagiological romances, legends, and lives of saints, even the more

modern Saints. See, *e.g.*, the French poem on Thomas à Becket, edited in the Berlin Transactions by M. Bekker.

^b Lachmann has edited the original Walter der Vogelweide with his usual industry; Simrock modernised him to the understanding of the less learned reader.

poetry on the Latin, the vain struggle of the Latin to maintain its mastery, the growth and influence of modern languages must be reserved for a later, more full, and consecutive inquiry.

Just at this juncture arose almost simultaneously, St. Dominic and St. Francis. without concert, in different countries, two men wonderfully adapted to arrest and avert the danger which threatened the whole hierarchical system. One seized and, if he did not wrest from the hands of the enemy, turned against him with indefatigable force his own fatal arms, St. Dominic, the founder of the Friar Preachers. By him Christendom was at once over-spread with a host of zealous, active, devoted men, whose function was popular instruction. They were gathered from every country, and spoke, therefore, every language and dialect. In a few years, from the sierras of Spain to the steppes of Russia; from the Tiber to the Thames, the Trent, the Baltic Sea; the old faith, in its fullest mediæval, imaginative, inflexible rigour, was preached in almost every town and hamlet. The Dominicans did not confine themselves to popular teaching: the more dangerous, if as yet not absolutely disloyal seats of the new learning, of inquiry, of intellectual movement, the universities, Bologna, Paris, Oxford are invaded, and compelled to admit these stern apostles of unswerving orthodoxy. Their zeal soon over-leaped the pale of Christendom: they plunge fearlessly into the remote darkness of heathen and Mohammedan lands, from whence come back rumours, which are constantly stirring the minds of their votaries, of wonderful conversions and not less wonderful martyrdoms.

The other, St. Francis of Assisi, was endowed with that fervour of mystic devotion, which spread like an epidemic with irresistible contagion among the lower

orders throughout Christendom. It was a superstition, but a superstition which had such an earnestness, warmth, tenderness, as to raise the religious feeling to an intense but gentle passion; it supplied a never-failing counter excitement to rebellious reasoning, which gladly fell asleep again on its bosom. After the death of its author and example, it raised a new object of adoration, more near, more familiar, and second only, if second, to the Redeemer himself. Jesus was supposed to have lived again in St. Francis with at least as bright a halo of miracle around him, in absolute, almost surpassing perfection.

In one important respect the founders of these new orders fully agreed, in their entire identification with the lowest of mankind. At first amicable, afterwards emulous, eventually hostile, they, or rather their Orders, rivalled each other in sinking below poverty into beggary. They were to live upon alms; the coarsest imaginable dress, the hardest fare, the narrowest cell, were to keep them down to the level of the humblest. Though Dominic himself was of high birth, and many of his followers of noble blood, St. Francis of decent even wealthy parentage, according to the irrevocable constitution of both Orders they were still to be the poorest of mankind, instructing or consorting in religious fellowship with the very meanest outcasts of society. Both the new Orders differed in the same manner, and greatly to the advantage of the hierarchical faith, from the old monkish institutions. Their primary object was not the salvation of the individual monk, but the salvation of others through him. Though, therefore, their rules within their monasteries were strictly and severely monastic, bound by the common vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, seclusion was no part

of their discipline. Their business was abroad rather than at home; their dwelling was not like that of the old Benedictines or others, in the uncultivated swamps and forests of the North, on the dreary Apennine, or the exhausted soil of Italy, in order to subdue their bodies, and occupy their dangerously unoccupied time; merely as a secondary consequence to compel the desert into fertile land. Their work was among their fellow men; in the village, in the town, in the city, in the market, even in the camp. In every Dominican convent the Superior had the power to dispense even with the ordinary internal discipline, if he thought the brother might be more usefully employed in his special avocation of a Preacher. It might seem the ambition of these men, instead of cooping up a chosen few in high-walled and secure monasteries, to subdue the whole world into one vast cloister; monastic Christianity would no longer flee the world, it would subjugate it, or win it by gentle violence.

In Dominic Spain began to exercise that remarkable influence over Latin Christianity, to display that peculiar character which culminated as it were in Ignatius Loyola, in Philip II., and in Torquemada, of which the code of the Inquisition was the statutory law; of which Calderon was the poet. The life of every devout Spaniard was a perpetual crusade. By temperament and by position he was in constant adventurous warfare against the enemies of the Cross: hatred of the Jew, of the Mohammedan, was the herrban under which he served; it was the oath of his chivalry: that hatred, in all its intensity, was soon and easily extended to the heretic. Hereafter it was to comprehend the heathen Mexican, the Peruvian. St. Dominic was, as it were, a Cortez, bound by his sense of duty,

Dominic a
Spaniard.

urged by an inward voice, to invade older Christendom. And Dominic was a man of as profound sagacity as of adventurous enthusiasm. He intuitively perceived, or the circumstances of his early career forced upon him, the necessities of the age, and showed him the arms in which himself and his forces must be arrayed to achieve their conquest.

St. Dominic was born in 1170, in the village of Calaroga, between Aranda and Osma, in Old Castile. His parents were of noble name, that Birth. of Guzman, if not of noble race.^o Prophecies (we must not disdain legend, though manifest legend) proclaimed his birth. It was a tenet of his disciples that he was born without original sin, sanctified in his mother's womb. His mother dreamed that she bore a dog with a torch in his mouth, which set the world on fire. His votaries borrowed too the old classical fable; the bees settled on his lips, foreshowing his exquisite eloquence. Even in his infancy, his severe nature, among other wonders, began to betray itself. He crept from his soft couch to lie on the hard cold ground. The first part of his education Dominic received from his uncle, a churchman at Gamiel d'Izan. At fifteen years old he was sent to the university of Palencia; he studied, chiefly theology, for ten years. He was laborious, devout, abstemious. Two stories are recorded which show the dawn of religious strength in his character. During a famine, he sold his clothes to feed the poor: he offered in compassion to a woman who deplored the slavery of her brother to the Moors, to be sold for his redemption. He had not what may be strictly called a

^o This point is contested. The Father Bremond wrote to confute the Bollandists, who had cast a profane doubt on the noble descent of Dominic.

monastic training.^d The Bishop of Osma had changed his chapter into regular canons, those who lived in common, and under a rule approaching to a monastic institute. Dominic became a canon in this rigorous house: there he soon excelled the others in austerity. This was in his twenty-fifth year: he remained in Osma, not much known, for nine years longer. Diego de Azevedo had succeeded to the Bishopric of Osma. He was a prelate of great ability, and of strong religious enthusiasm. He was sent to Denmark to negotiate the marriage of Alfonso VIII. of Castile with a princess of that kingdom. He chose the congenial Dominic as his companion. No sooner had they crossed the Pyrenees than they found themselves in the midst of the Albigensian heresy; they could not close their eyes on the contempt into which the clergy had fallen, or on the prosperity of the sectarians; their very host at Toulouse was an Albigensian; Dominic is said to have converted him before the morning.

In Langue-
doc.

A.D. 1203.

The mission of the Bishop in Denmark was frustrated by the unexpected death of the Princess. Before he returned to Spain, Azevedo, with his companion, resolved upon a pilgrimage to Rome. The character of the Bishop of Osma appears from his proposal to Pope Innocent. He wished to abandon his tranquil bishopric, and to devote himself to the perilous life of a missionary, among the Cumans and fierce people which occupied part of Hungary, or in some other infidel country. That

^d The Chapter of his order was shocked by, and carefully erased from the authorised Legend of the Saint, a passage, "Ubi semetipsum asserit licet in integritate carnis divinâ gratiâ conservatum, nondum illam imperfectionem evadere potuisse, quia magis afficiebatur juvenularum colloquiis quam affatibus vêtularum."—Apud Bolland. c. 1.

Dominic would have been his companion in this adventurous spiritual enterprise none can doubt. Innocent commanded the Bishop to return to his diocese. On their way the Bishop and Dominic stopped at Montpellier. There, as has been said, they encountered in all their pomp the three Legates of ^{A.D. 1205.} the Pope, Abbot Arnold, the Brother Raoul, and Peter of Castelnau. The Legates were returning discomfited, and almost desperate, from their progress in Languedoc. Then it was that Dominic uttered his bold and memorable rebuke: "It is not by the display of power and pomp, cavalcades of retainers, and richly houseled pal-freys, or by gorgeous apparel, that the heretics win proselytes; it is by zealous preaching, by apostolic humility, by austerity, by seeming, it is true, but yet seeming holiness. Zeal must be met by zeal, humility by humility, false sanctity by real sanctity; preaching falsehood by preaching truth." From that day Dominic devoted himself to preaching the religion which he believed. Even the Legates were for a time put to shame by his precept and example, dismissed their splendid equipages, and set forth with bare feet; yet if with some humility of dress and demeanour, with none of language or of heart. As the preacher of orthodoxy, Dominic is said in the pulpit, at the conference, to have argued with irresistible force: but his mission at last seems to have made no profound impression on the obstinate unbelievers. Ere long the Bishop Azevedo retired to Osma and died. Dominic remained alone.

But now the murder of Peter of Castelnau roused other powers and other passions. That more irresistible preacher, the sword of the Crusader, was sent forth: it becomes impossible to discriminate between the successes of one and of the other. The voice of

the Apostle is drowned in the din of war; even the conduct of Dominic himself, the manner in which he bore himself amidst these unevangelic allies, is clouded with doubt and uncertainty. His career is darkened too by

Miracles. the splendour of miracle, with which it is invested. These miracles must not be passed by: they are largely borrowed from the life of the Saviour and those of the Saints; they sometimes sink into the ludicrous. A schedule, which he had written during one conference, of scriptural proofs, leaped out of the fire, while the discriminating flames consumed the writings of his adversaries. He exorcised the devil who possessed three noble matrons in the shape of a great black cat with large black eyes, who at last ran up the bell-rope and disappeared. A lady of extreme beauty wished to leave her monastery, and resisted all the preacher's arguments. She blew her nose, it remained in the handkerchief. Horror-stricken, she implored the prayers of Dominic: at his intercession the nose resumed its place; the lady remained in the convent. Dominic raised the dead, frequently fed his disciples in a manner even more wonderful than the Lord in the desert.* His miracles equal, if not transcend those in the Gospel. It must indeed have been a stubborn generation, to need besides these wonders the sword of Simon de Montfort.

Throughout the Crusade Dominic is lost to the sight: Dominic in war. he is hardly, if at all, noticed by historian or poet. It is not till the century after his death that his sterner followers boast of his presence, if not of his activity, in exciting the savage soldiery in the day

* All these and much more may be found in the lives of St Dominic, in the Bollandists and elsewhere.

of battle. He marches unarmed in the van of the army with the cross in his hands, and escapes unhurt. The cross was shown pierced everywhere with arrows or javelins, only the form of the Saviour himself uninjured. In modern times there comes another change over the history of St. Dominic; that, of which his contemporaries were silent, which the next generation blazoned forth as a boast, is now become a grave imputation. In later writings, his more prudent admirers assert, that he never appeared in the field of battle; he was but once with the armies, during the great victory of Simon de Montfort, at Muret; and then he remained within the city in fervent and uninterrupted prayer. All, perhaps, that is certainly known is that he showed no disapprobation of the character or of the deeds of Simon de Montfort. He obeyed his call to bless the marriage of his son, and the baptism of his daughter.

So, too, the presence of St. Dominic on the tribunals, where the unhappy heretics were tried for their lives, and the part which he took in delivering In the tribunals. them over to the secular arm to be burned by hundreds, is in the same manner, according to the date of the biographer, a cause of pride or shame, is boldly vaunted, or tenderly disguised and gently doubted. The more charitable silence at least of the earlier writers is sternly repudiated by the Bollandists, who will not allow the milder sense to be given to the title "Persecutor of Heretics," assigned to him by the Inquisition of Toulouse. They quote St. Thomas of Aquino as an irrefragable authority on the duty of burning heretics. They refute the more tolerant argument by a long line of glorious bishops who have urged or assisted at holocausts of victims. "What glory, splendour, and dignity (bursts forth Malvendia) belong to the Order of

Preachers, words cannot express! for the Holy Inquisition owes its origin to St. Dominic, and was propagated by his faithful followers. By them heretics of all kinds, the innovators and corrupters of sound doctrine, were destroyed, unless they would recant, by fire and sword, or at least awed, banished, put to the rout." The title of Dominic, in its fiercer sense, even rests on Papal authority, that of Sixtus V. in his bull for the canonisation of Peter Martyr.^f That indeed which in modern days is alleged in proof of his mercy, rather implies his habitual attendance on such scenes without showing the same mercy. Once he interfered to save a victim, in whom he saw some hopes of reconciliation, from the flames.^g Calmer inquiry must rob him of, or release him from, these questionable glories. His heroic acts, as moving in the van of bloody battles; his title of Founder of the Inquisition, belong to legend not to history. It is his Order which has thrown back its aggrandising splendour on St. Dominic. So far was the Church from bowing down before the transcendant powers and holiness of the future saints, or discerning with instantaneous sagacity the value of these new allies, both the Father of the Friar Preachers and the Father of the Minorites were at first received with cold suspicion or neglect at Rome; the foundation of the two new Orders was extorted from the reluctant Innocent. The Third Lateran Council had prohibited the establishment of new orders. Well-timed and irresistible visions (the counsels of wiser and more far-sighted men) enlightened

^f "Jam vero ne recrudesceret in posteris malum, aut impia hæresis repullularet ex cineribus suis saluberrimo consilio Romani Pontificis Sanctæ Inquisitionis officium austeri S. Domi-

nici instituerunt, eidemque B. viro et Fratribus Prædicatoribus præcipue detulerunt."—Reichinius (a Domini can); Præf. in Monetam. p. xxxi.

^g La Cordaire, S. Dominique.

the Pope, and gently impelled him to open his eyes, and to yield to the revocation of his unwise judgement. Dominic returned from Rome, before the battle of Muret, armed with the Papal permission to enrol the Order of Friar Preachers.

The earliest foundation of Dominic had been a convent of females. He had observed that the noble ladies of Languedoc listened, especially in early life, with too eager ears to the preachers of heretical doctrines. At Prouille, at the foot of the Pyrenees, between Fanjaux and Monreal, he opened this retreat, where their virgin minds might be safe from the dangerous contagion. The first monastery of the Order of Preachers was that of St. Ronain, near Toulouse. The brotherhood consisted but of sixteen, most of them natives of Languedoc, some Spaniards, one Englishman. It is remarkable, however, that the Order, founded for the suppression of heresy by preaching in Languedoc, was hardly organised before it left the chosen scene of its labours. Instead of fixing on Toulouse or any of the cities of Provence as the centre of his operations, Dominic was seized with the ambition of converting the world. Rome, Bologna, Paris, were to be the seats of his power. Exactly four years after the battle of Muret he abandoned Languedoc for ever. His sagacious mind might perhaps anticipate the unfavourable change, the fall if not the death of De Montfort, the return of Count Raymond as the deliverer to his patrimonial city. But even the stern Spanish mind might be revolted by the horrors of the Albigensian war; he may have been struck by the common grief for the fall of the noble Spanish King of Arragon. At all events, the preacher of the word in Languedoc could play but a secondary part to the preacher by the sword;

and now that the aim was manifestly not conversion, but conquest, not the re-establishment of the Church, but the destruction of the liberties of the land, not the subjugation of the heretical Count of Toulouse, but the expulsion from their ancestral throne of the old princely house and the substitution of a foreign usurper, the Castilian might feel shame and compunction, even the Christian might be reluctant to connect the Catholic faith which he would preach with all the deeds of a savage soldiery. The parting address ascribed to St.

Sept. 13, 1217. Dominic is not quite consistent with this more generous and charitable view of his conduct.

It is a terrible menace rather than gentle regret or mild reproof. At the convent of Prouille, after high mass, he thus spake: "For many years I have spoken to you with tenderness, with prayers, and tears; but according to the proverb of my country, where the benediction has no effect, the rod may have much. Behold, now, we rouse up against you princes and prelates, nations and kingdoms! Many shall perish by the sword. The land shall be ravaged, walls thrown down; and you, alas! reduced to slavery. So shall the chastisement do that which the blessing and which mildness could not do."^h

Dominic himself took up his residence in Rome.ⁱ His success as a preacher was unrivalled. His followers began to spread rumours of the miracles which he wrought. The Pope Honorius III. appointed him to the high office, since perpetuated among his spiritual descendants, Master of the Sacred Palace. He was held in the highest honour by the aged Cardinal Ugo-

^a MS. de Prouille, published by Père Perrin: quoted by La Cordaire, Vie de S. Dominique, p. 404.

ⁱ He first established the monastery of San Sisto on the Cælian Hill, afterward that of Santa Sabina.

lino, the future Pope Gregory IX. For the propagation of his Order this residence in Rome was a master-stroke of policy. Of the devout pilgrims to Rome, men of all countries in Christendom, the most devout were most enraptured by the eloquence of Dominic. Few but must feel that it was a preaching Order which was wanted in every part of the Christian world. Dominic was gifted with that rare power, even in those times, of infusing a profound and enduring devotion to one object. Once within the magic circle, the enthralled disciple either lost all desire to leave it, or, if he struggled, Dominic seized him and dragged him back, now an unwilling captive, by awe, by persuasion, by conviction, by what was believed to be miracle which might be holy art, or the bold and ready use of casual but natural circumstances. "God has never," as he revealed in secret (a secret not likely to be religiously kept) to the Abbot of Casamare, "refused me anything that I have prayed for." When he prayed for the conversion of Conrad the Teutonic, was Conrad left ignorant that he had to resist the prayers of one whom God had thus endowed with irresistible efficacy of prayer?^k Thus were preachers rapidly enlisted and dispersed throughout the world, speaking every language in Christendom. Two Poles, Hyacinth and Ceslas, carried the rules of the order to their own country. Dominican convents were founded at Cracow, even as far as Kiow.

Dominic had judged wisely and not too daringly in embracing the world as the scene of his labours. In the year 1220, seven years after he had left Languedoc, he stood, as the Master-General of his order, at the head of an assembly at Bologna. Italy,

Rapid progress of the Order.
A.D. 1220.

^k La Cordaire, p. 539.

Spain, Provence, France, Germany, Poland, had now their Dominican convents; the voices of Dominican preachers had penetrated into every land. But the great question of holding property or dependence on the casual support of mendicancy was still undecided. Dominic had accepted landed endowments: in Languedoc he held a grant of tithes from Fulk Bishop of Toulouse. But the Order of St. Francis, of which absolute poverty was the vital rule, was now rising with simultaneous rapidity. Though both the founders of the new Orders and the brethren of the Orders had professed and displayed the most perfect mutual respect, and even amity (twice, it was said, they had met, with great marks of reverence and esteem), yet both true policy and devout ambition might reveal to the prudent as well as ardent Dominic that the vow of absolute poverty would give the Franciscans an immeasurable superiority in popular estimation. His followers must not be trammelled with worldly wealth, or be outdone in any point of austerity by those of St. Francis. The universal suffrage was for the vow of poverty in the strongest sense, the renunciation of all property by the Order as well as by the individual Brother. How long, how steadfastly, that vow was kept by either Order will appear in the course of our history.

The second great assembly of the Order was held shortly before the death of Dominic. The
A.D. 1221. Order was now distributed into eight provinces, Spain, the first in rank, Provence, France, Lombardy, Rome, Germany, Hungary, and England. In England the Prior Gilbert had landed with fourteen friars. Gilbert preached before the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Primate, Stephen Langton, was so edified by his eloquence, that he at once gave full licence to

preach throughout the land. Monasteries rose at Canterbury, London, Oxford.

But the great strength of these two new Orders was, besides the communities of friars and nuns (each associated with itself a kindred female Order), the establishment of a third, a wider and more ^{Tertiaries.} secular community, who were bound to the two former by bonds of close association, by reverence and implicit obedience, and were thus always ready to maintain the interests, to admire and to propagate the wonders, to subserve in every way the advancement of the higher disciples of St. Dominic or St. Francis. They were men or women, old or young, married or unmarried, bound by none of the monastic vows, but deeply imbued with the monastic, with the corporate spirit; taught to observe all holy days, fasts, vigils with the utmost rigour, inured to constant prayer and attendance on divine worship. They were organised, each under his own prior; they crowded as a duty, as a privilege, into the church wherever a Dominican ascended the pulpit, predisposed, almost compelled, if compulsion were necessary, to admire, to applaud at least by rapt attention. Thus the Order spread not merely by its own perpetual influence and unwearied activity; it had everywhere a vast host of votaries wedded to its interests, full to fanaticism of its corporate spirit, bound to receive hospitably or ostentatiously their wandering preachers, to announce, to trumpet abroad, to propagate the fame of their eloquence, to spread belief in their miracles, to lavish alms upon them, to fight in their cause. This lay coadjutory, these Tertiaries, as they were called, or among the Dominicans, the Soldiers of Jesus Christ as not altogether secluded from the world, acted more widely and more subtly upon the world. Their rules were not rigidly

laid down till by the seventh Master of the Order, Munion de Zamora; it was then approved by Popes.^m

Death. Dominic died August 6th, 1221. He was taken ill at Venice, removed with difficulty to Bologna, where he expired with saintly resignation.

Canonisation. His canonisation followed rapidly on his death. Gregory IX., who in his internecine war with the Emperor Frederick II. had found the advantage of these faithful, restless, unscrupulous allies in the realm, in the camp, almost in the palace of his adversary, was not the man to pause or to hesitate in his grateful acknowledgements or prodigal reward. "I no more doubt," said the Pope, "the sanctity of Dominic than that of St. Peter or St. Paul." In the bull of canonisation, Dominic is elaborately described as riding in the four-horsed chariot of the Gospel, as it were seated behind the four Evangelists (or rather in the four chariots of Zechariah, long interpreted as signifying the four Evangelists), holding in his hand the irresistible bow of the Divine Word.

The admiration of their founder, if it rose not with the Dominicans so absolutely into divine adoration as with the Franciscans, yet bordered close upon it. He, too, was so closely approximated to the Saviour as to be placed nearly on an equality. The Virgin Mother herself, the special protectress of the sons of Dominic,ⁿ

^m Among the special privileges of the Order (in the bull of Honorius) was that in the time of interdict (so common were interdicts now become) the Order might still celebrate mass with low voices, without bells. Conceive the influence thus obtained in a religious land, everywhere else deprived of all its holy services.

ⁿ There is a strange story of the especial protection extended over the Order by the Virgin. It might seem singularly ill-adapted for painting, but painting has nevertheless ventured, at least partially, to represent it. To this the modesty of more modern manners, perhaps not less real though more scrupulous respect (respect which

might almost seem to sanction their bold raptures of spiritual adulation, from which our most fervent piety might shrink as wild profanation. Dominic was the adopted Son of the Blessed Virgin.^o

And this was part of the creed maintained by an Order which under its fourth general, John of Wildeshausen (in Westphalia), in their Chapter-General at Bordeaux, reckoned its monasteries at the number of four hundred and seventy. In Spain thirty-five, in France fifty-two, in Germany fifty-two, in Tuscany thirty-two, in Lombardy forty-six, in Hungary thirty, in Poland thirty-six, in Denmark twenty-eight, in England forty. They were spreading into Asia, into heathen or Saracen lands, into Palestine, Greece, Crete, Abyss-

falls far short of worship), proscribes more than an allusion: The Virgin is represented with the whole countless host of Dominicans crowded under her dress. In the vision of St. Brigitta, the Virgin herself is made to sanction this awful confusion. Though in the vision there is an interpretation which softens away that which in the painting (which I have seen) becomes actual fact.

* More than this, of the Father himself. "Ego, dulcissima filia, istos duos filios genui, unum naturaliter generando, alium amabiliter et dulciter adoptando . . . Sicut hic Filius a me naturaliter et *æternaliter* genitus, assumptâ naturâ humanâ, in omnibus fuit perfectissime obediens mihi, usque ad mortem, sic filius meus *adoptivus* Dominicus. Omnia, quæ operatus est ab infantia suâ usque ad terminum vitæ suæ, fuerunt angulata secundum obedientiam præceptorum meorum,

nec unquam semel fuit transgressus quodcunque præceptum meum, quia virginitatem corporis et animi illibatam servavit, et gratiam baptismi quo spiritualiter renatus est, semper conservavit." The parallel goes on between the apostles of the Lord and the brethren of S. Dominic.—Apud Bolland. xlv. p. 844. See also a passage about the Virgin in La Cordaire, p. 234. In another Vita S. Dominici, apud Bolland. Aug. 4, is this:—There was a prophetic picture at Venice, in which appear St. Paul and S. Dominic. Under the latter, "Facilius itur per istum." The comment of the biographer is: "Doctrina Pauli sicut et ceterorum apostolorum erat doctrina inducens ad fidem et observationem præceptorum, doctrina Dominici ad observantiam consiliorum, et ideo facilius per ipsum itur ad Christum."—c. vii.

sinia. Nor is it their number alone which grows with such wonderful fertility. They are not content with the popular mind. They invade the high places of human intellect: they are disputing the mastery in the Universities of Italy and Germany, in Cologne, Paris, and in Oxford. Before long they are to claim two of the greatest luminaries of the scholastic philosophy, Albert the Great and Thomas of Aquino.

CHAPTER X.

St. Francis.^a

ST. FRANCIS was born in the romantic town of Assisi, of a family, the Bernardini, engaged in trade. His birth took place while his father was on a mercantile journey in France; on his return his newborn son was baptised by the name of Francis.^b His mother, Picca, loved him with all a mother's tenderness for her first-born. He received the earliest rudiments of instruction from the clergy of the parish of St. George: he was soon taken to assist his father in his trade. The father, a hard, money-making man, was shocked at first by the vanity and prodigality of his son. The young Francis gave banquets to his juvenile friends, dressed splendidly, and the streets of Assisi rang with the songs and revels of the joyous crew; but even then his bounty

^a The vast annals of the Franciscan Order, by Lucas Wadding, in seventeen folio volumes, are the great authority: for S. Francis himself the life by S. Bonaventura. I have much used the *Chronique de l'Ordre du Père S. François*, in quaint old French (the original is in Portuguese, by Marco di Lisbona), Paris, 1623. I have an epic poem, in twenty-five cantos, a kind of religious plagiarism of Tasso, *San Francisco, ó Gierusalemme Celeste Acquistata*, by Agostino Gallucci (1617). The author makes S. Francis subdue the Wickliffites. There is a

modern life by M. Malan.

^b When the disciples of S. Francis were fully possessed with the conformity of their founder with the Saviour, the legend grew up, assimilating his birth to that of the Lord. A prophetic foreshadowed it; he was born by divine suggestion in a stable; angels rejoiced; even peace and good will were announced, though by a human voice. An angel, like old Simeon, bore him at the font. And all this is gravely related by a biographer of the 19th century, M Malan.

to the poor formed a large part of his generous wastefulness. He was taken captive in one of the petty wars which had broken out between Perugia and Assisi, and remained a year in prison. He was then seized with a violent illness: when he rose from his bed nature looked cold and dreary; he began to feel disgust to the world. The stirrings of some great but yet undefined purpose were already awake within him. He began to see visions, but as yet they were of war and glory: the soldier was not dead in his heart. He determined to follow the fortunes of a youthful poor knight who was setting out to fight under the banner of the "Gentle Count," Walter of Brienne, against the hated Germans. At Spoleto he again fell ill; his feverish visions took another turn. Francis now felt upon him that profound religious thralldom which he was never to break, never to desire to break. His whole soul became deliberately, calmly, extatic faith. He began to talk mysteriously of his future bride—that bride was Poverty. He resolved never to refuse alms to a poor person. He found his way to Rome, threw down all he possessed, no costly offering, on the altar of St. Peter. On his return he joined a troop of beggars, and exchanged his dress for the rags of the filthiest among them. His mother heard and beheld all his strange acts with a tender and prophetic admiration. To a steady trader like the father it was folly if not madness. He was sent with a valuable bale of goods to sell at Foligno. On his return he threw all the money down at the feet of the priest of St. Damian to rebuild his church, as well as the price of his horse, which he likewise sold. The priest refused the gift. In the eyes of the father this was dishonesty as well as folly. Francis concealed himself in a cave, where he lay hid for a month in solitary prayer. He returned

to Assisi, looking so wild and haggard that the rabble hooted him as he passed and pelted him with mire and stones. The gentle Francis appeared to rejoice in every persecution. The indignant father shut him up in a dark chamber, from which, after a time, he was released by the tender solicitude of his mother. Bernardini now despaired of his unprofitable and intractable son, whom he suspected of alienating other sums besides that which he had received for the cloth and the horse. He cited him before the magistrates to compel him to abandon all rights on his patrimony, which he was disposed to squander in this thriftless manner. Francis declared that he was a servant of God, and declined the jurisdiction of the civil magistrate. The cause came before the Bishop. The Bishop earnestly exhorted Francis to yield up to his father any money which he might possess, or to which he was entitled. "It might be ungodly gain, and so unfit to be applied to holy uses." "I will give up the very clothes I wear," replied the enthusiast, encouraged by the gentle demeanour of the Bishop. He stripped himself entirely naked.^c "Peter Bernardini was my father; I have now but one father, he that is in heaven." The audience burst into tears; the Bishop threw his mantle over him and ordered an old coarse dress of an artisan to be brought: he then received Francis into his service.

Gives up his inheritance.
A.D. 1206.
Ætat. 25.

Francis was now wedded to Poverty; but poverty he would only love in its basest form—mendicancy. He wandered abroad, was ill used by robbers; on his escape he received from an old friend at Gubbio a hermit's attire, a short tunic, a leathern girdle, a staff and slippers. He begged at the gates of

Embraces mendicancy.

^c According to S. Bonaventura, he had haircloth under his dress.

monasteries; he discharged the most menial offices. With even more profound devotion he dedicated himself for some time in the hospital at Gubbio to that unhappy race of beings whom even Christianity was constrained to banish from the social pale—the lepers.^d He tended them with more than necessary affectionateness, washed their feet, dressed their sores, and is said to have wrought miraculous cures among them. The moral miracle of his charity toward them is a more certain and more affecting proof of his true Christianity of heart. It was an especial charge to the brethren of St. Francis of Assisi to choose these outcasts of humanity as the objects of their peculiar care.^e

On his return to Assisi he employed himself in the restoration of the church of St. Damian. “Whoever will give me one stone shall have one prayer; whoever two, two; three, three.” The people mocked, but Francis went on carrying the stones in his own hands, and the church began to rise. He refused all food which he did not obtain by begging. His father reproached him and uttered his malediction. He took a beggar of the basest class: “Be thou my father and give me thy blessing.” But so successful was he in awakening the charity of the inhabitants of Assisi, that

^d There is something singularly affecting in the service of the Church for the seclusion of the lepers, whose number is as sure a proof of the wretchedness of those times, as the care of them of the charity. The stern duty of looking to the public welfare is tempered with exquisite compassion for the victims of this loathsome disease. The service may be found—it is worth seeking for—in Martene de Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus.

It is quoted by M. Malan. Compare on S. Francis and the Lepers, Mr. Brewer's Preface to the Monumenta Franciscana, p. xxiii., *et seq.*; and Translation of the Testament of S. Francis, p. 592.

^e S. Bonaventura says that he healed one leper with a kiss: “Nescio quidnam horum magis sit admirandum, an humilitatis profunditas in osculo tam benigno, an virtutis præclaritas in miraculo tam stupendo.”—Vit. S. Francisci.

not only the church of St. Damian, but two others, St. Peter and St. Maria dei Angeli (called the Portiuncula), through his means arose out of their ruins to decency and even splendour. One day, in the church of St. Maria dei Angeli, he heard the text, "Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses. Neither scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes nor yet staves." He threw away his wallet, his staff, and his shoes, put on the coarsest dark grey tunic, bound himself with a cord, and set out through the city calling all to repentance.

This strange but fervent piety of Francis could not but, in that age, kindle the zeal of others. Wonder grew into admiration, admiration into emulation, emulation into a blind following of his footsteps. Disciples, one by one (the first are carefully recorded), began to gather round him. He retired with them to a lonely spot in the bend of the river, called Rivo Torto. A rule was wanting for the young brotherhood. Thrice upon the altar he opened the Gospels, which perhaps were accustomed to be opened on these passages.^f He read three texts in reverence for the Holy Trinity. The first was, "If thou wilt be perfect, sell all thou hast and give to the poor;"^g the second, "Take nothing for your journey;"^h the third, "If any one would come after me, let him take up his cross and follow me."ⁱ Francis made the sign of the cross and sent forth his followers into the neighbouring cities, as if to divide the world, to the east and west, the north and south. They reassembled at Rivo Torto and determined to go to Rome to obtain the authority of the Pope for the foundation of their order. On the way they met a knight

^f The poet gives the date, St. Luke's day, Oct. 18, 1212.

^g Matt. xix. 21

^h Mark vi. 8.

ⁱ Matt. xvi. 24.

in arms. "Angelo," said St. Francis, "instead of that baldrick thou shalt gird thee with a cord; for thy sword thou shalt take the cross of Christ; for the spurs, the dirt and mire." Angelo made up the mystic number of twelve, which the profound piety of his followers alleged as a new similitude to the Lord.^k

Innocent III. was walking on the terrace of the Lateran when a mendicant of the meanest appearance presented himself, proposing to convert the world by poverty and humility. The haughty Pontiff dismissed him with contempt. But a vision, says the legend, doubtless more grave deliberation and inquiry, suggested that such an Order might meet the heretics on their own ground; the Poor Men of the Church might out-labour and out-suffer the Poor Men of Lyons. He sent for Francis, received him in the midst of the cardinals, and listened to his proposal for his new Order. Some of the cardinals objected the difficulty, the impossibility of the vows. "To suppose that anything is difficult or impossible with God," said the Cardinal Bishop of Sabina, "is to blaspheme Christ and his Gospel."

The Order was now founded; the Benedictines of Monte Subiaco gave them a church, called, Foundation of the Order. like that near Assisi, St. Maria dei Angeli, or de la Portiuncula. In the difficulty, the seeming impossibility of the vows was their strength. The three vital principles of the Order were chastity, poverty, obedience. For chastity, no one was to speak with a woman alone, except the few who might safely do so (from age or severity of character), and that was to urge penitence

^k It was at this period that he was said, or said himself that he was transported to heaven, into the actual presence of the Lord, who, according to the poem, gave him a plenary indulgence for himself and his followers:—
"E plenaria indulgenza oggi si dava"
c. vi. 41

or give spiritual counsel. Poverty was not only the renunciation of all possessions, but of all property, even in the clothes they wore, in the cord which girt them—even in their breviaries.^m Money was, as it were, infected; they might on no account receive it in alms except (the sole exception) to aid a sick brother; no brother might ride if he had power to walk. They were literally to fulfil the precept, if stricken on one cheek, to offer the other; if spoiled of part of their dress, to yield up the rest. Obedience was urged not merely as obligatory and coercive: the deepest mutual love was to be the bond of the brotherhood.

The passionate fervour of the preaching, the mystic tenderness, the austere demeanour of Francis and his disciples, could not but work rapidly and profoundly among his female hearers. Clara, a noble virgin of Assisi, under the direction of St. Francis, had in the same manner to strive against the tender and affectionate worldliness, as she deemed it, of her family. But she tore herself from their love as from a sin, entered into a convent attached to the church of St. Damian, and became the mother of the poor sisterhood of St. Clare. Of Clara it is said that she never but once (and that to receive the blessing of the Pope) so lifted her eyelids that the colour of her eyes might be discerned. Clara practised mortifications more severe than any of her sex before. The life of the sisters was one long dreary penance; even their services were all sadness. The sisters who could read were to read the Hours, but without chanting. Those who could not read were not to learn to read. To the prayers of St. Clara it was

^m At first, says S. Bonaventura, they had no books; their only book was the cross.

attributed that, in later times, her own convent and the city of Assisi were preserved from the fierce Mohammedans which belonged to the army of Frederick II. The Order was confirmed by a bull of Innocent IV.

Francis, in the mean time, with his whole soul vowed to the service of God, set forth to subdue the world. He had hesitated between the contemplative and active life—prayer in the secluded monastery, or preaching the cross of Christ to mankind. The mission of love prevailed; his success and that of his ardent followers might seem to justify their resolution. They had divided the world, and some had already set forth into France and into Spain with the special design of converting the Miramamolin and his Mohammedan subjects. Everywhere they were heard with fanatic rapture. At their first Chapter, held in the church of the Portiuncula, only three years after the scene at Rivo Torto, it was necessary to ordain provincial masters in Spain, Provence, France and Germany: at a second Chapter of the Order in 1219 met five thousand brethren.

The holy ambition of St. Francis grew with his success. He determined to confront the great enemy of Christianity in his strength. He set off to preach to the Mohammedans of the East. The Christian army was encamped before Damietta. The sagacity of Francis anticipated from their discord, which he in vain endeavoured to reconcile, their defeat. His prophecy was too fully accomplished; but he determined not the less to proceed on his mission. On his way to the Saracen camp he met some sheep. It occurred to him, "I send you forth as sheep among the wolves." He was taken and carried before the Sultan. To the Sultan he boldly offered the way of salvation

Foreign
missions.

A.D. 1215.

St. Francis
in the East.
A.D. 1219.

He preached (in what language we are not told) the Holy Trinity and the Divine Saviour before these stern Unitarians. The Mohammedans reverence what they deem insanity as partaking of Divine inspiration. The Sultan is said to have listened with respect; his grave face no doubt concealed his compassion. St. Francis offered to enter a great fire with the priests of Islam, and to set the truth of either faith on the issue. The Sultan replied that his priests would not willingly submit to this perilous trial. "I will enter alone," said Francis, "if, should I be burned, you will impute it to my sins; should I come forth alive, you will embrace the Gospel." The Sultan naturally declined these terms, as not quite fair towards his creed. But he offered rich presents to Francis (which the preacher of poverty rejected with utter disdain), and then sent him back in honour to the camp at Damietta. Francis passed through the Holy Land and the kingdom of Antioch, preaching and winning disciples, and then returned to Italy. His fame was now at its height, and wherever he went his wondering disciples saw perpetual miracle. In this respect the life of the Saviour is far surpassed by that of St. Francis.

The Order soon had its martyrs. The Mohammedan Moors of Africa were fiercer than those of Egypt. Five monks, after preaching without ^{Martyrs.} success to the Saracens of Seville, crossed into Africa. After many adventures (in one of which during an expedition against the Moorish tribes of the interior, Friar Berard struck water from the desert rock, like Moses) they were offered wealth, beautiful wives, and honours, if they would embrace Mohammedanism. They spat on the ground in contempt of the miscreant offer. The King himself clove the head of one of them with a

sword; the rest were despatched in horrible torments." St. Francis received the sad intelligence with triumph, and broke forth in gratulations to the convent of Alonquir, which had thus produced the first purple flowers of martyrdom.

This was no hardness, or want of compassion, but the counterworking of a stronger, more passionate emotion. Of all saints, St. Francis was the most blameless and gentle. In Dominic and in his disciples all was still rigorous, cold, argumentative; something remained of the crusader's fierceness, the Spaniard's haughty humility, the inquisitor's stern suppression of all gentler feelings, the polemic sternness. Whether Francis would have burned heretics, happily we know not, but he would willingly have been burned for them: himself excessive in austerities, he would at times mitigate the austerity of others. Francis was emphatically the Saint of the people—of a poetic people like the Italians. Those who were hereafter to chant the Paradise of Dante, or the softer stanzas of Tasso, might well be enamoured of the ruder devotional strains in the poetry of the whole life of St. Francis. The lowest of the low might find consolation, a kind of pride, in the self-abasement of St. Francis even beneath the meanest. The very name of his disciples, the Friar Minors, implied their humility. In his own eyes (says his most pious successor) he was but a sinner, while in truth he was the mirror and splendour of holiness. It was revealed, says the same Bonaventura, to a Brother, that the throne of one of the angels, who fell from pride,

▪ See on these martyrs Southey's ballad:—

“What news, O Queen Orraca,
Of the martyrs five what news?
Does the bloody Miramamolin
Their burial yet refuse?”

was reserved for Francis, who was glorified by humility. If the heart of the poorest was touched by the brotherhood in poverty and lowliness of such a saint, how was his imagination kindled by his mystic strains? St. Francis is among the oldest vernacular poets of Italy.^o His poetry, indeed, is but a long passionate ejaculation of love to the Redeemer in rude metre; it has not even the order and completeness of a hymn: it is a sort of plaintive variation on one simple melody—an echo of the same tender words, multiplied again and again, it might be fancied, by the voices in the cloister walls. But his ordinary speech is more poetical than his poetry. In his peculiar language he addresses all animate, even inanimate, creatures as his brothers; not merely the birds and beasts; he had an especial fondness for lambs and larks, as the images of the Lamb of God and of the cherubim in heaven.^p I know not if it be among the Conformities, but the only malediction I find him to have uttered was against a fierce swine which had killed a young lamb. Of his intercourse with these mute animals, we are told many pretty particularities, some of them miraculous. But his poetic impersonation went beyond this. When the surgeon was about to cauterise him, he said, “Fire, my brother, be thou discreet and gentle to me.”^q In one of his Italian hymns he speaks of his brother the sun, his sister the moon, his brother the wind, his sister the water.^r No wonder that in this almost perpetual extatic state, unearthly music played

^o M. de Montalembert is eloquent, as usual, on his poetry.—Preface to “La Vie d’Elizabeth d’Hongrie.”

^p Bonaventura, c. viii.

^q The words were, “Fratel fuoco, da Dio creato più bello, più attivo, e più giovevole d’ogni altro elemento,

noi te mostra or nel cimento discret. e mite.”—Vita (Foligno), p. 15.

^r “Laudato sia el Dio, mio Signore con tute le Creature; specialmente Messer lo frate Sole. . . . Laudato sia il mio Signore per suor Luna, per frate vento, per suor acqua.”

around him, unearthly light shone round his path. When he died, he said, with exquisite simplicity, "Welcome, sister Death."^s St. Francis himself, no doubt, was but unconsciously presumptuous, when he acted as under divine inspiration, even when he laid the ground-work for that assimilation of his own life to that of the Saviour, which was wrought up by his disciples, as it were, into a new Gospel, and superseded the old. His was the studious imitation of humility, not the emulous approximation of pride, even of pride disguised from himself; such profaneness entered not into his thought. His life might seem a religious trance. The mysticism so absolutely absorbed him as to make him unconscious, as it were, of the presence of his body. Incessantly active as was his life, it was a kind of paroxysmal activity, constantly collapsing into what might seem a kind of suspended animation of the corporeal functions.^t It was even said that he underwent a kind of visible and glorious transfiguration.^u But with what wonderful force must all this have worked upon the world, the popular world around him! About three years before his death, with the permission of the Pope, he celebrated the Nativity of the Lord in a new way. A manger was prepared, the whole scene of the miraculous birth represented. The mass was interpolated before the prayers. St.

^s "Ben venga la sorella morte."

^t "E tanto in lei (in Gesu) sovente profundasi, tanto s'immerge, s'abissa, e concentra, che assorto non vide, non ascolta, non sente, e se opera carnalmente, nol conosca, non sel rammenta." This state is thus illustrated: he was riding on an ass; he was almost torn in pieces by devout men and women shouting around him; he was utterly unconscious, like a dead man.—From

a modern Vita di S. Francesco. Foligno, 1824.

^u "Ad conspectum sublimis Seraph et humilis Crucifixi, fuit in vivæ formæ effigiem, vi quâdam deiformi et ignea transformatus; quemadmodum testati sunt, tactis sacrosanctis jurantes, qui palpaverunt, osculati sunt, et viderunt."—S. Bonaventura, in Vit. Minor, 1.

Francis preached on the Nativity. The angelic choirs were heard; a wondering disciple declared that he saw a beautiful child reposing in the manger.

The order of St. Francis had, and of necessity, its Tertiaries, like that of St. Dominic.^x At his preaching, and that of his disciples, such multitudes would have crowded into the Order as to become dangerous and unmanageable. The whole population of one town, Canari in Umbria, offered themselves as disciples. The Tertiaries were called the Brethren of Penitence; they were to retain their social position in the world: but, first enjoined to discharge all their debts, and to make restitution of all unfair gains. They were then admitted to make a vow to keep the commandments of God, and to give satisfaction for any breach of which they might have been guilty. They could not leave the order, except to embrace a religious life. Women were not admitted without the consent of their husbands. The form and colour of their dress were prescribed, silk rigidly prohibited. They were to keep aloof from all public spectacles, dances, especially the theatre; to give nothing to actors, jugglers, or such profane persons. Their fasts were severe, but tempered with some lenity; their attendance at church constant. They were not to bear arms except in the cause of the Church of Rome, the Christian faith, or their country, and that at the licence of their ministers. On entering the Order, they were immediately to make their wills to prevent future litigation; they were to abstain from unnecessary oaths; they were to submit to penance, when imposed by their ministers.

But St. Francis had not yet attained his height even

^x Chapter of Tertiaries, A.D. 1222; Chroniques, L. ii, c. xxxii.

of worldly fame; he was yet to receive the last marks of his similitude to the Redeemer, to bear on his body actually and really the five wounds of the Redeemer.

A.D. 1224.

That which was so gravely believed must be gravely related. In the solitude of Monte Alverno (a mountain which had been bestowed on the Order by a rich and pious votary, and where a magnificent church afterwards arose) Francis had retired to hold a solemn fast in honour of the Archangel Michael. He had again consulted the holy oracle. Thrice the Scriptures had been opened; thrice they opened on the Passion of the Lord. This was interpreted, that even in this life Francis was to be brought into some mysterious conformity with the death of the Saviour. One morning, while he was praying in an access of the most passionate devotion, he saw in a vision, or, as he supposed, in real being, a seraph with six wings. Amidst these wings appeared the likeness of the Crucified. Two wings arched over his head, two were stretched for flight, two veiled the body. As the apparition disappeared, it left upon his mind an indescribable mixture of delight and awe. On his body instantaneously appeared marks of the crucifixion, like those which he had beheld. Two black excrescences, in the form of nails, with the heads on one side, the points bent back on the other, had grown out of his hands and feet. There was a wound on his side, which frequently flowed with blood, and stained his garment. Francis endeavoured, in his extreme humility, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his disciples, to conceal this wonderful sight; but the wounds were seen, it is declared, at one time by fifty brethren. Countless miracles were ascribed to their power. The wound on his side Francis hid with peculiar

The Stigmata.

care. But it was seen during his life, as it is asserted; the pious curiosity of his disciples pierced through every concealment. Pope Alexander IV. publicly declared that his own eyes had beheld the stigmata on the body of St. Francis. Two years after St. Francis died. He determined literally to realise the words of the Scripture, to leave the world naked as he entered it. His disciples might then, and did then, it is said, actually satisfy themselves as to these signs: to complete the parallel an incredulous Thomas was found to investigate the fact with suspicious scrutiny. It became an article of the Franciscan creed; though the now rival Order, the Dominicans, hinted rationalistic doubts, they were authoritatively rebuked. It became almost the creed of Christendom.^y

Oct. 4, 1228

Up to a certain period this studious conformity of the life of St. Francis with that of Christ, heightened, adorned, expanded, till it received its perfect form in the work of Bartholomew of Pisa, was promulgated by the emulous zeal of a host of disciples throughout the world. Those whose more reverential piety might take offence were few and silent; the declaration of Pope Alexander, the ardent protector of the Mendicant Friars, imposed it almost as an article of the Belief. With the Franciscans, and all under the

Character
of Francis-
canism.

^y The Dominican Jacob de Voragine assigns five causes for the stigmata; they in fact resolve themselves into the first, imagination. His illustrations, however, are chiefly from pregnant women, whose children resemble something which had violently impressed the mother's mind. He does not deny the fact. "Summus ergo Franciscus, in visione sibi factâ imaginabatur Seraphim Crucifixum, et tam

fortis imaginatione extitit, quod vulnera passionis in carne suâ impressit."—Sermo iii. de S. Francisco. Compare Gieseler, ii. 2, 349. Nicolas IV., too, asserted the stigmata of St. Francis (he was himself a Franciscan); he silenced a Dominican, who dared to assert that in Peter Martyr (Peter was a Dominican) were signs Dei vivi, in St. Francis only Dei mortui.—Raynald, A.D. 1291.

dominion of the Franciscans, the lower orders throughout Christendom, there was thus almost a second Gospel, a second Redeemer, who could not but throw back the one Saviour into more awful obscurity. The worship of St. Francis in prayer, in picture, vied with that of Christ: if it led, perhaps, a few up to Christ, it kept the multitude fixed upon itself. But as soon as indignant religion dared lift up its protest (after several centuries!) it did so; and, as might be expected, revenged its long compulsory silence by the bitterest satire and the rudest burlesque.*

Franciscanism was the democracy of Christianity; but with St. Francis it was an humble, meek, quiescent democracy. In his own short fragmentary writings he ever enforces the most submissive obedience to the clergy;† those, at least, who lived according to the rule of the Roman Church. This rule would no doubt except the simoniac and the married clergy; but the whole character of his teaching was the farthest removed from that of a spiritual demagogue. His was a pacific passive mysticism, which consoled the poor for the inequalities of this life by the hopes of heaven. But ere long his more vehement disciple, Antony of Padua, sounded a dif-

* See the Alcoran des Cordeliers. Yet this book could hardly transcend the grave blasphemies of the Liber Conformitatum, e.g., Christ was transfigured once, S. Francis twenty times; Christ changed water into wine once, S. Francis three times; Christ endured his wounds a short time, S. Francis two years; and so with all the Gospel miracles.

† In his Testament he writes: "Postea dedit mihi Dominus, et dat tantam fidem in sacerdotibus, qui

vivunt secundum Ordinem Sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ propter ordinem ipsorum, quod si facerent mihi persecutionem volo recurrere ad ipsos."—Op. S. Francisc. p. 20. "Il disoit que s'il rencontroit un Saint qui fust descendu du ciel en terre et un Prestre, qu'il baiseroit premièrement la main au Prestre, puis il feroit la reverence au Saint, recevant de celui-là le corps de nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ, pour quoi il méritoit plus d'honneur."—Chroniques, i. c. lxxxiv.

ferent note: he scrupled not to denounce the worldly clergy. Antony of Padua was a Portuguese, born at Lisbon. He showed early a strong religious temperament. The reliques of the five Franciscan martyrs, sent over from Morocco, had kindled the most ardent enthusiasm. The young Fernand (such was his baptismal name) joined himself to some Franciscan friars, utterly illiterate, but of burning zeal, and under their guidance set forth deliberately to win the crown of martyrdom among the Moors. He was cast by a storm on the coast of Sicily. He found his way to Romagna, united himself to the Franciscans, retired into a hermitage, studied deeply, and at length was authorised by the General of the Order to go forth and preach. For many years his eloquence excited that rapture of faith which during these times is almost periodically breaking forth, especially in the north of Italy. Every class, both sexes, all ages were equally entranced. Old enmities were reconciled, old debts paid, forgotten wrong atoned for; prostitutes forsook their sins, robbers forswore their calling; such is said to have been the magic of his words that infants ceased to cry. His voice was clear and piercing like a trumpet; his Italian purer than that of most natives. At Rimini, at Milan, in other cities, he held disputations against the heretics, who yielded to his irresistible arguments. But the triumph of his courage and of his eloquence was his daring to stand before Eccelin of Verona to rebuke him for his bloody atrocities. Eccelin is said to have bowed in awe before the intrepid preacher; he threw himself at the feet of Antony, and promised to amend his life. The clergy dared not but admire Antony of Padua, whom miracle began to environ. But they saw not without terror that the meek Franciscan might soon become a formidable

demagogue, formidable to themselves as to the enemies of the faith,

But what is more extraordinary, already in the time of St. Bonaventura the Franciscans had begun to be faithless to their hard bride, Poverty. Bonaventura himself might have found it difficult to adduce authority for his laborious learning in the rule of his Master. Franciscanism is in both respects more or less repudiating St. Francis. The first General of the Order, Brother Elias (General during the lifetime of the Saint), refused the dignity, because his infirmities compelled him to violate one of its rules, to ride on horseback. He was compelled to assume the honour, degraded, resumed his office, was again degraded; for Elias manifestly despised, and endeavoured to throw off, and not alone, the very vital principle of the Order, mendicancy; he persecuted the true disciples of St. Francis.^b At length the successor of St. Francis became a counsellor of Frederick II., the mortal enemy of the Pope, especially of the Franciscan Popes, above all of the first patron of Franciscanism, Gregory IX.

The Rule had required the peremptory renunciation of all worldly goods by every disciple of the Order, and those who received the proselytes were carefully to abstain from mingling in worldly business. Not till he was absolutely destitute did the disciple become a Franciscan. They might receive food, clothes, or other necessaries, on no account money even if they found it they were to trample it under foot. They might labour for their support, but were to be paid

^b Compare Les Chroniques, part ii. c. v. p. 4. "Aussi étoit cause de grand mal, le grand nombre des frères qui lui adhéroient, lesquels comme les partisans le suivoient et l'imitoient, l'incitant à poursuivre les frères qui étoient zelés observateurs de la règle." —Regul., cap. ii. p. 23.

in kind. They were to have two tunics, one with a hood, one without, a girdle and breeches. The fatal feud, the controversy on the interpretation of this stern rule of poverty, will find its place hereafter.

St. Francis rejected alike the pomp of ritual and the pride of learning. The Franciscan services were to be conducted with the utmost simplicity of devotion, with no wantonness of music. There was to be only one daily mass. It was not long before the magnificent church of Assisi began to rise; and the Franciscan services, if faithful to the form, began soon by their gorgeousness to mock the spirit of their master.

No Franciscan was to preach without permission of the Provincial of the Order, or if forbidden by the bishop of the diocese; their sermons were to be on the great religious and moral truths of the Gospel, and especially short. He despised and prohibited human learning, even human eloquence displayed for vanity and ostentation.* Bonaventura himself in his profoundest writings maintained the mystic fervour of his master; but everywhere the Franciscans are with the Dominicans vying for the mastery in the universities of Christendom; Duns Scotus the most arid dialectician, and William of Ockham the demagogue of scholasticism, balance the fame of Albert the Great and Thomas of Aquino. A century has not passed before, besides the clergy, the older Orders are heaping invectives on the disciples of St. Francis, not only as disturbers of their religious

* "Je ne voudrais point de plus grands Docteurs de Théologie, que ceux qui enseignent leur prochain avec les œuvres, la douceur, la pauvreté, et l'humilité." He goes on to rebuke preachers who are filled with vain glory by the concourse of hearers, and

the success of their preaching.—Chroniques, ii. c. xxiv. I find the Saint goaded to one other malediction,—against a provincial, who encouraged profound study at the University of Bologna.—c. xviii. See above his contempt and aversion for books.

peace, as alienating the affections and reverence of their flocks or their retainers, but as their more successful rivals for the alms of dying penitents, as the more universal legatees of lands, treasures, houses, immunities.

The Benedictine of St. Alban's,^d Matthew Paris, who at first wrote, or rather adopted language, highly commending the new-born zeal, and yet-admired holiness of the mendicants,^e in all the bitter jealousy of a rival

Order, writes thus:—"It is terrible, it is an awful presage, that in three hundred years, in four hundred years, even in more, the old monastic Orders have not so entirely degenerated as these Fraternities. The friars who have been founded hardly forty years have built, even in the present day in England, residences as lofty as the palaces of our kings. These are they, who enlarging day by day their sumptuous edifices, encircling them with lofty walls, lay up within them incalculable treasures, imprudently transgressing the bounds of poverty, and violating, according

^d The first Franciscan foundation in England was at Abingdon.—Malan, p. 264. This statement in Paris is singularly illustrated by the documents in the *Monumenta Franciscana*. Mr. Brewer, in his remarkable Preface, enlarges on the self-devoting usage of the early Franciscans to fix their domicile in the mean, foetid, unwholesome suburbs of the cities. This seems to have been peculiarly the case in England. In London their first residence is in "Stynkinge Lane," in the parish of St. Nicholas in Macello. But ere long grant after grant is recited of houses, lands, and messuages in the same quarter. Till in the reign

of Edward I. rises their Church, 300 feet long, 95 wide, 64 high to the roof; the pillars all marble. To this the Queen contributes 200*l.* sterling. There is a long list of donors, who glazed their windows. At length rises their Library, which cost 556*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* Richard Whyttington, Mayor, gave of this 400*l.* Multiply this sum by 15, in modern money it amounts to above 8000*l.* Mr. Brewer, in his fervent admiration of the saintly rise, closes his eyes on the rapid degeneracy of the Order, and their departure from their first principles.

^e Wendover, ii. p. 210, *sub ann.* 1207.

to the prophecy of the German Hildegard, the very fundamental rules of their profession. These are they who impelled by the love of gain, force themselves upon the last hours of the Lords, and of the rich whom they know to be overflowing with wealth; and these, despising all rights, supplanting the ordinary pastors, extort confessions and secret testaments, boasting of themselves and of their Order, and asserting their vast superiority over all others. So that no one of the faithful now believes that he can be saved, unless guided and directed by the Preachers or Friar Minors. Eager to obtain privileges, they serve in the courts of kings and nobles, as counsellors, chamberlains, treasurers, bridesmen, or notaries of marriages; they are the executioners of the Papal extortions. In their preaching they sometimes take the tone of flattery, sometimes of biting censure: they scruple not to reveal confessions, or to bring forward the most rash accusations. They despise the legitimate Orders, those founded by holy fathers, by St. Benedict or St. Augustine, with all their professors. They place their own Order high above all; they look on the Cistercians as rude and simple, half laic or rather peasants; they treat the Black Monks as haughty Epicureans.”[†]

Our history reverts to the close of Innocent III.’s eventful pontificate.

In the full vigour of his manhood died Innocent III. He, of all the Popes, had advanced the most exorbitant pretensions, and those pretensions had been received by an age most disposed to accept them with humble deference. The high and blameless, in some respects wise and gentle character of Innocent, might seem to approach more nearly than

A.D. 1216.
Death of
Pope Inno-
cent III.

[†] Paris reckons the forty years to his own time, sub ann. 1249.

any one of the whole succession of Roman bishops, to the ideal height of a supreme Pontiff: in him, if ever, might appear to be realised the churchman's highest conception of the Vicar of Christ. Gregory VII. and Boniface VIII., the first and the last of the aggressive Popes, and the aged Gregory IX., had no doubt more rugged warfare to encounter, fiercer and more unscrupulous enemies to subdue. But in all these there was a personal sternness, a contemptuous haughtiness; theirs was a worldly majesty. Hildebrand and Benedetto Gaetani are men in whom secular policy obscures, and throws back, as it were, the spiritual greatness; and though the firmness with which they endure reverses may be more lofty, yet there is a kind of desecration of the unapproachable sanctity of their office in their personal calamities. The pride of Innocent was calmer, more self-possessed; his dignity was less disturbed by degrading collisions with rude adversaries; he died on

Results of his Pontificate. his unshaken throne, in the plenitude of his seemingly unquestioned power. Yet if we pause and contemplate, as we cannot but pause and contemplate, the issue of this highest, in a certain sense noblest and most religious contest for the Papal ascendancy over the world of man, there is an inevitable conviction of the unreality of that Papal power. With all the grandeur of his views, with all the persevering energy of his measures, throughout Innocent's reign, everywhere we behold failure, everywhere immediate discomfiture, or transitory success which paved the way for future disaster. The higher the throne of the Pope the more manifestly were its foundations undermined, unsound, unenduring.

Even Rome does not always maintain her peaceful subservience. Her obedience is interrupted, precarious

that of transient awe, not of deep attachment, or rooted reverence. In Italy, the tutelage of the young Frederick, suspicious, ungenerous, imperious, yet negligent, could not but plant deep in the heart of the young sovereign mistrust, want of veneration, still more of affection for his ecclesiastical guardian. What was there to attach Frederick to the Church? how much to estrange! As King of Sicily he was held under strict tributary control; his step-mother the Church watches every movement with jealous supervision; exacts the most rigid discharge of all the extorted signs of vassalage. It is not as heir of the Empire that he is reluctantly permitted or coldly encouraged to cross the Alps, and to win back, if he can, the crown of his ancestors, but as the enemy of the Pope's enemy. Otho had been so ungrateful, was so dangerous, that against him the Pope would support even a Hohenstaufen. The seeds of evil were sown in Frederick's mind, in Frederick's heart, to spring up with fearful fertility. In the Empire it is impossible not to burthen the memory of Innocent with the miseries of the long civil war. Otho without the aid of the Pope could not have maintained the contest for a year; with all the Pope's aid he had sunk into contempt, almost insignificance; he was about to be abandoned, if not actually abandoned, by the Pope himself. The casual blow of the assassin alone prevented the complete triumph of Philip, already he had extorted his absolution; Innocent was compelled to yield, and could not yield without loss of dignity.* The

* Read the very curious Latin poem published by Leibnitz, R. Brunsw. S. ii. p. 525, on the Disputatio between Rome and Pope Innocent on the destitution of Otho. Rome begins:—

"Tibi soli supplicat orbis,
Et genus humanum, te disponente movetur."

Innocent, after some flattery of the greatness of Rome, urges:—

triumph of Otho leads to as fierce, and more perilous resistance to the Papal power, than could have been expected from the haughtiness of the Hohenstaufen. The Pope has an irresistible enemy in Italy itself. Innocent is compelled to abandon the great object of the Papal policy, the breaking the line of succession in the house of Swabia, and to assist in the elevation of a Swabian Emperor. He must yield to the union of the crown of Sicily with that of Germany; and so bequeath to his successors the obstinate and perilous strife with Frederick II.

In France, Philip Augustus is forced to seem, yet only seem, to submit; the miseries of his unhappy wife are but aggravated by the Papal protection. The death of Agnes of Meran, rather than Innocent's authority, heals the strife. The sons of the proscribed concubine succeed to the throne of France.

In England the Barons refuse to desert John when under the interdict of the Pope; when the Pope becomes the King's ally, resenting the cession of the realm, they withdraw their allegiance. Even in Stephen Langton, who owes his promotion to the Pope, the Englishman prevails over the ecclesiastic; the Great Charter is extorted from the King when under the express protection of the Holy See, and maintained resolutely against

"Quæ vos stimulavit Erynnis?
Ut sic unanimes relevare velitis Otonem,
Vultis ut Ecclesiæ Romanæ prædo resurgat,
Hostis Catholicæ fidei, dominando superbus
Non solum factus, sed et ipsa superbia."

Then follow several pages of dispute, kindling into fierce altercation. The Pope winds up:—

"Si te
Non moveant super hoc assignatæ rationes
Per quas Ottoni fidei substituat,ur,
Sic volo, sic fiat, sit præ ratione volutas."

Rome bursts into invective:—

"Qualis
Servorum Christi Servus!
* * * * *
Non es apostolicus, sed apostaticus; neque
Pastor
Immo lupus, vescens ipso grege."

Rome appeals to a General Council. Rome, supposing the Council present, addresses it. The Council replies:—

"Roma parens, non est nostrum deponere
Papam."

But the Council declares its right to depose Frederick and to restore Otho.

the Papal sentence of abrogation; and in the Great Charter is laid the first stone of the religious as well as the civil liberties of the land.

Venice, in the Crusade, deludes, defies, baffles the Pope. The Crusaders become her army, besiege, fight, conquer for her interests. In vain the Pope protests, threatens, anathematises: Venice calmly proceeds in the subjugation of Zara. To the astonishment, the indignation of the Pope, the Crusaders' banners wave not over Jerusalem, but over Constantinople. But for her own wisdom, Venice might have given an Emperor to the capital of the East, she secures the patriarchate almost in defiance of the Pope; only when she has entirely gained her ends, does she submit to the petty and unregarded vengeance of the Pope.

Even in the Albigensian war the success was indeed complete; heresy was crushed, but by means of which Innocent disapproved in his heart. He had let loose a terrible force, which he could neither arrest nor control. The Pope can do everything but show mercy or moderation. He could not shake off, the Papacy has never shaken off, the burthen of its complicity in the remorseless carnage perpetrated by the Crusaders in Languedoc, in the crimes and cruelties of Simon de Montfort. A dark and ineffaceable stain of fraud and dissimulation too has gathered around the fame of Innocent himself.^h Heresy was quenched in blood; but the earth sooner or later gives out the terrible cry of blood for vengeance against murderers and oppressors.

^h It is remarkable that Innocent III. was never canonised. There were popular rumours that the soul of Innocent, escaping from the fires of purgatory, appeared on earth, scourged by pursuing devils; taking refuge at the foot of the cross, and imploring the prayers of the faithful.—Chronic. Erfurt. p. 243. Thom. Cantiprat, Vit. S. Luitgardæ, ap. Surium, Jan. 16

The great religious event of this Pontificate, the foundation of the Mendicant Orders, that which perhaps perpetuated, or at least immeasurably strengthened, the Papal power for two centuries was extorted from the reluctant Pope. Both St. Dominic and St. Francis were coldly received, almost contemptuously repelled. It was not till either his own more mature deliberation, or wiser counsel which took the form of divine admonition, prevented this fatal error, and prophetically revealed the secret of their strength and of their irresistible influence throughout Christendom, that Innocent awoke to wisdom. He then bequeathed these two great standing armies to the Papacy; armies maintained without cost, sworn, more than sworn, bound by the unbroken chains of their own zeal and devotion to unquestioning, unhesitating service throughout Christendom, speaking all languages. They were colonies of religious militia, natives of every land, yet under foreign control and guidance. Their whole power, importance, perhaps possessions, rested on their fidelity to the See of Rome, that fidelity guaranteed by the charter of their existence. Well might they appear so great as they are seen by the eye of Dante, like the Cherubin and Seraphin in Paradise.¹

¹ Paradiso, xi. 34, &c.

BOOK X.

CONTEMPORARY CHRONOLOGY.

POPES.		EMPERORS OF GERMANY.		KINGS OF FRANCE.		KING OF ENGLAND.	
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
1216	Honorius III. 1227	1212	Frederick II. 1250			1216	Henry III. 1272
				Philip Augustus	1223		
				1229	Louis VIII. 1226		
				1226	Louis IX. (Saint)	1270	
1227	Gregory IX. 1241					ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.	
1241	Celestine IV. 1241					Stephen Langton	1228
1243	Innocent IV. 1254	1246	Henry Raspe (anti-emperor) 1249			1229	Richard Wertherhead 1234
		1250	William of Holland 1256			1234	Edmund Rich 1244
1254	Alexander IV. 1261					1244	Boniface of Savoy 1272
		1257	Vacant. Richard of Cornwall (?) Alfonso of Castile (?)				
		ARCHBISHOPS OF MENTZ.					
			Conrad of Wittesbach 1230				
		1230	Siegfried I. of Epstein 1249				
		1249	Siegfried II. of Epstein 1251				
		1251	Christian II. 1259				
		1259	Gerhard I.				

CONTEMPORARY CHRONOLOGY.

KINGS OF SCOTLAND.		KINGS OF SPAIN.		KINGS OF NAPLES.		EMPERORS OF THE EAST.	
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
1214 Alexander II.	1249	<i>Castile.</i>				<i>Latin.</i>	
		1217 Alfonso X.	1226			1217 Peter de Courtenay	1229
		1226 Ferdinand III.	1252			1220 Robert	1228
		1262 Alfonso XI., the Wise	1276			1228 Baldwin II.	1261
		<i>Arragon.</i>				<i>Greek.</i>	
		1213 James.		Frederick II.	1250	Theodore Lascaris	1222
1249 Alexander III.	1286	KINGS OF PORTUGAL.		1250 Conrad	1253	1222 John Ducas	1255
		A.D.	A.D.	1254 Manfred	1266	1255 Theodorus	1258
		1213 Alfonso the Fat.	1233			1258 John IV.	
		1233 Sancho II.	1246	1266 Conrad II. Charles of Anjou.		1259 Michael Paleologus.	
		1246 Alfonso III.	1279			1262 Reunion.	

BOOK X.

CHAPTER I.

Honorius III. Frederick II.

THE Pontificate of Honorius III. is a kind of oasis of repose, between the more eventful rule of Innocent III. and that of Gregory IX. Honorius was a Roman of the noble house of Savelli, Cardinal of St. John and St. Paul. The Papacy having attained its consummate height under Innocent III., might appear resting upon its arms, and gathering up its might for its last internecine conflict, under Gregory IX. and Innocent IV. with the most powerful, the ablest, and when driven to desperation, most reckless antagonist, who had as yet come into collision with the spiritual supremacy. During nearly eleven years the combatants seem girding themselves for the contest. At first mutual respect or common interests maintain even more than the outward appearance of amity; then arise jealousy, estrangement, doubtful peace, but not declared war. On one side neither the power nor the ambition of the Emperor Frederick II. are mature: his more modest views of aggrandisement gradually expand; his own character is developing itself into that of premature enlightenment and lingering superstition; of chivalrous adventure and courtly elegance, of stern cruelty and generous

Honorius III.
July 18, 1216.
Consecrated
July 24.

A.D. 1216
to 1227.

liberality, of restless and all-stirring, all-embracing activity, which keeps Germany, Italy, even the East, in one uninterrupted war with his implacable enemies the Popes, and with the Lombard Republics, while he is constantly betraying his natural disposition to bask away an easy and luxurious life on the shores of his beloved Sicily. All this is yet in its dawn, in its yet unfulfilled promise, in its menace. Frederick has won the Empire; he has united, though he had agreed to make over Sicily to his son, the Imperial crown to that of Sicily. Even if rumours are already abroad of his dangerous freedom of opinion, this may pass for youthful levity, he is still the spiritual subject of the Pope.

Honorius III. stands between Innocent III. and Gregory IX., not as a Pontiff of superior wisdom and more true Christian dignity, adopting a gentler and more conciliating policy from the sense of its more perfect compatibility with his office of Vicar of Christ, but rather from natural gentleness of character Mildness of Honorius. bordering on timidity. He has neither energy of mind to take the loftier line, nor to resist the high churchmen, who are urging him towards it; his was a temporising policy, which could only avert for a time the inevitable conflict.

And yet a Pope who could assume as his maxim to act with gentleness rather than by compulsion, by influence rather than anathema, nevertheless, to make no surrender of the overweening pretensions of his function; must have had a mind of force and vigour of its own, not unworthy of admiration: a moderate Pope is so rare in these times, that he may demand some homage for his moderation. His age and infirmities may have tended to this less enterprising or turbulent

administration.^a Honorius accepted the tradition of all the rights and duties asserted by, and generally ascribed to the successor of St. Peter, as part of his high office. The Holy War was now become so established an article in the Christian creed, that no Pope, however beyond his age, could have ventured even to be remiss in urging this solemn obligation on all true Christians. No cardinal not in heart a Crusader would have been raised to the Papal See. The assurance of the final triumph of the Christian arms became a point of honour, more than that, an essential part of Christian piety; to deny it was an impeachment on the valour of true Christians, a want of sufficient reliance on God himself. Christ could not, however he might try the patience of the Christian, eventually abandon to the infidel his holy sepulchre. All admonitions of disaster and defeat were but the just chastisements of the sins of the crusaders; the triumph, however postponed, was certain, as certain as that Christ was the Son of God, Mohammed a false prophet.

Honorius was as earnest, as zealous in the good cause, as had been his more inflexible predecessor; this was the primary object of his ten years' Pontificate; Honorius urges the Crusade. this, which however it had to encounter the coldness, the torpor, the worn-out sympathies of Christendom, clashed with no jealous or hostile feeling. However severe the rebuke, it was rebuke of which Christendom acknowledged the justice; all men honoured the Pope for his zeal in sounding the trumpet with the fiercest energy, even though they did not answer to the call. The more the enthusiasm of Christendom cooled

^a "Cum esset corpore infirmus, et ultra modum debilis."—Raynald. sub ann.

down into indifference, the more ardent and pressing the exhortation of the Popes. The first act of Honorius was a circular address to Christendom, full of reproof, expostulation, entreaty to contribute either in person or in money to the new campaign. The only King who obeyed the summons was Andrew of Hungary. Some German princes and prelates met the Hungarian at Spalatro, the Dukes of Austria and Meran, the Archbishop of Saltzburg, the Bishops of Bamberg, Zeitz, Munster, and Utrecht. But notwithstanding the interdict of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Andrew returned in the next year, though not without some fame for valour and conduct, on the plea of enfeebled health, and of important affairs of Hungary.^b His trophies were reliques, the heads of St. Stephen and St. Margaret, the hands of St. Bartholomew and St. Thomas, a slip of the rod of Aaron, one of the water-pots of the Marriage of Cana. The expedition from the Holy Land against Damietta, the flight of Sultan Kameel from that city, its occupation by the Christians, raised the most exulting hopes. The proposal of the Sultan to yield up Jerusalem was rejected with scorn. But the fatal reverses, which showed the danger of accepting a Legate (the Cardinal Pelagius) as a general, too soon threw men's minds back into their former prostration. But even before this discomfiture, King Frederick II. had centred on himself the thoughts and hopes of all who were still Crusaders in their hearts, as the one monarch in Christendom who could restore the fallen fortunes of the Cross in the East. In his first access of youthful pride, as having at eighteen

Dec. 5, 1216.

Crusade of
Andrew of
Hungary.A.D. 1219.
Against
Damietta.

Frederick II.

^b This was the Crusade joined by S. Francis.—See Cf. X.

years of age won, by his own gallant daring, the Transalpine throne of his ancestors; and in his grateful devotion to the Pope, who, in hatred to Otho, had maintained his cause, Frederick II. had taken the Cross. Nor for some years does there appear any reason to mistrust, if not his religious, at least his adventurous and ambitious ardour. But till the death of his rival Otho, he could command no powerful force which would follow him to the Holy Land, nor could he leave his yet unsettled realm. The princes and churchmen, his partisans, were to be rewarded and so confirmed in their loyalty; the doubtful and wavering to be won; the refractory or resistant to be reduced to allegiance.

The death of Otho, in the castle of Wurtzburg, near Goslar, had been a signal example of the power of religious awe. The battle of Bouvines and the desertion of his friends had broken his proud spirit; his health failed, violent remedies brought him to the brink of the grave. Hell yawned before the outcast from the Church; nothing less than a public expiation of his sins could soothe his shuddering conscience. No bishop would approach the excommunicated, the fallen Sovereign; the Prior of Halberstadt, on his solemn oath upon the reliques of St. Simon and St. Jude brought for that purpose from Brunswick, that if he lived he would give full satisfaction to the Church, obtained him absolution and the Last Sacrament. The next day, the last of his life, in the presence of the Empress and his family, the nobles, and the Abbot of Hildesheim, he knelt almost naked on a carpet, made the fullest confession of his sins; he showed a cross, which he had received at Rome, as a pledge that he would embark on a Crusade: "the devil had still thwarted his holy vow." The cross was restored to him. He then crouched down, exposed

his naked shoulders, and entreated all present to inflict the merited chastisement. All hands were armed with rods; the very scullions assisted in the pious work of flagellation, or at least of humiliation. In the pauses of the Miserere the Emperor's voice was heard: "Strike harder, spare not the hardened sinner." So died the rival of Philip of Swabia, the foe of Innocent III., in the forty-third year of his age.*

With the death of Otho rose new schemes of aggrandisement before the eyes of Frederick II.; he must secure the Imperial crown for himself; for his son Henry the succession to the German kingdom. The Imperial crown must be obtained from the hands of the Pope; the election of his son at least be ratified by that power. A friendly correspondence began with Honorius III. The price set on the coronation of Frederick as Emperor was his undertaking a Crusade to the Holy Land. At the High Diet at Fulda, Frederick himself (so he writes to the Pope) had already summoned the princes of Germany to his great design: at the Diet proclaimed to be held at Magdeburg, he urged the Pope to excommunicate all who should not appear in arms on the next St. John's day. His chief counsellor seemed to be Herman of Salza, the Master of the Teutonic Order, as deeply devoted to the service of the Holy Land, as the Templars and Knights of St. John. On that Order he heaped privileges and possessions. But already in Rome, no doubt among the old austere anti-German party, were dark suspicions, solemn admonitions, secret warnings to the mild Pope, that no son of the house of Swabia could be

* Otho died 19th May, 1218.—See *Narratio de Morte Ottonis IV. apud Martene et Durand Thes. His. Anecd.* iii. p. 1373. "Præcepit coquariis ut in collum suum conculcarent."—Albert. Stadens. Chron. p. 204.

otherwise than an enemy to the Church: the Imperial crown and the kingdom of Naples could not be in the possession of one Sovereign without endangering the independence of the Papacy. Frederick repelled these accusations of hostility to the Church with passionate vehemence. "I well know that those who dare to rise up against the Church of Rome have drunk of the cup of Babylon; and hope that during my whole life I shall never be justly charged with ingratitude to my Holy Mother. I design not, against my own declaration, to obtain the election of my son Henry to the throne of Germany in order to unite the two kingdoms of Germany and Sicily; but that in my absence (no doubt he implies in the Holy Land), the two realms may be more firmly governed; and that in case of my death, my son may be more certain of inheriting the throne of his fathers. That son remains under subjection to the Roman See, which, having protected me, so ought to protect him in his undoubted rights."^d He then condescends to exculpate himself from all the special charges brought against him by Rome.

The correspondence continued on both sides in terms of amicable courtesy. Each had his object, of which he never lost sight. The Pope would even hazard the aggrandisement of the house of Swabia if he could send forth an overpowering armament to the East. Frederick, secure of the aggrandisement of his house, was fully prepared to head the Crusade. Honorius consented that, in case of the death of Henry the son of Frederick without heir or brother, Frederick should hold both the Empire and the king-

Sept. 6, 1219.
Correspondence with the Pope.

^d Regest. Hon., quoted from the Vatican archives by Von Raumer, iii. p. 324

dom of Naples during his lifetime. Frederick desired to retain unconditionally the investiture of both kingdoms; but on this point the Pope showed so much reluctance that Frederick broke off the treaty by letter, reserving it for a personal interview with the Pope. "For who could be more obedient to the Church than he who was nursed at her breast and had rested in her lap? Who more loyal? Who would be so mindful of benefits already received, or so prepared to acknowledge his obligations according to the will and pleasure of his benefactors?" Such were the smooth nor yet deceptive words of Frederick.* Frederick had already consented, even proposed, that the Pope should place all the German Princes who refused to take up the Cross under the interdict of the Church, and thus, as the Pope reminds him, had still more inextricably bound himself, who had already vowed to take up that Cross. Frederick urged Honorius to write individually to all the princes among whom there was no ardour for the Crusade, to threaten them with the ban if at least they did not maintain the truce of God; he promised, protesting that he acted without deceit or subtlety, to send forward his forces, and follow himself as speedily as he might. The Pope expressed his profound satisfaction at finding his beloved son so devoted to God and to the Church. He urged him to delay no longer the holy design: "Youth, power, fame, your vow, the example of your ancestors, summon you to fulfil your glorious enterprise. That which your illustrious grandfather Frederick I. undertook with all his puissance, it is your mission to bring to a glorious end. Three times have I

March, 1226.

* All this I am not surprised to find by such writers as Höfler represented as the most deliberate hypocrisy. I am sorry to see the same partial view in Boehmer's Regesta.

consented to delay; I will even prolong the term to the 1st of May. Whose offer is this?—Not mine; but that of Christ! Whose advantage?—That of all his disciples! Whose honour?—That of all Christians! Are you not invited by unspeakable rewards? summoned by miracles? admonished by examples?"

But, in the mean time, Frederick, without waiting the assent of the Pope, had carried his great design, the election of his son Henry to the crown of Germany. His unbounded popularity, his power now that his rival Otho was dead, the fortunate falling in of some great fiefs (especially the vast possessions of Berthold of Zahringen, which enabled him to reward some, to win others of the nobler houses), his affability, his liberality, his justice, gave him command over the suffrages of the temporal princes. By a great measure of wisdom and justice, the charter of the liberties of the German Church, on which some looked with jealousy as investing him with dangerous power, he gained the support of the high ecclesiastics.^f The King surrendered the unkingly right or usage of seizing to his own use the personalities of bishops on their decease. These effects, if not bequeathed by will, went to the bishop's successor. The King consented to renounce the right of coining money and levying tolls within the territory of the bishops without their consent; and to punish all forgeries of their coin. The vassals and serfs of the prelates were to be received in no imperial city or fief of the Empire to their damage. The advocates, under pretence of protection, were not to injure the estates of the Church: no one was to occupy by force an ecclesiastical fief. He who did not submit

Diet of
Frankfort.
April, 1220.
Election of
Henry as his
successor.
Apr. 26, 1220.

^f Monument. Germ. iv. 235.

within six weeks to the authority of the Church fell under the ban of the Empire, and could neither act as judge, plaintiff, nor witness in any court. The Bishops, on their side, promised to prosecute and to punish all who opposed the will of the King. The King further stipulated that no one might erect castles or fortresses in the lands of a spiritual prince. No officer of the King had jurisdiction, could coin money, or levy tolls in the episcopal cities, except eight days before and eight days after a diet to be held in such city. Only when the King was actually within the city was the jurisdiction of the prince suspended, and only so long as he should remain.

The election of Henry to the throne of Germany without the consent of the Pope struck Rome with dismay. Frederick made haste to allay, if possible, the jealous apprehension. He declared that it was the spontaneous act of the Princes of the Empire during his absence, without his instigation. They had seen, from a quarrel which had broken out between the Archbishop of Mentz and the Landgrave of Thuringia, the absolute necessity of a King to maintain in Frederick's absence the peace of the Empire. He had even delayed his own consent. The act of election would be laid Nuremberg,
July 13. before the Pope with the seals of all who had been concerned in the affair.^g He declared that this election was by no means designed to perpetuate the union of the kingdom of Naples with the Empire. "Even if the Church had no right over the kingdom of Apulia and Sicily, I would freely grant that kingdom to the Pope rather than attach it to the Empire, should I die without lawful heirs."^h He significantly adds, that it

^g Regest., quoted by Von Raumer, p. 335. Pertz, Monumenta.

^h "Prius ipso regno Romanam Ecclesiam quam Imperium dotaremus."—*Ibid.*

is constantly suggested to him that the love professed to him by the Church is not sincere and will not be lasting, but he had constantly refused to entertain such ungrounded and dishonourable suspicions.

The Abbot of Fulda had, in the mean time, been despatched to Rome to demand the coronation of Frederick as Emperor. This embassy had been usually the office of one of the great prelates of Germany, but the mild Honorius took no offence, or disguised it. At the end of August Frederick descended the Alps into the plain of Lombardy. Eight years before, a boy of eighteen, he had crossed those Alps, almost alone, on his desperate adventure of wresting the crown of his fathers from the brow of Otho. He came back, in the prime of life, one of the mightiest kings who had ever occupied that throne; stronger in the attachment of all orders, perhaps, than any former Swabian king; having secured, it might seem, in his house, at least the Empire, if not the Empire with all its rights in Italy; and with the kingdom of Sicily, instead of a hostile power at the command of the Popes, his own, if not in possession, in attachment. During these eight years Italy had been one great feud of city with city, of the cities within themselves. Milan, released from fears of the Emperor, had now begun a quarrel with the Church. The Podestà expelled the Archbishop. Parma and many other cities had followed this example; the bishops were driven out, their palaces destroyed, their property plundered: the great ability of the Cardinal Ugolino, afterwards Gregory IX., had restored something like order, but the fire was still smouldering in its ashes.

Frederick passed on without involving himself in these implacable quarrels: it was time to assert the Imperial rights when invested in the Imperial crown. He had

crossed the Brenner, and moving by Verona and Mantua, so avoided Milan. The absence of the Archbishop from Milan was a full excuse for his postponing his coronation with the iron crown of Lombardy. He granted rights and privileges to Venice, Genoa, Pisa; overawed or conciliated some cities. On the thirtieth of September he was in Verona, on the fourth of October in Bologna. His Chancellor, Conrad of Metz, had arranged the terms on which he was to receive the Imperial crown. Frederick advanced with a great array of churchmen in his retinue—the Archbishops of Mentz, of Ravenna, the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Bishops of Metz, Passau, Trent, Brixen, Augsburg, Duke Louis of Bavaria, and Henry Count Palatine. Ambassadors appeared from almost all the cities of Italy: from Apulia, from the Counts of Celano, St. Severino, and Aquila; deputies from the city of Naples. The people of Rome were quiet and well pleased. The only untoward incident which disturbed the peace was a quarrel about a dog between the Ambassadors of Florence and Pisa, which led to a bloody war. On the twenty-second of November Frederick and his Queen were crowned in St. Peter's amid universal acclamations. Frederick disputed not the covenanted price to be paid for the Imperial crown. He received the Cross once more from the hand of Cardinal Ugolino. He swore that part of his forces should set forth for the Holy Land in the March of the following year, himself in August. He released his vassals from their fealty in all the territories of the Countess Matilda, and made over the appointment of all the podestàs to the Pope; some who refused to submit were placed by the Chancellor Conrad under the ban of the Empire. He put the Pope in possession of the whole region from Radicofani to

Frederick
in Italy.
Aug. 17,
1220.

Ceperano, with the March of Ancona and the Duchy of Spoleto.

His liberality was not limited to these grants. Two laws concerning the immunities of ecclesiastics and the suppression of heretics might satisfy the severest churchman. The first absolutely annulled all laws or usages of cities, communities, or ruling powers which might be or were employed against the liberties of the churches or of spiritual persons, or against the laws of the Church and of the Empire. Outlawry and heavy fines were enacted not only against those who enforced, but who counselled or aided in the enforcement of such usages: the offenders forfeited, if contumacious for a whole year, all their goods.¹ No tax or burthen could be set upon ecclesiastics, churches, or spiritual foundations. Whoever arraigned a spiritual person before a civil tribunal forfeited his right to implead; the tribunal which admitted such arraignment lost its jurisdiction; the judge who refused justice three times to a spiritual person in any matter forfeited his judicial authority.

The law against heretics vied in sternness with that of Innocent III., confirmed by Otho IV.^k All Cathari, Paterines, Leonists, Speronists, Arnoldists, and dissidents of all other descriptions, were incapable of holding places of honour, and under ban. Their goods were confiscated, and not restored to their children; "for outrages against the Lord of Heaven were more heinous than against a temporal lord." Whoever, suspected of heresy, did not clear himself after a year's trial was to be treated as a heretic. Every

¹ Constit. Frederici II. in Corp. Jur. tit. i. Bullar. Roman. i. 63.

^k This law was renewed and made more severe, 1224. Raynald. sub ann. 1231.

magistrate on entering upon office must himself take an oath of orthodoxy, and swear to punish all whom the Church might denounce as heretics. If any temporal lord did not rid his lands of heretics, the true believers might take the business into their own hands, and seize the goods of the delinquent, provided that the rights of an innocent lord were not thereby impeached. All who concealed, aided, protected heretics were under ban and interdict; if they did not make satisfaction within two years, under outlawry; they could hold no office, nor inherit, nor enter any plea, nor bear testimony.

Three other laws, based on the eternal principles of morality, accompanied these acts of ecclesiastical legislation, or of temporal legislation in the spirit of the Church. One prohibited the plundering of wrecks, excepting the ships of pirates and infidels. Another protected pilgrims; they were to be received with kindness; if they died, their property was to be restored to their rightful heirs. The third protected the persons and labours of the cultivators of the soil. Other laws.

The Pope and the Emperor, notwithstanding some trifling differences, parted in perfect amity. "Never," writes Honorius, "did Pope love Emperor as he loved his son Frederick." Each had obtained some great objects; the Pope the peaceable surrender of the Matildine territories, and the solemn oath that Frederick would speedily set forth on the Crusade. The Emperor retired in peace and joy to the beloved land of his youth. The perilous question of his right to the kingdom of Sicily had been intentionally or happily avoided; he had been recognised by the Pope as Emperor and King of Sicily. Sept. 8. There were still brooding

causes of mutual suspicion and dissatisfaction. Frederick pursued with vigour his determination of repressing the turbulent nobles of Apulia; the castles of the partisans of Otho were seized; they fled, and, he bitterly complained, were received with more than hospitality in the Papal dominions. He spared not the inimical bishops; they were driven from their sees; some imprisoned. The Pope loudly protested against this audacious violation of the immunities of Churchmen. Frederick refused them entrance into the kingdom; he had rather forfeit his crown than the inalienable right of the sovereign, of which he had been defrauded by Innocent III., of visiting treason on all his subjects.^m

Then in the next year came the fatal news from the East—the capture, the disasters which followed the capture of Damietta. The Pope and the Emperor expressed their common grief; the Pope was bowed with dismay and sorrow;ⁿ the tidings pierced as a sword to the heart of Frederick.^o Frederick had sent forty triremes, under the Bishop of Catania and the Count of Malta; they had arrived too late. But this dire reverse showed that nothing less than an overwhelming force could restore the Christian cause in the East; and in those days of colder religious zeal, even the Emperor and King of Sicily could not at once summon such overwhelming force. Frederick was fully occupied in the Sicilian dominions. During his minority, and during his absence, the powerful Germans, Normans, Italians, even Churchmen, had

^m “Chè prima si lascierrebbe torre la corona, chè derogar in un punto da questi suoi diritti.”—Giannone, l. xvi. c. 1.

ⁿ Letter of Pope Honorius, Nov. 1221.

^o Epist. Honor. apud Raynald. Aug. 10, 1221.

usurped fiefs, castles, cities:^p he had to resume by force rights unlawfully obtained, to dispossess men whose only title had been open or secret leanings to the Emperor Otho; to punish arbitrary oppression of the people; to destroy strong castles built without licence; to settle ancient feuds and suppress private wars: it needed all his power, his popularity, his firmness, to avert insurrection during these vigorous but necessary measures. Two great assizes held at Capua and Messina Dec. 1220 to May, 1221. showed the confusion in the affairs of both kingdoms. But from such nobles he could expect no ready obedience to assemble around his banner for an expedition to the Holy Land. Instead of a great fleet, suddenly raised, as by the wand of an enchanter (this the Pope seemed to expect), and a powerful army, in April in the year 1222 the Pope and the Meeting at Veroli. Emperor met at Veroli to deliberate on the Crusade. They agreed to proclaim a great assembly at Verona in the November of that year, at which the Pope and the Emperor were to be present. All princes, prelates, knights, and vassals were to be summoned to unite in one irresistible effort for the relief of the East. The assembly at Verona did not take place; the illness of the Pope, the occupations of the Emperor, were alleged as excuses for the further delay. A second time the Pope and the Emperor met at Ferentino; with them King John of Jerusalem, the At Ferentino. March, 1223. Patriarch, the Grand Master of the Knights Templars. Frederick explained the difficulties which had impeded his movements, first in Germany, now in Sicily. To the opposition of his turbulent barons was now added the danger of an insurrection of the Saracens in Sicily.

^p Letter of Frederick to the Pope from Trani, March 3, 1221

Frederick himself was engaged in a short but obstinate war.⁴ Even the King of Jerusalem deprecated the despatch of an insufficient force. Two full years were to be employed, by deliberate agreement, in awakening the dormant zeal of Christendom; but Frederick, now a widower, bound himself, it might seem, in the inextricable fetters of his own personal interest and ambition, by engaging to marry Iolante, the beautiful daughter of King John.

Two years passed away; King John of Jerusalem travelled over Western Christendom, to England, France, Germany, to represent in all lands the state of extreme peril and distress to which his kingdom was reduced. Everywhere he met with the most courteous and royal reception; but the days of Peter the Hermit and St. Bernard were gone by. France, England, Germany, Spain, were involved in their own affairs; a few took the Cross, and offered sums of money to no great amount; and this was all which was done by the royal preacher of the Crusade. Tuscany and Lombardy were almost as indifferent to the expostulations of Cardinal Ugolino, who had for some years received full power from the Emperor to awaken, if possible, the sluggish ardour of those provinces. King John and the Patriarch, after visiting Apulia, reported to the Pope the

⁴ The two following passages show that this was no feigned excuse:—
 “Imperator in Sicilia de Mirabello triumphavit, et de ipso et suis fecit quod eorum meruerat exigentia commissorum.” — Richd. San. Germ.
 “Dominus Fredericus erat cum magno exercitu super Saracenos Jacis, et cepit Benavith cum filiis suis, et suspendit apud Panormum.”—Anon. Sic. He

afterwards transplanted many of them to Lucera. So far was Frederick as yet from any suspicious dealings with the Saracens. The Parliament at Messina had passed persecuting laws against the Jews. A law of the same year protected the churches and the clergy from the burthens laid upon them by the nobles.

absolute impossibility of raising any powerful armament by the time appointed in the treaty of Ferentino.

Honorius was compelled to submit; at San Germano was framed a new agreement, by two Cardinals At San Germano. commissioned by the Pope, which deferred for July, 1225. two years longer (till August, 1227) the final departure of the Crusade.^r Frederick permitted himself to be bound by stringent articles. In that month of that year he would proceed on the Crusade, and maintain one thousand knights at his own cost for two years: for each knight who was deficient he was to pay the penalty of fifty marks, to be at the disposal of the King, the Patriarch, and the Master of the Knights Templars, for the benefit of the Holy Land. He was to have a fleet of 150 ships to transport 2000 knights, without cost, to Palestine. If so many knights were not ready to embark, the money saved was to be devoted to those pious interests. He was to place in the hands of the same persons 100,000 ounces of gold, at four several periods, to be forfeited for the same uses, if in two years he did not embark on the Crusade. His successors were bound to fulfil these covenants in case of his death. If he failed to perform any one of these covenants; if at the appointed time he did not embark for the Holy Land; if he did not maintain the stipulated number of knights; if he did not pay the stipulated sums of money; he fell at once under the interdict of the Church: if he left unfulfilled any other point, the Church, by his own free admission, had the power to pronounce the interdict.

Personal ambition, as well as religious zeal, or the policy of keeping on good terms with the spiritual power, might seem to mingle with the aspirations of the

^r Ric. San. Germ., sub ann.

Emperor Frederick for the Holy Land; to his great Empire he would add the dominions of the East. In the November of the same year, after the signature of the treaty in San Germano, he celebrated his marriage with Iolante, daughter of the King of Jerusalem. No sooner had he done this, than he assumed to himself the title of King of Jerusalem: he caused a new great seal to be made, in which he styled himself Emperor, King of Jerusalem and Sicily. John of Jerusalem was King, he asserted, only by right of his wife; on her death, the crown descended to her daughter; as the husband of Iolante he was the lawful sovereign.^s King John, by temperament a wrathful man, burst into a paroxysm of fury; high words ensued; he called the Emperor the son of a butcher; he accused him of neglecting his daughter, of diverting those embraces due to his bride to one of her attendants. He retired in anger to Bologna. Frederick had other causes for suspecting the enmity of his father-in-law. He was the brother of Walter of Brienne; and rumours had prevailed that he intended to claim the inheritance of his brother's wife, the daughter of the Norman Tancred. But John filled Italy with dark stories of the dissoluteness of the gallant Frederick: that he abstained altogether from the bed of Iolante is refuted by the fact that two years after she bore him a son, which Frederick acknowledged as his own. They appeared even during that year, at least with all outward signs of perfect harmony.

* "Desponsatâ puellâ Imperator patrem requisivit; ut regna et regalia jura resignet—stupefactus ille obedit." —*Jord. apud Raynald.* Yet if we are to believe the Chronicle of Tours, he

just at that time threw Iolante into prison, and ravished her cousin, the daughter of Walter of Brienne. Was this one of the tales told by the King of Jerusalem?

Nor was this the only event which crossed the designs of Frederick, if he ever seriously determined to fulfil his vow (where is the evidence, but that of his bitter enemies, that he had not so determined?). Throughout all his dominions, instead of that profound peace and established order which might enable him, at the head of the united knighthood of the Empire and of Italy, to break with irresistible forces upon the East; in Germany the assassination of the wise and good Engelbert, Archbishop of Cologne,[†] to whom Frederick had entrusted the tutelage of his son Henry, and the administration of the Empire, threatened the peace of the realm. In Lombardy, Guelf and Ghibelline warred, intrigued; princes against princes, Bonifazio of Montferrat and the house of Este against the Salinguerra, and that cruel race of which Eccelin di Romano was the head, Venice and Genoa, Genoa and Pisa, Genoa and Milan, Asti and Alexandria, Ravenna and Ferrara, Mantua and Cremona, even Rome and Viterbo, were now involved in fierce hostility, or pausing to take advantage each of the other; and each city had usually a friendly faction within the walls of its rival. Frederick, who held the lofty Swabian notion as to the prerogative of the Emperor, had determined with a high hand to assert the Imperial rights. He hoped, with his Ghibelline allies, to become again the Sovereign of the north of Italy. He was prepared to march at the head of his Southern forces; a Diet had been summoned at Verona. Milan again set herself at the head of a new Lombard League. In Milan the internal strife between the nobles and the people, between the Archbishop and the Podestà, had been allayed

State of
Italy.

[†] Godfred. Monach. apud Boehmer Fontes, Nov. 7, 1225.

by the prudent intervention of the Pope, to whom the peace of Milan was of infinite importance, that the republic might put forth her whole strength as head of the Lombard League.^u Milan was joined by Bologna, Piacenza, Verona, Brescia, Faenza, Mantua, Vercelli, Lodi, Bergamo, Turin, Alessandria, Vicenza, Padua, Treviso.^x The mediation of Honorius averted the threatening hostilities. Yet the Imperialists accuse Honorius as the secret favourer of the League.^y

With Honorius himself a rupture seemed to be imminent. The Emperor, even before the treaty of San Germano, had done the Pope the service of maintaining him against his hostile subjects, compelling the Capitanata and the Maremma to return to their allegiance, coercing the populace of Rome, who in one of their usual outbursts, had driven the Pontiff from the city. The deep murmurs of a coming storm might be heard by the sagacious ear. Frederick, in his determination to reduce his Apulian kingdom to subjection, had still treated the ecclesiastical fiefs as he did the civil; he retained the temporalities in his possession during vacancies, so that five of the largest bishoprics, Capua, Aversa, Brundisium, Salerno, and Cosensa, were without bishops. Honorius, soon after the treaty of San Germano, wrote to inform the Emperor that for the good of his soul and the souls of his subjects, he had

^u The annual income of the Archbishop of Milan, according to Giulini, was 80,000 golden florins (Giulini, *Memorie*, l. *xlvi*ii.). This Giulini estimates at, in the 13th century, nearly 10 millions of lire Milanese. Cherrier reckons this sum at more than 7½ millions of francs.—Cherrier, *ii.* p. 299.

^x Compare the *Chronicon Placentinum*, particularly the strange poem, p. 69.

^y “Cujus suggestionē multæ civitates contra imperatorem conjuraverant facientes collegium.”—God. Monach. p. 395. Compare *Chronicon Placentinum*, p. 75.

appointed five learned and worthy Prelates to these sees, natives of the kingdom of Naples, and who could not, therefore, but be acceptable to the King. Frederick, indignant at this compulsory nomination, without, as was usual, even courteous consultation of the Sovereign, refused to receive the Bishops, and even repelled the Legates of the Pope from his court. He summoned, it might seem in reprisal, the inhabitants of Spoleto to his banner, to accompany him in his expedition to Lombardy. The Spoletines averred that, by the late treaty, which the Emperor was thus wantonly violating, they owed allegiance only to the Pope.

The correspondence betrayed the bitterness and rising wrath on both sides. Even Honorius Letter of Honorius. seemed about to resume the haughty tone of his predecessors. "If our writing hath filled you with astonishment, how much more were we amazed by yours! You boast that you have been more obedient to us than any of the Kings of your race. Indeed, no great boast! But if you will compare yourself with those godly and generous Sovereigns, who have in word and deed protected the Church, you will not claim superiority; you will strive to approach more nearly to those great examples. You charge the Church with treachery, that while she pretended to be your guardian, she let loose your enemies on Apulia, and raised Otho to the throne of your fathers: you venture on these accusations, who have so repeatedly declared that to the Church you owe your preservation, your life. Providence must have urged you to these rash charges that the care and prudence of the Church may be more manifest to all men." To the Church, he insinuates, Frederick mainly owes the crown of June 5, 1226. Germany, which he has no right to call hereditary

in his family. "In all our negotiations with you we have respected your dignity more than our own." "Whatever irregularity there might be in the appointment of the bishops, it was not for the King's arbitrary will to decide; and Frederick had been guilty of far more flagrant encroachments on the rights of bishops and of the lower clergy." Honorius exculpates himself from having received the rebellious subjects of the King in the territories of the See. "You accuse us of laying heavy burdens on you, which we touch not ourselves with the tip of our finger. You forget your voluntary taking up the Cross, our prolongation of the period, our free gifts of the tithes of all ecclesiastical property; our own contributions in money, the activity of our brethren in preaching the Holy Vow. In fine, the hand of the Lord is not weakened in its power to humble the haughty: be not dazzled by your prosperity, so as to throw off the lowliness which you professed in times of trouble. It is the law of true nobility not to be elated by success, as not to be cast down by adversity."

Honorius no doubt felt his strength; the Pope at the head of the Guelfic interest in Lombardy had been formidable to the designs of Frederick. The Emperor, indeed, had assumed a tone of command, which the forces which he could array would hardly maintain. At Borgo St. Donnino he had placed all the contumacious cities under the ban of the Empire; the Papal Legate, the Bishop of Hildesheim, had pronounced the interdict of the Church, as though their turbulent proceedings impeded the Crusade. Both parties submitted to the mediation of Honorius; Frederick condescended to receive the intrusive bishops whom he had repelled: he declared himself ready to accept

July 11,
1226.

the terms most consistent with the honour of God, of the Church, of the Empire, and of the Holy Land. The Pope, whose whole soul was absorbed in the promotion of his one object, the Crusade, pronounced his award, in which he treated the Emperor and his rebellious subjects as hostile powers con-
Arbitration of Honorius. Nov. 17, 1226
tending on equal terms. Each party was to suspend hostilities, to restore the prisoners taken, to forswear their animosities. The King annulled the act of the Imperial ban, and all penalties incurred under it; the Lombards stipulated to maintain at their own cost four hundred knights for the service of the Holy
Jan. 1227.
Land during two years, and rigidly to enforce all laws against heretics. This haughty arbitration, almost acknowledging the absolute independence of the Republics, was the last act of Honorius III.; he
Death of Honorius.
died in the month of March, a few months before the term agreed on in the treaty of San Germano was to expire, and the Emperor, under pain of excommunication, to embark for the Holy Land. The Apostolic tiara devolved on the Cardinal Ugolino, of the noble house of Conti, which had given to the Holy See Innocent III. The more lofty churchmen felt some disappointment that the Papacy was declined by Cardinal Conrad, the Count of Urach, the declared enemy of Frederick. They mistrusted only the feebleness of age in the Cardinal Ugolino. A Pope eighty years old, might seem no fitting antagonist for a Prince like Frederick, as yet hardly in the full maturity of his years. In all other respects the Cardinal Ugolino, in learning, in ability, in activity, in the assertion of the loftiest hierarchical principles, stood high above the whole conclave. Frederick himself, on a former occasion, had borne testimony to the distinguished character

of the Cardinal Ugolino. "He is a man of spotless reputation, of blameless morals, renowned for piety, erudition, and eloquence. He shines among the rest like a brilliant star." The emperor's political astrology had not calculated the baleful influence of that disastrous planet on his fortunes, his fame, and his peace.

CHAPTER II.

Honorius III. and England.

THE relations of Honorius III. to the Empire and the Emperor Frederick II. were no doubt of the most profound importance to Christendom; yet those to England must find their place in an English history.* We revert to the commencement of his Papacy. The first care, indeed, of Pope Honorius was for the vassal kingdom of England. The death of King John, three months after that of Innocent III., totally changed the position of the Pontiff. On his accession Honorius had embraced with the utmost ardour the policy of Innocent. King John, the vassal of the Papacy, must be supported against his rebellious barons, and against the invasion of Louis of France, by all the terrors of the Papal power. Louis and all his army, the Barons and all their partisans, were under the most rigorous form of excommunication. But on John's death, the Pope is no longer the haughty and unscrupulous ally and protector of an odious, feeble, and irreligious tyrant; of one whose lusts had wounded

* Mr. Wm. Hamilton, when ambassador at Naples, rendered to the country the valuable service of obtaining transcripts of the documents in the Papal archives relating to Great Britain and the See of Rome. These documents, through the active zeal of M. Panizzi, are now deposited in the British Museum. They commence, after one or two unimportant papers, with the first year of Honorius. They are not very accurately copied; many are repetitions; whether they are full and complete no one can know. Many have been already printed in Rymer, in Raynaldus, and elsewhere. Prynne had seen some of the originals, some which do not appear, in the Tower. I cite these documents as MS. B. M.

the high chivalrous honour of many of the noblest families; whose perfidy, backed by the absolving power of the Pope, had broken the most solemn engagements, and revoked the great Charter to which he had submitted at Runnymede; who was ravaging the whole realm with wild foreign hordes, Brabanters, Poitevins, freebooters of all countries, and had driven the nobles of England into an unnatural alliance with Louis of France, and a transference of the throne to a foreign conqueror. The Pope was no longer the steadfast enemy of the liberties of the realm. He assumed the lofty ground of guardian, as liege lord, of the young heir to the throne (Henry III. was but nine years old), the protector of a blameless orphan whom a rebellious baronage and an alien usurper were endeavouring to despoil of his ancestral crown. Honorius throughout speaks of the young Henry as the vassal of the Church of Rome; of himself as the suzerain of England.^b English loyalty and English independence hardly needed the Papal fulminations to induce them to abandon the cause into which they had plunged in their despair,^c the cause of a foreign prince, whose accession to the throne of England would have reduced the realm to a province of France. Already their fidelity to Louis had been shaken by rumours, or

^b John he describes as "carissimum in Christo filium nostrum J., Angliæ regem illustrem cruce signatum et vassallum nostrum."—p. 15. The kingdom of England "specialis juris apost. sedis existit."—p. 27. The Bulls of Honorius have been printed in an appendix to the Royal Letters of the time of Henry III., by Mr. Shirley. Rolls Publications, 1862.

^c Honorius admits that the Barons might have had some cause for their

wickedness (malitia) in resisting under John what they called the intolerable yoke of servitude. Now that John is dead, they have no excuse if they do not return to their allegiance. He gives power to the Legates, to the Bishops of Winchester, Worcester, Exeter, the Archbishops of Dublin and Bordeaux (the Primate was still in Rome), to absolve the Barons from their oaths to Prince Louis.

more than rumours, that the ambitious and unscrupulous Louis intended, so soon as he had obtained the crown, to rid himself by banishment and by disinheritance of his dangerous partisans; to expel the barons from the realm.^d The desertion of the nobles, the decisive battle of Lincoln, seated Henry III. on the throne of the Plantagenets. The Pope had only to reward with his praises, immunities, grants, and privileges the few nobles and prelates faithful to the cause of John and of his son, W. Mareschal Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Arundel, Savary de Mauleon, Hubert de Burgh the Justiciary, the Chancellor R. de Marisco, who became Bishop of Durham.^e He had tardily, sometimes ungraciously, to relieve from the terrible penalties of excommunication the partisans of Louis; ^f to persuade or to force the King of France to withdraw all support from the cause of his son, who still continued either in open hostility or in secret aggression on the continental dominions of Henry III.; and to maintain his lofty position as Liege Lord and Protector of the King and of the realm of England.

The Legate Gualo, the Cardinal of St. Marcellus, had conducted this signal revolution with consummate address

^d Shakespeare has given this plot, with its groundwork in the confession of the Court of Melun.—King John, Act v. Sc. 4.

^e There are several letters (MS. B.M.) to these English nobles; one to Robert de Marisco empowered him to hold the chancellorship with the bishopric of Durham, and excused him from the fulfilment of his vow to take the cross in the Holy Land, his services being wanted in England. On R. de Marisco compare Collier, i.

p. 430.

^f There are some curious instances (MS. B. M.) of the terror of the excommunications. One of the subjects of France, in fear of his life from a fall from his horse, implores absolution for having followed his sovereign's son to the English war: the Pope would hardly excuse him from a journey to Rome. The Chancellor of the King of Scotland is excommunicate for obeying his King. So too the Archbishop of Glasgow.

and moderation.^g From the coronation of Henry III. at Gloucester by his hands, the Cardinal took the lead in all public affairs: he was virtual if not acknowledged Protector of the infant King. Before the battle of Lincoln the Legate harangued the royal army, lavished his absolutions, his promises of eternal reward; under the blessing of God, bestowed by him, the army advanced to victory.^h In the settlement of the kingdom, in the reconciliation of the nobles, he was mild if lofty, judicious if dictatorial. England might have owed a deep debt of gratitude to the Pope and to the Legate, if Gualo's fame had not been tarnished by his inordinate rapacity.ⁱ To the nobles he was liberal of his free absolution; the clergy must pay the penalty of their rebellion, and pay that penalty in forfeiture, or the redemption of forfeiture by enormous fines to the Pope and to his Legate. Inquisitors were sent through the whole realm to investigate the conduct of the clergy.^k The lower ecclesiastics, even canons, under the slightest suspicion of the rebellion, were dispossessed of their benefices to make room for foreign priests; the only way to elude degradation was by purchasing the favour of the Legate at a vast price. The Bishop of Lincoln

^g Letter to the Abbots of Citeaux and Clairvaux (MS. B. M. i. p. 43). They are to use all mild means of persuasion, to threaten stronger measures.

^h Wendover, p. 19.

ⁱ Compare the verses of Giles de Corbeil, p. 69, on the avarice of Gualo in France.

^k Wendover, p. 33. The inquisitors sent some "suspensos ad legatum et ab omni beneficio spoliatos, qui illorum beneficia suis clericis abundanter distribuit atque de damnis aliorum suos

omnes divites fecit." Wendover gives the case of the Bishop of Lincoln, whose example was followed by others, who "sumptibus nimis damnosis gratiam sibi reconciliabant legati. Clericorum vero et canonicorum secularium ubique haustu tam immoderato loculos evacuavit," &c. See also Math. Westm. ann. 1218, who describes Gualo returning to Rome, "clitellis auro et argento refertis," having disposed *ad libitum* of the revenues (redditus) of England.

for his restoration to his see paid 1000 marks to the Pope, 100 to the Legate.^m

Throughout the long reign of Henry III. England was held by successive Popes as a province of the Papal territory. The Legate, like a prætor or proconsul of old, held or affected to hold an undefined supremacy: during the Barons' wars the Pope with a kind of feudal as well as ecclesiastical authority condemned the rebels, not only against their Lord, but against the vassal of the Holy See. England was the great tributary province, in which Papal avarice levied the most enormous sums, and drained the wealth of the country by direct or indirect taxation. There were four distinct sources of Papal revenue from the realm of England.

1. The ancient payment of Peter's Pence; ^a this

^a Pope Honorius was not well informed on the affairs of England. When Henry was counselled to take up arms to reduce the castles held by the ruffian Fulk de Breauté in defiance of the King and the peace of the realm, the Primate had supported the King and the nobles in this act of necessary justice and order by ecclesiastical censures. The Pope wrote a furious letter of rebuke to Langton (MS. B. M. ix. Aug. 1224), espousing the cause of Fulk, who had through his wealth influence at Rome. Still later

Gregory IX. reprovcs and revokes certain royal grants to Bishops and Barons, as "in grave præjudicium ecclesiæ Romanæ ad quam Regnum Angliæ pertinere dinoscitur, et enormem læsionem ejusdem regni."—MS. B. M. ad regem, vol. xiv. p. 77.

^a The account of Cenciüs, the Pope's chamberlain, of the assessment of Peter's pence in the dioceses of England, has been published before by Dr. Lingard, but may be here inserted from MS. B. M.:—

De Cantuarensi Ecclesia	vii.	libras et xviii. solidos.
De Roffensi	v.	" xii. "
De Londoniensi	xvi.	" x. "
De Norwicensi	xxi.	" x. "
De Eliensi	v.	
De Lincolnensi	xiii.	
De Cicestriensi	viii.	
De Wintoniensi	xvii.	" vi. " et viii. denarios.
De Exontensi	ix.	" v. "
De Wigorniensi	v.	" v. "
De Herefordensi	vi.	
De Bathoniensi	vi.	" v. "
De Saresbertensi	xviii.	
De Conventriæ	x.	" v. "
De Eboracensi	xi.	" x. "

subsidy to the Pope, as the ecclesiastical sovereign, acknowledged in Saxon times, and admitted by the Conqueror, was regularly assessed in the different dioceses, and transmitted to Rome. Dignitaries of the Church were usually the treasurers who paid it over to Italian bankers in London, the intermediate agents with Rome.

II. The 1000 marks—700 for England, 300 for Ireland—the sign and acknowledgment of feudal vassalage, stipulated by King John, when he took the oath of submission, and made over the kingdom as a fief. Powerful Popes are constantly heard imperiously, necessitous Popes more humbly, almost with supplication, demanding the payment of this tribute and its arrears (for it seems to have been irregularly levied);^o but during the whole reign of Henry III. and later, no question seems to have been raised of the Pope's right.

III. The benefices held by foreigners, chiefly Italians, and payments to foreign churches out of the property of the English church;^p the invasion of the English sees by foreign prelates, with its inevitable consequences (or rather antecedents, for John began the practice of purchasing the support of Rome by enriching her Italian clergy), in crowding the English benefices with strangers, and burdening them with persons who never came near them. These abuses as yet only raised deep and suppressed murmurs, ere long to break out into fierce and obstinate resistance. Pandulph, the Papal Legate, be-

^o Urban IV., MS. B. M. x. p. 29, Dec. 1261. Clement IV., *ibid.* 12, June 8, 1266.

^p The convent of Viterbo has a grant of 30 marks from a moiety of the living of Holkham in Norfolk, i. 278; 50 marks from church of Wing-

ham to convent of M. Aureo in Anagni, iii. 110. Claims of another convent in Anagni on a benefice in diocese of Winchester, vol. iv. 50. See the grants to John Peter Leone, and others, in Prynne, p. 23. MS. B. M.

came Bishop of Norwich. Pope Honorius writes to Pandulph not merely authorising but urging him to provide a benefice or benefices in his diocese of Norwich for his own (the Bishop's) brother, that brother (a curious plurality) being Archdeacon of Thessalonica.⁹ These foreigners were of course more and more odious to the whole realm: to the laity as draining away their wealth without discharging any duties; still more to the clergy as usurping their benefices; though ignorant of the language, affecting superiority in attainments; as well as from their uncongenial manners, and, if they are not belied, unchecked vices. They were blood-suckers, drawing out the life, or drones fattening on the spoil of the land. All existing documents show that the jealousy and animosity of the English did not exaggerate the evil.^r At length, just at the close of his Pontificate, even Pope Honorius, by his Legate Otho, made the bold and open demand that two prebends in every cathedral and conventual church (one from the portion of the Bishop or Abbot, one from that of the Chapter), or the sustentation of one monk, should be assigned in perpetuity to the Church of Rome. On this the nobles interfered in the King's name, inhibiting such alienation. When the subject was brought before a synod at Westminster by the Archbishop, the pro-

⁹ Pandulph is by mistake made cardinal; he was sub-deacon of the Roman Church. He is called in the documents Master Pandulph. Many letters to and from Pandulph, showing his great power and influence, may be read in the Royal Letters among the Rolls Publications.

^r MS. B. M. E. g., grant of a church to a consanguineus of the Pope, one Gervaise, excommunicated for favour-

ing the Barons, having been ejected from it, i. p. 233. Transfer from one Italian to another, 235. Grant from Bishop of Durham to Peter Saracen (Civis Romanus) of 40 marks, charged on the See for services done, ii. 158. Requiring a canonry of Lincoln for Thebaldus, scriptor noster, 186. Canonry of Chichester for a son of a Roman citizen.

posal was received with derisive laughter at the avarice of the see of Rome. Even the King was prompted to this prudent resolution: "When the rest of Christendom shall have consented to this measure, we will consult with our prelates whether it be right to follow their example." The Council of Bourges, where the Legate Otho urged the same general demand, had eluded it with the same contemptuous disregard. It was even more menacingly suggested that such general oppression from Rome might lead to a general withdrawal of allegiance from Rome.^s

Five years after, the people of England seemed determined to take the affair into their own hands. Terrible letters were distributed by unseen means, and by unknown persons, addressed to the bishops and chapters, to the abbots and friars, denouncing the insolence and avarice of these Romans; positively inhibiting any payments to them from the revenues of their churches; threatening those who paid to burn their palaces and barns over their heads, and to wreak the same vengeance on them which would inevitably fall on the Italians.^t Cencius, the Pope's collector of Peter's Pence, a Canon of St. Paul's, was suddenly carried off by armed men, with their faces hid under vizors: he returned with his bags well rifled, after five weeks' imprisonment. John of Ferentino, Archdeacon of Norwich, escaped the same fate, and concealed himself in London. Other aggressive measures followed. The barns of the Italian clergy were attacked; the corn sold or distributed to the poor.

^s Wendover, p. 114, 121, 124.
 "Quia si omnium esset universalis
 oppressio, posset timeri ne immineret
 generalis discessio, quod Deus avertat."

^t Gregory writes to the Archbishop

of Canterbury (1234) that the English
 "ægre non ferant si inter ipsos morantes
 extranei, honores ibidem et beneficia
 consequantur, cum apud Deum non
 est acceptio personarum."—MS. B. M.

It might seem almost a simultaneous rising: though the active assailants were few, the feelings of the whole people were with them.^u At one place (Wingham) the sheriff was obliged, as it appeared, to raise an armed force to keep the peace; the officers were shown letters-patent (forged as was said) in the King's name, authorising the acts of the spoiler: they looked on, not caring to examine the letters too closely, in quiet unconcern at the spoliation. The Pope (Gregory IX.) issued an angry Bull,^x which not only accused the Bishops of conniving at these enormities, and of making this ungrateful return for the good offices which he had shown to the King; he bitterly complained of the ill usage of his Nuncios and officers. One had been cut to pieces, another left half dead; the Pope's Bulls had been trampled under foot. The Pope demanded instant, ample, merciless punishment of the malefactors, restoration of the damaged property. Robert Twenge, a bold Yorkshire knight, who under a feigned name had been the ringleader, appeared before the King, owned himself to have been the William Wither who had headed the insurgents: he had done all this in righteous vengeance against the Romans, who by a sentence of the Pope, fraudulently obtained, had deprived him of the right of patronage to a benefice. He had rather be unjustly excommunicated than despoiled of his right. He was recommended to go to Rome with testimonials from the King for absolution, and this was all.^v The abuse, however, will appear

A.D. 1232.

^u The Pope so far admitted the justice of these complaints as to issue a bull allowing the patrons to present after the death of the Italian incumbents.—MS. B. M. iii. 138. Gregory IX. said that he had less frequently used this power of granting benefices in England.—Wilkin's Concilia, i. 269.

^x Apud Rymer, dated Spoleto.

^v Wendover, 292.

yet rampant, when we return to the history of the English Church.

IV. The taxation of the clergy (a twentieth, fifteenth, or tenth) as a subsidy for the Holy Land; but a subsidy grudgingly paid, and not devoted with too rigid exclusiveness to its holy purpose. Some portion of this was at times thrown, as it were, as a boon to the King (in general under a vow to undertake a Crusade), but applied by him without rebuke or remonstrance to other purposes. This tax was on the whole property of the Church, of the secular clergy and of the monasteries. Favour was sometimes (not always) shown to the Cistercians, the Præmonstratensians, the Monks of Sempringham—almost always to the Templars and Knights of St. John. Other emoluments arose out of the Crusades; compositions for vows not fulfilled; besides what arose out of bequests, the property of intestate clergy, and other sources. The Popes seem to have had boundless notions of the wealth and weakness of England. England paid, murmured, but laid up deep stores of alienation and aversion from the Roman See.²

² Clement IV. (Viterbo, May 22, 1266) orders his collector to get in all arrears "de censibus, denariis Sancti Petri, et debitis quibuscunque." Of these debts there is a long list. "Aut ex voto seu promisso, decimâ vel vicesimâ, seu redemptionibus votorum tam cruce signatorum quam aliorum,

vel depositis vel testamentamentis (sic) aut bonis clericorum decedentium ab intestato seu aliâ quâcunque ratione modo vel causâ eisdem sedi Apostolicæ et terræ sanctæ vel alteri earum a quibuscunque personis debentur." The collectors had power to excommunicate for non-payment. MS. B. M. xii.

CHAPTER III.

Frederick II. and Gregory IX.

THE Empire and the Papacy were now to meet in their last mortal and implacable strife; the two Last strife of Papacy and Empire. first acts of this tremendous drama, separated by an interval of many years, were to be developed during the Pontificate of a prelate who ascended the throne of St. Peter at the age of eighty. Nor was this strife for any specific point in dispute like the right of investiture, but avowedly for supremacy on one side, which hardly deigned to call itself independence; for independence, on the other, which remotely at least aspired after supremacy. Cæsar would bear no superior, the successor of St. Peter no equal. The contest could not have begun under men more strongly contrasted, or more determinedly oppugnant in character than Gregory IX. and Frederick II. Gregory Gregory IX. retained the ambition, the vigour, almost the activity of youth, with the stubborn obstinacy, and something of the irritable petulance of old age. He was still master of all his powerful faculties; his knowledge of affairs, of mankind, of the peculiar interests of almost all the nations in Christendom, acquired by long employment in the most important negotiations both by Innocent III. and by Honorius III.; eloquence which his own age compared to that of Tully; profound erudition in that learning which, in the mediæval churchman, commanded the highest admiration. No one was

his superior in the science of the canon law; the Decretals to which he afterwards gave a more full and authoritative form, were at his command, and they were to him as much the law of God as the Gospels themselves or the primary principles of morality. The jealous reverence and attachment of a great lawyer to his science strengthened the lofty pretensions of the churchman.*

Frederick II. with many of the noblest qualities which could captivate the admiration of his own age, in some respects might appear misplaced, and by many centuries prematurely born. Frederick having crowded into his youth adventures, perils, successes, almost unparalleled in history, was now only expanding into the prime of manhood. A parentless orphan he had struggled upward into the actual reigning monarch of his hereditary Sicily; he was even then rising above the yoke of the turbulent magnates of his realm, and the depressing tutelage of the Papal See. He had crossed the Alps a boyish adventurer, and won, so much through his own valour and daring that he might well ascribe to himself his conquest, the kingdom of Germany, the imperial crown; he was in undisputed possession of the Empire, with all its rights in Northern Italy; King of Apulia, Sicily, and Jerusalem. He was beginning to be at once the Magnificent Sovereign, the knight, the poet, the lawgiver, the patron of arts, letters, and science; the Magnificent Sovereign now holding his court in one of the old barbaric and feudal cities of

* Epist. Honor., 14th March, 1221. He is described as "Forma decorus et venustus aspectu, perspicuus ingenii et fidelis memoriæ prerogativâ donatus, liberalium artium et utriusque juris

peritiâ eminenter instructus, fluvius eloquentiæ Tullianæ, sacræ paginæ diligens observator et doctor, zelator fidei."—Cardin. Arragon. Vit. Greg IX.

Germany among the proud and turbulent princes of the Empire, more often on the sunny shores of Naples or Palermo, in southern and almost Oriental luxury; the gallant Knight and troubadour Poet not forbidding himself those amorous indulgences which were the reward of chivalrous valour, and of the "gay science;" the Lawgiver, whose far-seeing wisdom seemed to anticipate some of those views of equal justice, of the advantages of commerce, of the cultivation of the arts of peace, beyond all the toleration of adverse religions, which even in a more dutiful son of the Church would doubtless have seemed godless indifference. Frederick must appear before us in the course of our history in the full development of all these shades of character; but, besides all this, Frederick's views of the temporal sovereignty were as imperious and autocratic as those of the haughtiest churchman of the spiritual supremacy. The ban of the Empire ought to be at least equally awful with that of the Church; disloyalty to the Emperor was as heinous a sin as infidelity to the head of Christendom; the independence of the Lombard republics was as a great and punishable political heresy. Even in Rome itself, as head of the Roman Empire, Frederick aspired to a supremacy which was not less unlimited because vague and undefined, and irreconcilable with that of the Supreme Pontiff. If ever Emperor might be tempted by the vision of a vast hereditary monarchy to be perpetuated in his house, the princely house of Hohenstaufen, it was Frederick. He had heirs of his greatness; his eldest son was King of the Romans; from his loins might yet spring an inexhaustible race of princes: the failure of his imperial line was his last fear. The character of the man seemed formed to achieve and to maintain this vast design; he was at once terrible

and popular, courteous, generous, placable to his foes; yet there was a depth of cruelty in the heart of Frederick towards revolted subjects, which made him look on the atrocities of his allies, Eccelin da Romano, and the Salinguerras, but as legitimate means to quell insolent and stubborn rebellion.

The loftier churchmen, if for a moment they had misgivings on account of his age, hailed the election of Cardinal Ugolino with the utmost satisfaction. The surpassing magnificence of his coronation attested the unanimous applause of the clergy, and even of the people of Rome.^b Gregory had in secret murmured against the gentler and more yielding policy of Honorius III. Of such weakness he could not accuse himself. The old man at once threw down the gauntlet; on the day of his accession^c he issued an energetic proclamation to all the sovereigns of Christendom announcing his election to the pontificate, and summoning them to enter on a new Crusade. That addressed to Frederick was more direct, vehement, and imperative, and closed not without some significant hints that he would not long brook the delay with which the Emperor had beguiled his predecessor.^d The King's disobedience might involve him in difficulties from which the Pope himself, even if he should so will, could hardly extricate him.^e

Frederick, in the height of their subsequent contest,

^b "Tunc lugubres vestes mutavit
Ecclesia, et urbis semirutæ mœnia pris-
tinum recepere fulgorem."—Cardin.
Arragon. in Vit. See description of
the inauguration.

^c 1227, March 18. Raynaldi Annal.

^d "Alioquin quantumcunque te
sincerâ diligamus in Domino charitate,

et tibi quantum in Domino possumus
deferre velimus, id dissimulare nullâ
poterimus ratione."—Epistol. ad Fre-
deric. apud Raynaldi, March 23.

^e "Nequaquam nos et teipsum ir-
illam necessitatem inducas, de quâ
forsan te de facili non poterimus,
etiâsi voverimus, expedire."—Ibid.

reproached the Pope as having been, while in the lower orders of the Church, his familiar friend, but that no sooner had he reached the summit of his ambition than he threw off all gratitude, and became his determined enemy.^f Yet his congratulations on the accession of Gregory were expressed in the most courtly tone. The Bishop of Reggio, and Herman of Salza, the Grand Master of the Teutonic order, were his ambassadors to Rome. Gregory, on his side, with impartial severity, compelled the Lombards to fulfil and ratify the treaty which had been agreed to through the mediation of Honorius. Frederick had already transmitted to Rome the documents which were requisite for the full execution of the stipulations on his part, the general amnesty, the revocation of the Imperial ban, the release of the prisoners, the assent of King Henry. The Lombards were not so ready or so open in their proceedings. Gregory was constrained to send a strong summons to the Lombards declaring that he March 24. would no longer be tampered with by their idle and frivolous excuses: "If in this important affair ye despise, mock, or elude our commands and those of God, nothing remains for us but to invoke heaven and earth against your insolence."^g The treaty arrived in Rome the day after this summons had been despatched, wanting the seal of the Marquis of Montferrat, and of many of the cities; but Gregory would not be baffled; the Archbishop of Milan received orders to menace the cities

^f "Iste novus athleta, sinistris auspiciis factus Pontifex Generalis, amicus noster præcipuus dum in minoribus ordinibus constitutus, beneficiorum omnium quibus Imperium Christianum sacrosanctam ditavit

Ecclesiam oblitus, statim post assumptum suum fidem cum tempore varians et mores cum dignitate commutans."—Petr. de Vineâ, Epistol. i. xvi.

^g Regest. Gregor., quoted by Von Raumer, p. 416.

with ecclesiastical censures, and the treaty came back with all the necessary ratifications. In this Gregory pursued the politic as well as the just course. The Emperor must not have this plausible excuse to elude his embarkation on the Crusade at the appointed day in August. The Lombards themselves were imperatively urged to furnish their proper contingent for the Holy War. Gregory IX. knew Lombardy well, it had been the scene of his own preaching of the Cross; and the sagacious fears of the Church (the stipulations in the treaty of Honorius betrayed this sagacity and these fears) could not but discern that however these proud republics might be heartily Guelfic, cordially on the side of the Church, they were only so from their common jealousy of the Empire. But there was that tacit understanding, or at least unacknowledged sympathy, between civil and religious liberty, which must be watched with vigilant mistrust. It was manifest that the respect for their bishops in all these republics depended entirely on the political conduct of the prelates, not on the sanctity of their office. There was a remissness or reluctance in the suppression of heresy, and in the punishment of heretics, which required constant urgency and rebuke on the part of the Pope: "Ye make a great noise," writes Gregory, "about fines imposed, and sentences of exile against heretics; but ye quietly give them back their fines, and admit them again into your cities. In the mean time ye regard not the immunities of the clergy, neither their exemption from taxation nor their personal freedom; ye even permit enactments injurious to their defence of their liberties, enactments foolish and culpable, even to their banishment by the laity. Take heed, lest a more fearful interdict than that with which you have been punished

(the ban of the Empire) fall upon you, the interdict of the Church.”^h

But the Pope was not content with general exhortations to the Emperor to embark on the Crusade: he assumed the privilege of his holy office and of his venerable age to admonish the young and brilliant Frederick on his life, and on the duties of his imperial dignity. The address was sent from Anagni, to which the Pope had retired from the heats of Rome, by the famous Gualo, one of the austere Order of Friar Preachers instituted by St. Dominic.ⁱ The letter dwelt in the highest terms on the wonderful mental endowments of Frederick, his reason quickened with the liveliest intelligence, and winged by the brightest imagination. The Pope entreats him not to degrade the qualities which he possesses in common with the angels, nor to sacrifice them to the lower appetites, which he has in common with the beasts and the plants of the earth. The love of sensual things debases the intellect, the pampering of the delicate body corrupts the affections. If knowledge and love, those twin lights, are extinguished; if those eagles which should soar in triumph stoop and entangle themselves with earthly pleasures, how canst thou show to thy followers the way of salvation? “Far be it from thee to hold up this fatal example of thralldom to the sensual life. Your justice should be the pillar of fire, your mercy the cooling cloud to lead God’s chosen people into the land of promise.” He proceeds to a strange mystic interpretation of the five great ensigns of the imperial power; the

June 8.

Gregory's
letter of
admonition.

^h Regesta, *ibid.* p. 417.

ⁱ The Cardinal Ugolino had been the first to foresee the tremendous power of the new Orders. He had

been their firm protector: they were bound to him, especially the Franciscans, not only by profound reverence, but by passionate personal attachment.

inward meaning of all these mysterious symbols, the cross, the lance, the triple crown, the sceptre, and the golden apple: this he would engrave indelibly with an iron pen on the adamantine tablets of the king's heart.^k

It were great injustice to the character of Gregory to attribute this high-toned, however extravagantly mystic, remonstrance to the unworthy motives of ambition or animosity. The severe old man might, not without grounds, take offence at the luxury, the splendour, the sensuality of Frederick's Sicilian court, the freedom at least, if not licence, of Frederick's life. It was the zeal, perhaps of a monk, but yet the honest and religious zeal. Frederick's predilection for his native kingdom, for the bright cities reflected in the blue Mediterranean, over the dark barbaric towns of Germany, of itself characterises the man. The summer skies, the more polished manners, the more elegant luxuries, the knowledge, the arts, the poetry, the gaiety, the beauty, the romance of the South, were throughout his life more congenial to his mind than the heavier and more chilly climate, the feudal barbarism, the ruder pomp, the coarser habits of his German liegemen. Among the profane sayings attributed to Frederick (who was neither guarded nor discreet in his more mirthful conversation, and as his strife with the Church grew fiercer would not become more reverential), sayings caught up, and no doubt sharpened by his enemies, was that memorable one—that God would never have chosen the barren land of Judæa for his own people if he had seen his beautiful and fertile Sicily. And no doubt that delicious climate and lovely land, so highly appreciated by the gay sovereign, was not without influ-

Court of
Frederick.

^k Epistola Gregor. apud Raynaldi. Anagui, June 8

ence on the state, and even the manners of his court, to which other circumstances contributed to give a peculiar and romantic character. It resembled probably (though its full splendour was of a later period) Granada in its glory, more than any other in Europe, though more rich and picturesque from the variety of races, of manners, usages, even dresses, which prevailed within it. Here it was that Southern and Oriental luxury began to impart its mysteries to Christian Europe. The court was open to the mingled population which at that time filled the cities of Southern Italy. If anything of Grecian elegance, art, or luxury survived in the West, it was in the towns of Naples and Sicily. There the Norman chivalry, without having lost their bold and enterprising bearing, had yielded in some degree to the melting influence of the land, had acquired Southern passions, Southern habits. The ruder and more ferocious German soldiery, as many as were spared by the climate, gradually softened, at least in their outward demeanour. The Jews were numerous, enlightened, wealthy: The Mohammedan inhabitants of Sicily were neither the least polished, nor the least welcome at the court of Frederick: they were subsiding into loyal subjects of the liberal Christian King; and Frederick was accused by his enemies, and even then believed by the Asiatic and Egyptian Mussulmen, to have approximated more closely to their manners, even to their creed, than became a Christian Emperor. He spoke their tongue, admired and cultivated their science, caused their philosophy to be translated into the Latin language. In his court their Oriental manners yielded to the less secluded habits of the West. It was one of the grave charges, at a later period, that Saracen women were seen at the court of Palermo, who by their licentious-

ness corrupted the morals of his Christian subjects. Frederick admitted the truth of the charge, but asserted the pure demeanour and chastity of these Mohammedan ladies: nevertheless, to avoid all future scandal, he consented to dismiss them. This at a time when abhorrence of the Mohammedan was among the first articles of a Christian's creed; when it would have been impious to suppose a Mohammedan man capable of any virtue except of valour, a Mohammedan female of any virtue at all! The impression made by this inclination for the society of miscreant ladies, its inseparable connexion with Mohammedan habits, transpires in the Guelfic character of Frederick by Villani. The Florentine does ample justice to his noble and kingly qualities, to the universality of his genius and knowledge, "but he was dissolute and abandoned to every kind of luxury. After the manner of the Saracens he had many concubines, and was attended by Mamelukes; he gave himself up to sensual enjoyments, and led an epicurean life, taking no thought of the world to come, and this was the principal reason of his enmity to Holy Church and to the hierarchy, as well as his avarice in usurping the possessions and infringing on the jurisdiction of the clergy."^m

It was in this Southern kingdom that the first rude notes of Italian poetry were heard in the soft Sicilian dialect. Frederick himself, and his Chancellor Peter de Vineâ, were promising pupils in the gay science. Among the treasures of the earliest Italian song are several compositions of the monarch and of his poetic rival. One sonnet indeed of Peter de Vineâ is perhaps equal to anything of the kind before the time when

^m Istorie Fiorentin. vi. c. 1.

Petrarch set the common thoughts of all these amorous Platonists in the perfect crystals of his inimitable language. Of these lays most which survive are amatory, but it is not unlikely that as the kindred troubadours of Provence, the poets did not abstain from satiric touches on the clergy. How far Frederick himself indulged in more than poetic licence, the invectives of his enemies cannot be accepted as authority. It was during his first widowhood that he indulged the height of his passion for the beautiful Bianca Lancia; this mistress bore him two sons, his best beloved Enzo, during so many years of his more splendid career the pride, the delight of his heart, unrivalled for his beauty, the valiant warrior, the consummate general, the cause, by his imprisonment, of the bitterest grief, which in the father's decline bowed down his broken spirit. Enzo was born at the close of the year in which Frederick wedded Iolante of Jerusalem. The fact that Iolante died in childbed giving birth to his son Conrad, is at least evidence that he had not altogether estranged her from his affections. In public she had all the state and splendour of his queen; nor is it known that during her lifetime her peace was embittered by any more cherished rivals.

Still if this brilliant and poetic state of society (even if at this time it was only expanding to its fulness of luxury and splendour) must appear dubious at least to the less severe Christian moralist, how must it have appeared to those who had learned their notions of morals from the rule of St. Benedict rather than the Gospel; the admirers of Francis and of Dominic; men in whom human affections were alike proscribed with sensual enjoyments, and in whose religious language, to themselves at least, pleasure bore the same meaning as

sin ; men, who had prayed, and fasted, and scourged out of themselves every lingering sympathy of our common nature? How, above all, to one in whom, as in Gregory IX., age had utterly frozen up a heart, already hardened by the austere discipline of monkhood? It is impossible to conceive a contrast more strong or more irreconcilable than the octogenarian Gregory, in his cloister palace, in his conclave of stern ascetics, with all but severe imprisonment within conventual walls, completely monastic in manners, habits, views, in corporate spirit, in celibacy, in rigid seclusion from the rest of mankind, in the conscientious determination to enslave, if possible, all Christendom to its inviolable unity of faith, and to the least possible latitude of discipline; and the gay, and yet youthful Frederick, with his mingled assemblage of knights and ladies, of Christians, Jews and Mohammedans, of poets and men of science, met, as it were, to enjoy and minister to enjoyment; to cultivate the pure intellect: where, if not the restraints of religion, at least the awful authority of churchmen, was examined with freedom, sometimes ridiculed with sportive wit.

A few months were to put to the test the obedience of Frederick to the See of Rome, perhaps his Christian fidelity. By the treaty of San Germano, the August of the present year had been fixed for his embarkation for the Holy Land. Gregory, it is clear, mistrusted his sincerity; with what justice it is hard to decide. However Frederick might be wanting in fervent religious zeal, he was not in the chivalrous love of enterprise; however he might not abhor the Mohammedans with the true Christian cordiality of his day, he would not decline to meet them in arms as brave and generous foes; however the recovery of the

A.D. 1227.

Saviour's tomb might not influence him with the fierce enthusiasm which had kindled the hearers of Peter the Hermit or St. Bernard, or perhaps that which sent forth his grandsire Barbarossa: yet an Oriental kingdom, which he claimed in the right of his wife, a conquest which would have commanded the grateful admiration of Christendom, was a prize which his ambition would hardly disdain, or rather at which it would grasp with bold eagerness. Frederick was personally brave; but neither was his finer, though active and close-knit frame, suited to hew his way through hosts of unbelievers; he aspired not, and could not hope, to rival the ferocious personal prowess of our Richard Cœur de Lion, or to leave his name as the terror of Arabian mothers. Nor would his faith behold Paradise as the assured close of a battle-field with the Infidels, the remission of sins as the sure reward of a massacre of the believers in Islam. Frederick was not averse to obtain by negotiation (and surely, with the warnings of all former Crusades, especially that of his grandsire Barbarossa, not unwisely), and by taking advantage of the feuds between the Saracen princes, those conquests which some would deem it impious to strive after but by open war. Frederick had already received an embassy from Sultan Malek-al-Kameel of Egypt (of this the Pope could hardly be ignorant). Between the Egyptian and Damascene descendants of the great Saladin there was implacable hostility. Kameel had now recovered Damietta;^a he had made a treaty with the discomfited

^a In the fierce invectives of their later controversy, the Papal party attributed to the tardiness, even to the treachery of Frederick, the disastrous loss of Damietta. If he had accom-

panied the first German division of the German Crusaders, the Christians would not have been without a leader; and with his fame and power he might, by the conquest of Egypt, have re-

Crusaders. He hated his rival of Damascus even more bitterly than he did the Christians. His offers to Frederick were the surrender of the kingdom of Jerusalem, on condition of close alliance against the Sultan of Damascus. Frederick had despatched to the East an ambassador of no less rank than the Archbishop of Palermo. The Prelate bore magnificent and acceptable presents, horses, arms, it was said the Emperor's own palfrey.^o In the January of the following year the Archbishop had returned to Palermo, with presents, according to the Eastern authority, of twice the value of his own; many rare treasures from India, Arabia, Syria, and Irak. Among these, to the admiration of the Occidentals, was a large elephant.^p To the Pope, the negotiations themselves were unanswerable signs of Frederick's favour to the Infidels, and his perfidy to the cause of the Christians.^q

Yet Frederick seemed earnestly determined to fulfil his vow. Though the treaty with the Lombard cities was hardly concluded, he had made vast preparations. He had levied a large tax from the whole kingdom of Sicily for the maintenance of his forces; ^r a noble fleet

established, and for ever, the Christian dominion in the East. But Frederick certainly could not have gone at that time with a force equal to this great enterprise.

^o Ebn Férah, quoted in Michaud's *Bibliographie des Croisades*, p. 727.

^p Richd. de S. German. p. 1604. Makrisi apud Reinaud. Hugo Plagen.

^q The letter of Gregory IX. in Matth. Paris. "Quod detestabilis est, cum Soldano et aliis Saracenis nefandas (Fredericus) contrahens pactiones, illis favorem, Christianis odium

exhibit manifestum." — Sub ann. 1228, p. 348. On these rumours of the understanding between the Emperor and Sultan Kameel no doubt Gregory founded his darker charge of Frederick's having compelled the surrender of Damietta, not only by withholding all relief from the Christians when masters of it, but by direct and treacherous intercourse with the Soldan.

^r Richard de S. German. p. 1103. Alberic, ad ann. 1227. The monastery of San Germano was assessed at 450 ounces.

rode in the harbour of Brundisium: Frederick himself, with his Empress Iolante, passed over from Sicily and took up his abode in Otranto.

Pilgrims in the mean time had been assembling from various quarters. In Germany, at a great Diet at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the presence of King Henry, many of the Princes and Prelates had taken the Cross. Some of these, especially the Duke of Austria, alleged excuses from their vow. But the Landgrave of Thuringia, the husband of Elizabeth of Hungary, afterwards sainted for her virtues, tore himself from his beloved wife in the devotion to what both esteemed the higher duty.^a The Bishops of Augsburg, Bamberg, and Ratisbon accompanied the Landgrave to Italy. France seemed for once to be cold in the Holy cause (Louis IX. was in his infancy), but in England there had been a wide-spread popular movement. On the vigil of John the Baptist's day it was rumoured abroad, that the Saviour himself had appeared in the heavens, bleeding, pierced with the nails and lance, on a cross which shone like fire.^t It was to encourage forty thousand pilgrims, who were said already to have taken the Cross. This was seen more than once in different places, in order to confute the incredulous gainsayers. But of those forty thousand who were enrolled, probably no large proportion reached Southern Italy.

The Emperor, hardly released from the affairs of Northern Italy, was expected to have provisions and ships ready for the transport of all this vast undisciplined rout, of which no one could calculate the numbers.

^a Montalembert, Vie de St. Elizabeth de Hongrie.

^t Wendover, p. 144. The reading in Paris for quadraginta is sexaginta. Ed Coxse p 144.

Delays took place, which the impatient Pope, ignorant no doubt of the difficulties of maintaining and embarking a great armament, ascribed at once to the remissness or the perfidy of Frederick. The heats came on with more than usual violence, they were such, it is said, as might have melted solid metal.^u A fever broke out fatal, as ever, to the Germans.^x The Landgrave of Thuringia, the Bishops of Augsburg and of Angers were among its victims; the pilgrims perished by thousands. The death of the Landgrave was attributed not only to the wanton delay, but even to poison administered by the orders of Frederick, who, in his insatiate rapacity, coveted the large possessions of the Prince. About the appointed day Frederick himself embarked; the fleet set sail; it lost sight of the shore;—but three days after the Imperial ship was seen returning hastily to the haven of Otranto; Frederick, alleging severe illness, returned to the baths of Pozzuoli, to restore his strength. The greater part of the fleet either dispersed or, following the Emperor's example, returned to land.

Gregory heard at Anagni (the year of Gregory's accession had not yet expired) the return of Frederick, the dissolution of the armament. On St. Michael's Day, surrounded by his Cardinals and Prelates, he delivered a lofty discourse, on the text, "It must needs be that offences come, but woe unto him through whom they come." He pronounced the excommunication, which Frederick had incurred by his breach of the agreement at San Ger-

Excommu-
nication of
Frederick.
Sept. 30.

^u "Cujus ardoribus ipsa ferè solida metalla liquescent."—Card. Arragon. in Vit. Greg. IX.

^x An impostor placed himself on the steps of St. Peter's, in the attire and character of the Pope, and publicly

sold indulgences, releasing the pilgrims from their vows. After carrying on this strange bold fraud for some days, he was apprehended, and paid the penalty of his imposture.—Raynald. sub ann.

mano. Nothing was wanting to the terror. All the bells joined their most dissonant peals; the clergy, each with his torch, stood around the altar. Gregory implored the eternal malediction of God against the Emperor. The clergy dashed down their torches: there was utter darkness. The churchmen saw in this sentence the beginning of the holy strife, of the triumph of St. Michael over the subtle and scaly dragon. The sentence was followed by an address to the Apulian bishops, the subjects of Frederick. "The little bark of St. Peter, launched on the boundless ocean, though tossed by the billows, is submerged but never lost, for the Lord is reposing within her: he is awakened at length by the cries of his disciples; he commands the sea and the winds, and there is a great calm. From four quarters the tempests are now assailing our bark; the armies of the Infidels are striving with all their might that the land, hallowed by the blood of Christ, may become the prey of their impiety; the rage of tyrants, asserting their temporal claims, proscribes justice and tramples under foot the liberties of the Church: the folly of heretics seeks to rend the seamless garment of Christ, and to destroy the Sacraments of the faith; false brethren and wicked sons, by their treacherous perversity, disturb the bowels and tear open the sides of their mother." "The Church of Christ, afflicted by so many troubles, while she thinks that she is nursing up her children, is fostering in her bosom fire and serpents and basilisks,^y which would destroy everything by their breath, their bite, and their burning. To combat these monsters, to triumph over hostile armies, to appease these restless tempests, the Holy

Apostolic See reckoned in these latter times on a nursling whom she had brought up with the tenderest care. The Church had taken up the Emperor Frederick, as it were, from his mother's womb, fed him at her breasts, borne him on her shoulders; she had often rescued him from those who sought his life; instructed him, educated him with care and pain to manhood; invested him with the royal dignity; and to crown all these blessings, bestowed on him the title of Emperor, hoping to find in him a protecting support, a staff for her old age. No sooner was he King in Germany than, of his own accord, unexhorted, unknown to the Apostolic See, he took the Cross and made a vow to depart for the Holy Land; he even demanded that himself and all other Crusaders should be excommunicated if they did not set forth at the appointed time. At his coronation as Emperor we ourselves, then holding an inferior office under the most Holy Honorius, gave him the Cross, and received the renewal of his vows. Three times at Veroli, at Ferentino, at San Germano, he alleged delays; the Church in her indulgence accepted his excuses. At San Germano he made a covenant, which he swore by his soul to accomplish; if not, he incurred by his own consent the most awful excommunication. How has he fulfilled that covenant? When many thousands of pilgrims, depending on his solemn promises, were assembled in the port of Brundisium, he detained the armament so long, under the burning summer heats, in that region of death, in that pestilent atmosphere, that a great part of the pilgrims perished, the noble Landgrave of Thuringia, the Bishops of Augsburg and Angers. At length, when the ships began to return from the Holy Land, the pilgrims embarked on board of them, on the Nativity of the Blessed

Virgin, expecting the Emperor to join their fleet. But he, breaking all his promises, bursting every bond, trampling under foot the fear of God, despising all reverence for Christ Jesus, scorning the censures of the Church, deserting the Christian army, abandoning the Holy Land to the Unbelievers, to his own disgrace and that of all Christendom, withdrew to the luxuries and wonted delights of his kingdom, seeking to palliate his offence by frivolous excuses of simulated sickness.*

“Behold, and see if ever sorrow was like unto the sorrow” of the Apostolic Pontiff. The Pope describes in pathetic terms the state of the Holy Land; attributes to the base intrigues of Frederick with the Unbelievers, the fatal issue of the treaty of Damietta; “but for him, Jerusalem might have been recovered in exchange for that city. That we may not be esteemed as dumb dogs, who dare not bark, or fear to take vengeance on him, the Emperor Frederick, who has caused such ruin to the people of God, we proclaim the said Emperor excommunicate; we command you to publish this our excommunication throughout the realm; and to declare, that in case of his contumacy, we shall proceed to still more awful censures. We trust, however, that he will see his own shame; and return to the mercy of his mother the Church, having given ample satisfaction for all his guilt.”

* Compare with this statement Frederick's own account, published to the world three months after. Both he and the Landgrave had been ill; both had a relapse; both returned to Otranto, where the Landgrave died. “Præterea nondum resumptâ convalescentiâ, galeas ingressi sumus, nos et dilectus consanguineus noster Lant-

gravius, vestigia præcedentium secuti. Ubi tanta subito invasit utrumque turbatio, quod et nos in graviorem decidimus recidivam, et idem Lantgravius post accessum nostrum apud Idrontum de medio, proh dolor! est ereptus.”—Epist. Frederic. If this was untrue, it was a most audacious and easily confuted untruth.

Gregory IX. had been on the throne of St. Peter not eight months before he uttered the fulminating decree; in which some truth is so confounded and kneaded up with falsehood and exaggeration; and there is so much of reckless wrath, such want of calm, statesman-like dignity, such deliberate, almost artful determination to make the worst of everything. The passionate old man might seem desperately to abandon all hopes of future success in the Holy Land; and to take vindictive comfort in heaping all the blame on Frederick.^a

Gregory returned to Rome; Frederick had already sent ambassadors solemnly to assert that his illness was real and unfeigned, the Bishops of Bari and Reggio, and Reginald of Spoleto. By one account, the Pope refused to admit them to his presence: at all events he repelled them with the utmost scorn, and so persisted in branding the Emperor in the face of Christendom as a hypocrite and a liar.^b

Twice again, on St. Martin's Day and on Christmas Day, the Pope, amid all the assembled hierarchy, renewed and confirmed the excommunication. Frederick treated the excommunication itself with utter contempt; either through love or fear the clergy of the kingdom of Naples performed as usual all the sacred offices. At Capua he held a Diet of all the Barons of Apulia; he assessed a tax on both the kingdoms for an expedition to the Holy Land, appointed for the ensuing May. He

^a "Hic (Gregorius IX.) tanquam superbus primo anno pontificatus sui cepit excommunicare Fredericum Imperatorem pro causis frivolis et falsis."
—Abb. Urspergens. p. 247.

^b There is a letter to Frederick, quoted in Raynaldus, in the milder

tone, declaring that the Pope had been blamed for the mansuetude of his proceedings; because he had not also censured him for many acts of tyranny and invasion on the rights of the Church in Naples and Sicily.

summoned an assemblage of all his Italian subjects to meet at Ravenna, to take counsel for this common Crusade. From Capua came forth his defiant appeal to Christendom.^c In this appeal Frederick replied to the unmeasured language of the Pope in language not less unmeasured. He addressed all the Sovereigns of Christendom; he urged them to a league of all temporal Kings to oppose this oppressive league of the Pope and the Hierarchy. He declared that he had been prevented from accomplishing his vow, not, as the Pope falsely averred, by frivolous excuses, but by serious illness; he appealed to the faithful witness in Heaven for his veracity; he declared his fixed determination, immediately that God should restore him to health, to proceed on that holy expedition. "The end of all is at hand; the Christian charity which should rule and maintain all things is dried up in its fountain not in its streams, not in its branches, but in its stem. Has not the unjust interdict of the Pope reduced the Count of Toulouse and many other princes to servitude? Did not Innocent III. (this he especially addressed to King Henry of England) urge the noble Barons of England to insurrection against John, as the enemy of the Church? But no sooner had the humiliated King subjected his realm, like a dastard, to the See of Rome, than, having sucked the fat of the land, he abandoned those Barons to shame, ruin, and death. Such is the way of Rome, under words as smooth as oil and honey lies hid the rapacious blood-sucker: the Church of Rome, as though she were the true Church, calls herself my mother and my nurse, while all her acts have been those of a stepmother. The whole world pays tribute

^c Rich. de San Germ.

to the avarice of the Romans. Her Legates travel about through all lands, with full powers of ban and interdict and excommunication, not to sow the seed of the word of God, but to extort money, to reap what they have not sown. They spare not the holy churches, nor the sanctuary of the poor, nor the rights of the prelates. The primitive Church, founded on poverty and simplicity, brought forth numberless Saints: she rested on no foundation, but that which had been laid by our Lord Jesus Christ. The Romans are now rolling in wealth; what wonder that the walls of the Church are undermined to the base, and threaten utter ruin?"^d The Emperor concluded with the solemn admonition to all temporal Sovereigns to make common cause against the common adversary: "Your house is in danger when that of your neighbour is on fire." But in all this strife of counter proclamations, the advantage was with the Pope. Almost every pulpit in Christendom might propagate to the end of the earth the Papal fulminations: every wandering friar might repeat them in the ears of men. The Emperor's vindication, the Imperial ban against the Pope, might be transmitted to Imperial officers, to municipal magistrates, even to friendly prelates or monks: they might be read in diets or burgher meetings, be affixed on town-halls or market places, but among a people who could not read; who would tremble to hear them.^e

^d Matth. Paris, sub ann. 1228. Written no doubt at the end of 1227, Dec. 6; received in England in 1228.

^e "D'ailleurs les moyens de publicité faciles et puissans dans les mains du Pape, étaient presque nuls dans celles des princes séculiers, qui avant

l'imprimerie ne pouvaient que difficilement se faire entendre des masses populaires. Dans cette lutte de paroles l'avantage devoit rester au Saint Siège, puisque la chaire dont il disposoit étoit la seule tribune de ce temps."—Cherrier, *Lutte des Papes et des Empereurs*, ii. p. 239.

Yet the Emperor had allies, more dangerous to the Pope than the remote Sovereigns of Christendom. Gregory, on his return from Anagni, had been received in Rome with the acclamations of the clergy, and part at least of the people. But in Rome there had always been a strong Imperialist party, a party hostile to the ruling Pontiff. Gregory had already demolished the palaces and castle towers of some of the Roman nobles, which obstructed his view, and no doubt threatened his security in the Lateran :^f he had met with no open resistance, but such things were not done in Rome without more dangerous secret murmurs. Frederick, by timely succours during a famine in the last winter, had won the hearts of many of the populace. He had made himself friends, especially among the powerful Frangipani, by acts of prodigal generosity. He had purchased the lands of the heads of that family, and granted them back without fine as Imperial fiefs. The Frangipanis became the sworn liegemen of the Emperor's family. Roffrid of Benevento, a famous professor of Jurisprudence in Bologna, appeared in Rome and read in public, with the consent of the Senate and people of Rome, the vindication of the Emperor.

On Thursday in the Holy Week the Pope proceeded to his more tremendous censures on the impenitent Frederick. "His crimes had now accumulated in fearful measure. To the triple offence, which he had committed in the breach of the treaty of San Germano—that he had neither passed the sea to the Holy Land, nor armed and despatched the stipulated number of knights at his own cost, nor furnished the sums of money according to his obligation

March 23.
Second
excommu-
nication.
A.D. 1228.

^f Card. Arragon. in Vita.

—were added other offences. He had prevented the Archbishop of Tarento from entering his See; he had seized all the estates held by the Knights Templars and Knights of St. John within his realm; he had broken the treaty entered into and guaranteed by the See of Rome with the Count of Celano and Reginald of Acerra; he had deprived the Count Roger, though he had taken the Cross, of his followers and of his lands, and thrown his son into prison, and had refused to release him at the representation of the Holy See." All these were, in Frederick's estimation, his rebellious subjects, visited with just and lawful penalties. These aggravated crimes—for crimes they were assumed to be on the irrefragable grounds of Papal accusation—called for aggravated censures. The Pope declared every place in which Frederick might be, under interdict; all divine offices were at once to cease; all who dared to celebrate such offices were deprived of their functions and of their benefices. If he himself should dare to force his way into the ceremonies of the Church he was threatened with something worse. If he did not desist from the oppression of the churches and of ecclesiastical persons, if he did not cease from trampling under foot the ecclesiastical liberties, and from treating the excommunication with contempt, all his subjects were at once absolved from their allegiance. He was menaced with the loss of his fief, the kingdom of Naples, which he held from, and for which he had done homage to, the See of Rome. The holy ceremonies passed away undisturbed; but on the Wednesday in Easter week, while the Pope was celebrating the mass, there was suddenly

Gregory
driven from
Rome. heard a fierce cry, a howl as Gregory describes
it; and the whole populace rose in insurrec-
tion. The storm was for a time allayed; but after

some weeks Gregory found it necessary to leave Rome. He retired first to Rieti, afterwards to Perugia.^g

Frederick, in the mean time, although under excommunication, celebrated his Easter with great pomp and rejoicing at Baroli. Tidings had arrived of high importance from the Holy Land. Gregory had received, and had promulgated throughout Christendom, the most doleful accounts of the state of the Christians in Palestine. A letter addressed to the Pope by Gerold the Patriarch, Peter Archbishop of Cæsarea (the Pope's Legate), the Archbishop of Narbonne, the Bishops of Winchester and Exeter, the Grand Masters of the Templars and of St. John, announced, that no sooner had the news of the Emperor's abandonment of the Crusade arrived in Syria, than the pilgrims, to the number of forty thousand, re-embarked for the West. Only eight hundred remained, who were retained with difficulty, and were only kept up to the high pitch of enthusiasm by the promise of the Duke of Limbourg, then at the head of the army, to break the existing treaties, and march at once upon Jerusalem. On the other hand, a letter from Thomas Count of Acerra, the Lieutenant of Frederick in the Holy Land, who now held the city of Ptolemais, announced the death of the Sultan Moadhin of Damascus.^h Moadhin was the most formidable enemy of the Christians; he had been at the head of a powerful army; his implacable hatred of the Christians had brought all the more warlike Saracens under his banner: he had destroyed many of the strongholds, which, if in the power of the Crusaders,

March 26.

^g Rich. San Germ. "Quocirca idem (the Frangipanis) reversi cum Papa rursus excommunicaret imperatorem, fecerunt ut a populo pelleretur

turpiter extra civitatem."—Conrad. Ursperg. Compare Vit. Greg. IX.

^h The Christians called him Conradus. — Rich. San Germ.

might be of military importance: he had subjected Jerusalem itself to further ravage.

All the acts of Frederick now showed his determination to embark before the spring was passed for the Holy Land. He would convince the world, the Pope himself, of his sincerity. Already had he despatched considerable reinforcements to the Count of Acerra; the taxes for the armament were levied with rigour; the army which was to accompany him was drawn together from all quarters. The death of the Empress Iodante in childbirth did not delay these warlike proceedings. To Baroli he summoned all the magnates of the kingdom, to hear his final instructions, to witness his last will and testament, in case he should not return alive from his expedition. No building could contain the vast assemblage: a tribune was raised in the open air, from which the Imperial mandates were read aloud. He exhorted all the barons and prelates with their liegemen to live at peace among themselves, as in the happy days of William II. Reginald Duke of Spoleto was appointed Bailiff of the realm; his elder son Henry was declared heir both of the Empire and of the kingdom of Sicily;¹ if he died without heirs, then Conrad; afterwards any surviving son of Frederick by a lawful wife. This, his last will, could only be annulled by a later authentic testament. The Duke of Spoleto, the Grand Justiciary Henry de Morro, and others of the nobles, swore to the execution of this solemn act.

The more determined Frederick appeared to fulfil his vow, the more resolute became the Pope in his hostility. He had interdicted the payment of all taxes to the ex-

¹ Ric. de San Germ. p. 1005.

communicated sovereign by all the prelates, monasteries, and ecclesiastics of his realm.^k Pilgrims who passed the Alps to join the army were plundered by the Lombards; at the instigation (so, no doubt, it was falsely rumoured, but the falsehood is significant) of the Pope himself.^m The border of the Neapolitan kingdom was violated by the Pope's subjects of Rieti; the powerful Lords of Polito in the Capitanata renounced their allegiance to the King. Frederick went down to Brundisium; his fleet, only of twenty galleys, rode off the island of St. Andrew.ⁿ Messengers from the Pope arrived peremptorily inhibiting his embarkation on the Crusade till he should have given satisfaction to the Church, and been released from her ban. Frederick paid no attention to the mandate; he sailed to Otranto; as he left that harbour, he sent the Archbishop of Bari and Count Henry of Malta to the Pope, to demand the abrogation of the interdict: they were rejected with scorn by Gregory.^o

Frederick set sail with his small armament of twenty galleys, which contained at most six hundred knights, more, the Pope tauntingly declared, Frederick sets sail. like a pirate than a great sovereign. He could not await, perhaps he had no inclination to place himself at the head of a great Crusade, assembled from all quarters of the world, and so involve himself in a long war which he could not abandon without disgrace. He could not safely withdraw the main part of his forces, and expose his kingdom of Naples to the undisguised hostility of the Pope, with malcontents of all classes,

^k Ric. de San Germ.

^m Urspergen. sub ann. 1228.

ⁿ Jordanus, in Raynald. sub ann. Andreas Dandolo, apud Muratori, xii 544. June or July.

^o Reg. Gregor., quoted by Von Raumer, p. 445.

especially the clergy, whom he had been forced to keep down with a strong hand. He was still in secret intelligence with the Sultan of Egypt, still hoped to acquire by peaceful negotiations what his predecessors had not been able to secure by war.^p Frederick, after a prosperous voyage, landed at Cyprus: there, by acts of violence and treachery (the only account of these transactions is from hostile writers) he wrested the tutelage of the young King from John of Ibelin, whom he invited to a banquet, treated with honour as his own near kinsman, and then compelled to submit to his terms. But as the young King was cousin to his Empress Iolante, his interference, which was solicited by some of the leading men in the island, may have rested on some asserted right as nearest of kin.^q From Cyprus he sailed to Ptolemaïs (Acre): he was received with the utmost demonstrations of joy. The remnant of the pilgrims who had not returned to Europe welcomed their tardy deliverer as about to lead them to conquest; the clergy and the people came forth in long processions; the Knights of the Temple and St. John knelt before the Emperor and kissed his knee; but (inauspicious omen!) the clergy refused the kiss of peace, and declined all intercourse with one under the ban of the Church.^r At the head of a great force Frederick might have found it difficult to awe into concord the conflicting factions which divided the Christians in the Holy Land: they seemed to suspend their mutual animosities in their common jealousy of Frederick. The old estrangement of the clergy quickened rapidly into open hostility. The

At Ptolemaïs.
Sept. 7.

Frederick landed
Sept. 7.

^p See above, p. 100.

^q The mother of Henry of Cyprus was half-sister to Maria Iolante, the

mother of the Empress.

^r Matth. Paris. Urspengens. sub ann.

active hatred of the Pope had instantly pursued the Emperor, even faster than his own fleet, to the Holy Land. Two Franciscan friars had been despatched in a fast sailing bark, to proclaim to the Eastern Christians that he was still under excommunication; that all were to avoid him as a profane person. The Patriarch, the two Grand Masters of the Orders, were to take measures that the Crusade was not desecrated by being under the banner of an excommunicated man, lest the affairs of the Christians should be imperilled. The Master of the Teutonic Order was to take the command of the German and Lombard pilgrims; Richard the Marshal and Otho Peliard of the troops of the kingdoms of Jerusalem and Cyprus; in his own camp the Emperor was to be without power, nothing was to be done in his name.^s

The Knights Templars and Knights of the Hospital hardly required to be stimulated by the Papal censures to the hatred of Frederick. These associations, from bands of gallant knights vowed to protect the pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre, and to perform other Christian services, had rapidly grown into powerful Orders, with vast possessions in every Christian kingdom; and, themselves not strong enough to maintain the kingdom of Jerusalem, were jealous of all others. As yet they were stern bigots, and had not incurred those suspicions which darkened around them at a later period in their history. Frederick had placed them under severe control, with all the other too zealous partisans of the Church, in his realm of Naples and Sicily. This was one of the acts which appears throughout among the charges of tyran-

Opposition of
the clergy,
the Tem-
plars, and
Hospitaliers.

^s Richard de San Germano p. 1005.

nical maladministration in the Apulian kingdom. These religious Orders claimed the same exemptions, the same immunities, with other ecclesiastics: the mere fact that they were submitted to the severe and impartial taxation of Frederick would to them be an intolerable grievance. Their unruly murmurs, if not resistance, would no doubt provoke the haughty sovereign; his haughtiness would rouse theirs to still more inflexible opposition. Perhaps Frederick's favour to the Teutonic Order might further exasperate their jealousy. They had already filled the ears of the Pope with their clamours against Thomas of Acerra, the Lieutenant of Frederick. Gregory had proclaimed to Christendom, to France where the Templars were in great power, that "the worthy vicegerent of Frederick, that minister of Mahomet who scrupled not to employ his impious Saracens of Nocera against Christians and Churchmen in his Apulian kingdom, had openly taken part with the unbelievers against these true soldiers of the Cross." The Saracens, when the suspension of arms was at an end, had attacked a post of the Knights Templars, and had carried off a rich booty. The Templars had pursued the marauders, and rescued part of the spoil; when Thomas of Acerra appeared at the head of his troops, and, instead of siding with the Christians, had compelled them to restore the booty to the Infidels. Such was their version of this affair,[†] eagerly accredited by the Pope. It is more probable that the Lieutenant of the Emperor acted as General of the Christian forces; and that this whole proceeding was in violation of his orders,

[†] Letter of Gregory to the Legate in France, in Matth. Paris. Compare Hugo Plagen. where the Marshal Richard is represented as in command of the pilgrims.

as it clearly was on both sides, of the existing treaty. The Knights Templars and Hospitallers held themselves as entirely independent powers; fought or refused to fight according to their own will and judgement; formed no part of one great Christian army: were amenable, in their own estimation, to no superior military rule. If they had refused obedience to the Lieutenant of the Emperor or the King of Jerusalem, they were not likely to receive commands from one under excommunication. Frederick himself soon experienced their utter contumacy. He commanded them to evacuate a castle called the Castle of the Pilgrims, which he wished to garrison with his own troops. The Templars closed the gates in his face, and insultingly told him to go his way, or he might find himself in a place from whence he would not be able to make his way.^u

Frederick, however, with the main army of the pilgrims was in high popularity; they refused not to march under his standard; he appeared to approve of their determination to break off the treaty, and to advance at once upon Jerusalem. Frederick, to avoid this perpetual collision with his enemies, pitched his camp at Recordana, some distance without the gates of Ptolemaïs. He then determined to take possession of Joppa (Jaffa), and to build a strong fortress in that city. He summoned all the Christian forces to join him in this expedition. The Templars peremptorily refused, if the war was to be carried on, and the orders issued to the camp, in the name of the excommunicated Emperor. Frederick commenced his march without them; but mistrusting the small number of his forces, was obliged to submit that all orders should be issued in the name of God and of

^u Hugo Plagen.

Christianity. Frederick's occupation of Joppa, the port nearest to Jerusalem, was not only to obtain possession of a city in which he should be more completely master than in Ptolemaïs, and to strengthen the Christian cause by the erection of a strong citadel; but as the jealous vigilance of his enemies discerned, to bring himself into closer neighbourhood with the Sultan of Egypt. Kameel, the Babylonian Sultan, as he was called from the Egyptian Babylon (Cairo), was encamped in great force near Gaza. The old amity, and more than the amity, something like a close league between the Sultan of Egypt and the Emperor Frederick, now appeared almost in its full maturity. Already, soon after the loss of Damietta and its recovery from the discomfited Christians, Sultan Kameel had sent his embassy to Frederick, avowedly because he was acknowledged to be the greatest of the Christian powers, and in Sicily ruled over Mohammedan subjects with mildness, if not with favour. The interchange of presents had been such as became two such splendid sovereigns.* The secret of their negotiations, carried on by the mission of the Archbishop of Palermo to Cairo, of Fakreddin the favourite of Sultan Kameel to Sicily, could be no secret to the watchful emissaries of the Pope.

There had been mortal feud between Malek Kameel of Egypt and Malek Moadhin of Damascus. Malek Moadhin had called in the formidable aid of Gelal-eddin, the Sultan of Kharismia, who had made great conquests in Georgia, the Greater Armenia, and Northern Syria. Sultan Kameel had not scrupled to seek the aid of the Christian against Moadhin; no doubt to Frederick the

* See the Arabian history of the Patriarchs of Alexandria.

lure was the peaceful establishment of the kingdom of Jerusalem, in close alliance with the Egyptian Sultan.' On the death of Moadhin the Damascene, Sultan Kameel had marched at once into Syria, occupied Jerusalem, and the whole southern district: he threatened to seize the whole dominions of Moadhin. But a third brother, Malek Ashraf, Prince of Khelath, Edessa, and Haran on the Euphrates, took up the cause of David, the young son of Moadhin. The Christians, reinforced by Frederick's first armament under Thomas of Acerra, upon this had taken a more threatening attitude; had begun to rebuild Sidon, to man other fortresses, and to make hostile incursions. Sultan Kameel affected great dread of their power: he addressed a letter to his brother Ashraf, expressing his fears lest, to the disgrace of the Mohammedan name, the Christians should wrest Jerusalem, the great conquest of Saladin, from the hands of the true believers. Ashraf was deceived, or chose to be deceived; he abandoned the cause of the young Sultan of Damascus; he agreed to share in his spoils; Sultan Kameel was to remain in Palestine master of Jerusalem, to oppose the Christians; while Ashraf undertook the siege of Damascus. Such was the state of affairs when Frederick suddenly landed at Ptolemaïs. Sultan Kameel repented that he had invited him; he had sought an ally, he feared a master. The name of the Great Christian Emperor spread terror among the whole Mohammedan population.² Had Frederick, even though he had brought so inconsiderable a force, at once been recognised as the head of the Crusade; had he been joined cordially by the Knights of the Temple and of the Hospital, his name had still been imposing,

7 Abulfeda.

▪ Ibid.

he might have dictated his own terms. The dissensions of the Christians were fatal—dissensions which could not be disguised from the sagacious Mohammedans.

Almost the first act of King Frederick on his arrival in Palestine was an embassy, of Balian Prince of Tyre and Thomas of Acerra his Lieutenant, to the camp of his old ally Sultan Kameel; they were received with great pomp; the army drawn up in array. The embassy returned to Ptolemais with a huge elephant and other costly presents. The negotiations began at the camp of Recordana; they were continued at Joppa. The demands of Frederick were no less than the absolute surrender of Jerusalem and all the adjacent districts; the restoration of his kingdom to its full extent. The Sultan, as much in awe of the zealots of Mohammedanism as Frederick of the zealots of Christianity, alleged almost insuperable difficulties. The Emir Fakreddin, the old friend of Frederick, and another named Shems Eddin, were constantly in the Christian camp. They not merely treated with the accomplished Emperor, who spoke Arabic fluently, on the subjects of their mission, but discussed all the most profound questions of science and philosophy. Sultan Kameel affected the character of a patron of learning; Frederick addressed to him a number of those philosophic enigmas which exercise and delight the ingenious Oriental mind. Their intercourse was compared to that of the Queen of Sheba and Solomon. There were other Eastern amusements not so becoming the Christian Emperor. Christian ladies met the Mohammedan delegates at feasts, it was said with no advantage to their virtue. Among the Sultan's presents was a bevy of dancing girls, whose graceful feats the Emperor beheld with too great interest, and was not, it was said, insensible to their beauty.

The Emperor wore the Saracen dress; he became, in the estimation of the stern Churchmen, a Saracen.^a

The treaty dragged slowly on. Sultan Kameel could not be ignorant of the hostility against Frederick in the Christian camp: if he had been ignorant, the knowledge would have been forced upon him. The Emperor, by no means superior even to the superstition of the land, had determined to undertake a pilgrimage almost alone, and in a woollen robe, to bathe in the Jordan. The Templars wrote a letter to betray his design to the Sultan, that he might avail himself of this opportunity of seizing and making Frederick prisoner, or even of putting him to death. The Sultan sent the letter to the Emperor.^b From all these causes, Negotiations with Sultan Kameel. the tone of the Sultan naturally rose, that of Frederick was lowered, by the treason of which he was obliged to dissemble his knowledge, as he could not revenge it. Eastern interpreters are wont to translate all demands made of their sovereigns into humble petitions. The Arabian historian has thus, perhaps, selecting a few sentences out of a long address, toned down the words of Frederick to Sultan Kameel to abject supplication. "I am thy friend. Thou art not ignorant that I am the greatest of the Kings of the West. It is thou that hast invited me to this land; the Kings and the Pope are well informed of my journey. If I return having obtained nothing, I shall forfeit all consideration with

^a "Quod cum maximâ verecundiâ referimus et rubore, Imperatori Soldanus audiens quod secundum morem Saracenicum se haberet, misit cantatrices quæ et saltatrices dicuntur, et joculatores, personas quidem non solum infames verum etiam de quibus inter Christianos haberi mentio non debebat.

Cum quibus idem princeps hujus mundi vigiliis, potationibus, et indumentis, et omni modo Saracenus se gerebat."—Epist. Gerold. apud Raynald. 1229, v.

^b Matthew Paris, and the Arabian historians in Reinaud, p. 429. Addi tion to Michaud.

them. And after all, Jerusalem, is it not the birthplace of the Christian religion? and have you not destroyed it? It is in the lowest state of ruin; out of your goodness surrender it to me as it is, that I may be able to lift up my head among the kings of Christendom. I renounce at once all advantages which I may obtain from it." To Fakreddin, in more intimate converse, he acknowledged, according to another Eastern account, "My object in coming hither was not to deliver the Holy City, but to maintain my estimation among the Franks." He had before made large demands of commercial privileges, the exemption of tribute for his merchants in the ports of Alexandria and Rosetta. The terms actually obtained, at their lowest amount, belie this humiliating petition. The whole negotiation was a profound secret to all but Frederick and the immediate adherents to whom he condescended to communicate it.

At length Frederick summoned four Syrian Barons; he explained to them that the state of his
 Feb. 11. affairs, the utter exhaustion of his finances, made it impossible for him to remain in the Holy Land. There were still stronger secret reasons for hastening the conclusion of the treaty. A fast-sailing vessel had been despatched to Joppa, which announced that the Papal army had broken into Apulia, and were laying waste the whole land, and threatened to wrest from Frederick his beloved kingdom of Sicily. The Sultan of Babylon, he told the Barons, had offered to surrender Jerusalem, and other advantageous conditions. He demanded their advice. The Barons replied that under
 Terms of such circumstances it might be well to accept
 treaty. the terms; but they insisted on the right of fortifying the walls of Jerusalem. The Emperor then

summoned the Grand Masters of the Temple and the Hospital and the English Bishops of Winchester and Exeter; he made the same statement to them. They answered that no such treaty could be made without the assent of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, in his double capacity as head of the Syrian Church and Legate of the Pope. Frederick superciliously replied that he could dispense with the assent of the Patriarch. Gerold, before his adversary, became his most implacable foe.

One week after the first interview the treaty was signed: there is much discrepancy in the articles between the Mohammedan and Christian Feb. 18. accounts; the Mohammedans restrict, the Christians enlarge the concessions. The terms transmitted by the Patriarch to the Pope, translated from the Arabic into the French, were these:—I. The entire surrender of Jerusalem to the Emperor and his Prefects. II. Except the site of the Temple, occupied by the Mosque of Omar, which remained absolutely in the power of the Saracens: they held the keys of the gates. III. The Saracens were to have free access as pilgrims to perform their devotions at Bethlehem. IV. Devout Christians were only permitted to enter and pray within the precincts of the Temple on certain conditions. V. All wrong committed by one Saracen upon another in Jerusalem was to be judged before a Mussulman tribunal. VI. The Emperor was to give no succour to any Frank or Saracen, who should be engaged in war against the Saracens, or suffer any violation of the truce. VII. The Emperor was to recall all who were engaged in any invasion of the territory of the Sultan of Egypt, and prohibit to the utmost of his power every violation of such territory. VIII. In case of such violation of the treaty, the Emperor was to espouse and defend the cause of the Sultan

of Egypt. IX. Tripoli, Antioch, Karak, and their dependencies were not included in this treaty.^c

The German pilgrims rejoiced without disguise at this easy accomplishment of their vows; they were eager to set out to offer their devotions in the Holy Sepulchre. Frederick himself determined to accomplish his own pilgrimage, and to assume in his capital the crown of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Attended by the faithful Master of the Teutonic Knights, Herman of Salza, and accompanied by Shems Eddin, the Saracen Kadi of Naplous, he arrived on the eve of Sunday, the 19th of March, in Jerusalem: he took up his lodging in the neighbourhood of the Temple, now a Mohammedan mosque, under the guardianship of the Kadi; there were fears lest he should be attacked by some Mohammedan fanatic. But the Emperor had not arrived in Jerusalem before the Archbishop of Cæsarea appeared with instructions from the Patriarch of Jerusalem to declare him under excommunication, and to place the city of Jerusalem under the ban. Even the Sepulchre of the Lord was under interdict; the prayers of the pilgrims even in that holiest place were forbidden, or declared unholy. No Christian rite could be celebrated before the Christian Emperor, and that disgrace was inflicted in the face of all the Mohammedans!

Immediately on his arrival the Emperor visited the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The church was silent:

^c These articles are obviously incomplete; they do not describe the extent of the concessions, which, according to other statements, included, with Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and the whole district between Joppa and Jerusalem. There is nothing said, if anything was definitely agreed, as to

the right of the Emperor to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem; nor of the condition that the Saracens were only to enter Jerusalem unarmed, and not to pass the night within the walls. The important stipulation of the surrender of all Christian prisoners without ransom is altogether omitted.

not a priest appeared: during his stay no mass was celebrated within the city or in the suburbs. An English Dominican, named Walter, performed one solitary service on the morning of the Sunday. Frederick proceeded again in great pomp and in all his imperial apparel to the Church of the Sepulchre. No prelate, no priest of the Church of Jerusalem was there who ventured to utter a blessing. The Archbishops of Palermo and of Capua were present, but seem to have taken no part in the ceremony. Coronation of Frederick. The imperial crown was placed on the high altar; Frederick took it up and with his own hands placed it on his head. The Master of the Teutonic Order delivered an address in the name of the Emperor, which was read in German, in French, in Latin, and in Italian. It ran in this strain: "It is well known that at Aix-la-Chapelle I took the Cross of my own free will. Hitherto insuperable difficulties have impeded the fulfilment of my vow. I acquit the Pope for his hard judgement of me and for my excommunication: in no other way could he escape the blasphemy and evil report of men. I exculpate him further for his writing against me to Palestine in so hostile a spirit, for men had rumoured that I had levied my army not against the Holy Land, but to invade the Papal States. Had the Pope known my real design, he would have written not against me, but in my favour: did he know how many are acting here to the prejudice of Christianity, he would not pay so much respect to their complaints and representations. . . . I would willingly do all which shall expose those real enemies and false friends of Christ who delight in discord, and so put them to shame by the restoration of peace and unity. I will not now think of the high estate which is my lot on earth, but humble myself

before God to whom I owe my elevation, and before him who is his Vicar upon earth." ^d The Emperor returned through the streets wearing the crown of Jerusalem. The same day he visited the site of the Temple, whereon stood the Mosque of Omar.

The zealous Mohammedans were in bitter displeasure with Frederick, as having obtained from their easy Sultan the possession of the Holy City; yet their religious pride watched all his actions, and construed every word and act into a contempt of the Christian faith, and his respect, if not more than respect, for Islam. The Emir Shems Eddin, so writes the Arabic historian, had issued rigid orders that nothing should be done which could offend the Emperor. The house where the Emperor slept was just below the minaret from which the Muezzin was wont to proclaim the hour of prayer. But in Jerusalem the Muezzin did more. He read certain verses of the Korân; on that night the text, "How is it possible that God had for his son Jesus the son of Mary?" The Kadi took alarm; he silenced altogether the officious Muezzin. The Emperor listened in vain for that sound which in the silent night is so solemn and impressive. He inquired the reason of this silence, which had continued for two days. The Kadi gave the real cause, the fear of offending the Christian Emperor. "You are wrong," said Frederick, "to neglect on my account your duty, your law, and your religion. By God, if you should visit me in my realm,

^d If this is the genuine speech, quoted by Von Raumer from the unpublished Regesta in the Papal archives, it may show the malice of the Patriarch Gerold, who thus describes it:—"Ita coronatus resedit in cathedrâ Patriar-

chatus excusando malitiam suam et accusando ecclesiam Romanam, imponens ei quod injustè processerat contra eum; et notabilem eam fecerat inactivè et reprehensivè de insatiabili et simoniali avaritiâ."

you will find no such respectful deference." The Emperor had declared that one of the chief objects of his visit to the Holy Land was to behold the Mohammedans at prayer. He stood in wondering admiration before the Mosque of Omar; he surveyed the pulpit from which the Imaun delivered his sermons. A Christian priest had found his way into the precincts with the book of the Gospels in his hand; the Emperor resented this as an insult to the religious worship of the Mohammedans, and threatened to punish it as a signal breach of the treaty. The Arabic historian puts into his mouth these words: "Here we are all the servants of the Sultan it is he that has restored to us our Churches." So writes the graver historian.^e There is a description of Frederick's demeanour in the Temple by an eye-witness, one of the ministering attendants, in which the same ill-suppressed aversion to the uncircumcised is mingled with the desire to claim an imperial proselyte. "The Emperor was red-haired and bald, with weak sight; as a slave he would not have sold for more than 200 drachms."

Frederick's language showed (so averred some Mohammedans) that he did not believe the Christian religion; he did not scruple to jest upon it. He read without anger, and demanded the explanation of the inscription in letters of gold, "Saladin, in a certain year, purified the Holy City from the presence of those who worship many Gods."^f The windows of the Holy Chapel were closely barred to keep out the defilements of the birds. "You may shut out the birds," said Frederick, "how will ye keep out the swine?" At noon, at the hour of prayer, when all the faithful fall on

^e Makrizi, in Reinaud.

^f The Mohammedans so define the worshippers of the Trinity.

their knees in adoration, the Mohammedans in attendance on Frederick did the same; among the rest the aged preceptor of Frederick, a Sicilian Mussulman who had instructed him in dialectics. Frederick, in this at least not going beyond the bounds of wise tolerance, betrayed neither surprise nor dissatisfaction.

After but two days the Emperor retired from the interdicted city; if he took no steps to restore the walls, some part of the blame must attach to his religious foes, who pursued him even into the Holy City with such inexorable hostility.

Both the Emperor and the Sultan had wounded the Unpopularity of the treaty. pride and offended the religious prejudices of the more zealous among their people. To some the peaceful settlement of the war between Christian and Mussulman was of itself an abomination, a degenerate infringement of the good old usage, which arrayed them against each other as irreclaimable enemies: the valiant Christians were deprived of the privilege of obtaining remission of their sins by the pillage and massacre of the Islamites: the Islamites of winning Paradise by the slaughter of Christians. The Sultan of Egypt, so rude was the shock throughout the world of Islam, was obliged to send ambassadors to the Caliph of Bagdad and to the Princes on the Euphrates to explain his conduct. The surrender of Jerusalem was the great cause of affliction and shame. The Sultan in vain alleged that it was but the unwalled and defenceless city that he yielded up; there were bitter lamentations among all the Moslems, who were forced to depart from their homes; sad verses were written and sung in the streets. The Imauns of the Mosque of Omar went in melancholy procession to the Sultan to remonstrate. They attempted to overawe him by proclaiming an

unusual hour of prayer. Kameel treated them with great indignity, and sent them back stripped of their silver lamps and other ornaments of the Mosque. In Damascus was the most loud and bitter lamentation. The Sultan of Damascus was besieged in his capital by Malek el Ashraf. The territory, now basely yielded to the Christians, was part of his kingdom; he was the rightful Lord of Jerusalem. There an Imaun of great sanctity, the historian Ibn Dschusi himself, was summoned to preach to the people on this dire calamity. The honour of Islam was concerned; he mounted the pulpit: "So then the way to the Holy City is about to be closed to faithful pilgrims: you who love communion with God in that hallowed place can no longer prostrate yourself, or water the ground with your tears. Great God! if our eyes were fountains, could we shed tears enough? If our hearts were cloven, could we be afflicted enough?" The whole assembly burst into a wild wail of sorrow and indignation.⁶

Frederick announced this treaty in Western Christendom in the most magnificent terms. His letter to the King of England bears date on the day of his entrance into Jerusalem. He ascribes his triumph to a miracle wrought by the Lord of Hosts, who seemed no longer to delight in the multitude of armed men. In the face of two great armies, that of the Sultan of Egypt and of Sultan Ashraf encamped near Gaza, and that of the Sultan (David) of Damascus at Naplous, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, the district of Sharon, and Sidon, had been freely ceded to him: the Mohammedans were only by sufferance to enter the Holy City. The Sultan had bound himself to surrender all prisoners, whom he

⁶ Renaud. *Extrait des Auteurs Arabes*.—Wilken. vi. p. 493.

ought to have released by the treaty of Damietta, and all who had been taken since.^b The seal of this letter bore a likeness of the Emperor, with a scroll: over his head "the Emperor of the Romans," on the right shoulder "the King of Jerusalem," on the left "the King of Sicily."

Far different was the reception of the treaty by the Pope, and by all who sided with, or might be expected to side with, the Pope. It was but a new manifestation of the perfidy, the contumacy, the ingratitude to the Church, the indifference of the Emperor to religion, if not of his apostasy. A letter arrived, and was actively promulgated through Western Christendom, from Gerold, Patriarch of Jerusalem, describing in the blackest colours every act of the Emperor. In the treaty the dignity, the interests of religion and of the Church, the dignity and interests of the Patriarch, had been, it might seem studiously neglected; even in the territory conceded by the Sultan some of the lands belonging to the Knights Templars were comprehended, none of those claimed by the Patriarch. Gerold overlooked his own obstinate hostility to Frederick, while he dwelt so bitterly on that of Frederick to himself. The letter began with Frederick's occupation of Joppa; his avowed partiality to the interests of the Mohammedans, his neglect, or worse, of the Christians. At least five hundred Christians had fallen since his arrival, not ten Saracens. All excesses, all breaches of the truce were visited severely on the Christians, connived at or disregarded in the Mohammedans. A Saracen who had been plundered was sent back in splendid apparel to the Sultan. All the

Letter of the
Patriarch.

^b The letter in Matthew Paris.

Emperor's suspicious intercourse with the Saracens, his Mohammedan luxuries, his presents of splendid arms to be used by Infidels against true Believers, were recounted; the secrecy of the treaty and its acceptance, with the signature of the Sultan as its sole guarantee. 'The Master of the Teutonic Order had insidiously invited him (the Patriarch) to accompany the Emperor to Jerusalem. He had demanded first to see the treaty. There he found that the Sultan of Damascus, the true Lord of Jerusalem, was no party to the covenant; "there were no provisions in favour of himself or of the Church; how could he venture his holy person within the power of the treacherous Sultan and his unbelieving host?" The letter closed with a strong complaint that the Emperor had left the city without rebuilding the walls. But the Patriarch admitted that Frederick had consulted the Bishops of Winchester and Exeter, the Master of the Hospitallers, the Præceptor of the Temple, to advise and aid him in this work: their reply had been cold and dilatory; and Frederick departed from the city.'

Even before the arrival of Gerold's letters, the Pope, in a letter to the Archbishop of Milan and his suffragans, all liegemen of the Emperor, had denounced the treaty as a monstrous reconciliation of Christ and Belial; as the establishment of the worship of Mohammed in the Temple of God; and thus "the antagonist of the Cross, the enemy of the faith, the foe of all chastity, the condemned to hell, is lifted up for adoration, by a perverse judgement, to the intolerable contumely of the Saviour, the inexpiable disgrace of the Christian name, the contempt of all

Letter of
Gregory to
Archbishop
of Milan.

¹ Epist. Gerold. Patriarchæ, apud Matth. Paris.

the martyrs who have laid down their lives to purify the Holy Land from the worldly pollutions of the Saracens." ^k

Albert of Austria was the most powerful enemy who might be tempted to revolt against Frederick in his German dominions, the greatest and most dangerous vassal of the Empire. Him the Pope addressed at

June 18. greater length, and with a more distinct enumeration of four flagitious enormities with

which he especially charged the Emperor. First, he had shamelessly presented the sword and other arms which he had received from the altar of St. Peter, blessed by the Pope himself, for the defence of the

Letter to
Albert of
Austria.

faith, and the chastisement of the wicked, to the Sultan of Babylon, the enemy of the faith, the adversary of Christ Jesus, the worshipper of Mohammed the son of Perdition; he had promised not to bear arms against the Sultan, against whom as Emperor he was bound to wage implacable war. The second was a more execrable and more stupendous offence. In the Temple of God, where Christ made his offering, where he had sat on his cathedral throne in the midst of the doctors, the Emperor had cast Christ forth, and placed Mohammed, that son of Perdition; he had commanded the law of God to keep silence, and permitted the free preaching of the Korân: to the Infidels he had left the keys of the Sanctuary, so that no Christian might enter without their sufferance. Thirdly, he had excluded the Eastern Christians of Antioch, Tripoli, and other strong places, from the benefit of the treaty, and so betrayed the Christian cause in the East to the enemy. Lastly, he had so bound himself by this wicked league, that if

^k Ad Episc. Mediol. June 13, 1222.

the Christian army should attempt to revenge the insult done to the Redeemer, to cleanse the Temple and the City of God from the defilements of the Pagans, the Emperor had pledged himself to take part with the foe. Albert of Austria was exhorted to disclaim all allegiance to one guilty of such capital treason against the majesty of God, to hold himself ready at the summons of the Church to take up arms against the Emperor.

The last acts of Frederick in Palestine are dwelt upon both by the Patriarch and the Pope; they are known almost entirely by these unfriendly representations. Frederick returned from Joppa to Ptolemaïs in no placable mood with his implacable enemies leagued against him in civil war.^m The Patriarch had attempted to raise an independent force at his own command: if the pilgrims should retire from the Holy Land he would need a body-guard for his holy person. He proposed, out of some large sums of money left for the benefit of the sacred cause by Philip-Augustus of France, to enrol a band of knights, a new Order, for this end. Frederick declared that no one should levy or command soldiers within his realm without his will and consent. With the inhabitants of Ptolemaïs Frederick had obtained, either by his affable demeanour or by his treaty, great popularity. He summoned a full assembly of all Christian people on the broad sands without the city. There he arose and arraigned the Patriarch and the

^m "Præterea qualiter contra ipsum Imperatorem, apud Acon, postmodum redeuntem, prædicti Patriarchæ, Magistri domuum hospitalis et templi se gesserint, utpote qui contra ipsum, intestina bella moverint in civitate prædictâ, his qui interfuerunt luce clarius extitit manifestum." — Rich. San Germ. It is remarkable how many privileges and grants he made to the Teutonic Order: it is manifest that his object was to raise up a loyal counterpoise to the Templars and Hospitallers. —Boehmer, *Regesta*, sub ann.

Master of the Templars as having obstinately thwarted all his designs for the advancement of the Christian Cause, and having pursued him with their blind and obstinate hostility. He summoned all the pilgrims, having now fulfilled their vows, to depart from the Holy Land, and commanded his Lieutenant, Thomas de Acerra, to compel obedience to these orders. He was deaf to all remonstrance; on his return to the city he seized all the gates, manned them with his crossbowmen, and while he permitted all the Knights Templars to leave the city, he would admit none. He took possession of the churches, and occupied them with his archers. The Patriarch assembled all his adherents and all the Templars still within the city, and again thundered out his excommunication. Frederick kept him almost as a prisoner in his palace; his partisans were exposed to every insult and attack, even those who were carrying provisions to the palace. Two bold Franciscans, who on Palm Sunday denounced Frederick in the Church, were dragged from the pulpit, and scourged through the streets. But these violences availed not against the obstinate endurance of the Churchmen. After some vain attempts at reconciliation, the Patriarch placed the city of Ptolemais under interdict. These are not all the charges against Frederick; it was made a crime that he destroyed some of his ships, probably unseaworthy: his arms and engines of war he is said to have sent to the Sultan of Egypt.

On the day of St. Peter and St. Paul the Emperor set sail for Europe; his presence was imperiously required. In every part of his dominions the Pope, with the ambitious activity of a temporal sovereign, and with all the tremendous arms wielded by

Palm Sunday.
April 3.

May 3.

the spiritual power, was waging a war either in open day, or in secret intrigues with his unruly and disaffected vassals. The ostensible cause of the war was the aggression of Frederick's vicegerent in Apulia, Reginald Duke of Spoleto. Frederick had War in Apulia. left Reginald to subdue the revolt of the powerful family of Polito. These rebels had taken refuge in the Papal territory: they were pursued by Reginald. But once beyond the Papal frontier the Duke of Spoleto extended his ravages, it might seem reviving certain claims of his own on the Dukedom of Spoleto. Frederick afterwards disclaimed these acts of his lieutenant, and declared that he had punished him for the infringement of his orders.¹ But the occasion was too welcome not to be seized by the Pope. He levied at once large forces, placed them under the command of Frederick's most deadly enemies, his father-in-law, John de Brienne, the ejected King of Jerusalem, and the Cardinal John Colonna, with the King's revolted subjects, the Counts of Celano and of Aquila; the martial Legate Pelagius, who had commanded the army of Damietta, directed the whole force. A report of Frederick's death in Palestine (a fraud of which he complains with the bitterest indignation) was industriously disseminated. John de Brienne even ventured to assert that there was no Emperor but himself. The Papal armies at first met with great success; many cities from fear, from disaffection to Frederick, from despair of relief, opened their gates. The soldiers of the Church committed devastations almost unprecedented even in these rude wars. But Gregory was not content with this limited war; he strove to arm all

¹ The most particular account of these wars is in Rich. de San Germano, *apud Muratori*, t. vii.

Christendom against the contumacious Emperor who defied the Church. From the remotest parts, from Wales, Ireland, England, large contributions were demanded, and in many cases extorted, for this holy war. Just at this juncture England contributed in a peculiar manner, even beyond her customary tribute, to the Papal treasury: the whole of such revenue was devoted to this end.

A dispute was pending in the Court of Rome concerning the See of Canterbury. On the death of Archbishop Stephen, the monks of Canterbury elected Walter of Hevesham to the primacy. The King refused his assent, and the objections urged were sufficiently strange, whether well-founded or but fictitious, against a man chosen as the successor of Becket. The father of Walter, it was said, had been hanged for robbery, and Walter himself, during the interdict, had embraced the party opposed to King John. The suffragan bishops (they always resented their exclusion from the election) accused Walter of having debauched a nun, by whom he had several children. Appeal was made to Rome; the Pope delayed his sentence for further inquiry. The ambassadors of the King, the Bishops of Chester and Rochester, and John of Newton in vain laboured to obtain the Papal decision. One only argument would weigh with the Pope and the Cardinals. At length they engaged to pay for this tardy justice the tenth of all moveable property in the realm of England and Ireland in order to aid the Pope in his war against the Emperor. Even then the alleged immoralities were put out of sight; the elected Primate of England was examined by three Cardinals on certain minute points of theology, and condemned as unworthy of so august a see, "which

Election to
Arch-
bishopric of
Canterbury.
July 1228.

ought to be filled by a man noble, wise, and modest.”^o Richard, Chancellor of Lincoln, was proposed in the name of the King and the suffragan bishops, and received his appointment by a Papal Bull. In France, besides the exertions of the Legate, the Archbishops of Sens and of Lyons were commanded by the Pope himself to publish the grave offences of Frederick against the Holy See, and to preach the Crusade against him. In Germany, Albert of Austria had been urged to revolt; in the North and in Denmark the Legate, the Cardinal Otho, preached and promulgated the same Crusade.^p He laid Liège under an interdict, and King Henry raised an army to besiege the Cardinal in Strasburg. The Pope praised, as inspired by the Holy Ghost, the chivalrous determination of the Prince of Portugal, to take up arms in defence of the Church of Christ. The Lombards, on the other hand, were sternly rebuked for their tardiness in sending aid against the common enemy, the Pope gave them a significant hint that the deserters of the cause of the Church might be deserted in their turn in their hour of need.

The rapid return of the Emperor disconcerted all these hostile measures. With two well-armed barks he landed at Astore, near Brundisium; many of the brave German pilgrims followed after and rapidly grew to a formidable force. His first act was to send ambassadors to the Pope, the Archbishop of Bari, the Bishop of Reggio and Herman de

May 15 and
July 13, 1229
Return of
Frederick.

^o He was asked whether our Lord descended into hell, in the flesh or not in the flesh; on the presence of Christ in the sacrament; how Rachel, being already dead, could weep for her children; on the power of an excom-

munication, unrightly pronounced; on a case of marriage, where one of the parties had died in infidelity. To all these questions his answers were wrong.

Raynald. in nott.

Salza, the master of the Teutonic order. The overtures were rejected with scorn. An excommunication even more strong and offensive had been issued by the Pope at Perugia.⁴ The first clause denounced all the heretics with names odious to all zealous believers. After the Cathari, the Publicans, the Poor Men of Lyons, the Arnoldists, and under the same terrific anathema as no less an enemy of the Church, followed the Emperor Frederick; his contumacious disregard of the excommunication pronounced by the Cardinal of Albano was thus placed on the same footing with the wildest opinions and those most hostile to the Church. After the recital of his offences, the release of all his subjects from their allegiance, came the condemnation of his adherents, Reginald of Spoleto and his brother Bertoldo. With the other enemies of the Church were mingled up the Count de Foix, and the Viscount of Beziers; the only important names which now represented the odious heresy of Southern France. Some lesser offenders were included under the comprehensive ban. These were all, if not leagued together under the same proscription, alike denounced as enemies of God and of the Church. The conquering army of the Pope was on all sides arrested, repelled, defeated; the rebellious barons and cities returned to their allegiance; Frederick marched to the relief of Capua; the strength of the Papal force broke up in confusion. Frederick moved to Naples where he was received in triumph. In Capua he had organised the Saracens whom he had removed from Sicily, where they had been a wild mountain people, untameably and utterly lawless, to Nocera: there he

⁴ This bull must have been issued in June, not in August. See Boehmer, p. 335. Raynaldus, sub ann.

had settled them, foreseeing probably their future use as inhabitants of walled cities and cultivators of the soil. This was a force terrible to the rebellious churchmen who had espoused the Papal cause. From San Germano Frederick sent forth his counter appeal to the Sovereigns of Europe, representing the violence, the injustice, the implacable resentment of the Pope. The appeal could not but have some effect.

Christendom, even among the most devout adherents of the Papal supremacy, refused to lend itself to the fiery passions of the aged Pontiff. The Pope was yet too awful to be openly condemned, but the general reluctance to embrace his cause was the strongest condemnation. Men throughout the Christian world could not but doubt by which party the real interests of the Eastern Christians had been most betrayed and injured. The fierce enthusiasm which would not receive advantages unless won from the unbeliever at the point of the sword had died away: men looked to the effect of the treaty, they compared it with the results of all the Crusades since that of Godfrey of Bouillon. Jerusalem, the Holy Sepulchre, were in the power of the Christians: devout pilgrims might perform unmolested their pious vows; multitudes of Christians had taken up their abode in seeming security in the city of Sion. But if, thus trammelled, opposed, pursued by the remorseless excommunication into the Holy Sepulchre itself, Frederick by the awe of his imperial name, by his personal greatness, had obtained such a treaty; what terms might he not have dictated, if supported by the Pope, the Patriarch, and Knights Templars.† Treaties with the Mohammedan

† It has been observed that the three Paris, the Abbot Urspergensis, and contemporary historians, Matthew Richard of Sax Germano, are all

powers were nothing new; they had been lately made by Philip Augustus, and by the fierce Richard Cœur de Lion. The Christians had never disdained the policy of taking advantage of the feuds among the Mohammedan sovereigns and allying themselves with the Sultan of Egypt or the Sultan of Damascus. Even the Pope himself had not disdained all peaceful intercourse with the Unbelievers. Frederick positively asserted that he had surprised and had in his possession letters addressed by the Pope to Sultan Kameel, urging him to break off his negotiations with the Emperor. Gregory afterwards denied the truth of this charge; but it was publicly averred, and proof offered, in the face of Christendom.* Frederick had appealed to witnesses of all his acts, and they, at all events the English Bishops of Winchester and Exeter, the Master of the Hospitallers, the Master of the Teutonic Order, had given no countenance to the envious and rancorous charges of the Patriarch.

There was a deeper cause of dissatisfaction throughout that Hierarchy, to which the Pope had always looked for the most zealous and self-sacrificing aid. The clergy felt the strongest repugnance to the levy of a tenth demanded by the Pope throughout Christendom, to maintain wars, if not unjust, unnecessary, against the Emperor. No doubt the lavish and partial favour with

against the Pope. "Verisimile enim videtur, quod si tunc Imperator cum gratiâ ac pace Romanæ Ecclesiæ transisset, longe melius et efficacius prosperatum fuisset negotium Terræ Sanctæ."—Richard de San Germano adds, that if the Sultan had not known that Frederick was excommunicated by the Pope, and hated by the Patriarch, he would have granted much better terms. Compare Muratori, *Annal.*

d'Italia, sub ann.; and in Wilken the extract from Theuerdank:—

"Wären dem Kaiser die gestanden,
Die ihm sin Ehre wanden (entwandten)
Das Grab und alle diese Land,
Die stunden gar in seiner Hand:
Nazareth und Bethlem,
Der Jordan und Jerusalem,
Dazu manig heilig Stat,
Da Gott mitt seinem Fussen trat,
Syria und Juda," &c.

—Wilken, vi. p. 509.

* *Epist. Petr. de Vincâ.*

which he treated the Preaching and Begging Friars had already awakened jealousy. Gregory had sagaciously discerned the strength which their influence in the lowest depths of society would gain for the Papal cause. He had solemnly canonised Francis of Assisi —one of his most confidential counsellors was the Dominican Gualo.[†] So active had the Friars been in stirring up revolt in the kingdom of Naples, that the first act of Reginald of Spoleto had been their expulsion from the realm.

Oct. 4, 1228.

Christendom had eagerly rushed into a Crusade against the unbelievers; it had not ventured to disapprove a Crusade against the heretics of Languedoc; but a Crusade (for under that name Gregory IX. levied this war) against the Emperor, and that Emperor the restorer of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, was encountered with sullen repugnance or frank opposition. It was observed as a strange sight that when Frederick's troops advanced against those of the Pope, they still wore the red crosses which they had worn in Palestine. The banner of the Cross, under which Mohammedans fought for Frederick, met the banner with the keys of St. Peter.[‡]

The disapprobation of silent disobedience, at best of sluggish and tardy sympathy if not of rude disavowal and condemnation, could not escape the all-watchful ear of Rome. Gregory had no resource but in his own dauntless and unbroken mind, and in the conviction of his power. The German Princes had refused to dethrone King Henry: some of the greatest influence,

[†] Gualo was his emissary, if not his Legate, in Lombardy. He was active in framing the peace of San Germano. —Epist. Gregor., Oct. 9, 1226.

[‡] "Imperator cum cruce signatus contra clavigeros hostes preperat." —Rich. de San Germano, p. 1013.

Leopold Duke of Austria, the Duke of Moravia, the Archbishops of Salzburg and of Aquileia, the Bishop of Ratisbon, were in Italy endeavouring to mediate a peace. The Lombards did not move; even if the Guelfs had been so disposed, they were everywhere controlled by a Ghibelline opposition. One incident alone was of a more encouraging character. Gregory was still at Perugia an exile from rebellious Rome. But a terrific flood had desolated the city. The religious fears of the populace beheld the avenging hand of God for their disobedience to their spiritual father; the Pope returned to Rome in triumph.*

Peace was necessary to both parties, negotiations
 Nov. 1229. were speedily begun. The Pope was suddenly
 May, 1230. seized with a sacred horror of the shedding
 human blood. A treaty was framed at San Germano
 which maintained unabased the majesty of the Pope.†
 In truth, by the absolution of the Emperor with but a
 general declaration of submission to the Church, with-
 out satisfaction for the special crime for which he had
 undergone excommunication, the Pope, virtually at
 least, recognised the injustice of his own censures. Of
 the affairs of the Holy Land, of the conduct
 of the Emperor, of the treaty with the Sultan,
 denounced as impious, there was a profound and cau-
 tious silence. In other respects the terms might seem
 humiliating to the Emperor; he granted a complete
 amnesty to all his rebellious subjects, the Archbishop of
 Tarentum and all the bishops and churchmen who had

* Not only was there a great destruction of property, of corn, wine, cattle, and of human life, but a great quantity of enormous serpents were cast on shore, which rotted and bred a pesti-

lence. This is a story more than once repeated in the later annals of Rome —on what founded?—Gregor. Vit.

† Albanensi Episcopo, apud Raynald. 1229.

fled the realm; even the reinstatement of the insurgent Counts of Celano and Aversa in their lands and domains in Germany, in Italy, in Sicily; he consented to restore all the places he occupied in the Papal dominions, and all the estates which he had seized belonging to churches, monasteries, the Templars, the Knights of the Hospital, and generally of all who had adhered to the Church. He renounced the right of judging the ecclesiastics of his realm by the civil tribunals, excepting in matters concerning royal fiefs; he gave up the right of levying taxes on ecclesiastical property, as well that of the clergy as of monasteries. It is said, but it appears not in the treaty, that he promised to defray the enormous charges of the war, variously stated at 120,000 crowns and 120,000 ounces of gold; but in those times promises to pay such debts by no means ensured their payment. Frederick never fulfilled this covenant. If to obtain absolution from the Papal censures Frederick willingly yielded to these terms, it shows either that his firm mind was not proof against the awe of the spiritual power which enthralled the rest of Europe, or that he had the wisdom to see that the time was not come to struggle with success against such tyranny. He might indeed hope that, ere long, to the stern old man who now wielded the keys of St. Peter with the vigour of Hildebrand or Innocent III., might succeed some feebler or milder Pontiff. Already was Gregory approaching to or more than ninety years old.² He was himself in the strength and prime of manhood, nor could he expect that this same aged Pontiff would rally again for a contest, more long, more obstinate, and though not

I confess that this extreme old age of Gregory IX. does not seem to me quite clearly made out. At all events,

after every deduction,	he was of an
extraordinary age to display such	activity and firmness.

terminated in his lifetime, more fatal to the Emperor and to the House of Hohenstaufen. Frederick had been released from the ban of excommunication at Ceperano Aug. 28, by the Cardinal John of St. Sabina; he visited Sept. 1, 1230. the Pope at Anagni. They met, Frederick with dignified submission, the Pope with the calm majesty of age and position, held a conference of many hours, appeared together at a splendid banquet, and interchanged the kiss of peace; the antagonists whose mortal quarrel threatened a long convulsion throughout Christendom proclaimed to the world their mutual amity.^a

Nearly nine years elapsed before these two antagonists, the Pope Gregory IX. and the Emperor Frederick II. resumed their immitigable warfare,—years of but dubious peace, of open amity yet secret mistrust, in which each called upon the other for aid against his enemies; the Pope on Frederick against the unruly Romans, Frederick on the Pope against the rebellious Lombards and his rebellious son; but

^a Frederick describes the interview—
 “Leinde ut post absolutionem ex præsentia corporum mentium serenitas sequeretur, primo Septembris apostolicam sedem adivimus, et sanctissimum patrem dominum Gregorium, Dei gratiâ summum Pontificem, vidimus reverenter. Qui affectione paternâ nos recipiens, et pace cordium sacris osculis federatâ, tam benevole, tam benigne propositum nobis suæ intentionis aperuit de ipsis quæ precesserant nil omittens, et singula prosequens evidentis iudicio rationis, quod etsi nos precedens causa commoverit, vel rancorem potuerit aliquem attulisse, sic benevolentia, quam persensimus in eodem, omnem

motum lenivit animi, et nostram amoto rancore serenavit adeo voluntatem, ut non velimus ulterius præterita memorari quæ necessitas intulit, ut virtus ex necessitate prodens operaretur gratiam ampliorem.”—Monument. Germ. iv. 275. There is something very striking in this. The generous awe and reverence of Frederick for the holy old man, considering his deep injuries (I envy not those who can see nothing but specious hypocrisy in Frederick), and the Christian amenity of the Pope, considering that Frederick, a short time before, had been called a godless heretic, almost a Mohammedan. Their mutual enmity is lost in mutual respect.

where each suspected a secret understanding with those enemies. It is remarkable that both Frederick and the Pope betook themselves in this interval of suspended war to legislation. Frederick to the promulgation of a new jurisprudence for his kingdom of Naples and Sicily; Gregory of a complete and authoritative code of the Decretals which formed the statute law by which the Papacy and the sacerdotal order ruled the world, and administered the internal government of the Church. During the commencement of this period Frederick left the administration of affairs in Germany, though he still exercised an imperial control, to his son Henry. The rebellion of Henry alone seemed to compel him to cross the Alps and resume the sway. His legislation aspired to regulate the Empire; but in Germany from the limits imposed on his power, it was not a complete and perfect code, it was a succession of remedial laws. His earliest and most characteristic work of legislation was content to advance the peace, prosperity, and happiness of his own Southern realm.

The constitution of his beloved kingdom was thus the first care of Frederick. As a legislator he commands almost unmingled admiration; and the aim and temper of his legislation whether emanating from himself, or adopted from the counsel of others, may justly influence the general estimate of a character so variously represented by the passions of his own age, passions which have continued to inflame, and even yet have not died away from the heart of man.^b The object of Frederick's

^b Even in our own day M. Höfler, for instance, seems to revive all the rancour of the days of Innocent IV. Even Boehmer is not above this fatal influence.

This part of my work was finished before the publication of the "Regesta Imperii," to which, nevertheless, I am bound to acknowledge much obligation.

jurisprudence was the mitigation, as far as possible the suppression, of feudal violence and oppression; the assertion of equal rights, equal justice, equal burthens; the toleration of different religions; the promotion of commerce by wise, almost premature regulations; the advancement of intellectual culture among his subjects by the establishment of universities liberally endowed, and by the encouragement of all the useful and refined arts. It is difficult to suppose a wise, equitable and humane legislator, a blind, a ruthless tyrant; or to reconcile the careful and sagacious provision for the rights and well-being of all ranks of his subjects with the reckless violation of those rights, and with heavy and systematic oppression; more especially if that jurisprudence is original and beyond his age. The legislator may himself be in some respects below the lofty aim of his laws; Frederick may have been driven to harsh measures to bring into order the rebellious magnates of the realm, whom his absence in Asia, the invasion and the intrigues of the Papal party, cast loose from their allegiance; the abrogation of their tyrannical privileges may have left a deep and brooding discontent, ready to break out into revolt and constantly enforcing still more rigorous enactments. The severe guardian of the morals of his subjects may have claimed to himself in some respects a royal, an Asiatic indulgence; he may have been compelled by inevitable wars to lay onerous burthens on the people, he may have been compelled to restrict or suspend the rights of particular subjects, or classes of subjects, by such determined hostility as that of the clergy to himself and to all his house; but on the whole the laws and institutions of the kingdom of Naples are an unexceptionable and imperishable testimony at least to his lofty designs for the good of man.

kind; which history cannot decline, or rather receives with greater respect and trust than can be claimed by any contemporary view of the acts or of the character of Frederick II. It is in this light only as illustrating the life of the great antagonist of the Church that they belong to Christian history, beyond their special bearing on religious questions, and the rights and condition of the clergy.^c

The groundwork of Frederick's legislation was the stern supremacy of the law; the submission of all, even the nobles, who exercised the feudal privilege of separate jurisdictions, to a certain extent of the clergy, to the king's sole and exclusive justice. This was the great revolution through which every feudal kingdom must inevitably pass sooner or later.^d The crown must become the supreme fountain of justice and law. The first, and most difficult, but necessary step was the uniformity of that law. There was the most extraordinary variety of laws and usages throughout the realm, Roman, Greek, Gothic, Lombard, Norman, Imperial-German institutes; old municipal and recent seignorial rights.^e The Jews had their special privileges, the Saracens their own customs and forms of procedure. The majestic law had to overawe to one system of obedience, with due maintenance of their proper rights, the nobles, the clergy, the burghers, and the peasants, even the Jews

^c The constitutions of the Emperor Frederick may be read in Canciani, vol. i. sub fine. I am much indebted for a brief, it appears to me very sensible and accurate comment in the *Considerazioni sopra la Storia di Sicilia*, by the Canonico Gregorio (Palermo, 1805), and to my friend M. von Raumer's earliest and best work, *Geschichte des Hohenstaufen*.

^d King Roger (see the Canonico Gregorio, t. iii.) had already vindicated a certain supremacy for the King's Judiciary. King Roger's legislation is strikingly analogous to, Gregorio thinks borrowed from, that of his remote kinsman William, our Norman Conqueror. In France this was among the great steps first decisively taken by St. Louis.

^e Canciani, Preface.

and the Mohammedans. Frederick wisely determined not to aspire so much to be the founder of an absolutely new jurisprudence, as to select, confirm, and harmonise the old institutions.^f

The religious ordinances of the Sicilian constitution demand our first examination. Frederick maintained the immunities of the worshippers of other religions, of the Jews and the Arabians, with such impartial equity, as to incur for this and other causes the name of Jew and Saracen. But the most faithful son of the Church could not condemn the heretic with more authoritative severity, or visit his offence with more remorseless punishment.^g Heresy was described as a crime against the offender himself, against his neighbour, and against God, a more heinous crime even than high treason. The obstinate heretic was condemned to be burned, his whole property confiscated, his children were incapable of holding office or of bearing testimony. If such child should merit mercy by the denunciation of another heretic, or of a concealer of heretics, the Emperor might restore him to his rank. Schismatics were declared outlaws, incapable of inheriting, liable to forfeiture of their goods. No one might petition in favour of a heretic: yet the repentant heretic might receive pardon; his punishment, after due investigation of the case by the ecclesiastical power, was to be adjudged by the secular authority. But these laws were

^f The code was published at Amalfi, Sept. 1231: Rich. San Germ. sub ann. 1231; in Sicily by Richard de Montenegro, High Justiciary, during the same year. Append. ad Malater. p. 251. Gregorio, iii. 14.

^g Compare the edicts issued at Ravenna, Feb. 22, 1232, and March,

against the Lombard heretics. They might have satisfied S. Dominic or Simon de Montfort. Re-enacted at Cremona, 1238; at Padua, 1239.—Monument. Germ. iv. 287, 288. Also letter of June 15, ex Regest. Greg. IX. In Höfler, p. 344.

directed against a particular class of men, dangerous it was thought no less to the civil than to the religious power; actual rebels against the Church, rebels likewise against the Emperor, who was still the conservator of pure orthodoxy, and betraying at least rebellious inclinations, if not designs hostile towards all power. They were neither enacted nor put in force against the Greek Christians who were still in considerable numbers in the kingdom of Sicily, had their own priests, and celebrated undisturbed their own rites. They were those heretics which swarmed under various denominations, Cathari or Paterins, from rebellious and republican Lombardy, the hated and suspected source of all these opinions. In all the states of the Pope, in Rome itself, not merely were there hidden descendants of the Arnoldists, but all the wild sects which defied the most cruel persecutions in the North of Italy, spread their doctrines even within the shadow of the towers of St. Peter. Naples and Aversa were full of them,^b and derived them from rebellious Lombardy; and Frederick, whose notions of the imperial power were as absolute as Gregory's of the Papal, not only would not incur by their protection such suspicions, as would have inevitably risen, of harbouring or favouring heretics, he scrupled not to assist in the extermination of these insolent insurrectionists against lawful authority.¹

^b "Adeo quod ab Italiae finibus, præsertim a partibus Longobardiæ in quibus pro certo perpendimus ipsorum nequitiam amplius abundare, jam usque ad regnum nostrum suæ perfidiæ rivulus derivarunt."—l. i. tit. i. "Quod dolentes referimus, in regno nostro Siciliae Neapolin, et Aversam, partesque vicinas dicitur infecisse."—

Frederic. Epist. apud Epist. Gregor. iv. 131.

¹ Gregor. Vit. Richard de San Germ. See also the Edict of the Senator and people of Rome.—Apud Raynald. 1231. Compare (afterwards) Frederick's letter commanding the heretics throughout Lombardy to be committed to the flames.

The Constitution of Frederick endeavoured to reduce the clergy into obedient and loyal subjects at once by the vigorous assertion of the supreme and impartial law, and by securing and extending their acknowledged immunities. The clergy were amenable to the general law of the realm as concerned fiefs, could be impleaded in the ordinary courts concerning occupancy of land, inheritances, and debts: they had jurisdiction over their own body, with the right of inflicting canonical punishments: but besides this they were amenable to the secular laws, especially for treason, or all crimes relating to the person of the King.^k They were not exempt from general taxation; they were bound to discharge all feudal obligations for their fiefs. On the other hand, the crown abandoned its claim to the revenues of vacant bishoprics and benefices:^m three unexceptionable persons belonging to the Church were appointed receivers on behalf of the successor. On the election of bishops the law of Innocent III. was recognised; the chapter communicated the vacancy to the Crown, and proceeded to elect a fit successor; that successor could not be inaugurated without the consent of the King, nor consecrated without that of the Pope. Tithes were secured to the Church from all lands, even from the royal domains:ⁿ the Crown only enforced the expenditure of the appointed third on the sacred edifices, the churches and chapels. All special courts of the higher ecclesiastics as of the barons were abrogated; the crown would be the sole fountain of justice: but the holders of the great spiritual fiefs sat with the great Barons under the presidency of the high Chancellor. Except-

^k i. 42. A law of King William.

^m iii. 28. Serfs and villains were not to be ordained, iii. 1, 8.

ⁿ i. 7.

ing in cases of marriage, no separate jurisdiction of the clergy was recognised over the laity.^o Appeals to Rome were allowed, but only on matters purely ecclesiastical; and these during wars with the Pope were absolutely forbidden. The great magnates of the realm received likewise substantial benefits in lieu of the privileges wrested from them, which were perilous to the public peace.^p All their separate jurisdictions of noble or prelate were abolished; the King's justiciary was alone and supreme. But their fiefs were made hereditary, and in the female line and to collaterals in the third degree.^q

The cities were emancipated from all the jurisdictions of nobles or of ecclesiastics; but the municipal authorities were not absolutely left to their free election. The Sicilian King dreaded the fatal example of the Lombard Republics: all the superior governors were nominated by the Crown; the cities only retained in their own hands the inferior appointments, for the regulation of their markets and havens.¹ The law overlooked not the interest of the free peasants, who constituted the chief cultivators of the soil; or that of the serfs attached to the soil.

Absolute slavery was by no means common in Sicily; the serfs could acquire and hold property. The free peasants were numerous; the measures of Frederick tended to raise the serfs to the same condition. He absolutely emancipated all those on the royal domain.

^o Frederick asserted and exercised the right of declaring the children of the clergy, who by the canon law were spurious, legitimate, with full title to a share in all the inheritances of all the goods of their parents, unless they were fiefs; and capability of attaining to all

civil offices and honours. For this privilege they paid an annual tax of five per cent. to the royal exchequer. This implied the marriage of the clergy to a great extent.—Pet. de Vin. vi. 16. Constitut. iii. 25.

^p i. 48. ^q iii. 23, 24. ^r i. 47.

The establishment of his courts enabled all classes to obtain justice at an easy and cheap rate against their lords; the extraordinary aids to be demanded by the lord were limited by law, that of the lay feudal superior, to aids on the marriage of a daughter or sister, the arming the son when summoned to the service of the King, and his ransom in captivity; that of the higher ecclesiastics and monasteries, to the summons to the King's service, and receiving the King at free quarters; journeys to Church Councils summoned by the Pope, and Consecrations. Frederick was so desirous to promote the cultivation of the soil, that he exempted new settlers in Sicily from taxes for ten years; only the Jews, who took refuge from Africa, were obliged to pay such taxes, and compelled to become cultivators of the land.

But of all institutions, the most advanced was the system of representative government, for the first time regularly framed by the laws of the realm. Besides the ancient Parliaments, at which the magnates of the realm, the great ecclesiastical and secular vassals of the Crown assembled when summoned by the King's writs, two annual sessions took place, on the 1st of March and the 1st of August, of a Parliament constituted from the different orders of the realm.^s All the Barons and Prelates appeared in person; each of the larger cities sent four representatives, each smaller city two, each town or other place one; to these were joined all the great and lesser Bailiffs of the Crown. The summons to the Barons and Prelates was directly from the King, that of the cities and towns from the

One of the cities appointed for the meeting of Parliament in Apulia was Lentini; in Sicily, Piazza. Compare Gregorio. iii. p. 82.

judge of the province. They were to choose men of probity, good repute, and impartiality. A Commissioner from the Crown opened the Parliament, and conducted its proceedings, which lasted from eight to ten days. Every clerk or layman might arraign the conduct of any public officer, or offer his advice for the good of his town or district. The determinations which the royal Commissioner, with the advice of the most distinguished spiritual and temporal persons, approved, were delivered signed and sealed by him directly to the King, excepting in unimportant matters, which might be regulated by an order from the Justiciary of the Province.

The criminal law of Frederick's constitution was, with some remarkable exceptions, mild beyond precedent; and also administered with a solemnity, impartiality, and regularity, elsewhere unknown. The Chief Justiciary of the realm, with four other judges, formed the great Court of Criminal Law; and the Crown asserted itself to be the exclusive administrator of criminal justice.[†] Besides its implacable abhorrence of heresy, it was severe and inexorable against all disturbers of the peace of the realm, and those who endangered the public security. Private war,[‡] and the execution of the law by private hands, was rigidly forbidden. Justice must be sought only in the King's courts. The punishment for every infringement of this statute was decapitation and forfeiture of goods. Arms were not to be borne except by the King's officers, employed in the court or on the royal affairs,[§] or by knights, knights' sons, and burghers, riding abroad from

[†] Gregorio, l. iii. c. iv. "Nobis aliquando, quibus solum ordinationem justitiariorum, ubicunque fuerimus, reservamus."—l. i. t. 95. This was part of the "merum imperium" of the sovereign.—l. t. 49.

[‡] l. 8.

[§] l. 9.

their own homes. Whoever drew his sword on another paid double the fine imposed for bearing it; whoever wounded another lost his hand; whoever killed a man if a knight, was beheaded, if of lower rank, hanged. If the homicide could not be found, the district paid a heavy fine, yet in proportion to the wehrgeld of the slain man; but Christians paid twice as much as Jews or Saracens, as, no doubt, bound more especially to know and maintain the law. The laws for the preservation of female chastity were singular and severe. Even rape upon a common prostitute was punished by beheading, if the charge was brought within a certain time:^y whoever did not aid a woman suffering violence was heavily fined. But in these cases a false accusation was visited with the same punishment. Mothers who betrayed their daughters to whoredom had their noses cut off;^z men who connived at the adultery of their wives were scourged. A man caught in adultery might be slain by the husband; if not instantly slain, he paid a heavy fine. The trials by battle and ordeal were abolished as vain and superstitious: the former allowed only in cases of murder, poisoning, or high treason, where there was strong suspicion but not full proof. It was designed to work on the terror of the criminal; but if the accuser was worsted, he was condemned in case of high treason to the utmost penalty; in other cases to proportionate punishment. Torture was only used in cases of heavy suspicion against persons of notoriously evil repute.^a

^y i. 20.

^z iii. 48, 50.

^a Frederick's legislation was not content with abolishing these barbarous forms of testimony, almost the only available testimony in rude unlettered times. He laid down rules on written

evidence; documents must be on parchment, not on perishable paper; he prohibited a certain kind of obscure and intricate writing, in use at Naples, Amalfi, and Sorrento; and ordered the notaries to write all deeds legibly and

These are but instances of the spirit in which Frederick framed his legislation, which aimed rather to advance, enrich, enlighten his subjects than to repress their free development by busy and perpetual interference. His regulations concerning commerce were almost prophetically wise: he laid down the great maxim that commercial exchange benefited both parties; he permitted the export of corn as the best means of fostering its cultivation. He entered into liberal treaties with Venice, with Asia, Genoa, and the Greek Empire, and even with some of the Saracen powers in Africa. By common consent, both parties condemned the plundering of wrecks, and pledged themselves to mutual aid and friendly reception into their harbours. The King himself was a great merchant; the royal vessels traded to Syria, Egypt, and other parts of the East. He had even factors who traded to India.^b He encouraged internal commerce by the establishment of great fairs and markets;^c manufactures of various kinds began to prosper.

But that which—if the constitution of Frederick had continued to flourish, if the institutions had worked out in peace their natural consequences—if the house of Hohenstaufen had maintained their power, splendour and tendencies to social and intellectual advancement—if they had not been dispossessed by the dynasty of Charles of Anjou, and the whole land thrown back by many centuries—might have enabled the Southern kingdom

clearly. The Emperor himself laid down regulations to test the authenticity of a certain document.—Gregorio, iii. p. 61.

^b "Fredericus II. erat omnibus Sclavianis Orientis particeps in mercimoniis et amicissimus, ita ut usque ad Indos

currebant ad commodum suum, tam per mare, quam per terras, institores."

—Matth. Par. 544.

^c See edict for annual fairs at Sulmona, Capua, Lucera, Bari, Tarentum, Cosenza, Reggio, Jan. 1234.—Rich San Germ.

to take the lead, and anticipate the splendid period of Italian learning, philosophy, and art, was the Universities; the establishments for education; the encouragements for all learned and refined studies, imagined by this accomplished King. Even the revival of Greek letters might not have awaited the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks two centuries later. Greek was the spoken language of the people in many parts of the kingdom; the laws of Frederick were translated into Greek for popular use; the epitaph of the Archbishop of Messina in the year 1175 was Greek.^d There were Greek priests and Greek congregations in many parts of Apulia and Sicily; the privileges conferred by the Emperor Henry VI. on Messina had enacted that one of the three magistrates should be a Greek. Hebrew, and still more Arabic, were well known, not merely by Jews and Arabians but by learned scholars. Frederick himself spoke German, Italian, Latin, Greek, Arabic, and Hebrew. He declared his own passionate love for learned and philosophical studies. Nothing after the knowledge of affairs, of laws and of arms, became a monarch so well; to this he devoted all his leisure hours, these were the liberal pursuits which adorned and dignified human life.^e In Syria, and in his intercourse with the Eastern monarchs, he had obtained great collections of books; he caused translations to be made from the Arabic, and out of Greek into Latin, of some of the philosophic works of Aristotle and the *Almagest* of Ptolemy.^f The University of Naples was his great

^d Von Raumer, p. 556.

^e Peter de Vineâ, iii. 67.

^f He employed the celebrated Michael Scott (the fabled magician) in the translation of Aristotle. Among the

Papal documents relating to England in the British Museum are several letters concerning this remarkable man, patronised alike by Frederick and by the Popes. Honorius III. writes

foundation; Salerno remained the famous school of medicine; but the University in the capital was encouraged by liberal endowments, and by regulations with regard to the relations of the scholars and the citizens; the price of lodgings was fixed by royal order; sums of money were to be advanced to youths at low interest, and could not be exacted during the years of study. The King held out to the more promising students honourable employments in his service. Philosophical studies appeared most suited to the genius of Frederick; natural history and the useful sciences he cultivated with success; but he had likewise great taste for the fine arts, especially for architecture, both ornamental and military. He restored the walls of many of the greatest cities; built bridges and other useful works. He had large menageries, supplied from the East and from Africa. He sometimes vouchsafed to send some of the more curious animals about for the instruction and amusement of his subjects. The Ravennese were delighted with the appearance of some royal animals. He was passionately fond of field sports, of the chase with the hound and the hawk; his own book on falconry is not merely instructive on that sport, but is a scientific treatise on the nature and habits of those birds, and of many other animals. The first efforts of Italian sculpture and painting rose under his auspices; the beautiful Italian language began to form itself in his court: it has been said above that the earliest strains of Italian

(Jan. 16, 1225, p. 214) to the Archbishop of Canterbury to bestow preferment on Michael Scott "Quod inter literatos dono vigeat scientiæ singulari." M. Scott (p. 229) has a licence to hold pluralities. (P. 246) he is named by the Pope Archbishop of

Cashel, and to hold his other benefices. (P. 253) he refuses the Archbishopric: "Dum linguam terræ illius se ignorare diceret." He is described as not only a great Latin scholar, but as familiar with Hebrew and Arabic.

poetry were heard there: Peter de Vineâ, the Chancellor of Frederick, the compiler of his laws, was also the writer of the earliest Italian sonnet. Nor was Peter de Vineâ the only courtier who emulated the King in poetry: his beloved son Enzo, many of his courtiers, vied with their King and his ministers in the cultivation of the Italian language; and its first fruits the rich harmonious Italian poetry.^g

His own age beheld with admiring amazement the magnificence of Frederick's court, the unexampled progress in wealth, luxury, and knowledge. The realm was at peace, notwithstanding some disturbance by those proud barons, whose interest it was to maintain the old feudal and seignorial rights; the reluctance of the clergy to recede from the complete dominion over the popular mind; and the taxation, which weighed, especially as Frederick became more involved in the Lombard war, on all classes. The world had seen no court so splendid, no system of laws so majestically equitable; a new order of things appeared to be arising; an epoch to be commencing in human civilisation. But this admiration was not universal: there was a deep and silent jealousy, an intuitive dread in the Church,^h and in all

^g Some of these poems I have read in a collection of the *Poeti del Primo Secolo*, Firenze, 1814. A small volume has been published by the Literary Union of Stuttgart (1543), *Italienische Lieder des Hohenstaufischen Hofes in Sicilien*. It contains lays by thirteen royal and noble authors. Dante, in his book *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, traces to the court of Frederick the origin of the true and universal Italian language. We return to this subject.

^h The Pope seemed to consider that

Frederick's new constitutions *must* be inimical to the Church. "Intelleximus siquidem quod vel proprio motu, vel seductus inconsultis consiliis perversorum, novas edere constitutiones intendis ex quibus *necessario* sequitur ut dicaris Ecclesiæ persecutor et obrutor publicæ libertatis."—lib. v. Epist. 91, apud Raynald. 1231. He reproaches the Archbishop of Capua as "Frederico constitutiones destructivas salutis et institutas enormium scandalorum edenti voluntarius obsequens."—Apud Höfler ii. p. 333

the faithful partisans of the Church of remote, if not immediate danger; of a latent design, at least a latent tendency in the temporal kingdom to set itself apart, and to sever itself from the one great religious Empire, which had now been building itself up for centuries. There was, if not an avowed independence, a threatening disposition to independence. The legislation, if it did not directly clash, yet seemed to clash, with the higher law of the Church; if it did not make the clergy wholly subordinate, it degraded them in some respect to the rank of subjects; if it did not abrogate, it limited what were called the rights and privileges, but which were in fact the separate rule and dominion of the clergy; at all events, it assumed a supremacy, set itself above, admitted only what it chose of the great Canon Law of the Church; it was self-originating, self-asserting, it had not condescended to consult those in whom for centuries all political as well as spiritual wisdom had been centered: it was a legislation neither emanating from, nor consented to by, the Church. If every nation were thus to frame its own constitution, without regard to the great unity maintained by the Church, the vast Christian confederacy would break up, Kings might assume the power of forbidding the recurrence to Rome as the religious capital of the world; independent kingdoms might aspire to found independent churches. This new knowledge too was not less dangerous because its ultimate danger was not clearly seen; at all events, it was not knowledge introduced, sanctioned, taught by the sole great instructress, the Church. Theology, the one Science, was threatened by a rival, and whence did that rival profess to draw her wisdom? from the Heathen, the Jew, the Unbeliever; from the Pagan Greek, the Hebrew, the Arabic. That which might be in itself

harmless, edifying, improving, when taught by the Church, would but inflame the rebellious pride of the human intellect. What meant this ostentatious toleration of other religions, if not total indifference to Christ and God; if not a secret inclination to apostasy? What was all this splendour, but Epicurean or Eastern luxury? What this poetry, but effeminate amatory songs? Was this the life of a Christian King, of a Christian nobility, of a Christian people? It was an absolute renunciation of the severe discipline of the Church, of that austere asceticism, which however the clergy and religious men alone could practise its angelic, its divine perfection, was the remote virtue after which all, even Kings (so many of whom had exchanged their worldly robes for the cowl and for sackcloth) ought to aspire, as to the ultimate culminating height of true Christianity. It was Mohammedan not merely in its secret indulgences, its many concubines, in which the Emperor was still said to allow himself Mohammedan licence; some of his chosen companions, his trusted counsellors, at least his instructors in science and philosophy were Mohammedans; ladies of that race and religion appeared, as has been said, at his court (in them virtue was a thing incredible to a sound churchman). The Saracens whom he had transplanted to Nocera were among his most faithful troops, followed him in his campaigns; it was even reported, that after his marriage with Isabella of England, he dismissed her English ladies, and made her over to the care of Moorish eunuchs.

Such to the world was the fame, such to the Church the evil fame of Frederick's Sicilian court; exaggerated no doubt as to its splendour, luxury, licence, and learning, as well by the wonder of the world, as by the abhorrence of the Church. Yet, after all, out of his long life

(long if considered not by years but by events, by the civil acts, the wars, the negotiations, the journeyings, the vicissitudes, crowded into it by Frederick's own busy and active ambition and by the whirling current of affairs) the time during which he sunned himself in this gorgeous voluptuousness must have been comparatively short, intermittent, broken. At eighteen years of age Frederick left Sicily to win the Imperial crown; he had then eight years of the cold German climate and the rude German manners during the establishment of his Sovereignty over the haughty German Princes and Prelates. Then eight years in the South, but during the first four the rebellious Apulian and Sicilian nobles were to be brought under control, the Saracens to be reduced to obedience, and transported to Apulia: throughout the later four, was strife with the Lombard cities, strife about the Crusade, and preparation for the voyage. Then came his Eastern campaign, his reconciliation with the Church. Four years followed of legislation; and perhaps the nearest approach to indolent and luxurious peace. Then succeeded the revolt of his son. Four years more to coerce rebellious Germany, to attempt in vain to coerce rebellious Lombardy: all this was to close, with his life, in the uninterrupted immitigable feud with Gregory IX. and Innocent IV.

The Pope Gregory IX. (it is impossible to decide how far influenced by the desire of overawing this tendency of temporal legislation to assert its own independence) determined to array the higher and eternal law of the Church in a more august and authoritative form. The great code of the Papal Decretals constituted this law; it had now long recog-

A.D. 1230 to 1224.

A.D. 1225 to 1228.

A.D. 1230 to 1234.

A.D. 1234 to 1238.

The Decretals.

nised and admitted to the honours of equal authority the bold inventions of the book called by the name of Isidore; but during the Pontificate of Innocent III. there had been five distinct compilations, conflicting in some points, and giving rise to intricate and insoluble questions.ⁱ Gregory in his old age aspired to be the Justinian of the Church. He entrusted the compilation of a complete and regular code to Raimond da Pennaforte, a noble Spaniard, related to the royal house of Arragon, of the Dominican Order, and now the most distinguished jurist in the University of Bologna. Raimond da Pennaforte was to be to the Canon what Irnerius of Bologna had been to the revived Roman Law. It is somewhat singular that Raimond had been the most famous antagonist of the Arabian school of learning, the most admired champion of Christianity, in his native Spain.

The first part of these Decretals comprehended the whole, in a form somewhat abbreviated; abbreviations which, as some complained, endangered the rights of the Church on important points; but were defended by the admirers of Raimond of Pennaforte, who declared that he could not err, for an angel from Heaven had constantly watched over his holy work.^k The second contained the Decretals of Gregory IX. himself. The whole was promulgated as the great statute law of Christendom, superior in its authority to all secular laws as the interests of the soul were to those of the

ⁱ "Sane diversas constitutiones, et decretales epistolas, prædecessorum nostrorum in diversa sparsas volumina, quarum aliquæ propter nimiam similitudinem, et quædam propter contrarietatem, nonnullæ etiam propter suam prolixitatem, confusionem inducere videbantur; aliquæ vero vagabantur extra volumina suoradicta, quæ tanquam incertæ frequenter in judiciis vacillabant."—In Præfat.

^k Chiflet, quoted by Schroeck, xxvii. 64. Raimond la Pennaforte was canonised by Clement VIII., in 1601.

body, as the Church was of greater dignity than the State ; as the Pope higher than any one temporal sovereign, or all the sovereigns of the world. Though especially the law of the clergy, it was the law binding likewise on the laity as Christians, as religious men, both as demanding their rigid observance of all the rights, immunities, independent jurisdictions of the clergy, and concerning their own conduct as spiritual subjects of the Church. All temporal jurisprudence was bound to frame its decrees with due deference to the superior ecclesiastical jurisprudence ; to respect the borders of that inviolable domain ; not only not to interfere with those matters over which the Church claimed exclusive cognisance, but to be prepared to enforce by temporal means those decrees which the Church, in her tenderness for human life, in her clemency, or in her want of power, was unwilling or unable herself to carry into execution. Beyond that sacred circle temporal legislation might claim the full allegiance of its temporal subjects ; but the Church alone could touch the holy person, punish the delinquencies, control the demeanour of the sacerdotal order ; could regulate the power of the superior over the inferior clergy, and choose those who were to be enrolled in the order. The Church alone could administer the property of the Church ; that property it was altogether beyond the province of the civil power to tax ; even as to feudal obligations, the Church would hardly consent to allow any decisions but her own : though compelled to submit to the assent of the crown in elections to benefices which were temporal fiefs, yet that assent was, on the other hand, counterbalanced by her undoubted power to consecrate or to refuse consecration. The Book of Gregory's Decretals was ordered to be the authorised text in all courts and

in all schools of law ; it was to be, as it were, more and more deeply impressed into the minds of men. Even in its form it closely resembled the Roman law yet unabrogated in many parts of Europe ; but of course it comprehended alike those who lived under the different national laws, which had adopted more or less of the old Latin jurisprudence ; it was the more universal statute-book of the more wide-ruling, all-embracing Rome.

CHAPTER IV.

Renewal of hostilities between Gregory IX. and Frederick II.

DURING the nine years of peace between the Empire and the Papacy, Pope Gregory IX. at times poured forth his flowery eloquence in the praise, almost the adulation, of the Emperor; the Emperor proclaimed himself the most loyal subject of the Church. The two potentates concurred only with hearty zeal in the persecution of those rebels against the civil and ecclesiastical power, the heretics.*

Peace of nine years, Aug. 1230 to 1239, Palm Sunday.

* During this period of peace an obscure heresy, that of the Stedinger, appeared or grew to its height in the duchy of Oldenburg; the Pope and the Emperor would concur in inflicting summary punishment on these rebels. Hartung, the Archbishop of Bremen, had long appealed to Rome. On one occasion he returned with full power to subdue his refractory spiritual subjects, bearing, as he boasted, a singular and significant relique,—the sword with which Peter had struck off the ear of Malchus. More than thirty years after, Archbishop Gerhard, Count de la Lippe, a martial prelate, turned not his spiritual but his secular arms against them. Among their deadly tenets was the refusal to pay tithes. The Pope revives the charges against them, furnished of course by their mortal enemies. They wor-

shipped the Evil One now as a toad, which they kissed behind and on the mouth, and licked up its foul venom; now as a man, with a face wonderfully pale, haggard, with coal-black eyes. They kissed him; his kiss was cold as ice, and with his kiss oozed away all their Catholic faith. The Pope would urge the Emperor to take part in the war against these wretches. Conrad of Marburg, the hateful persecutor of the saintly Elizabeth of Hungary, now the Holy Inquisitor, was earnest and active in the cause. The Stedinger withstood a crusading army of 40,000 men; were defeated with the loss of 6000. Many fled to other lands; the rest submitted to the Archbishop. The Pope released them from the excommunication: but it is curious to observe, he only censures their disobedience and insurrection.

At Rome multitudes of meaner religious criminals were burned; many priests and of the lower orders of clergy degraded and sent to Monte Casino and other rigid monasteries as prisoners for life.^b The Pope issued an act of excommunication rising in wrath and terror above former acts. Persons suspected of heresy were under excommunication; if within a year they did not prove themselves guiltless, they were to be treated as heretics. Heretics were at once infamous; if judges, their acts were at once null; if advocates, they could not plead; if notaries, the instruments which they had drawn were invalid. All priests were to be publicly stripped of their holy dress and degraded. No gifts or oblations were to be received from them; the clerk who bestowed Christian burial on a heretic was to disentomb him with his own hands, and cast him forth from the cemetery, which became an accursed place unfit for burial. No lay person was to dispute in public or in private concerning the Catholic faith: no descendant of a heretic to the second generation could be admitted to holy orders. Annibaldi, the senator of Rome and the Roman people, passed a decree enacting condign punishment on all heretics. The Emperor, not content with suppressing these insurgents in his hereditary dominions, had given orders that throughout Lombardy, their chief seat, they should be sought out, delivered to the Inquisitors,^c and there punished by the secular arm.^d One of his own most useful allies, Eccelin da Romano,

he is silent of their heresy.—Raynaldus, sub ann. 1233; Schroeck, xxix. 641, &c. The original authorities are Albert. Stad. Ger. Monach. apud Boehmer—above all the Papal letters.

^b Vit. Gregor. IX. Rich. San German. Raynald. sub ann. 1231.

^c Gregory in one letter insinuates that Frederick had burned some good Catholics, his enemies, as pretending that they were or had been heretics.—Epist. 244. Raynald. c. 85.

^d See ante, note, p. 51.

was in danger. Eccelin's two sons, Eccelin and Alberic, offered to denounce their father to the Inquisition. There was, what it is difficult to describe but as profound hypocrisy, or worse, on the part of the Pope: he declared his unwillingness to proceed to just vengeance against the father of such pious sons, who by his guilt would forfeit, as in a case of capital treason, all their inheritance; the sons were to persuade Eccelin to abandon all connexion with heresy or with heretics: if he refused, they were to regard their own salvation, and to denounce their father before the Papal tribunal.^e It is strange enough that the suspected heretic, suspected perhaps not unjustly, took the vows, and died in the garb of a monk; the pious son became that Eccelin da Romano whose cruelty seems to have defied the exaggeration of party hatred.

But in all other respects the Pope and the Emperor were equally mistrustful of each other; peace was disguised war. Each had an ally in the midst of the other's territory whom he could not avow, yet would not abandon. Even in these perverse times the conduct of the Romans to the Pope is almost inexplicable. No sooner had the Pope, either harassed or threatened by their unruly proceedings, withdrawn in wrath, or under the pretext of enjoying the purer and cooler air, to Rieti, Anagni, or some other neighbouring city, than Rome began to regret his absence, to make overtures of submission; and still received him back with more rapturous demonstrations of joy.^f In a few months they began to be

^e The age may be pleaded in favour of Gregory IX. What is to be said of the comment of the Papal annalist, Raynaldus?—"Nec mirum cuiquam videri potest datum hoc filiis adversus

parentem consilium, cum numinis, a quo descendit omnis paternitas, causa humanis affectibus debet anteferri." —p. 41. Raynald. 1231.

^f Rich. de S. Germ., sub ann. 1231,

weary of their quiet: his splendid buildings for the defence and ornament of the city lost their imposing power, or became threatening to their liberties; he was either compelled or thought it prudent to retire. Viterbo had become to the Romans what Tusculum had been in a former century; the Romans loved their own liberty, but their hate of Viterbo was stronger than their love; the fear that the Pope might take part with Viterbo brought them to his feet; that he did not aid them in the subjugation of Viterbo rekindled their hostility to him. More than once the Pope called on the Emperor to assist him to put down his insurgent subjects: Frederick promised, eluded his promise;^g his troops were wanted to suppress rebellions not feigned, but rather of some danger, at Messina and Syracuse. He had secret partisans everywhere: when Rome was Papal, Viterbo was Imperialist; when Viterbo was for the Pope, Rome was for the Emperor. If Frederick was insincere in his maintenance of the Pope against his domestic enemies, Gregory was no less insincere in pretending to renounce all alliance, all sympathy with the Lombards.^h But this connexion of the Pope with the Lombard League required infinite management and

1233. He returned to Rome, March, 1233. He was again in Anagni in August!

^g Rebellion, reconciliation, 1233. New rebellion, beginning of 1234. "Quo Fredericus imperator apud sanctum Germanum certa relatione comperto, qui fidele defensionis presidium ecclesiæ Romanæ promiserat, et fidei et majestatis oblitus, Messanam properans, nullo persequente decessit, hostibus tanti favoris auxilium ex cessione daturus."—Vit. Gregor. Com-

pare Pope's letter (Feb. 3, from Anagni, and Feb. 10). But in fact there was a dangerous insurrection in Messina; the King's Justiciary had been obliged to fly. Frederick had to put down movements also at Syracuse and Nicosia.—Ann. Sicul. Rich. San Germano.

^h The Chronicon Placentinum has revealed a renewal of the Lombard League at Bologna, Oct. 26, 1231, and a secret mission to the Pope, p. 98.

dexterity: the Lombard cities swarmed with heretics, and so far were not the most becoming allies of the Pope.¹ Yet this alliance might seem an affair, not of policy only, but of safety. Gregory could not disguise to himself that so popular, so powerful a sovereign had never environed the Papal territories on every side. If Frederick (and Frederick's character might seem daring enough for so impious an act) should despise the sacred awe which guarded the person of the Pope, and scorn his excommunications, he was in an instant at the gates of Rome, of fickle and treacherous Rome. He had planted his two colonies of Saracens near the Apulian frontier; they at least would have no scruple in executing his most irreverent orders. The Pope was at his mercy, and friendless, as far as any strong or immediate check on the ambition or revenge of the Emperor. The Pope in supporting the Lombard republics, assumed the lofty position of the sacred defender of liberty, the asserter of Italian independence, when Italy seemed in danger of lying prostrate under one stern and despotic monarchy, which would extend from the German Ocean to the further shore of Sicily. At first his endeavours were wisely and becomingly devoted to the maintenance of peace—a peace which, so long as the Emperor refrained from asserting his full imperial rights, so long as the Guelfs ruled undisturbed in those cities in which their interests predominated, the republics were content to

¹ A modern writer, rather Papal, thus describes the state of Italy at that time: "Alle Kreise und Stände derjenigen Theils der Nation, den man als den eigentlichen Träger der Intelligenz in Italien betrachten müsste, waren geistig frei und mächtig genug, wo ihre Interessen denen der Kirche entgegen waren, die letzteren mit Füßen zu treten, nicht bloss einzelne Podestaten, oder das Geld-interesse des gemeinen Volkes, sondern oft alle gebildeten Städtbewohner wagten es keck den Bannstrahlen des Papstes hohn zu sprechen."—Leo, Geschichte der Italien, ii. 234.

observe; the lofty station of the mediator of such peace became his sacred function, and gave him great weight with both parties.^k But nearly at the same time an insurrection of the Pope's Roman subjects, more daring and aggressive than usual, compelled him to seek the succour of Frederick, and Frederick was threatened with a rebellion which the high-minded and religious Pope could not but condemn, though against his fearful adversary.

For the third or fourth time the Pope had been compelled to retire to Rieti. Under the senatorship of Luca di Sabelli the senate and people of Rome had advanced new pretensions, which tended to revolutionise the whole Papal dominions. They had demolished part of the Lateran palace, razed some of the palaces of the cardinals, proclaimed their open defiance of the Pope's governor, the Cardinal Rainier. They had sent justiciaries into Tuscany and the Sabine country to receive oaths of allegiance to themselves, and to exact tribute. The Pope wrote pressing letters addressed to all the princes and bishops of Christendom, imploring succour in men and money; there was but one near enough at hand to aid, had all been willing. The Pope could not but call on him whose title as Emperor was protector of the Church, who as King of Naples was first vassal of the papal see.

Frederick did not disobey the summons: with his young son Conrad he visited the Pope at Rieti. The Cardinal Rainier had thrown himself with the Pope's forces into Viterbo; the army of Frederick sat down before Respampano, a strong castle which the

^k See the letter to Frederick, in which he assumes the full power of arbitration between the Emperor and the League.—*Monument. Germ.* iv 299, dated June 5, 1233.

Romans occupied in the neighbourhood as an annoyance, and as a means, it might be, of surprising and taking Viterbo. But Respampano made resistance; Frederick himself retired, alleging ^{Sept. 1234.} important affairs, to his own dominions. The Papalists burst into a cry of reproach at his treacherous abandonment of the Pope. Yet it was entirely by the aid of some of his German troops that the Papal army inflicted a humiliating defeat on the Romans, who were compelled to submit to the terms of peace dictated by ^{April 16,} the Pope,^m and enforced by the Emperor, who ^{1235.} was again with the Pope at Rieti. Angelo Malebranca, "by the grace of God the illustrious senator of the gentle city" (such were the high-sounding phrases), by the decree and authority of the sacred senate, by the command and instant acclamation of the famous people, assembled in the Capitol at the sound of the bell and of the trumpet, swore to the peace proposed by the three cardinals, between the Holy Roman Church, their Father the Supreme Pontiff, and the Senate and people of Rome. He swore to give satisfaction for the demolition of the Lateran palace and those of the cardinals, the invasion of the Papal territories, the exaction of oaths, the occupation of the domains of the Church. He swore that no clerks or ecclesiastical persons belonging to the families of the Pope or cardinals should be summoned before the civil tribunals (thus even in Rome there was a strong opposition to those immunities of the clergy from temporal jurisdiction for temporal offences).

^m "Milites in civitate Viterbio collocavit, quorum quotidianis insultibus et depredationibus Romani adeo sunt vexati, ut non multo post cum ipsâ pacem subirent."—God. Colon. The author of the life of Gregory says

that the Emperor, instead of aiding the Pope, idled his time away in hunting: "Majestatis titulum in officium venaturæ commutans . . . in capturam avium sollicitabat aquilæ triumphales."

This did not apply to laics who belonged to such households. He swore to protect all pilgrims, laymen as well as ecclesiastics, who visited the shrines of the Apostles.² The peace was re-established likewise with the Emperor and his vassals—with Anagni, Segni, Velletri, Viterbo, and other cities of the Papal territories. But even during this compulsory approximation to the Emperor, the Pope, to remove all suspicion that he might be won to desert their cause, wrote to the Lombards to reassure them. However, he might call upon them not to impede the descent of the Imperial troops from the Alps, those troops were not directed against their liberties, but came to maintain the liberties of the Church.

But if the rebels against the Pope were thus his immediate subjects the Romans, the rebel against Frederick was his own son. Henry had been left to rule Germany as king of the Romans; the causes and indeed the objects of his rebellion are obscure.³ Henry appears to have been a man of feeble character; so long as he was governed by wise counsellors, filling his high office without blame; released from their control, the slave of his own loose passions, and the passive instrument of low and designing men. The only impulse to which the rebel son could appeal was the pride of Germany, which would no longer condescend to be governed from Italy, and to

² Apud Raynald. ann. 1235.

³ In the year 1232 Frederick began to entertain suspicions of his son, and to be discontented with his conduct. Henry (but 20 years old) met his father at Aquileia, promised amendment, and to discard his evil counsellors.—Hahn. Collect. Monument. i. 222. Frederick might remember the fatal example of the Franconian house;

the conduct of Henry V. to Henry IV. The chief burthen of Henry's vindication, addressed, Sept. 1234, to Bishop Conrad of Hildesheim, is that the Emperor had annulled some of his grants, interfered in behalf of the house of Bavaria (Louis of Bavaria had been guardian of the realm during his minority).

be a province of the kingdom of Apulia. Unlike some of his predecessors, Pope Gregory took at once the high Christian tone: he would seek no advantage from the unnatural insurrection of a son against his father. All the malicious insinuations against Gregory are put to silence by the fact that, during their fiercest war of accusation and recrimination, Frederick never charged the Pope with the odious crime of encouraging his son's disobedience. Frederick passed the Alps with letters from the Pope, calling on all the Christian prelates of Germany to assert the authority of the King and of the parent. Henry had held a council of princes^p at Boppard to raise the standard of revolt, and had entered into treasonable league with Milan and the Lombard cities. The rebellion was as weak as wanton and guilty; Frederick entered Germany with the scantiest attendance; the affrighted son, abandoned by all his partisans, met him at Worms, and made the humblest submission.^q Frederick renewed his pardon; but probably some new detected intrigues, or the refusal to surrender his castles, or meditated flight,^r induced the Emperor to send his son as a prisoner to the kingdom of Naples. There he remained in such obscurity that his death might have been unnoticed but for a passionate lamentation which Frederick himself sent forth, in which he adopted the language of King David on the loss of his ungrateful but beloved Absalom.^s

May, 1235.

July, 1235.

^p God. Colon. Chron. Erphurd. apud Boehmer Fontes R. G.

^q "Ipso mense, nullo obstante, Alemanniam intrans, Henricum regem filium suum ad mandatam suum recepit, quem duci Bavarie custodiendum commisit."—Rich. San Germ.

^r God. Col. Annal. Erphurd. Quotation from Ann. Argentin. in Boehmer's Regesta, p. 254.

^s Besides this pathetic letter in Peter de Vineâ, iv. 1, see the more extraordinary one, quoted by Höfler, addressed to the people of Messina.

Worms had beheld the sad scene of the ignominious arrest and imprisonment of the King of the Germans: that event was followed by the splendid nuptials of the Emperor with Isabella of England.

But though the Pope was guiltless, we believe he was
 Lombards
 concerned in
 King Henry's
 rebellion.

 May 1, 1236.

 August 1236.

 guilty, the Lombards were deep in this conspiracy against the power and the peace of Frederick. They, if they had not from the first instigated, had inflamed the ambition of Henry:† they had offered, if he would cross the Alps, to invest him at Monza with the iron crown of Italy.‡ Frederick's long-suppressed impatience of Lombard freedom had now a justifiable cause for vengeance. The Ghibelline cities—Cremona, Parma, Pisa, and others; the Ghibelline Princes Eccelin and Alberic, the two sons of the suspected heretic Eccelin II. (who had now descended from his throne, and taken the habit of a monk, though it was rumoured that his devotion was that of an austere Paterin rather than that of an orthodox recluse) summoned the Emperor to relieve them from the oppressions of the Guelfic league, and to wreak his just revenge on those aggressive rebels. Frederick's declaration of war was drawn with singular subtlety. His chief object, he declared, was the suppression of heresy. The wide prevalence of heresy the Pope could not deny; to espouse the Lombard cause was to espouse that at least of imputed heresy; it was

† Galvano Fiamma has these words: "Henricus composuit cum Mediolanensibus ad petitionem Domini Papæ."—c. 264. "Et tunc facta est lega fortis inter Henricum et Mediolanenses ad petitionem Papæ contra Imperatorem patrem suum."—Annal. Mediolan., Muratori, xvi. 624. These are Mi-

lanese, certainly not Ghibelline writers!

‡ During this year (1235) Frederick assisted with seemingly deep devotion at the translation to Marburg of the remains of St. Elizabeth of Hungary. 1,200,000 persons are said to have been present.—Montalembert, Vie de St. Elizabeth d'Hongrie.

to oppose the Emperor in the exercise of his highest imperial function, the promotion of the unity of the Church. The Emperor could not leave his own dominions in this state of spiritual and civil revolt to wage war in foreign lands: so soon as he had subdued the heretic he was prepared to arm against the Infidel. Lombardy reduced to obedience, there would be no obstacle to the reconquest of the Holy Land. Yet though thus embarrassed, the Pope, in his own defence, could not but interpose his mediation; he commanded both parties to submit to his supreme arbitration. Frederick yielded, but resolutely limited the time; if the arbitration was not made before Christmas, he was prepared for war. To the most urgent remonstrances for longer time he turned a deaf and contemptuous ear: he peremptorily challenged the Legate whom the Pope had appointed, the Cardinal Bishop of Præneste, and refused to accept as arbiter his declared enemy.* Frederick had already begun the campaign: Verona had opened her gates; he had stormed Vicenza, and laid half the city in ashes. He was recalled beyond the Alps by the sudden insurrection of the Duke of Austria. Gregory so far yielded, that in place of the obnoxious Cardinal of Præneste, he named as his Legates the Cardinals of Ostia and of San Sabina. He commended them with high praise to the Patriarchs of Aquileia and of Grado, to the Archbishops of Genoa and Ravenna, whom, with the suffragans and all the people of Northern Italy, he exhorted to join in obtaining the blessings of peace. But already he began to murmur his complaints of those

Nov. 1, 1236.

March, 1237.

* Compare the letter, apud Raynald. sub ann. 1236; more complete in Höfler, p. 357, and 360.

grievances which afterwards darkened to such impious crimes. The Frangipanis were again breaking out into turbulence in Rome:^y it was suspected and urged that they were in the pay of Frederick. Taxes had been levied on the clergy in the kingdom of Naples; they had been summoned before civil tribunals; the old materials of certain churches had been profanely converted by the Saracens of Nocera to the repair of their mosques. The answer of Frederick was lofty and galling. He denied the truth of the Pope's charges; he appealed to the conscience of the Pope. Gregory demanded by what right he presumed to intrude into that awful sanctuary.^z "Kings and princes were humbly to repose themselves on the lap of priests; Christian Emperors were bound to submit themselves not only to the supreme Pontiff, but even to other bishops. The Apostolic See was the judge of the whole world; God had reserved to himself the sole judgement of the manifest and hidden acts of the Pope. Let the Emperor dread the fate of Uzzah, who laid his profane hands on the ark of God." He urged Frederick to follow the example of the great Constantine, who thought it absolutely wicked that, where the Head of the Christian religion had been determined by the King of Heaven, an earthly Emperor should have the smallest power, and had therefore surrendered Italy to

^y "Hoc anno Petrus Frangipane, 1236, in urbe Româ pro parte Imperatoris guerram movit contra Papam et Senatorem."—Rich. San Germ.

"Quod nequaquam incaute ad judicanda seculi conscientia nostrae . . . evolasses; cum regum colla et principum videas genibus sacerdotum, et Christiani Imperatores subdere

debeant executiones suas non solum Romano Pontifici, quin etiam aliis præsulibus non præferre, nec non Dominus sedem apostolicam, cujus judicio orbem terrarum subjeit, in occultis et manifestis a nemine judicandam, soli suo judicio reservavit."—Greg. Epist. 10, 253, Oct. 23, 1236 apud Raynald.

the Apostolic government, and chosen for himself a new residence in Greece.*

Frederick returned from Germany victorious over the rebellious Duke of Austria; his son Conrad ^{Second descent on Italy.} had been chosen King of the Romans. He crossed the Alps with three thousand German men-at-arms, besides the forces of the Ghibelline cities: he was joined by ten thousand Saracens from the South. His own ambassadors, Henry the Master of the Teutonic Order and his Chancellor Peter de Vineâ, by whom he had summoned the Pope to his aid against the enraged Lombards, had returned from Rome without accomplishing their mission. At the head of his army ^{Aug. 1227.} he would not grant audience to the Roman legates, the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia and the Cardinal of St. Sabina, who peremptorily enjoined him to submit to the arbitration of the Pope. The great ^{Nov. 27, 1237.} battle of Corte Nuova might seem to avenge the defeat of his ancestor Frederick Barbarossa at Legnano. The Lombard army was discomfited with enormous loss; the Carroccio of Milan, defended till night-fall, was stripped of its banners, and abandoned to the conqueror. Frederick entered Cremona, the palaces of which city would hardly contain the captives, in a splendid ovation. The Podestà of Milan, Tiepolo, son of the Doge of Venice, was bound on the captive Carroccio; which was borne, as in the pomp of an Eastern potentate, on an elephant, followed by a wooden tower, with trumpeters and the Imperial standard. The pride of Frederick at this victory was at its height; he supposed that it would prostrate at once the madness of the rebels; he called upon the world to rejoice at the resto-

* Ibid.

ration of the Roman Empire to all its rights.^b The Carroccio was sent to Rome as a gift to the people of the gentle city: it was deposited in the Capitol, a significant menace to the Pope.^c But where every city was a fortress, inexpugnable by the arts of war then known, a battle in the open field did not decide the fate of a league which included so many of the noblest cities of Italy. Frederick had passed the winter at Cremona; the terror of his arms had enforced at least outward submission from many of the leaguers. Almost all Piedmont, Alexandria, Turin, Susa, and the other cities raised the Ghibelline banner. Milan, Brescia, Piacenza, Bologna, remained alone in arms; even they made overtures for submission. Their offers were in some respects sufficiently humiliating; to acknowledge themselves rebels, to surrender all their gold and silver, to place their banners at the feet of the Emperor, to furnish one thousand men for the Crusades; but they demanded in return a general amnesty and admission to the favour of the Emperor, the maintenance of the liberties of the citizens and of the cities. Frederick haughtily de-

^b See the letter in Peter de Vineâ.
 “Exultet jam Romani Imperii culmen . . . mundus gaudeat universus . . . confundatur rebellis insania.”—Frederick disguised not, he boasted of the aid of his Saracens. He describes the Germans reddening their swords with blood, Pavia and Cremona wreaking vengeance on the tyrannous Milanese, “et suas evacuaverunt pharetras Saraceni.”

^c “Quando illum ad almæ urbis populum destinavit.” A marble monument of this victory was shown in 1727.—Muratori, *Dissert.* xxvi. t. ii. p. 491. The inscription was:—

“Ergo triumphorum urbis memor esto priorum,
 Quos tibi mittebant reges qui bella gerabant.”

—Francisc. Pipin. apud Muratori.—Compare the (Ghibelline) *Chronicon de Rebus in Italiâ gestis*, discovered by M. Panizzi in the British Museum, and printed with the *Chronicon Placentinum* at Paris, 1856. “Quod carrocciam cum apud Romam duxissent, dominus papa usque ad mortem doluit.” The Pope would have prevented its admission into the city, but was overawed by the Imperialist party—p. 172.

manded absolute and unconditional surrender. They feared, they might well fear, Frederick's severity against rebels. With mistimed and impolitic rigour he had treated the captive Podestà of Milan as a rebel. Tiepolo was sent to Naples, and there publicly executed. The Republics declared that it was better to die by the sword than by the halter, by famine, or by fire.^d Frederick, in the summer of the next year, undertook the siege of Brescia; at the end of two months, foiled by the valour of the citizens and the skill of their chief engineer, a Spaniard, Kalamandrino, he was obliged to burn his besieging machines, and retire humiliated to Padua.^e But without aid the Lombard liberties must fall: the Emperor was master of Italy from the Alps to the straits of Messina; the knell of Italian independence was rung; the Pope a vassal at the mercy of Frederick.

Aug. 2 to Oct.
1238.

The dauntless old man rose in courage with the danger. Temporal allies were not absolutely wanting. Venice, dreading her own safety, and enraged at the execution of her noble son, Tiepolo, sent proposals for alliance to the Pope. The treaty was framed; Venice agreed to furnish 25 galleys, 300 knights, 2000 foot-soldiers, 500 archers; she was to obtain, as the price of this aid, Bari and Salpi in Apulia, and all that she could conquer in Sicily.^f

The Pope wrote to the confederate cities of Lombardy and Romagna, taking them formally under the protection of the Holy See.^g Genoa, under the same fears as Venice, and jealous of Imperialist Pisa, was prepared with her fleets to join the cause. During these nine

^d Rich. de San Germ.

^e Dandolo, 356 Marin. iv. 228.

^f See B. Museum Chronicon. p. 177.

^g Greg. Epist. apud Hahn. xviii.

years of peace, even if the former transgressions of Frederick were absolutely annulled by the treaty and absolution of San Germano, collisions between two parties both grasping and aggressive, and with rights the boundaries of which could not be precisely defined, had been inevitable: pretexts could be found, made, or exaggerated into crimes against the spiritual power, which would give some justification to that power to put forth, at such a crisis, its own peculiar weapons; and to recur to its only arms, the excommunication, the interdict, the absolution of subjects from their allegiance. Over this power Gregory had full command, in its employment no scruple.

On Palm Sunday, and on Thursday in Holy week, with all the civil and ecclesiastical state which he could assemble around him, Gregory pronounced excommunication against the Emperor; he gave over his body to Satan for the good of his soul, absolved all his subjects from their allegiance, laid under interdict every place in which he might be, degraded all ecclesiastics who should perform the services of the Church before him, or maintain any intercourse with him; and commanded the promulgation of this sentence with the utmost solemnity and publicity throughout Christendom. These were the main articles of the impeachment published some months before:—I. That in violation of his oath, he had stirred up insurrection in Rome against the Pope and the Cardinals. II. That he had arrested the Cardinal of Præneste while on the business of the Church among the Albigenses. III. That in the kingdom of Sicily he had kept benefices vacant to the ruin of men's souls; unjustly seized the goods of churches and monasteries, levied taxes on the clergy, imprisoned,

Excommuni-
cation.
March 20 to
March 24,
1239.

Nov. 1238.
Charges
against the
Emperor.

banished, and even punished them with death. IV. That he had not restored their lands or goods to the Templars and Knights of St. John. V. That he had ill-treated, plundered, and expelled from his realm all the partisans of the Church. VI. That he had hindered the rebuilding of the church of Sora, favoured the Saracens, and settled them among Christians. VII. That he had seized and prevented the nephew of the King of Tunis from proceeding to Rome for baptism, and imprisoned Peter, Ambassador of the King of England. VIII. That he had taken possession of Massa, Ferrara, and especially Sardinia, being part of the patrimony of St. Peter. IX. That he had thrown obstacles in the way of the recovery of the Holy Land and the restoration of the Latin Empire in Constantinople, and in the affairs of the Lombards rejected the interposition of the Pope.

Frederick was at Padua, of which his most useful ally, Eccelin da Romano, had become Lord by all his characteristic treachery and barbarity. There were great rejoicings and festivities on that Palm Sunday; races and tournaments in honour of the Emperor. But some few Guelfs were heard to murmur bitterly among themselves, "This will be a day of woe to Frederick; this day the Holy Father is uttering his ban against him, and delivering him over to the devil!" On the arrival of the intelligence from Rome, Frederick for a time restrained his wrath. Peter de Vineâ, the great Justiciary of the realm of Naples, pronounced in the presence of Frederick, who wore his crown, a long exculpatory sermon to the vast assembly, on a text out of Ovid—"Punishment when merited is to be borne with patience, but when it is undeserved, with sorrow." ^b

^b *Sanctius ex merito quicquid patiari ferenda est
quæ venit indigno pœna dolenda venit.*"

He declared, "that since the days of Charlemagne, no Emperor had been more just, gentle, and magnanimous, or had given so little cause for the hostility of the Church." The Emperor himself rose and averred, that if the excommunication had been spoken on just grounds, and in a lawful manner, he would have given instant satisfaction. He could only lament that the Pope had inflicted so severe a censure, without grounds and with such precipitate haste; even before the excommunication he had refuted with the same quiet arguments all these accusations. His first reply had been in the same calm and dignified tone.ⁱ The Pope had commissioned the Bishops of Wurtzburg, Worms, Vercelli, and Parma to admonish the Emperor previous to the excommunication. In their presence, and in that of the Archbishops of Palermo and Messina, the Bishops of Cremona, Lodi, Novara, and Mantua, many abbots, and some Dominican and Franciscan friars, he had made to all their charges a full and satisfactory answer, and delivered his justification to the Bishops:—I. He had encouraged no insurrection in Rome; he had assisted the Pope with men and money; he had no concern in the new feuds. II. He had never even dreamed of arresting the Cardinal of Præneste, though he might have found just cause, since the Cardinal, acting for the Pope, had inflamed the Lombards to disobedience and rebellion. III. He could give no answer to the vague and unspecified charges as to the oppression of the clergy in the realm of Naples; and as to particular churches he entered into long and elaborate explanations.^k IV. He

Peter de Vineâ, i. 21, p. 156. The refutation of the charges, according to Matthew Paris (sub ann. 1239), was anterior to the excommunication.
^k See especially, in a letter in

had restored all the lands to which the Templars and Knights of St. John had just claim; all but those which they had unlawfully received from his enemies during his minority; they had been guilty of aiding his enemies during the invasion of the kingdom, and some had incurred forfeiture: their lands, in certain cases, were assessable; were this not so, they would soon acquire the whole realm, and that exempt from all taxation. V. No one was condemned as a partisan of the Pope; some had abandoned their estates from fear of being prosecuted for their crimes. VI. No church had been desecrated or destroyed in Lucera; that of Sora was an accident, arising out of the disobedience of the city; he would rebuild that, and all which had fallen from age. The Saracens, who lived scattered over the whole realm, he had settled in one place, for the security of the Christians, and to protect rather than endanger the faith. VII. Abdelasis had fled from the court of the King of Tunis; he was not a prisoner, but living a free and pleasant life, furnished with horses, clothes, and money by the Emperor. He had never (he appealed to the Archbishops of Palermo and Messina) expressed any desire for baptism. Had he done so, no one would have rejoiced more than the Emperor. Peter was no Ambassador of the King of England. VIII. The pretensions of the Pope to Massa and Ferrara were groundless, still more to Sardinia, his son Enzio had married Adelasia, the heiress of that island; he was the rightful King. IX. The King prevents no one from preaching the Crusade; he only interferes with

<p>Höfler, his justification for the refusal to rebuild the church at Sora. The city had rebelled, had been razed, church and all, and sown with salt.</p>	<p>Frederick had sworn that the city should never be again inhabited: why build a church for an uninhabited wilderness?</p>
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those who, under pretence of preaching a Crusade, preach rebellion against the Sovereign, or, like John of Vicenza, usurp civil power. As to the affairs of Lombardy, the Pope had but interposed delays, to the frustration of his military plans. He would willingly submit to just terms; but after the unmeasured demands of the Lombards, and such manifest hostility on the part of the Pope, it would be dangerous and degrading to submit to the unconditional arbitration of the Pope.

The indignation of Frederick might seem to burst out with greater fury from this short, stern suppression. He determined boldly, resolutely, to measure his strength, the strength of the Emperor, the King of Sicily, so far the conqueror (notwithstanding the failure before Brescia) of the Lombard republics, against the strength of the Popedom. The Pope had declared war on causes vague, false or insignificant; the true cause of the war, Frederick's growing power and his successes in Lombardy, the Pope could not avow; Frederick would appeal to Christendom, to the world, on the justice of his cause and the unwarranted enmity of the Pope. He addressed strong and bitter remonstrances to the Cardinals, to the Roman people, to all the Sovereigns of Christendom. To the Cardinals he had already written, though his letter had not reached Rome before the promulgation of the excommunication, admonishing them to moderate the hasty resentment of the Pope. He endeavoured to separate the cause of the Pope from that of the Church; but vengeance against Gregory and the family of Gregory could not satisfy the insulted dignity of the Empire; if the authority of the Holy See, and the weight of their venerable college, thus burst all restraint, he must use all measures of

defence; injury must be repelled with injury.^m Some of the Cardinals had endeavoured to arrest the precipitate wrath of Gregory; he treated their timid prudence with scorn. To the Romans the Emperor expressed his indignant wonder that Rome being the head of the Empire, the people, without reverence for his majesty, ungrateful for all his munificence, had heard tamely the blasphemies of the Roman Pontiff against the Sovereign of Rome; that of the whole tribe of Romulus there was not one bold patrician, of so many thousand Roman citizens not one, who uttered a word of remonstrance, a word of sympathy with their insulted Lord. He called on them to rise and to revenge the blasphemy upon the blasphemer, and not to allow him to glory in his presumption, as if they consented to his audacity.ⁿ As he was bound to assert the honour of Rome, so were they to defend the dignity of the Roman Emperor.

Before all the temporal Sovereigns of the world, the Emperor entered into a long vindication of all his acts towards the Church and the Pope; he appealed to their justice against the unjust and tyrannous hierarchy. “Cast your eyes around! lift up your ears, O sons of men, that ye may hear! behold the universal scandal of the world, the dissensions of nations, lament the utter extinction of justice! Wickedness has gone out from the Elders of Babylon, who hitherto appeared to rule the people, whilst judgement is turned into bitterness, the fruits of justice into wormwood. Sit in judgement, ye Princes, ye People

Appeal to the
Princes of
Christendom,
April 20.

^m Apud Petrum de Vineâ, i. vi.
ⁿ “Quia cum idem blasphemator
noster ausus non fuisset in nostri
nominis blasphemiam prorumpere, de
tantâ præsumptione gloriari non possit,

quod valentibus et volentibus Romanis,
contra nos talia perpetrasset,” &c.—
Apud Petr. de Vin. i. vii. Matth.
Par. 332.

take cognisance of our cause; let judgement go forth from the face of the Lord and your eyes behold equity." The Papal excommunication had dwelt entirely on occurrences subsequent to the peace of San Germano. The Emperor went back to the commencement of the Pope's hostility: he dwelt on his ingratitude, his causeless enmity. "He, who we hoped thought only of things above, contemplated only heavenly things, dwelt only in heaven, was suddenly found to be but a man; even worse, by his acts of inhumanity is not only a stranger to truth, but without one feeling of humanity." He charged the Pope with the basest duplicity; ° he had professed the firmest friendship for the Emperor, while by his letters and his Legates he was acting the most hostile part.^p This charge rested on his own letters, and the testimony of his factious accomplices. The Pope had called on the Emperor to defy, and wage war against, the Romans on his behalf, and at the same time sent secret letters to Rome that this war was waged without his knowledge or command, in order to excite the hatred of the Romans against the Emperor. Rome, chiefly by his power, had been restored to the obedience of the Pope; what return had the Pope made?—befriending the Lombard rebels in every manner against their rightful Lord!^q No sooner had

° "Asserens quod nobis omnia planissima faciebat, cujus contrarium per nuncios et literas manifeste procuraret; prout constat testimonio plurium nostrorum fidelium qui tunc temporis erant omnium conscii velut ex eis quidam participes, et alii principes factionis."

^p He brought the charge against the Pope of writing letters to the Sultan, dissuading him from making

peace, letters which he declared had fallen into his hands.

^q "Audite mirabilem circumventionis modum ad depressionem nostræ justitiæ excogitatum. Dum pacem cum nobis habere velle se simularet ut Lombardos ad tempus, per treugarum suffragia, respirantes, contra nos fortius postmodum in rebellione confirmet."—Epist. ad H. R. Angliæ. Rymer, sub ann. 1238.

he raised a powerful army of Germans to subdue these rebels, than the Pope inhibited their march, alleging the general truce proclaimed for the Crusade. The Legate, the Cardinal of Præneste, whose holy life the Pope so commended, had encouraged the revolt of Piacenza. Because he could find no just cause for his excommunication, the Pope had secretly sent letters and Legates through the Empire, through the world, to seduce his subjects from their allegiance. He had promised the ambassadors of Frederick, the Archbishop of Palermo, the Bishops of Florence and Reggio, the Justiciary Thaddeus of Suessa, and the Archbishop of Messina, that he would send a Legate to the Emperor to urge the Lombards to obedience; but in the mean time he sent a Legate to Lombardy to encourage and inflame their resistance. Notwithstanding his answer to all the charges against him, which had made the Bishops of the Papal party blush by their completeness; notwithstanding this unanswerable refutation, the Pope had proceeded on Palm Sunday, and on Thursday in the Holy Week, to excommunicate him on these charges; this at the instigation of a few Lombard Cardinals, most of the better Cardinals, if report speaks true, remonstrating against the act. "Be it that we had offended the Pope by some public and singular insult, how violent and inordinate these proceedings, as though, if he had not vomited forth the wrath that boiled within him, he must have burst! We grieve from our reverence for our Mother the Church! Could we accept the Pope, thus our avowed enemy, no equitable judge, to arbitrate in our dispute with Milan;

† "Quamquam de patris instabilitate contusos se filii reputarent, ac verecundiâ capitâ rubor ora perfunderet."—p. 156.

Milan, favoured by the Pope, though by the testimony of all religious men, swarming with heretics?"^s "We hold Pope Gregory to be an unworthy Vicar of Christ, an unworthy successor of St. Peter; not in disrespect to his office, but of his person, who sits in his court like a merchant weighing out dispensations for gold, himself signing, writing the bulls, perhaps counting the money. He has but one real cause of enmity against me, that I refused to marry to his niece my natural son Enzo, now King of Sardinia. But ye, O Kings and Princes of the earth, lament not only for us, but for the whole Church; for her head is sick; her prince is like a roaring lion; in the midst of her sits a frantic prophet, a man of falsehood, a polluted priest!" He concludes by calling all the princes of the world to his aid; not that his own forces are insufficient to repel such injuries, but that the world may know that when one temporal prince is thus attacked the honour of all is concerned.

Another Imperial address seems designed for a lower class, that class whose depths were stirred to Appeal to the commonalty. hatred of the Emperor by the Preachers and the Franciscans. Its strong figurative language, its scriptural allusions, its invective against that rapacity of the Roman See which was working up a sullen discontent even among the clergy, is addressed to all Christendom. Some passages must illustrate this strange controversy. "The Chief Priests and the Pharisees have met in Council against their Lord, against the Roman Emperor. 'What shall we do,' say they, 'for this man is triumphing over all his enemies? If we let him alone, he will subdue the glory of the Lom-

^s This very year Frederick renewed his remorseless edicts against the Lombard heretics.—Feb. 22. Monument. Germ. l. 326, 7, 8.

bards; and, like another Cæsar, he will not delay to take away our place and destroy our nation. He will hire out the vineyard of the Lord to other labourers, and condemn us without trial, and bring us to ruin.' . . . 'Let us not await the fulfilment of these words of our Lord, but strike him quickly,' say they, 'with our tongues; let our arrows be no more concealed, but go forth; so go forth as to strike, so strike as to wound; so be he wounded as to fall before us, so fall as never to rise again; and then will he see what profit he has in his dreams.'" Thus speak the Pharisees who sit in the seat of Moses. . . . "This father of fathers, who is called the servant of servants, shutting out all justice, is become a deaf adder; refuses to hear the vindication of the King of the Romans; hurls malediction into the world as a stone is hurled from a sling; and sternly, and heedless of all consequences, exclaims, 'What I have written, I have written.'"

In better keeping Frederick alludes to the words of our Lord to his disciples after his resurrection, "That Master of Masters said not, 'Take arms and shield, the arrow, and the sword;' but, 'Peace be with you.'" On the avarice of the Pope he is inexhaustible. "But thou having nothing, but possessing all things, art ever seeking what thou mayest devour and swallow up; the whole world cannot glut the rapacity of thy maw, for the whole world sufficeth thee not. The Apostle Peter, by the Beautiful Gate, said to the lame man, 'I have neither silver nor gold;' but thou, if thy heap of money, which thou adorest, begins to dwindle, immediately beginnest to limp with the lame man, seeking anxiously what is of this world.' . . . Let our Mother

* In one place he calls him "Gregorius gregis disgregator potius."

Church then bewail that the shepherd of the flock is become a ravening wolf, eating the fatlings of the flock; neither binding up the broken, nor bringing the wanderer home to the fold; but a lover of schism, the head and author of offence, the father of deceit; against the rights and honour of the Roman King he protects heretics, the enemies of God and of all the faithful in Christ; having cast aside all fear of God, all respect of man. But that he may better conceal the malice of his heart, he cherishes and protects these enemies of the Cross and of the faith, under a certain semblance of piety, saying that he only aids the Lombards lest the Emperor should slay them, and should judge more rigorously than his justice requires. But this fox-like craft will not deceive the skilful hunter. . . . O grief! rarely dost thou expend the vast treasures of the Church on the poor! But, as Anagni bears witness, thou hast commanded a wonderful mansion, as it were the Palace of the Sun, to be built, forgetful of Peter, who long had nothing but his net; and of Jerusalem, which lies the servant of dogs, tributary to the Saracens; 'All power is from God,' writes the Apostle; 'whoso resists the power resists the authority of God.' Either receive, then, into the bosom of the Church her elder son," who without guile incessantly demands pardon; otherwise, the strong lion, who feigns sleep, with his terrible roar will draw all the fat bulls from the ends of the earth, will plant justice, take the rule over the Church, plucking up and destroying the horns of the proud." x

The Pope, in his long and elaborate reply, exceeded even the violence of this fierce Philippic. It is thus

"Filius singularis."

* Peter de Vincâ, i. 1.

that the Father of the Faithful commences his manifesto against the Emperor in the words of the Apocalypse: "Out of the sea is a beast arisen, ^{Pope's reply.} whose name is all over written 'Blasphemy;' he has the feet of a bear, the jaws of a ravening lion, the mottled limbs of the panther. He opens his mouth to blaspheme the name of God; and shoots his poisoned arrows against the tabernacle of the Lord, and the saints that dwell therein. . . . Already has he laid his secret ambush against the Church; he openly sets up the battering engines of the Ishmaelites; builds schools for the perdition of souls;⁷ lifts himself up against Christ the Redeemer of man, endeavouring to efface the tablets of his testament with the pen of heretical wickedness. Cease to wonder that he has drawn against us the dagger of calumny, for he has risen up to extirpate from the earth the name of the Lord. Rather, to repel his lies by the simple truth, to refute his sophisms by the arguments of holiness, we exorcise the head, the body, the extremities of this beast, who is no other than the Emperor Frederick."

Then follows a full account of the whole of Frederick's former contest with Gregory, in which the Emperor is treated throughout as an unmeasured liar. "This shameless artisan of falsehood lies when he says that I was of old his friend." The history of the preparation for the Crusade, and the Crusade is related with the blackest calumny. To Frederick is attributed the death of the Crusaders at Brundisium, and the poisoning of the Landgrave of Thuringia insinuated as the general belief. The suppression of heresy in Lombardy could not be entrusted to one himself tainted by heresy.

⁷ Gregory no doubt alludes to the universities founded by Frederick.

The insurrections in Lombardy are attributed to the Emperor's want of clemency; the oppressions of the Church are become the most wanton and barbarous cruelties; "the dwellings of Christians are pulled down to build the walls of Babylon; churches are destroyed that edifices may be built where divine honours are offered to Mohammed." The kingdom of Sicily, so declares the Pope, is reduced to the utmost distress.² By his unexampled cruelties, barons, knights, and others have been degraded to the state and condition of slaves; already the greater part of the inhabitants have nothing to lie upon but hard straw, nothing to cover their nakedness but the coarsest clothes; nothing to appease their hunger but a little millet bread. The charge of dilapidation of the Papal revenues, of venal avarice, the Pope repels with indignation: "I, who by God's grace have greatly increased the patrimony of the Church. He falsely asserts that I was enraged at his refusing his consent to the marriage of my niece with his natural son.³ He lies more impudently when he says that I

* Read the Canonico Gregorio's sensible account of the taxation of Sicily by Frederick II. "Occupato di continuo nelle guerre Italiane, intento a reprimere nei suoi stati i movimenti dei faziosi, e dalla implacabile ira dei suoi nemici oppresso e dai Romani Pontefici sempre costernato, ebbe così varia e travagliata fortuna, e fu in tali angustie di continuo ridotto, ed ai suoi molti e pressanti e sempre nuovi bisogni più non trovò gli ordinari proventi della corona, e le antiche rendite del regno sufficienti. Indi avvenne, ch'è da quel tempo in poi fu costretto ad ordinare i più sottili modi, perchè accrescesse le

pubbliche entrate, e nuove contribuzioni, comechè fosse, si procacciasse: anzi le cose in processo di tempo aspramente e per molta irritazione di animo si esacerbarono."—t. iii. p. 110. No doubt, as his finances became more and more exhausted by war, the burthens must have been heavier. But the flourishing state of Sicilian commerce and agriculture during the peaceful period but now elapsed, confutes the virulent accusation of the Pope.

³ This is not strictly a denial of the fact of such proposals, or at least of advances by the Pope. This charge of early nepotism is curious.

have in return pledged my faith to the Lombards against the Empire." Throughout the whole document there is so much of the wild exaggeration of passion, and at the same time so much art in the dressing out of facts; such an absence of the grave majesty of religion and the calm simplicity of truth, as to be surprising even when the provocations of Frederick's addresses are taken into consideration. But the heaviest charge was reserved for the close. "In truth this pestilent King maintains to use his own words, that the world has been deceived by three impostors;^b Jesus Christ, Moses, and Mahomet: the two of these died in honour, the third was hanged on a tree. Even more, he Charge about the three impostors. has asserted distinctly and loudly that those are fools who aver that God, the Omnipotent Creator of the world, was born of a Virgin."

Such was the blasphemy of which the Pope arraigned the Emperor before Christendom. Popular rumour had scattered abroad through the jealousy of the active priesthood, and still more through the wandering Friars, many other sayings of Frederick equally revolting to the feelings of the age; not merely that which contrasted the fertility of his beloved Sicily with the Holy Land, but sayings which were especially scornful as to the presence of Christ in the sacrament. When he saw the host carried to a sick person, he is accused of saying, "How long will this mummery last?"^c When a Saracen prince was present at the mass, he asked what was in the monstrance: "The people fable that it is our God." Passing once through a corn-field, he said,

^b A book was said to have existed at this time, with this title; it has never been discovered. I have seen a vulgar production with the title, or modern manufacture.

^c "Quam diu durabit Truffa ista?"

“How many Gods might be made out of this corn?”
 “If the princes of the world would stand by him he would easily make for all mankind a better faith and better rule of life.”^a

Frederick was not unconscious of the perilous workings of these direct and indirect accusations upon the popular mind. He hastened to repel them; and to turn the language of the Apocalypse against his accuser.

He thus addressed the bishops of Christendom.
Frederick's rejoinder. After declaring that God had created two great lights for the guidance of mankind, the Priesthood and the Empire:—“He, in name only Pope, has called us the beast that arose out of the sea, whose name was Blasphemy, spotted as the panther. We again aver that he is the beast of whom it is written, ‘And there went out another horse that was red, and power was given to him that sat thereon to take away peace from the earth, that the living should slay each other.’ For from the time of his accession this Father, not of mercies but of discord, not of consolation but of desolation, has plunged the whole world in bitterness. If we rightly interpret the words, he is the great anti-Christ, who has deceived the whole world, the anti-Christ of whom he declares us the forerunner. He is a second Balaam hired by money to curse us; the prince of the princes of darkness who have abused the prophecies. He is the angel who issued from the abyss having the vials full of wormwood to waste earth and heaven.” The Emperor disclaims in the most emphatic terms the speech about the three impostors; rehearses his creed, especially concern-

^a Peter de Vineis, 1. 31. He was said also to have laid down the maxim, “Homo nihil aliud debet credere, nisi quod potest vi et ratione naturæ probare.”—Apud Raynald.

ing the Incarnation, in the orthodox words; expresses the most reverential respect for Moses: "As to Mahomet, we have always maintained that his body is suspended in the air, possessed by devils, his soul tormented in hell, because his works were works of darkness and contrary to the laws of the Most High." The address closed with an appeal to the sounder wisdom of the Prelates, and significant threats of the terrors of his vengeance.

The effect of this war of proclamations, addressed, only with a separate superscription, to every King in Christendom, circulated in every kingdom, was to fill the hearts of the faithful with terror, amazement, and perplexity. Those who had espoused neither the party of the Emperor nor of the Pope fluctuated in painful doubt. The avarice of the Roman See had alienated to a great extent the devotion of mankind, otherwise the letter of the Pope would have exasperated the world to madness; they would have risen in one wide insurrection against the declared adversary of the Church, as the enemy of Christ. "But alas!" so writes a contemporary historian, "many sons of the Church separated themselves from their father the Pope, and joined the Emperor, well knowing the inexorable hatred between the Pope and the Emperor, and that from that hatred sprung these fierce, indecent and untrustworthy invectives. The Pope, some said, pretends that from his love to Frederick he had contributed to elevate him to the Empire, and reproaches him with ingratitude. But it is notorious that this was entirely out of hatred to Otho, whom the Pope persecuted to death for asserting the interests of the Empire, as Frederick now asserts them. Frederick fought the battle of the Church in Palestine,

July 1.

Public
opinion in
Christendom.

which is under greater obligation to him than he to the Church. The whole Western Church, especially the monasteries, are every day ground by the extortions of the Romans; they have never suffered any injustice from the Emperor. The people subjoined, 'What means this? A short time ago the Pope accused the Emperor of being more attached to Mohammedanism than to Christianity, now he is accused of calling Mohammed an impostor. He speaks in his letters in the most Catholic terms. He attacks the person of the Pope, not the Papal authority. We do not believe that he has ever avowed heretical or profane opinions; at all events he has never let loose upon us usurers and plunderers of our revenues.'"^e

This was written in an English monastery. In England as most heavily oppressed, there was the strongest discontent. The feeble Henry III., though brother-in-law of the Emperor, trembled before the faintest whisper of Papal authority. But the nobles, even the Churchmen, began to betray their Teutonic independence. Robert Twenge, the Yorkshire knight, the ringleader of the insurrection against the Italian intruders into the English benefices, ventured to Rome, not to throw himself at the Pope's feet and to entreat his pardon, but with a bold respectful letter from the Earls of Chester, Winchester, and other nobles, remonstrating against the invasion of their rights of patronage. Gregory was compelled to condescend to a more moderate tone; he renounced all intention of usurpation on the rights of the barons. Robert Twenge received the acknowledgment of his right to present to the church of Linton. All the Prelates of the realm, assembled at London,

^e Matt. Paris, sub ann. 1239.

disdainfully rejected the claim made for procurations for the Papal Legate Otho, whom two years before they had allowed to sit as Dictator of the Church in the council of London.^f "The greedy avarice of Rome," they said, "has exhausted the English Church; it will not give it even breathing time; we can submit to no further exactions. What advantage have we from the visitation of this Legate? Let him that sent him here uninvited by the native clergy, maintain him as long as he remains here." The Legate, finding the Prelates obstinate, extorted a large sum for his procurations from the monasteries.

The Emperor highly resented the publication of the sentence of excommunication in the realm of the brother of his Empress Isabella. He sent a haughty message,^g expostulating with the King for permitting this insult upon his honour; he demanded the dismissal of the Legate, no less the enemy of the kingdom of England than his own;^h the Legate who was exacting money from the whole realm to glut the avarice of the Pope, and to maintain the Papal arms against the Emperor. Henry III. sent a feeble request to Rome, imploring the Pope to act with greater mildness to Frederick; the Pope treated the message with sovereign contempt. Nor did the Legate behave with less insolent disdain to the King. Henry advised him to

^f Wilkins, Concilia, 1237. Compare page 216.

^g Letters to the Barons of England (Boehmer, Oct. 29, 1239), Rymer, 1238? To the King, March 16, 1240. Matt. Paris, 1239.

^h Henry, before the declaration of the Pope against the Emperor, had sent a small force, under Henry de

Turberville and the Bishop Elect of Valence, to aid Frederick against the insurgent Lombards. The army was accompanied by a citizen and a clerk of London, John Mansel and W. Hardel, with money.—Paris, sub ann. 1238, Matt. West. The Pope broke out into fury against the King.

quit the kingdom; "You invited me here, find me a safe-conduct back." In the mean time he proceeded again to levy his own procurations, to sell (so low was the Pope reduced), by Gregory's own orders, dispensations to those who had taken on them vows to proceed to the Holy Land. At length, at a council held at Reading, he demanded a fifth of all the revenues of the English clergy, in the name of the Pope to assist him in his holy war against the Emperor. Edmund Rich the Primate yielded to the demand, and was followed by others of the bishops.¹ But Edmund, worn out with age and disgust, abandoned his see, withdrew into France, and in the same monastery of Pontigny, imitated the austerities and prayers, as he could not imitate the terrors, of his great predecessor Becket. The lower clergy were more impatient of the Papal demands. A crafty agent of the Pope, Pietro Rosso,^k (Peter the Red), travelled about all the monasteries extorting money; he falsely declared that all the bishops, and many of the higher abbots, had eagerly paid their contributions. But he exacted from them, as if from the Pope himself, a promise to keep his assessment secret for a year. The abbots appealed to the King, who treated them with utter disdain. He offered one of his castles to the Legate and Peter the Red, and to imprison two of the appellants, the Abbots of St. Edmundsbury and of Beaulieu. At Northampton the Legate and Peter again assembled the bishops, and demanded the fifth from all the possessions of the Church. The bishops declared that they must consult their archdeacons. The clergy refused altogether this new levy; they

¹ Edmund had aspired to be a second Becket; he had raised a quarrel with the King on the nomination to the

benefices; but feebly supported by Gregory in his distress, he recoiled from the contest. ^k De Rubeis.

would not contribute to a fund raised to shed Christian blood. The rectors of Berkshire were more bold; their answer has a singular tone of fearless English freedom; "they would not submit to contribute to funds raised against the Emperor as if he were a heretic; though excommunicated he had not been condemned by the judgement of the Church; even if he does occupy the patrimony of the Church, the Church does not employ the secular arm against heretics. The Church of Rome has its own patrimony, it has no right to tax the churches of other nations. The Pope has the general care over all churches, but no property in their estates. The Lord said to Peter, 'What you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven;' not 'What you exact on earth shall be exacted in heaven.' The revenues of the Church were assigned to peculiar uses, for the relief of the poor, not for maintenance of war, especially among Christians. Popes, even when they were exiles and the Church of England was at its wealthiest, had made no such demands." Yet partly by sowing discord among his adversaries, partly by flattery, partly by menace, the Legate continued, to the great indignation of the Emperor, to levy large sums for the Papal Crusade in the dominions of his brother-in-law.^m

All Saints,
1240.

In France Pope Gregory attempted to play a loftier game by an appeal to the ambition of the royal house; he would raise up a new French Pepin or Charlemagne to the rescue of the endangered Papacy. He sent ambassadors to the court of St. Louis with this message:—"After mature deliberation with our brethren the Cardinals we have deposed from the imperial throne the reigning Emperor

Offer of Imperial Crown to Robert of France.

^m M. Paris, sub ann. 1240.

Frederick; we have chosen in his place Robert, brother of the King of France. Delay not to accept this dignity, for the attainment of which we offer all our treasures, and all our aid." The Pope could hardly expect the severe rebuke in which the pious King of France couched his refusal of this tempting offer. "Whence this pride and audacity of the Pope, which thus presumes to disinherit and depose a King who has no superior, nor even an equal, among Christians; a King neither convicted by others, nor by his own confession, of the crimes laid to his charge? Even if those crimes were proved, no power could depose him but a general council. On his transgressions the judgement of his enemies is of no weight, and his deadliest enemy is the Pope. To us he has not only thus far appeared guiltless, he has been a good neighbour; we see no cause for suspicion either of his worldly loyalty, or his Catholic faith. This we know, that he has fought valiantly for our Lord Jesus Christ both by sea and land. So much religion we have not found in the Pope, who endeavoured to confound and wickedly supplant him in his absence, while he was engaged in the cause of God."ⁿ The nobles of France did more, they sent ambassadors to Frederick to inform him of the Pope's proceedings, and to demand account of his faith. Frederick was moved by this noble conduct. He solemnly protested his orthodox belief. "May Jesus Christ grant that I never depart from the faith of my magnanimous ancestors, to follow the ways of perdition. The Lord judge between me and the man who has thus defamed me before the world." He lifted his hands to heaven, and said in a passion of tears: "The

ⁿ Paris, sub ann. 1239.

God of vengeance recompense him as he deserves. If," he added, "you are prepared to war against me, I will defend myself to the utmost of my power." "God forbid," said the ambassadors, "that we should wage war on any Christian without just cause. To be the brother of the King of France is sufficient honour for the noble Robert."

In Germany the attempt of the Pope to dethrone the Emperor awoke even stronger indignation. Two princes to whom Gregory made secret overtures refused the perilous honour. An appeal to the Prelates of the Empire was met even by the most respectful with earnest exhortations to peace. In one address they declared the universal opinion that the whole quarrel arose out of the unjustifiable support given by the Pope to the Milanese rebels; and they appealed to the continued residence of the Papal Legate, Gregory of Monte Longo, in Milan as manifesting the Pope's undeniable concern in that obstinate revolt.^o Popular German poetry denounced the Pope as the favoured of the Lombard heretics, who had made him drunk with their gold.^p Gregory himself bitterly complains "that the German princes and prelates still adhered to Frederick, the oppressor, the worse than assassin, who imprisons them, places them under the ban of the Empire, even puts them to death. Nevertheless they despise the Papal anathema, and maintain his cause."^q Gregory was not fortunate or not wise in the choice of his

^o Apud Hahn, Monument. t. i. p. 234. "Testimonium generalis opinionis quod in favorem Mediolanensium, et suorum sequacium processeritis taliter contra eum . . . quod G. de Monte Longo legatus vester, apud Mediolanenses continuam moram trahens, fideles im-

perii modis omnibus, quibus potest, a fide et devotione debitâ nititur revocare."

^p See the quotation from Bruder Weinher, the Minnesinger, in Gieseler.

^q Dumont apud Von Raumer.

partisans. One of those partisans, Rainer of St. Quentin, presumed to summon the German prelates to answer at Paris for their disloyal conduct to the Pope. The Pope had invested Albert von Beham Archdeacon of Passau, a violent and dissolute man, with full power; he used it to threaten bishops and even archbishops, he dared to utter sentences of excommunication against them. He alarmed the Duke of Bavaria into the expression of a rash desire that they had another Emperor. It was on Otho of Bavaria that Albert strove to work with all the terrors of delegated papal power. There was a dispute between the Archbishop of Mentz and Otho concerning the convent of Laurisheim. Albert as Papal Legate summoned the Primate to appear at Heidelberg. The archbishop not appearing was declared contumacious; an interdict was laid on Mentz. In another quarrel of Otho with the Bishop of Freisingen the imperialist judges awarded a heavy fine against Otho. Von Beham, irritated by songs in the streets, "The Pope is going down, the Emperor going up,"^r rescinded the decree on the Pope's authority, and commanded the institution of a new suit. Von Beham ordered the Archbishop of Salzburg and the Bishop of Passau to excommunicate Frederick of Austria for his adherence to the Emperor; summoned a council at Landshut; placed Siegfried Bishop of Ratisbon, the Chancellor of the Empire, under the ban; threatened to summon the Archbishop of Salzburg and the Bishop to arraign them under processes of treason; "he would pluck their mitres from their heads." The Bishop of Passau, in his resentment, threatened to arm his men in a Crusade against Albert

A.D. 1240.

^r "Ruit pars Papalis, prævaluit Imperialis."

von Beham. Albert did not confine himself to Bavaria, he threatened the Bishops of Augsburg, Wurtzburg, Eichstadt, with the same haughty insolence. The consequence of all this contempt thus thrown on the greatest prelates was, that the imperialists everywhere gained courage. The Emperor, the Landgrave of Thuringia, the Marquis of Meissen, Frederick of Austria, treated the excommunication as a vulgar ghost, an old wives' tale.⁵ But the great prelates did not disguise their wrath; their dislike and contempt for Von Beham was extended to his master. "Let this Roman priest," said Conrad Bishop of Freisingen, "feed his own Italians; we who are set by God as dogs to watch our own folds, will keep off all wolves in sheep's clothing." Eberhard Archbishop of Saltzburg not only applied the same ignominious term to the Pope, but struck boldly at the whole edifice of the Papal power; we seem to hear a premature Luther. He describes the wars, the slaughters, the seditions, caused by these Roman Flamens, for their own ambitious and rapacious ends. "Hildebrand, one hundred and seventy years ago, under the semblance of religion, laid the foundations of Antichrist. He who is the servant of servants would be the Lord of Lords. . . . This accursed man, whom men are wont to call Anti-

* "Ut tremendum olim excommunicationis nomen, non magis quam conpitem larvam, aut nutricularum nœnias metuerent, probrosam rati cruda militarium hominum pectora capi, angique religionibus, quas sacrificuli ut vanissimas superstitiones despue-
rent."—Bruner, xii., quoted in the preface to the curious publication of Höfler, "Albert von Beham," Stuttgart, 1847. Frederick of Austria held a grave assembly of Teutonic Knights, Templars, and Hospitaliers,

three abbots, five mystæ. By these "Alberti impudentia irrisa; exsibilati qui huic misero nundinatori operam præstarent cujus merces fumosque præter Bohemum Regem, et Bavariæ Ducem nemo æstimaret."—Ibid. "Neque deerant inter sacrificulos scurræ qui omnia Alberti fulmina, negarent se vel una piaculari faba procuraturos,"—p. xix. Albert was in poverty and disgrace about the time of Gregory's death, May 6, 1241.—Höfler, p. 30.

christ, on whose contumelious forehead is written, 'I am God, I cannot err,' sits in the temple of God and pretends to universal dominion."^t Frederick himself addressed a new proclamation to the princes of Germany. Its object was to separate the interests of the Church from those of the Pope; those of the Bishop of Rome from Gregory. "Since his ancestors the Cæsars had lavished wealth and dignity on the Popes, they had become the Emperor's most implacable enemies. Because I will not recognise his sole unlimited power and honour him more than God, he, Antichrist himself, brands me, the truest friend of the Church, as a heretic. Who can wish more than I that the Christian community should resume its majesty, simplicity, and peace? but this cannot be, until the fundamental evil, the ambition, the pride, and prodigality of the Bishop of Rome, be rooted up. I am no enemy of the priesthood; I honour the priest, the humblest priest, as a father, if he will keep aloof from secular affairs. The Pope cries out that I would root out Christianity with force and by the sword. Folly! as if the kingdom of God could be rooted out by force and by the sword; it is by evil lusts, by avarice and rapacity, that it is weakened, polluted, corrupted. Against these evils it is my mission of God to contend with the sword. I will give back to the sheep their shepherd, to the people their bishop, to the world its spiritual father. I will tear the mask from the face of this wolfish tyrant, and force him to lay aside worldly affairs and earthly pomp, and tread in the holy footsteps of Christ."^u

^t Aventinus, *Annal.* Brunner doubts the authenticity of this speech of the Archbishop of Saltzburg. It rests on the somewhat doubtful authority of Aventinus. It sounds rather of a later date.

^u Frederick wrote to Otho of Bavaria (Oct. 4, 1240) to expel Albert von Beham from his dominions.—Aventin. *Ann. Boior.* v. 3, 5.

On the other hand, the Pope had now a force working in every realm of Christendom, on every class of man kind, down to the very lowest, with almost irresistible power. The hierarchical religion of the age, the Papal religion, with all its congenial imaginativeness, its burning and unquestioning faith, its superstitions, was kept up in all its intensity by the preachers and the mendicant friars. Never did great man so hastily commit himself to so unwise a determination as Innocent III., that no new Orders should be admitted into that Church which has maintained its power by the constant succession of new Orders. Never was his greatness shown more than by his quick perception and total repudiation of that error. Gregory IX. might indeed have more extensive experience of the use of these new allies: on them he lavished his utmost favour; he had canonised both St. Dominic and St. Francis with extraordinary pomp; he entrusted the most important affairs to their disciples. The Friars. May 6, 1241. The Dominicans, and still more the Franciscans, showed at once the wisdom of the Pope's conduct and their own gratitude by the most steadfast attachment to the Papal cause. They were the real dangerous enemies of Frederick in all lands. They were in kings' courts; the courtiers looked on them with jealousy, but were obliged to give them place; they were in the humblest and most retired villages. No danger could appal, no labours fatigue their incessant activity. Nov. 1240 The first act of Frederick was to expel, imprison, or take measures of precaution against those of the clergy who were avowed or suspected partisans of the Pope. The friars had the perilous distinction of being cast forth in a body from the realm, and forbidden under the severest penalties to violate its

borders.* In every Guelfic city they openly, in every Ghibelline city, if they dared not openly, they secretly preached the crusade against the Emperor.⁷ Milan, chiefly through their preaching, redeemed herself from the charge of connivance at the progress of heresy by a tremendous holocaust of victims, burned without mercy. The career of John of Vicenza had terminated before the last strife;² but John of Vicenza was the type of the friar preachers in their height of influence; that power cannot be understood without some such example; and though there might be but one John of Vicenza, there were hundreds working, if with less authority, conspiring to the same end, and swaying with their conjoint force the popular mind.

Assuredly, of those extraordinary men who from time to time have appeared in Italy, and by their John of Vicenza. passionate religious eloquence seized and for a time bound down the fervent Italian mind, not the least extraordinary was Brother John (Fra Giovanni), of a noble house in Vicenza. He became a friar preacher: he appeared in Bologna. Before long, not only did the populace crowd in countless multitudes to his pulpit; the authorities, with their gonfalons and crosses, stood around him in mute and submissive homage. In a short time he preached down every feud in the city, in the district, in the county of Bologna. The women threw aside their ribbons, their flowers—their modest heads

* "Capitula edita sunt, in primis ut Fratres Prædicatores et Minores, qui sunt oriundi de terris infidelium Lombardiæ expellantur de regno."—Rich. de San Germ. Gregory asserts that one Friar Minor was burned.—Greg. Bull. apud Raynald. p. 220.

† It is, however, very remarkable

that even now the second Great Master of the Franciscans, expelled or having revolted from his Order, Brother Elias, a most popular preacher, was on the side of Frederick.

* There is an allusion to John of Vicenza in a letter of Frederick.—Höfler, p. 363.

were shrouded in a veil. It was believed that he wrought daily miracles.^a Under his care the body of St. Dominic was translated to its final resting-place with the utmost pomp. It was said, but said by unfriendly voices, that he boasted of personal conversation with Christ Jesus, with the Virgin Mary, and with the angels. The friar preachers gained above twenty thousand marks of silver from the prodigal munificence of his admirers. He ruled Bologna with despotic sway; released criminals; the Podestà stood awed before him; the envious Franciscans alone (their envy proves his power) denied his miracles, and made profane and buffoonish verses against the eloquent Dominican.^b

But the limits of Bologna and her territory were too narrow for the holy ambition, for the wonderful powers of the great preacher. He made a progress through Lombardy. Lombardy was then distracted by fierce wars—city against city; in every city faction against faction. Wherever John appeared was peace. Padua advanced with her carroccio to Monselice to escort him into the city. Treviso, Feltre, Belluno, Vicenza, Verona, Mantua, Brescia, heard his magic words, and reconciled their feuds. On the shores of the Adige, about three miles from Verona, assembled the whole of Lombardy, to proclaim and to swear
August 28,
1233.
 to a solemn act of peace. Verona, Mantua, Brescia,

^a But, says an incredulous writer, "Dicevasi ancora ch' egli curasse ogni malattia, e che cacciasse i demoni; ma io non potei vedere alcuno da lui liberato, benchè pure usassi ogni mezzo per vederlo; nè potei parlare con alcuno chè affermasse con sicurezza di aver veduto qualche miracolo da lui operato."—Salimbenei.

^b "Et Johannes Johannisat
 Et saltando choralizat:
 Modo salta, modo salta,
 Qui cælorum petis alta,
 Saltat iste, saltat ille,
 Resultant cohortes mille;
 Saltat chorus Dominarum,
 Saltat Dux Venetiarum."

—from Salimbenei, Von Roemer, iii
 p. 656.

Padua, Vicenza, came with their carroccios; from Treviso, Venice, Ferrara, Bologna, thronged numberless votaries of peace. The Bishops of Verona, Brescia, Mantua, Bologna, Modena, Reggio, Treviso, Vicenza, Padua, gave the sanction of their sacred presence. The Podestàs of Bologna, Treviso, Padua, Vicenza, Brescia, Ferrara, appeared, and other lords of note, the patriarch of Aquileia, the Marquis of Este. It was asserted that 400,000 persons stood around. John of Vicenza ascended a stage sixty feet high; it was said that his sermon on the valedictory words of the Lord, "My peace I leave with you," was distinctly heard, wafted or echoed by preternatural powers to every ear.^c The terms of a general peace were read, and assented to by one universal and prolonged acclamation. Among these was the marriage of Rinaldo, son of the Marquis of Este, with Adelaide daughter of Alberic, brother of Eccelin da Romano. This was the gage of universal amity; these two great houses would set the example of holy peace. Men rushed into each other's arms; the kiss of peace was interchanged by the deadliest enemies, amid acclamations which seemed as if they would never cease.

But the waters of the Po rise not with more sudden and overwhelming force, ebb not with greater rapidity, than the religious passions of the Italians, especially the passion for peace and concord. John of Vicenza split on the rock fatal always to the powerful spiritual demagogues, even the noblest demagogues, of Italy. He became a politician. He retired to his native Vicenza; entered into the Council, aspired to be Lord and Count;

^c Even the Franciscans were carried away by the enthusiasm; they preached upon his miracles; they averred that he had in one day raised ten dead bodies to life.

all bowed before him. He proceeded to examine and reform the statutes of the city. He passed to Verona, demanded and obtained sovereign power; introduced the Count Boniface, received hostages for mutual peace from the conflicting parties. He took possession of some of the neighbouring castles; waged fierce war with heretics; burned sixty males and females of some of the noble families; published laws. Vicenza became jealous of Verona; Padua leagued with Vicenza to throw off the yoke. The Preacher, at the head of an armed force, appeared at the gates, demanded the unconditional surrender of the walls, towers, strongholds of the city. He was repelled, discomfited, by the troops of Padua and Vicenza, taken, and cast into prison.

He was released by the intercession of Pope Gregory IX.^d The peace of Lombardy was then accordant to the Papal policy, because it was embarrassing to Frederick II. He returned to Verona; but the spell of his power was broken. He retired to Bologna, to obscurity. Bologna even mocked his former miracles. Florence refused to receive him: "Their city was populous enough; they had no room for the dead which he would raise."^e

Christendom awaited in intense anxiety the issue of this war—a war which, according to the declaration of the Emperor, would not respect the sacred person

^d It is said that he was afterwards commissioned by Innocent IV. to proclaim the Papal absolution in Vicenza, from excommunication incurred by the succours furnished by that city to Frederick II. and Eccelin da Romano. Tiraboschi has collected all the authorities on John of Vicenza with his usual industry.—Storia della Lit. Ital.

vol. xiv. p. 2.

^e See in Von Raumer how the Grammatician Buoncompagni assembled the people to see him fly, on wings which he had prepared. After keeping them some time in suspense, he coolly said, "This is a miracle after the fashion of John of Vicenza."—Von Raumer, from Salimbeni.

of the Pope, and would enforce, if Frederick were victorious, the absolute, unlimited supremacy of the temporal power. This war was now proclaimed and inevitable. The Pope must depend on his own armies and on those of his Italian allies. The tenths and the fifths of England and of France might swell the Papal treasury, and enable him to pay his mercenary troops; but there was no sovereign, no army of Papal partisans beyond the Alps which would descend to his rescue. The Lombards might indeed defend their own cities against the Emperor,^f and his son King Enzo, who was declared imperial vicar in the north of Italy, was at the head of the Germans and Saracens of the Imperial army, and had begun to display his great military skill and activity. The strength of the maritime powers, who had entered into the league, was in their fleets; though at a later period Venetian forces appeared before Ferrara. The execution of Tiepolo the podestà of Milan, taken at the battle of Corte Nuova, had enflamed the resentment of that republic: they seemed determined to avenge the insult and wrong to that powerful and honoured family. But the Pope, though not only his own personal dignity, but even the stability of the Roman See was on the hazard, with the calm dauntlessness which implied his full reliance on his cause as the cause of God, confronted the appalling crisis. Some bishops sent to Rome by Frederick were repelled with scorn. The Pope, as the summer heats came on, feared not to leave fickle Rome: he retired, as

^f The legate of the Pope, Gregory of Monte Longo, at Milan, raised the banner of the Cross—"sumpto mandato ejus signo crucis, et paratis duobus vexillis cum crucibus et clavibus intus"—marched towards Lodi, destroying church towers (*turres ecclesiarum*) and ravaging the harvests.—B. Muse in Chronicon, p. 177.

usual, to his splendid palace at Anagni. During the rest of that year successes and failures seemed nearly balanced.^g Treviso threw off the imperial yoke; even Ravenna, supported by a Venetian fleet, rebelled. The Emperor sat down before Bologna, April, 1239. obtained some great advantages humiliating to the Bolognese, but, as usual, failed in his attempt to capture the town. These successes before Bologna were balanced by failure, if not defeat, before September. Milan. Bologna was not so far discomfited but that she could make an attack on Modena. In November the Pope returned to Rome: he was received with the utmost honour, with popular rejoicings. He renewed in the most impressive form the ex-communication of the Emperor and all his sons, distinguishing with peculiar rigour the King Enzo. Nov. 1239

The Emperor passed the winter in restoring peace in Ghibelline Pisa. The feud in Pisa was closely connected with the affairs of Sardinia.^h Pisa claimed the sovereignty of that island, which the all-grasping Papacy declared a fief of the Roman See. Ubaldo, of the noble Guelfic house of Visconti, had married Adelasia, the

^g The castles of Piumazzo and Crevaquore were taken. Piumazzo was burned; the captain of the garrison was burned in the castle: 500 taken prisoners.—July.

^h The Sardinian affair was another instance of the way in which an assertion once made that a certain territory or right belonged to the See of St. Peter, grew up into what was held to be an indefeasible title. The Popes had made themselves the successors of the Eastern Emperors. Their own declaration that Naples was a fief of

the Holy See (having been acknowledged by the Normans to piece out their own usurpation) became a legal inalienable dominion. The claim to Sardinia rested on nothing more than the assertion that it was a part of the territory of the Roman See (it was no acknowledged part of the inheritance of the Countess Matilda).—Rich. de San Germ. The strange pretension that all islands belonged to the See of Rome, as well as all lands conquered from heretics, if already heard, was not yet an axiom of the canon law.

heiress of the native Judge or Potentate of Gallura and of Tura : he bought the Papal absolution from a sentence of excommunication and the recognition of his title by abandoning the right of Pisa, and acknowledging the Papal sovereignty. Pisa heard this act of treason with the utmost indignation. The Gherardesci, the rival Ghibelline house, rose against the Visconti. Ubaldo died ; and Frederick (this was among the causes of Gregory's deadly hatred) married the heiress Adelasia to his natural son, whom he proclaimed king of Sardinia. The Ghibellines of Pisa recognised his title.

1240.

With the early spring the Emperor, at the head of an imposing, it might seem irresistible force, advanced into the territories of the Church. February. Folligno threw open her gates to welcome him. Other cities from fear or affection, Viterbo from hatred of Rome, hailed his approach. Ostia, Civita Castellana, Corneto, Sutri, Montefiascone, Toscanella received the enemy of the Pope. The army of John of Colonna, which during the last year had moved into the March against King Enzo, was probably occupied at some distance : Rome might seem to lie open ; the Pope was at the mercy of his foe. Could he depend on the fickle Romans, never without a strong Imperial faction ? Gregory, like his predecessors, made his last bold, desperate, and successful appeal to the religion of the Romans. The hoary Pontiff set forth in solemn procession, encircled by all the cardinals, the whole long way from the Lateran to St. Peter's. The wood of the true cross, the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul were borne before him ; all alike crowded to receive his benediction. The Guelfs were in a paroxysm of devotion, which spread even among the overawed and unresisting

Ghibellines.¹ In every church of the city was the solemn mass; in every pulpit of the city the friars of St. Dominic and St. Francis appealed to the people not to desert the Vicar of Christ, Christ himself in his Vicar; they preached the new Crusade, they distributed crosses to which were attached the same privileges of pardon, and so of eternal life, if the wearers should fall in the glorious conflict, awarded to those who fought or fell for the holy sepulchre of Christ.

To these new crusaders Frederick showed no compassion; whoever was taken with the cross was put to death without mercy, even if he escaped more cruel and ignominious indignities before his death.

The Emperor was awed, or was moved by respect for his venerable adversary: he was either not strong enough, or not bold enough to march March, 1240. at once on Rome, and so to fulfil his own menaces. He retired into Apulia; some overtures for reconciliation were made; Frederick endeavoured to detach the Pope from his allies, and to induce him to make a separate peace. But the Pope, perhaps emboldened by the return of some of his legates with vast sums of money from England and other foreign countries, resolutely refused to abandon the Lombard League.^k Up to this time he had affected to disavow his close alliance, still to hold the lofty tone of a mediator; now he nobly determined to be true to their cause. He bore the remonstrances, on this, perhaps on some other cause of quarrel, of his ablest general, the Cardinal John

¹ According to the B. Museum Chronicle, he laid down his crown on the reliques and appealed to them—
“Vos, Sancti, defendite Romam, si homines Romani nollunt defendere.”

The greater part of the Romans at once took the Cross, p. 182.

^k Peter de Vineâ, i. 36. *Canis Lect. Cefele Script. Bohem. i. 668.*

Colonna. Colonna had agreed to a suspension of arms, which did not include the Lombards; this the Pope refused to ratify. Colonna declared that he would not break his plighted faith to the Emperor. "If thou obeyest not," said the angry Pope, "I will no longer own thee for a cardinal." "Nor I thee," replied Colonna, "for Pope." Colonna joined the Ghibelline cause, and carried over the greater part of his troops.^m

Ferrara in the mean time was for ever lost to the Imperialist side. Salinguerra, the aged and faithful partisan of the Emperor, was compelled to
 April. capitulate to a strong force, chiefly of Venetians. They seized his person by an act of flagrant treachery: for five years Salinguerra languished in a Venetian prison.

The Emperor advanced again from the South, wasted the Roman territory, and laid siege to Bene-
 May. vento, which made an obstinate resistance. The Emperor was at San Germano; but instead of
 August. advancing towards Rome, he formed the siege of Faenza.

The Pope meditated new means of defence. Imperial armies were not at his command; he determined to environ himself with all the majesty of a spiritual
 A.D. 1241. sovereign; he would confront the Emperor at the head of the hierarchy of Christendom; he issued a summons to all the prelates of Europe for a General Council to be held in the Lateran palace at Easter in the ensuing year; they were to consult on the important affairs of the Church.

The Emperor and the partisans of the Emperor had appealed to a general Council against the Pope; but a

^m This quarrel was perhaps rather later in point of time.

Council in Rome, presided over by the Pope, was not the tribunal to which they would submit. Frederick would not permit the Pope, now almost in his power, thus to array himself in all the imposing dignity of the acknowledged Vicar of Christ. He wrote a circular letter to the Kings and Princes of ^{Sept. 13,} ^{1240.} Europe, declaring that he could not recognise nor suffer a Council to assemble, summoned by his arch-enemy, to which those only were cited who were his declared foes, either in actual revolt, or who, like the English prelates, had lavished their wealth to enable the Pope to carry on the war. "The Council was convened not for peace but for war." Nor had the summons been confined to hostile ecclesiastics. His temporal enemies, the Counts of Provence and St. Bonifazio, the Marquis of Este, the Doge of Venice, Alberic da Romano, Paul Traversaria, the Milanese, were invited to join this unhallowed assembly. So soon as the Pope would abandon the heretical Milanese, reconciliation might at once take place; he was prepared to deliver his son Conrad as hostage for the conclusion of such peace. He called on the Cardinals to stand forth; they were bound by their duty to the Pope, but not to be the slaves of his passion. He appealed to their pride, for the Pope, not content with their counsel, had summoned prelates from all, even the remotest parts of the world, to sit in judgement on affairs of which they knew nothing." To the Prelates of Europe he issued a more singular warning. All coasts, harbours, and ways were beset by his fleet, which covered the seas: "From him who spared not his own son, ye may fear the worst. If ye reach

* Quoted from Pet. de Vin. in Bibl. Barberina, No. 2138, by Von Raumer p. 96.

Rome, what perils await you! Intolerable heat, foul water, unwholesome food, a dense atmosphere, flies, scorpions, serpents, and men filthy, revolting, lost to shame, frantic. The whole city is mined beneath, the hollows are full of venomous snakes, which the summer heat quickens to life. And what would the Pope of you? Use you as cloaks for his iniquities, the organ-pipes on which he may play at will. He seeks but his own advantage, and for that would undermine the freedom of the higher clergy; of all these perils, perils to your revenues, your liberties, your bodies, and your souls, the Emperor, in true kindness, would give you this earnest warning." Many no doubt were deterred by these remonstrances and admonitions. Yet zeal or fear gathered together at Genoa a great concourse of ecclesiastics. The Legate, Cardinal Otho, brought many English prelates; the Cardinal of Palestrina appeared at the head of some of the greatest dignitaries of France; the Cardinal Gregory, of Monte Longo, with some Lombard Bishops, hastened to Genoa, to urge the instant preparation of the fleet, which was to convey the foreign prelates to Rome.^o Frederick was seized with apprehension at the meeting of the Council. He tried to persuade the prelates to pass by land through the territories occupied by his forces; he offered them safe conduct. The answer was that they could have no faith in one under excommunication. They embarked on board the hostile galleys of Genoa. But Frederick had prepared a powerful fleet in Sicily and Apulia, under the command of his son Enzo. Pisa joined him with all her galleys. The Genoese

^o The Pope expressed great anger against the Cardinal Gregory of Monte Longo, for not having provided a fleet of overwhelming force. See his consolatory letter to the captive bishops, Raynald. p. 273.

Admiral, who had the ill-omened name Ubbriaco, the Drunkard, was too proud or too negligent to avoid the hostile armament. They met off ^{May 3, 1241} the island of Meloria; the heavily-laden Genoese vessels were worsted after a sharp contest; three galleys were sunk, twenty-two taken, with four thousand Genoese.^p Some of the prelates perished in the sunken galleys; among the prisoners were three Cardinals, the Archbishops of Rouen, Bordeaux, Auch, and Besançon; the Bishops of Carcassonne, Agde, Nismes, Tortona, Asti, Pavia, the Abbots of Clairvaux, Citeaux, and Clugny; and the delegates from the Lombard cities, Milan, Brescia, Piacenza, Genoa.^q The vast wealth which the Cardinal Otho had heaped up in England was the prize of the conqueror. The Prelates, already half dead with sea-sickness and fright, no doubt with very narrow accommodation, crowded together in the heat and closeness of the holds of narrow vessels, exposed to the insults of the rude seamen and the lawless Ghibelline soldiery, had to finish their voyage to Naples, where they were treated with greater or less hardship, according as they had provoked the animosity of the Emperor. But all were kept in rigid custody.^r Letters from Louis of France, almost rising to menace, and afterwards an embassy, at the head of which was the Abbot of Clugny (who himself was released before), demanded and obtained at length the liberation of the

^p The battle was not likely to be fought without fury. The Genoese boasted to the Pope that they had taken three galleys before the battle began, beheaded all the men, and sunk the ships. They then complain of the barbarity of Frederick's sailors, not only to the innocent prelates, but to

their conductors.

^q The Archbishops of St. James (of Compostella), of Arles, of Tarragona, of Braga, the Bishops of Placentia, Salamanca, Orense, Astorga, got back safely to Genoa.—Epist. Laurent. apud Raynald. p. 270.

^r Matth. Paris, sub ann. 1241.

French prelates ; but the cardinals still languished in prison till the death of Gregory.

Faenza and Benevento had withstood the Imperial arms throughout the winter. Faenza had now fallen ; the inhabitants had been treated with unwonted clemency by Frederick. Benevento too had fallen. The Papal malediction might seem to have hovered in vain over the head of Frederick ; Heaven ratified not the decree of its Vicar on earth. On one side the victorious troops of Frederick, on the other those of John of Colonna, were wasting the Papal dominions ; the toils were gathering around the lair of the imprisoned Pope. At that time arrived the terrible tidings of the progress made by the Mongols in Eastern Europe : already the appalling rumours of their conquests in Poland, Moravia, Hungary, had reached Italy. The Papal party were loud in their wonder that the Emperor did not at once break off his war against the Pope, and hasten to the relief of Christendom. So blind was their animosity that he was actually accused of secret dealings with the Mongols ; the wicked Emperor had brought the desolating hordes of Zengis-Khan upon Christian Europe.⁵ But Frederick would not abandon what now appeared a certain, an immediate triumph.

Even this awful news seemed as unheard in the camp of the Emperor, and in the city where the unsubdued Pope, disdaining any offer of capitulation, defied the terrors of capture and of imprisonment ; he was near one hundred years old, but his dauntless spirit dictated these words : “ Permit not yourselves, ye faithful, to be cast down by the unfavourable appearances of the

⁵ Matth. Paris, sub ann.

present moment; be neither depressed by calamity nor elated by prosperity. The bark of Peter is for a time tossed by tempests and dashed against breakers; but soon it emerges unexpectedly from the foaming billows, and sails in uninjured majesty over the glassy surface.”^t

The Emperor was at Fano, at Narni, at Rieti, at Tivoli: Palestrina submitted to John of Colonna. Even then the Pope named Matteo Rosso Senator of Rome in place of the traitor Colonna. Matteo Rosso made a sally from Rome, and threw a garrison into Lagosta. The fires of the marauders might be seen from the walls of Rome; the castle of Monteforte, built by Gregory from the contributions of the Crusaders

July.

and of his own kindred, as a stronghold in which the person of the Pope might be secure from danger, fell into the hands of the conqueror; but still no sign of surrender; still nothing but harsh defiance. The Pope was released by death from this degradation.

August 21.

His death has been attributed to vexation; but extreme age, with the hot and unwholesome air of Rome in August, might well break the stubborn frame of Gregory at that advanced time of life. Frederick, in a circular letter addressed to the Sovereigns of Europe, informed them of the event. “The Pope Gregory IX. is taken away from this world, and has escaped the vengeance of the Emperor, of whom he was the implacable enemy. He is dead, through whom peace was banished from the earth, and discord prospered. For his death, though so deeply injured and implacably persecuted, we feel compassion; that compassion had been more profound if he had lived to establish peace between

^t See letter to the Venetians, Lombards, and Bolognese.—Apud Raynald p. 271.

the Empire and the Papacy. God, we trust, will raise up a Pope of more pacific temper; whom we are prepared to defend as a devout son, if he follows not the fatal crime and animosity of his predecessor. In these times we more earnestly desire peace, when the Catholic Church and the Empire are alike threatened by the invasion of the Tartars; against their pride it becomes us, the monarchs of Europe, to take up arms." ^u Frederick acted up to this great part of delivering Christendom from the yoke of these terrible savages. Immediately on the death of Gregory he detached King Enzo with four thousand knights, to aid the army of his son Conrad, King of the Romans. The Mongols were totally defeated near the Delphos, a stream which flows into the Danube; to the house of Hohenstaufen Europe and civilisation and Christendom owed this great deliverance.

Frederick suspended the progress of his victorious arms in the Roman territory that the Cardinals might proceed to the election of a new Pope. There were but six Cardinals in Rome; Frederick consented to their supplication that the two imprisoned Cardinals, James and Otho, giving hostages for their return to captivity, should join the conclave. There were fierce dissensions among these eight churchmen; five were for Godfrey of Milan, favoured by the Emperor, three for Romanus. One died, not without suspicion of poison; the Cardinal Otho returned to his captivity; the Emperor, delighted with his honourable conduct, treated him with respectful lenity.^x In September, the choice to which the Cardinals were compelled by famine, sickness and violence, fell on Godfrey of Milan, a prelate of

Sept. 23.

^u Pater de Vin. i. 11.

^x Raynald. p. 277.

gentle character and profound learning; in October Coelestine IV. was dead. The few remaining cardinals left Rome and fled to Anagni. Oct. 6, 1241

For nearly two years the Papal throne was vacant. The King of England remonstrated with the Emperor, on whom all seemed disposed to throw the blame; the ambassadors returned to England, if not convinced of the injustice, abashed by the lofty tone of Frederick. The King of France sent a more singular menace. He signified his determination, by some right which he asserted to belong to the Church of France, through St. Denys, himself to proceed to the election of a Pope. Frederick became convinced of the necessity of such election; none but a Pope could repeal the excommunication of a Pope. In addresses, which rose above each other in vehemence, he reproached the cardinals for their dissensions. "Sons of Belial! animals without heads! sons of Ephraim who basely turned back in the day of battle! Not Jesus Christ the author of Peace, but Satan the Prince of the North, sits in the midst of their conclave, inflaming their discords, their mutual jealousies. The smallest creatures might read them a salutary lesson; birds fly not without a leader; bees live not without a King. They abandon the bark of the Church to the waves, without a pilot."^y In the mean time, he used more effective arguments; he advanced on Rome, seized and ravaged the July, 1242. estates, even the churches, belonging to the Cardinals. At length they met at Anagni, and in an evil hour for Frederick the turbulent conclave closed its labours. The choice fell on a cardinal once connected with the interests, and supposed to be attached to the person

^y Pet. de Vin. xiv. 17.

of Frederick, Sinibald Fiesco, of the Genoese house
of Lavagna. He took the name of Innocent
June, 1243. IV., an omen and a menace that he would
tread in the footsteps of Innocent III. Frederick was
congratulated on the accession of his declared partisan ;
he answered coldly, and in a prophetic spirit : " In the
Cardinal I have lost my best friend ; in the Pope I shall
find my worst enemy. No Pope can be a Ghibelline."

CHAPTER V.

Frederick and Innocent IV.

YET Frederick received the tidings of the accession of Innocent IV. with all outward appearance of joy. He was at Amalfi; he ordered Te Deum to be sung in all the churches: he despatched the highest persons of his realm, the Archbishop of Palermo, the Chancellor Peter de Vineâ, Thaddeus of Suessa, and the Admiral Ansaldo, to bear his congratulations to the Pope. June 26. "An ancient friend of the noble sons of the Empire, you are raised into a Father, by whom the Empire may hope that her earnest prayers for peace and justice may be fulfilled."

Innocent could not reject these pacific overtures; he sent as his ambassadors to Frederick at Amalfi, the Archbishop of Rouen, William formerly Bishop of Modena, and the Abbot of St. Facundus. They were to demand first the release of all the captive prelates and ecclesiastics; to inquire what satisfaction the Emperor was disposed to offer for the crimes, on account of which he lay under excommunication; if the Church (this could scarcely be thought) had done him any wrong, she was prepared to redress such wrong; they were to propose a General Council of temporal and spiritual persons, Kings, Princes, and Prelates. All the adherents of the Church were to be included in the peace. Frederick demanded the withdrawal of the Papal Legate, Gregory di Monte Longo, from Lom-

bardy; he demanded the release of Salinguerra, the Lord of Ferrara; he complained that honour was shown to the Archbishop of Mentz, who was under the ban of the Empire (he had been appointed Papal Legate in Germany); that the Pope took no steps to suppress heresy among the Lombards; that the Imperial ambassadors were not admitted to the presence of the Pope. It was answered by Innocent, that the Pope had full right to send his Legates into every part of Christendom; Salinguerra was the prisoner of the Venetians, not of the Pope; the Archbishop of Mentz was a prelate of the highest character, one whom the Pope delighted to honour; the war waged by the Emperor prevented the Church from extirpating the Lombard heretics; it was not the usage of Rome to admit persons under excommunication to the holy presence of the Pope.

Frederick might seem now at the summit of his power and glory: his fame was untarnished by any humiliating discomfiture; Italy unable to cope with his victorious armies: the Milanese had suffered a severe check in the territory of Pavia: King Enzo had displayed his great military talents with success: the Papal territories were either in his occupation, or with Rome itself were seemingly capable of no vigorous resistance: his hereditary dominions were attached to him by affection, the Empire by respect and awe. He might think that he had full right to demand, full power to enforce, in the first place, the repeal of his excommunication. But the star of the Hohenstaufen had reached its height; it began to decline, to darken; its fall was almost as rapid and precipitate as its rise had been slow and stately.

The first inauspicious sign was the defection of Vi-

terbo. The Cardinal Rainier, at the head of the Guelfic party, drove Frederick's garrison into the citadel, destroyed the houses of the Ghibellines, and gathered all the troops which he could to defend the city. Frederick was so enraged at this revolt, that he declared, "if he had one foot in Paradise, he would turn back to avenge himself on the treacherous Viterbans."^a He immediately, unwarned by perpetual failures, formed the siege. The defence was stubborn, obstinate, successful; his engines were burned, he was compelled to retire, stipulating only for the safe retreat of his garrison from the citadel. Notwithstanding the efforts of Cardinal Otho of Palestrina, who had guaranteed the treaty, the garrison was assailed, plundered, massacred. To the remonstrance of Frederick, the Pope, who was still under a kind of truce with the Emperor, coldly answered, that he ought not to be surprised if a city returned to its allegiance to its rightful Lord. The fatal example of the revolt of Viterbo spread in many quarters: the Marquises of Montferrat and Malespina, the cities of Vercelli and Alexandria deserted the Imperial party. Even Adelasia, the wife of King Enzo, sought to be reconciled with the Holy See. Innocent himself ventured to leave Anagni, and to enter Rome; the Imperialists were awed at his presence; his reception, as usual, especially with newly crowned Popes, was tumultuously joyful. The only sullen murmurs, which soon after almost broke out into open discontent, were among the wealthy, it was said mostly the Jews, who demanded the payment of 40,000 marks, borrowed in his distress by Gregory IX. Innocent had authority enough to wrest

Defection of
Viterbo.

Sept. 9 to
Nov. 13.

Nov. 15.

^a Von Raumer, iv. 128.

from the Frangipanis half of the Colosseum, and parts of the adjacent palace, where they no doubt hoped to raise a strong fortress in the Imperial interest.

The Emperor again inclined to peace, at least to negotiations for peace. The Count of Toulouse, the Chancellor Peter de Vineâ, and Thaddeus of Suessa, appeared in Rome with full powers to conclude, and even to swear and guarantee the fulfilment of a treaty. The terms were hard and humiliating. The Emperor was to restore all the lands possessed by the Pope and the Pope's adherents at the time of the excommunication; the Emperor was to proclaim to all the sovereigns of Christendom that he had not scorned the Papal censure out of contempt for the Pope's predecessor, or the rights of the Church; but, by the advice of the prelates and nobles of Germany and Italy, treated it as not uttered, since it had not been formally served upon him; he owned his error on this point, and acknowledged the plenitude of the Papal authority in spiritual matters. For this offence he was to make such compensation in men or money as the Pope might require; offer such alms and observe such fasts as the Pope should appoint; and respect the excommunication until absolved by the Pope's command. He was to release all the captive Prelates, and compensate them for their losses. These losses and all other damages were to be left to the estimation of three Cardinals. Full amnesty was to be granted, the imperial ban revoked against all who had adhered to the Church since the excommunication. This was to be applied, as far as such offences, to all who were in a state of rebellion against the Emperor. The differences between the Emperor and his revolted subjects were to be settled by the Pope and the College of Cardinals within a limited time to be

Treaty.
March 31,
1244.

fixed by the Pope. But there was a saving clause, which appeared to extend over the whole treaty, of the full undiminished rights of the Empire.^b The Emperor was to be released from the excommunication by a public decree of the Church. To these and the other articles the imperial ambassadors swore in the presence of the Emperor Baldwin of Constantinople, the Cardinals, the Senators, and people of Rome. The Emperor did not disclaim the terms proposed by his ambassadors; but in the treaty there were some fatal flaws, which parties each so mistrustful, ^{March 31,} ^{1244.} and justly mistrustful of the other, could not but discern, and which rendered the fulfilment of the treaty almost impossible. Was the Emperor to abandon all his advantages, to release all his prisoners (one of the stipulations), surrender all the fortresses he held in the Papal dominions, grant amnesty to all rebels, fulfil in short all these hard conditions at once, and so leave himself at the mercy of the Pope: then and not till then, not till the Pope had exacted the scrupulous discharge of every article, was he to receive his tardy absolution? Nor was the affair of the Lombards clearly defined. Innocent (perhaps the Emperor knew this) had from the first declared that he would not abandon their cause. Was the Emperor to be humiliated before the Lombards as he had been before the Pope, first to make every concession, with the remote hope of regaining his imperial rights by the Papal arbitration?^c

^b "Jurabit præcise stare mandatis domini Papæ: salva tamen sint ei honores et jura quoad conservationem integram sine aliqua diminutione Imperii et honorum suorum."—If these undefined rights were to be respected, the Pope's decisions concerning the

Lombards were still liable to be called in question.

^c "Si latenti morbo, videlicet de negotio Lombardorum, medicina non esset opposita, pax omnino precedere non valebat."—Cod. Epist. Vatic. MS., quoted by Von Raumer.

According to the Papal account, Frederick began to shrink back from the treaty to which he had sworn; the Pope was fully prepared on his part for the last extremity.^d He left Rome, where his motions had perhaps been watched; he advanced to Civita Castellana under the pretext of approaching the Emperor. The bickerings, however, still continued; the Emperor complained that all the secret terms agreed on with the Pope were publicly sold for six pennies in the Lateran; the Pope demanded 400,000 marks as satisfaction for the imprisonment of the Prelates. The Lombard affairs were still in dispute. The Pope having seemingly made some slight concession, proceeded still further to

Flight of the Pope. Sutri. There at midnight he suddenly rose, stole out of the town in disguise, mounted a powerful horse, like the proud Sinibald the Genoese noble, he pressed its reeking flanks, so as to escape a troop of 300 cavalry which the Emperor—to whom

June 28. perhaps his design had been betrayed—sent to intercept him, outrode all his followers, and reached Civita Vecchia, where the Genoese fleet of twenty-three well-armed galleys, which had been long

June 29. prepared for his flight (so little did Innocent calculate on a lasting treaty), was in the roads.^e

He was in an instant on board one of the galleys. The

^d See Matth. Paris, sub ann. 1244. "Imperator, illo instigante, qui primus superbivit, a forma jurata et humilitate satisfactionis compromise superbiendo penitens infeliciter resiliit." Of course, the biographers of Pope Innocent are loud on the deceit and treachery of Frederick (Vit. Innocent. IV.). But if Innocent resolutely refused (and this seems clear) to revoke the excommunication until Frederick

had absolutely fulfilled all the stipulations, the charge of duplicity must be at least equally shared. In truth, if Frederick was not too religiously faithful to his oaths, the Pope openly asserted his power of annulling all oaths.

^e It was given out that he fled to avoid being captured by those 300 Tuscan horse, who were sent to seize him. But the flight must have been pre-arranged with the Genoese fleet.

next morning, before the anchor was weighed, arrived five cardinals, who had been outstripped by the more active Pope. Seven others made their way to the north of Italy. The Pope's galleys set sail, a terrible storm came on, which threatened to cast them on an island which belonged to Pisa. After seven July 7. days they entered the haven of Genoa. The Genoese had heard of the arrival of their illustrious fellow-citizen at Porto Venere. They received him with a grand procession of the nobles with the Podestà, the clergy with the Archbishop at their head. The bells clanged, music played, the priests chanted "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." The Pope's followers replied, "Our soul is escaped, even as a bird out of the snare of the fowler: the snare is broken, and we are delivered." †

The Emperor was furious at this intelligence: he too had his scriptural phrase—"The wicked flees when no man pursueth." He complained bitterly of the negligent watch kept up by his armies and his fleets. He sent the Count of Toulouse to invite, to press the Pope to return, and to promise the fulfilment of all the conditions of the truce. Innocent replied that after such flagrant violations of faith, he would not expose himself or the Church to the imminent perils escaped with such difficulty. Frederick, in an address to Mantua, denounced the flight of the Pope as a faithless revolt to the insurgents against the Empire, as though he supposed that Innocent at Genoa, where he remained three months, would place himself at the head of his Lombard League.

But he was not safe in Genoa. The Emperor was in

† Psalm cxiv. 7.

Pisa. Through the revolted cities of Asti and Alexandria, by secret ways Innocent crossed the Alps, and on the 2nd of December arrived at Lyons.

July 7.

The Pope at Lyons became an independent potentate. Lyons was not yet within the realm of France, though to a certain degree under her protection. It belonged in name to the Roman Empire; but it was almost a free city, owning no authority but that of the Archbishop. It was proud to become the residence of the Supreme Pontiff.

His reception in France was somewhat more cool than his hopes might have anticipated from the renowned piety of Queen Blanche and her son Saint Louis. The King with his mother visited the monastery of Citeaux; as they approached the church they were met by a long procession of five hundred monks from the convent of that saintly Order, entreating the King with tears and groans to aid the Holy Father of the Faithful against that son of Satan his persecutor, as his ancestor Louis VII. had received Pope Alexander. The first emotion of the King was to kneel in the profoundest reverence. But his more deliberate reply was, that he was prepared to protect the Pope against the Emperor so far as might seem fit to the nobles, his counsellors. The counsellors of Louis refused at once to grant permission that so dangerous and costly a guest should take up his residence in Rheims. The King of Arragon repelled the advances of the Pope. We shall hereafter see the conduct of Henry and the Barons of England. Innocent remained at Lyons; though thus partially baffled, he lost no time in striking at his foe. He summoned all kings, princes, and prelates to a Council on St. John the Baptist's day, upon the weighty

August.
Innocent
in France.

affairs of Christendom; he cited Frederick to appear in person, or by his representatives, to hear the charges on which he might be arraigned, and to give the satisfaction which might be demanded. In the mean time meditating a still heavier penalty, and without awaiting the decree of the Council, he renewed the excommunication, and commanded it to be published again throughout Christendom. In France, Spain, and England many of the clergy obeyed, but a priest in Paris seems to have created a strong impression on men's wavering minds. "The Emperor and the Pope mutually condemn each other; that one then of the two who is guilty I excommunicate, that one who is guiltless I absolve."^s But even in Lyons the haughty demeanour, the immoderate pretensions, and the insatiable rapacity of Innocent IV. almost endangered his safety. It is the greatest proof of the deep-rooted strength of the Papal power, that with a sullen discontent throughout Christendom, with a stern impatience of the intolerable burthens imposed on the Church as well as on the laity, with open menaces of revolt, it still proceeded and successfully proceeded to the most enormous act of authority, the deposition of the Emperor in what claimed to be a full Council of the Church.

In the short period, since the Pontificate of Innocent III., a great but silent change had taken place in the Papacy. Innocent III. was a mighty feudal monarch at the head of a loyal spiritual aristocracy: the whole clergy rose, with their head, in power; they took pride in the exaltation of the Pope; the Pope not merely respected but elevated the dignity of the bishops and

^s Matt. Paris. Fleury, lxxxix. c. 17.

abbots; each in his sphere displayed his pomp, exercised his power, enjoyed his wealth, and willingly laid his unforced, unextorted benevolences at the foot of the Papal throne. But already the Pope had begun to be—Innocent IV. aspired fully to become—an absolute monarch with an immense standing army, which enabled him to depress, to humiliate, to tax at his pleasure the higher feudatories of the spiritual realm. That standing army was the two new Orders, not more servilely attached to the Pope than encroaching on the privileges as well as on the duties of the clergy. The elevation of an Italian noble to the Papacy already gave signs of that growing nepotism which at last sunk the Head of Christendom in the Italian sovereign.^h Throughout the contest Pope Innocent blended with the inflexible haughtiness of the Churchman¹ the inexorable passionate hatred of a Guelfic Burgher towards a rival Ghibelline, the hereditary foe of his house, that of the Sinibaldi of Genoa. There had been rumours at least that Gregory IX. resented the scornful rejection of his niece as a fit bride for a natural son of the Emperor. It was now declared that Frederick had offered to wed his son Conrad to a niece of Sinibald Fiesco, the Pope Innocent IV. That scheme of Papal ambition was afterwards renewed.

Among the English clergy the encroachments of the Pope, especially in two ways, the direct taxation and usurpation of benefices for strangers, had kindled such violent resentment, alike among the Barons and

^h Nic. de Curbio, in Vit. Innocent. IV.

¹ Innocent held high views of the omnipotence of the Papacy:—"Cum teneat omnium credulitas pia fidelium quod apostolicæ sedis auctoritas in ec-

clesiis universis liberam habeat a Dei providentia potestatem; nec arbitrio principum stare cogitur, ut eorum in electionem vel postulationem negotiis requirat assensum."—Ad Regem Henric. MS. B. M. v. 19. Lateran, Feb. 1244.

the Prelates, as almost to threaten that the realm would altogether throw off the Papal yoke. It was tauntingly said that England was the Pope's farm. At this time the collector of the Papal revenues, Master Martin, was driven ignominiously, and in peril of his life, from the shores of the kingdom. Martin had taken up his residence in the house of the Templars in London. Fulk Fitzwarrenne suddenly appeared before him, and, with a stern look, said, "Arise—get thee forth! Depart at once from England!" "In whose name speakest thou?" "In the name of the Barons of England assembled at Luton and at Dunstable. If you are not gone in three days, you and yours will be cut in pieces." Martin sought the King: "Is this done by your command, or by the insolence of your subjects?" "It is not by my command; but my Barons will no longer endure your depredations and iniquities. They will rise in insurrection, and I have no power to save you from being torn in pieces." The trembling priest implored a safe-conduct. "'The devil take thee away to hell," said the indignant King, ashamed of his own impotence. One of the King's officers with difficulty conveyed Martin to the coast; but Martin left others behind to insist on the Papal demands. Yet so great was the terror, that many of the Italians, who had been forced (this was the second grievance) into the richest benefices of England, were glad to conceal themselves from the popular fury. The Pope, it is said, gnashed his teeth at the report from Martin of his insulting expulsion from England. Innocent, once beyond the Alps, had expected a welcome reception from all the great monarchs except his deadly foe. But to the King of England the Cardinal had made artful suggestions of the honour and benefit which his presence might confer

on the realm. "What an immortal glory for your reign, if (unexampled honour!) the Father of Fathers should personally appear in England! He has often said that it would give him great pleasure to see the pleasant city of Westminster, and wealthy London." The King's Council, if not the King, returned the ungracious answer, "We have already suffered too much from the usuries and simonies of Rome; we do not want the Pope to pillage us."^k More than this, Innocent must listen in patience, with suppressed indignation, to the "grievances" against which the Nobles and whole realm of England solemnly protested by their proctors: the subsidies exacted beyond the Peter's-pence, granted by the generosity of England; the usurpation of benefices by Italians, of whom there was an infinite number; the insolence and rapacity of the Nuncio Martin.^m

The King of France, as has been seen, and the King of Arragon courteously declined this costly and dangerous visit of the fugitive Pope. The Pope, it was reported, was deeply offended at this stately and cautious reserve; on this occasion he betrayed the violence of his temper: "We must first crush or pacify the great dragon, and then we shall easily trample these small basilisks under foot." Such at least were the rumours spread abroad, and believed by all who were disposed to assert the dignity of the temporal power, or who groaned under the heavy burthens of the Church of Lyons. Even Lyons had become, through the Pope's ill-timed favouritism, hardly a safe refuge.

^k Matth. Paris, however in some respects not an absolutely trustworthy authority for events which happened out of England, is the best unquestionably for the rumours and impressions

prevalent in Christendom—rumours, which as rumours, and showing the state of the public mind, are not to be disdained by history.

^m Matth. Paris, 1245.

He had endeavoured to force some of his Italian followers into the Chapter of Lyons; the Canons swore in the face of the Pope that if they appeared, neither the Archbishop nor the Canons themselves could prevent their being cast into the Rhone. Some indeed of the French prelates and abbots (their enemies accused them of seeking preferment and promotion by their adulatory homage) hastened to show their devout attachment to the Pope, their sympathy for his perils and sufferings, and their compassion for the destitution of which he loudly complained. The Prior of Clugny astonished even the Pope's followers by the amount of his gifts in money. Besides these he gave eighty palfreys splendidly caparisoned to the Pope, one to each of the twelve Cardinals. The Pope appointed the Abbot to the office, no doubt not thought unseemly, of his Master of the Horse: he received soon after the more appropriate reward, the Bishopric of Langres. The Cistercian Abbot would not be outdone by his rival of Clugny. The Archbishop of Rouen for the same purpose loaded his see with debts: he became Cardinal Bishop of Albano. The Abbot of St. Denys, who aspired to and attained the vacant Archbishopric, extorted many thousand livres from his see, which he presented to the Pope. But the King of France, the special patron of the church of St. Denys, forced the Abbot to regorge his exactions, and to beg them in other quarters. Yet with all these forced benevolences and lavish offerings it was bruited abroad that the Church of Rome had a capital debt, not including interest, of 150,000*l*.

The Council met at Lyons, in the convent of St. Just, on the Nativity of St. John the Baptist. Around the Pope appeared his twelve Cardinals, two Patriarchs, the Latin of Constantinople, who claimed

Council of
Lyons,
June 26.

likewise to be Patriarch of Antioch, and declared that the heretical Greeks had reduced by their conquests his suffragans from thirty to three, and the Patriarch of Aquileia, who represented the church of Venice; the Emperor of Constantinople, the Count of Toulouse, Roger Bigod and other ambassadors of England who had their own object at the Council, the redress of their grievances from Papal exactions, and the canonisation of Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury. Only one hundred and forty prelates represented the whole of Christendom, of whom but very few were Germans. The Council and the person of the Pope were under the protection of Philip of Savoy at the head of a strong body of men-at-arms, of Knights of the Temple and of the Hospital. Philip, brother of the Count of Savoy, was in his character a chief of Condottieri, in his profession an ecclesiastic; he enjoyed vast riches from spiritual benefices, was high in the confidence of the Pope. Aymeri Archbishop of Lyons, a pious and gentle prelate, beheld with deep sorrow the Pope as it were trampling upon him in his own diocese, despoiling his see, as he was laying intolerable burthens on the whole church of Christ. He resigned his see and retired into a convent. Philip of Savoy, yet but in deacon's orders, was advanced to the metropolitan dignity; he was at once Archbishop of Lyons, Bishop of Valence, Provost of Bruges, Dean of Vienne. Of these benefices he drained with remorseless rapacity all the rich revenues, and remained at the head of the Papal forces. And this was the act of a Pope who convulsed the world with his assertion of ecclesiastical immunities, of the sacrilegious intrusion of secular princes into the affairs of the Church. During four pontificates Philip of Savoy enjoyed the title, and spent the revenues of the Archbishopric of Lyons. At

length Clement IV. insisted on his ordination and on his consecration. Philip of Savoy threw off, under this compulsion, the dress (he had never even pretended to the decencies) of a bishop, married first the heiress of Franche Comté, and afterwards a niece of Pope Innocent IV., and died Duke of Savoy. . And the brother of Philip and of Amadeus Duke of Savoy, Boniface, was Primate of England.ⁿ

This then was the Council which was to depose the Emperor, and award the Empire. Even before the opening of the Council the intrepid, learned, and eloquent jurisconsult Thaddeus of Suessa, the principal proctor of the Emperor,^o advanced and made great offers in the name of his master : to compel the Eastern Empire to enter into the unity of the Church : to raise a vast army and to take the field in person against the Tartars, the Charismians, and the Saracens, the foes which threatened the life of Christendom ; at his own cost, and in his own person, to re-establish the kingdom of Jerusalem ; to restore all her territories to the See of Rome ; to give satisfaction for all injuries. “ Fine words and specious promises ! ” replied the Pope. “ The axe is at the root of the tree, and he would avert it. If we were weak enough to believe this deceiver, who would guarantee his truth ? ” “ The Kings of France and England,” answered Thaddeus. “ And if he violated the treaty, as he assuredly would, we should have instead of one, the three greatest monarchs of Christendom for our enemies.” At the next session the Pope in full attire mounted the pulpit ; this was his text : “ See,

ⁿ Gallia Christiana, iv. 144. M. Paris, sub ann. 1251.

^o Sismondi says that Peter de Vine
one of the Emperor's representa-

tives ; that his silence raised suspicion of his treason. Was he there ? The whole defence seems to have been entrusted to Thaddeus.

ye who pass this way, was ever sorrow like unto my sorrow." He compared his five afflictions to the five wounds of the Lord: the desolations of the Mongols; the revolt of the Greek Church; the progress of heresy, especially that of the Paterins in Lombardy; the capture and destruction of Jerusalem and the devastation of the Holy Land by the Charismians; the persecutions of the Emperor. He wept himself; the tears of others interrupted his discourse. On this last head he enlarged with bitter eloquence; he accused the Emperor of heresy and sacrilege, of having built a great and strong city and peopled it with Saracens, of joining in their superstitious rites; of his close alliance with the Sultan of Egypt; of his voluptuous life, and shameless intercourse with Saracen courtesans; of his unnumbered perjuries, his violation of treaties: he produced a vast number of letters, sealed with the imperial seal, as irrefragable proofs of these perjuries.

Thaddeus of Suessa rose with calm dauntlessness. He too had letters with the Papal seal, damning proofs of the Pope's insincerity. The assembly professed to examine these conflicting documents; they came to the singular conclusion that all the Pope's letters, and all his offers of peace were conditional; those of the Emperor all absolute. But Thaddeus was not to be overawed; he alleged the clashing and contradictory letters of the Pope which justified his master in not observing his promises. On no point did the bold advocate hesitate to defend his sovereign; he ventured to make reprisals. "My lord and master is arraigned of heresy; for this no one can answer but himself; he must be present to declare his creed: who shall presume to read the secrets of his heart? But there is one strong argument that he is not guilty of heresy (he fixed his

eyes on the prelates); he endures no usurer in his dominions." The audience knew his meaning —that was the heresy with which the whole world charged the Court of Romæ. The orator justified the treaties of the Emperor with the Saracens as entered into for the good of Christendom; he denied all criminal intercourse with the Saracen women; he had permitted them in his presence as jongleurs and dancers, but on account of the offence taken against them he had banished them for ever from his court. Thaddeus ended by demanding delay, that the Emperor his master might appear in person before the Council. The Pope shrunk from this proposal: "I have hardly escaped his snares. If he comes hither I must withdraw. I have no desire for martyrdom or for captivity." But the ambassadors of France and England insisted on the justice of the demand: Innocent was forced to consent to an adjournment of fourteen days. The Pontiff was relieved of his fears. Frederick had advanced as far as Turin. But the hostile character of the assembly would not allow of his appearance. "I see that the Pope has sworn my ruin; he would revenge himself for my victory over his relatives, the pirates of Genoa. It becomes not the Emperor to appear before an assembly constituted of such persons." On the next meeting this determination encouraged the foes of Frederick. New accusers arose to multiply charges against the absent sovereign: many voices broke out against the contumacious rebel against the Church. But Thaddeus, though almost alone, having stood unabashed before the Pope, was not to be silenced by this clamour of accusations. The Bishop of Catana^P was among the loudest;

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July.

^P Carinola in Giannone.

he charged Frederick with treason against the Church for his imprisonment of the Prelates, and with other heinous crimes. "I can no longer keep silence," broke in Thaddeus, "thou son of a traitor, who was convicted and hanged by the justiciary of my Lord, thou art but following the example of thy father." Thaddeus took up the desperate defence, before such an assembly, of the seizure of the Prelates. The Pope again mingled

in the fray; but Thaddeus assumed a lofty tone.

June 29. "God delivered them into the hands of my master; God took away the strength of the rebels, and showed by this abandonment that their imprisonment was just." "If," replied the Pope, "the Emperor had not mistrusted his own cause, he would not have declined the judgement of such holy and righteous men: he was condemned by his own guilty conscience." "What could my lord hope from a council in which presided his capital enemy, the Pope Gregory IX., or from judges who even in their prison breathed nothing but menace?" "If one has broken out into violence, all should not have been treated with this indignity. Nothing remains but ignominiously to depose a man laden with such manifold offences."

Thaddeus felt that he was losing ground. At the third sitting he had heard that the daughter of the Duke of Austria, whom Frederick proposed to take as his fourth wife (the sister of the King of England had died in childbed), had haughtily refused the hand of an Emperor tainted with excommunication, and in danger of being deposed. The impatient Assembly would hardly hear again this perilous adversary; he entered therefore a solemn appeal: "I appeal from this Council, from which are absent so many great prelates and secular sovereigns, to a general and impartial

Council. I appeal from this Pope, the declared enemy of my Lord, to a future, more gentle, more Christian Pope." ^a This appeal the Pope haughtily overruled. "it was fear of the treachery and the cruelty of the Emperor which had kept some prelates away: it was not for him to take advantage of the consequences of his own guilt." The proceedings were interrupted by a long and bitter remonstrance of England against the Papal exactions. The Pope adjourned this question as requiring grave and mature consideration.

With no further deliberation, without further investigation, with no vote, apparently with no participation of the Council, the Pope proceeded at great length, and rehearsing in the darkest terms all the crimes at any time charged against Frederick, to pronounce his solemn, irrefragable decree: "The sentence of God must precede our sentence: we declare Frederick excommunicated of God, and deposed from all the dignity of Empire, and from the kingdom of Naples. We add our own sentence to that of God: we excommunicate Frederick, and depose him from all the dignity of the Empire, and from the kingdom of Naples." The Emperor's subjects in both realms were declared absolved from all their oaths and allegiance. All who should aid or abet him were by the act itself involved in the same sentence of excommunication. The Princes of Germany were ordered to proceed at once to the election of a new Emperor. The kingdom of Naples was reserved to be disposed of, as might seem to them most fit, by the Pope and the Cardinals.

The Council at this sentence, at least the greater

^a Annal. Cæsen. Concil. sub ann.

part, sat panic-stricken; the imperial ambassadors uttered loud groans, beat their heads and their breasts in sorrow. Thaddeus cried aloud, "Oh, day of wrath, of tribulation, and of agony! Now will the heretics rejoice, the Charismians prevail; the foul Mongols pursue their ravages." "I have done my part," said the Pope, "God must do the rest." He began the hymn, "We glorify thee, O God!" His partisans lifted up their voices with him; the hymn ended, there was profound silence. Innocent and the prelates turned down their blazing torches to the ground till they smouldered and went out. "So be the glory and the fortune of the Emperor extinguished upon earth."

Frederick received at Turin the report of his dethronement; he was seated in the midst of a splendid court. "The Pope has deprived me of my crown? Whence this presumption, this audacity? Bring hither my treasure chests." He opened them. "Not one of my crowns but is here." He took out one, placed it on his own head, and with a terrible voice, menacing gesture, and heart bursting with wrath, exclaimed, "I hold my crown of God alone; neither the Pope, the

July 31.

Council, nor the devil shall rend it from me! What! shall the pride of a man of low birth degrade the Emperor, who has no superior nor equal on earth? I am now released from all respect; no longer need I keep any measure with this man."^r

Frederick addressed his justification to all the kings and princes of Christendom, to his own chief officers and justiciaries. He called on all temporal princes to make common cause against this common enemy of the temporal power. "What might not all Kings fear

^r Peter de Vineâ, i. 3.

from the presumption of a Pope like Innocent IV.?" He inveighed against the injustice of the Pope in all the proceedings of the Council. The Pope was accuser, witness, and judge. He denounced crimes as notorious which the Emperor utterly denied. "How long has the word of an Emperor been so despicable as not to be heard against that of a priest?" "Among the Pope's few witnesses one had his father, son and nephew convicted of high treason. Of the others, some came from Spain to bear witness on the affairs of Italy. The utter falsehood of all the charges was proved by irrefragable documents. But were they all true, how will they justify the monstrous absurdity, that the Emperor, in whom dwells the supreme majesty, can be adjudged guilty of high treason? that he who as the source of law is above all law, should be subject to law? To condemn him to temporal penalties who has but one superior in temporal things, God! We submit ourselves to spiritual penances, not only to the Pope, but to the humblest priest; but, alas! how unlike the clergy of our day to those of the primitive church, who led Apostolic lives, imitating the humility of the Lord! Then were they visited of angels, then shone around by miracles, then did they heal the sick and raise the dead, and subdue princes by their holiness not by arms! Now they are abandoned to this world, and to drunkenness; their religion is choked by their riches. It were a work of charity to relieve them from this noxious wealth; it is the interest of all princes to deprive them of these vain superfluities, to compel them to salutary poverty."*

The former arguments were addressed to the pride of

* Peter de Vin. lib. i. 3.

France; the latter to England, which had so long groaned under the rapacity of the clergy. But it was a fatal error not to dissever the cause of the Pope from that of the clergy. To all the Emperor declared his steadfast determination to resist with unyielding firmness: "Before this generation and the generation to come I will have the glory of resisting this tyranny; let others who shrink from my support have the disgrace as well as the galling burthen of slavery." The humiliation of Pope Innocent might have been endured even by the most devout sons of the Church; his haughtiness and obstinacy had almost alienated the pious Louis; his rapacity forced the timid Henry of England to resistance. Perhaps the Papacy itself might have been assailed without a general outburst of indignation; but a war against the clergy, a war of sacrilegious spoliation, a war which avowed the necessity, the expediency of reducing them to Apostolic simplicity and Apostolic poverty, was in itself the heresy of heresies. To exasperate this indignation to the utmost, every instance of Frederick's severity, doubtless of his cruelty, to ecclesiastics, was spread abroad with restless activity. He is said to have burned them by a slow fire, drowned them in the sea, dragged them at the tails of horses. No doubt in Apulia and Sicily Frederick kept no terms with the rebellious priests and friars who were preaching the Crusade against him; urging upon his subjects that it was their right, their duty to withdraw their allegiance. But under all circumstances the violation of the hallowed person of a priest was sacrilege: while they denounced him as a Pharaoh, a Herod, a Nero, it was an outrage against law, against religion, against God, to do violence to a hair of their heads. And all these rumours, true or

antrue, in their terrible simplicity, or in the gathered blackness of rumour, propagated by hostile tongues, confirmed the notion that Frederick contemplated a revolution, a new æra, which by degrading the Clergy would destroy the Church.†

The Pope kept not silence; he was not the man who would not profit to the utmost by this error. He replied to the Imperial manifesto: "When the sick man who has scorned milder remedies is subjected to the knife and the cautery, he complains of the cruelty of the physician: when the evil doer, who has despised all warning, is at length punished, he arraigns his judge. But the physician only looks to the welfare of the sick man, the judge regards the crime, not the person of the criminal. The Emperor doubts and denies that all things and all men are subject to the See of Rome. As if we who are to judge angels are not to give sentence on all earthly things. In the Old Testament priests dethroned unworthy kings; how much more is the Vicar of Christ justified in proceeding against him who, expelled from the Church as a heretic, is already the portion of hell! Ignorant persons aver that Constantine first gave temporal power to the See of Rome; it was already bestowed by Christ himself, the true king and priest, as inalienable from its nature and absolutely unconditional. Christ founded not only a pontifical but a royal sovereignty, and committed to Peter the rule both of an earthly and a heavenly kingdom, as is indicated and visibly proved by the plurality of the keys." 'The power of the

† "De hæresi per id ipsum se red- impudenter et imprudenter extinxit
dens suspectum, merito omnem quem atque delevit."—Matt. Par. p. 459.
hactenus habebat in omnes populos Höfler quotes Albert of Beham's MS.
igniculum famæ propriæ et sapientiæ: "Non solum pontificalem, sed

sword is in the Church and derived from the Church; she gives it to the Emperor at his coronation, that he may use it lawfully and in her defence; she has the right to say, 'Put up thy sword into its sheath.' He strives to awaken the jealousy of other temporal kings, as if the relation of their kingdoms to the Pope were the same as those of the electoral kingdom of Germany and the kingdom of Naples. The latter is a Papal fief; the former inseparable from the Empire, which the Pope transferred as a fief from the East to the West.* To the Pope belongs the coronation of the Emperor, who is thereby bound by the consent of ancient and modern times to allegiance and subjection."

War was declared, and neither the Emperor nor the Pope now attempted to disguise their mutual immittigable hatred. Everywhere the Pope called on the subjects of the Emperor to revolt from their deposed and excommunicated monarch. He assumed the power of dispensing with all treaties; he cancelled that of the city of Treviso with the Emperor as extorted by force; thus almost compelling a war of extermination;† for if

April 26. treaties with a conqueror were thus to be cast aside, what opening remained for mercy? In a long and solemn address, he called on the bishops, barons, cities, people of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily to throw off the yoke under which they had so long groaned of the tyrant Frederick. Two Cardinals, Rainier Capoccio and Stephen da Romanis, had full

regalem constituit principatum, beato Petro ejusque successoribus terreni simul ac cœlestis imperii commissis habenis, quod in pluralitate clavium competenter innuitur." This passage is quoted by Von Raumer from the

Vatican archives, No. 4957, 47, and from the Codex Vindobon. Philol. p. 178. See also Höfler, Albert von Beham.

* "In feodum transtulit occidentis."

† Raynald, sub ann.

powers to raise troops, and to pursue any hostile measures against the King. The Crusade was publicly preached throughout Italy against the enemy of the Church. The Emperor on his side levied a third from the clergy to relieve them from the tyranny of the Pope. He issued inflexible orders that every clerk or religious person who, in obedience to the command of the Pope or his Legate, should cease to celebrate mass or any other religious function, should be expelled at once from his place and from his city, and despoiled of all his goods, whether his own or those of the Church. He promised his protection and many advantages to all who should adhere to his party; he declared that he would make no peace with the Pope till all those ecclesiastics who might be deposed for his cause should be put in full possession of their orders, their rank, and their benefices.* The Mendicant Friars, as they would keep no terms of peace with Frederick, could expect no terms from him; they were seized and driven beyond the borders. The summons of the Pope to the barons of the realm of Sicily to revolt found some few hearers. A dark conspiracy was formed in which were engaged Pandolph of Fasanella, Frederick's vicar in Tuscany, Jacob Morra of the family of the great justiciary, Andrew of Ayala, the Counts San Severino, Theobald Francisco, and other Apulian barons. It was a conspiracy not only against the realm, but against the life of Frederick. On its detection Pandolph of Fasanella and De Morra, the leaders of the plot, fled to, and were received by, the Pope's Legate. The Cardinal Rainier, Theobald and San Severino seized the castles of Cappoccio and of Scala, and stood on their defence. The

* Peter de Vin. i. 4.

loyal subjects of Frederick instantly reduced Scala ;

July 18. Capoccio with the rebels fell soon after. Fre-

derick arraigned the Pope before the world, he declared him guilty on the full and voluntary avowal of the rebels,^a as having given his direct sanction not only to the revolt, but to the murder of the Emperor.^b "This they had acknowledged in confession, this in public on the scaffold. They had received the cross from the hands of some Mendicant Friars ; they were acting under the express authority of the See of Rome." Frederick at first proposed to parade the chief criminals with the Papal bull upon their foreheads through all the realms of Christendom as an awful example and a solemn rebuke of the murtherous Pope ; he found it more prudent to proceed to immediate execution, an execution with all the horrible cruelty of the times ; their eyes were struck out, their hands hewn off, their noses slit, they were then broken on the wheel.^c The Pope denied in strong terms the charge of meditated assassination ; on the other hand, he declared to Christendom that three distinct attempts had been designed against his life, in all which Frederick was the acknowledged accomplice. On both sides probably these accusations were groundless. On one part, no doubt, fanatic Guelfs might think themselves called upon even by the bull of excommunication, which was an act of outlawry, to deliver the Church, the Pope, and the world from a monster of perfidy and iniquity such as Frederick was

^a See in Höfler the letter of the Pope to Theobald Francisco, and all the others of the kingdom of Sicily who returned to their loyalty to the Roman See : "God has made his face to shine upon you, by withdrawing your persons from the dominion of Pharaoh. From

the soldiers of the reprobate tyrant, you have become champions of our Lord Jesus Christ."—Appendix, p. 372.

^b "Et prædictæ mortis et exhereditationis nostræ summum pontificem asserunt authorem."—Peter de Vin. ii. x.

^c Matth. Paris, sub ann. 1246, 7.

described in the manifestoes of the Pope. Fanatic Ghibellines might in like manner think that they were doing good service, and would meet ample even if secret reward, should they relieve the Emperor from his deadly foe. They might draw a strong distinction between the rebellious subject of the Empire, and the sacred head of Christendom.

The Pope pledged himself solemnly to all who would revolt from Frederick never to abandon them to his wrath, never on any terms to make peace with the perfidious tyrant; "no feigned penitence, no simulated humility shall so deceive us, as that, when he is cast down from the height of his imperial and royal dignity, he should be restored to his throne. His sentence is absolutely irrevocable! his reprobation is the voice of God by his Church: he is condemned and for ever! His viper progeny are included under this eternal immitigable proscription. Whoever then loves justice should rejoice that vengeance is thus declared against the common enemy, and wash his hands in the blood of the transgressor." So wrote the Vicar of Christ!^d

Frederick took measures to relieve himself from the odious imputation of heresy. The Archbishop of Palermo, the Bishop of Pavia, the Abbots of A.D. 1246. Monte Casino, Cava, and Casanova, the Friar Preachers Roland and Nicolas, men of high repute, appeared before the Pope at Lyons, and declared themselves ready to attest on oath the orthodox belief of the Emperor. Innocent sternly answered, that they deserved punishment for holding conference with an excommunicated person, still severer penalty for treating him as

^d Apud Höfler, p. 383.

Emperor. They rejoined in humility, "Receive us then as only representing a Christian."

The Pope was compelled to appoint a commission of three cardinals. These not only avouched the report of the ambassadors, but averred the Emperor prepared to assert his orthodoxy in the presence of the Pope.

May 23, 1246. Innocent extricated himself with address: he declared the whole proceeding, as unauthorised by himself, hasty, and presumptuous: "If he shall appear unarmed, and with but few attendants before us, we will hear him, if it be according to law, according to law."^e Even the religious Louis of France could not move the rigid Pope. In his own crusading enthusiasm, as strong as that of his ancestors in the days of Urban, Louis urged the Pope to make peace with the Emperor, that the united forces of Christendom might make head in Europe and in Palestine against the unbelieving enemies of the Cross. He had a long and secret interview with the Pope in the monastery of Clugny. Innocent declared that he could have no dealings with the perfidious Frederick. Louis retired, disgusted at finding such merciless inflexibility in the Vicar of Christ.^f But not yet had the spell of the great magician begun to work. The conspiracy in the kingdom of Sicily was crushed; Frederick did not think it wise to invade the territories of Rome, where the Cardinal Rainier kept up an active partisan war. But even Viterbo yielded; the Guelfs were compelled to submit by the people clamouring for bread. Prince Theodore of Antioch entered Florence in triumph. The Milanese had suffered discomfiture; Venice had become more amicable. Inno-

^e "Ipsium super hoc, si de jure, et sicut de jure fuerit audiamus."—Apud Raynald. 1246.

^f Matt. Paris, 1246.

cent had not been wanting in attempts to raise up a rival sovereign in Germany to supplant the deposed Emperor. All the greater princes coldly, almost contemptuously, refused to become the instruments of the Papal vengeance: they resented the presumption of the Pope in dethroning an Emperor of Germany.

The Papal Legate, Philip Bishop of Ferrara, in less troubled times would hardly have wrought powerfully on the minds of Churchmen. He was born of poor parents in Pistoia, and raised himself by extraordinary vigour and versatility of mind. He was a dark, melancholy, utterly unscrupulous man, of stern and cruel temper; a great drinker;^g even during his orisons he had strong wine standing in cold water by his side. His gloomy temperament may have needed this excitement. But the strength of the Papal cause was Albert von Beham.^h Up to the accession of Innocent IV., if not to the Council of Lyons, the Archbishops of Saltzburg, the Bishops of Freisingen and Ratisbon and Passau, had been the most loyal subjects of Frederick. They had counteracted all the schemes of Albert von Beham, driven him, amid the universal execration for his insolence in excommunicating the highest prelates, and rapacity in his measureless extortions, from Southern Germany. We have heard him bitterly lamenting his poverty. Otho of Bavaria, who when once he embraced

^g "Multas crudelitates exercuit. Melancholicus, et tristis et furiosus, et filius Belial. Magnus potator."—Salimbeni, a Papal writer quoted by Von Raumer, p. 212.

^h Höfler affirms that because Albert von Beham, in one of his furious letters to Otho, calls Frederick the parricide, the murderer of Otho's father, that it

is a striking *proof* that Frederick was guilty of that murder.—p. 118. The letter is a remarkable one. Höfler's is one of those melancholy books, showing how undying is religious hatred. Innocent himself might be satisfied with the rancour of his apologist, and his merciless antipathy to Frederick.

the cause of the Hohenstaufen adhered to it with honourable fidelity, had convicted him of gross bribery, and hunted him out of his dominions. Albert now appeared again in all his former activity. He had been ordained priest by the Cardinal Albano; he was nominated Dean of Passau; but the insatiable Albert knew his own value, or rather the price at which the Pope and his cardinals calculated his services: he insisted on receiving back all his other preferments. The Pope and the Cardinals held it as a point of honour to maintain their useful emissary.¹

Sept. 1241. Already before the elevation of Innocent, at a meeting at Budweis, a league of Austria, Bohemia, and Bavaria, had proposed the nomination of a new Emperor. Eric King of Denmark had refused it for his son, in words of singular force and dignity. At Budweis Wenceslaus of Bohemia had fallen off to the interests of the Emperor: there were fears among the Papalists, fears speedily realised, of the Imperialism of Otho of Bavaria. A most audacious vision of Poppo, the Provost of Munster, had not succeeded in appalling Otho into fidelity to the Pope. The Queen of Heaven and the Twelve Apostles sent down from Heaven ivory statues of themselves, which contained oracles confirming all the acts of Albert; writings were shown with the Apostolic seals, containing the celestial decree.^k Albert had threatened, that if the electors refused, the Pope

¹ He complains that they prevented him from collecting 300 marks of silver, which otherwise he might have obtained. Höfler cannot deny the venality of Albert von Beham, but makes a long apology, absolutely startling in a respectable writer of our own day. The new letters of Albert seem

to me more fatal to his character than the partial extracts in Aventinus.

^k "Quorum decreta cum divinae mentis decretis examussim conspirantia, amobus caelestis senatus-consulti in eburneis descripta sigillis, inspiciendi copiam factam." The sense is not quite clear; I doubt my own rendering.

would name a French or Lombard King or Patrician, without regard to the Germans.

The meeting at Budweis so far had failed; but a dangerous approximation had even then been made between Sifried of Mentz, hitherto loyal to Frederick, who had condemned and denounced the rapacious quæstorship of Albert von Beham, and Conrad of Cologne, a high Papalist.^m This approximation grew up into an Anti-Imperialist League, strengthened as it was, before long, by the courageous demeanour, the flight, the high position taken by Innocent at Lyons; still more by the unwise denunciations against the whole hierarchy by Frederick in his wrath. Now the three great rebellious temporal princes—Otho of Bavaria, the King of Bohemia, the Duke of Austria—are the faithful subjects of Frederick; his loyal prelates, Saltzburg, Freisingen, Ratisbon, are his mortal enemies. Not content with embracing the Papal cause, they endeavoured by the most stirring incitements to revenge for doubtful or mendaciously asserted wrongs, by the dread of excommunication, by brilliant promises, to stir up Otho of Bavaria to assume the Imperial crown. Otho replied, "When I was on the side of the Pope you called him Antichrist; you declared him the source of all evil and all guilt: by your counsels I turned to the Emperor, and now you brand him as the most enormous transgressor. What is just to-day is unjust to-morrow: in scorn of all principle and all truth, you blindly follow your selfish interests. I shall hold to my pledges and my oaths, and not allow myself to be blown about by every changing wind." Otho of Bavaria persisted in his agreement to wed his daughter with Conrad, son of

April 20.

^m Boehmer, p. 390. See citations.

Frederick. Every argument was used to dissuade him from this connexion. Three alternatives were laid before him: I. To renounce the marriage of his daughter with Conrad, Frederick's son; if so, the Pope will provide a nobler bridegroom, and reconcile him fully with Henry, elected King of the Romans. II. To let the marriage proceed if Conrad will renounce his father. Albert von Beham was busy in inciting the unnatural revolt of Conrad from his father. III. The third possibility was the restoration of Frederick to the Pope's favour: he must await this; but in the mean time bear in mind that the victory of the Church is inevitable." The King of Bohemia, the Dukes of Austria, Brabant, and Saxony, the Margraves of Meissen and Brandenburg, repelled with the same contemptuous firmness the tempting offer of the Imperial crown. At last an Emperor was found in Henry Raspe, Landgrave of Thuringia. Henry of Thuringia was a man of courage and ability; but his earlier life did not designate him as the champion of Holy Church.^o He was the brother-in-law of the sainted Elizabeth of Hungary, now the object of the most passionate religious enthusiasm, sanc-

ⁿ "Quia si omne aurum haberetis, quod Rex Solomon habuit, ordinationi Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ et divinæ potentiæ non poteritis repugnare, quia necesse est ut in omni negotio semper Ecclesia Dei vincat."—p. 120. The marriage took place, Sept. 6, 1246. The rhetorical figures in this address of Albert of Beham, if it came not from the Pope himself, were sufficiently bold: "The Pope would not swerve from his purpose though the stars should fall from their spheres, and rivers be turned into blood. Angels

and archangels would in vain attempt to abrogate his determination." "Nec credo angelos aut archangelos sufficere illi articulo, ut eum possint ad vestrum bene placitum inclinare."

^o The electors to the Kingdom of Germany were almost all ecclesiastics. The Archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, Trèves, Bremen; the Bishops of Wurtzburg, Naumbourg, Ratisbon, Strassburg, Henry (Elect) of Spire; Dukes Henry of Brabant, Albert of Saxony with some Counts.—May 22.

tioned by the Pope himself. To her, in her desolate widowhood, Henry had shown little of the affection of a brother or the reverence of a worshipper; dark rumours charged him with having poisoned her son, his nephew, to obtain his inheritance. He had been at one time the Lieutenant of the Emperor in Germany. Even Henry at first declined the perilous honour. He yielded at length as to a sacrifice: "I obey, but I shall not live a year."

Innocent issued his mandate,^p his solemn adjuration to the prelates to elect, with one consent, Henry of Thuringia to the Imperial crown. He employed more powerful arguments: all the vast wealth which he still drew, more especially from England, was devoted to this great end. The sum is variously stated at 25,000 and 50,000 marks, which was spread through Germany by means of letters of exchange from Venice. The greater princes still stood aloof; the prelates espoused, from religious zeal, the Papal champion; among the lower princes and nobles the gold of England worked wonders. On Ascension Day the Archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, Trèves, and Bremen, the Bishops of Metz, Spire, and Strasburg, anointed Henry of Thuringia as King of Germany at Hochem, near Wurtzburg. His enemies called him in scorn the priest king.^q The sermons of the prelates and clergy, who preached the Crusade against the godless Frederick, and the money of the Pope, raised a powerful army. King Conrad was worsted in a great battle near Frankfort; two thousand of his own Swabian soldiers passed over to the enemy. But the

A.D. 1246.

August 5.

^p See the very curious letter in Höfler, p. 155, on the determination of the Pope.

^q Matt. Paris. Chronic. Erphurt. Ann. Argentin. apud Boehmer, Fontes.

cities, now rising to wealth and freedom, stood firm to Frederick: they defied, in some cases expelled, their bishops. Henry of Thuringia attempted to besiege first Reutlingen, then Ulm; was totally defeated Feb. 17, 1247. near that city, fled to his Castle of Wartburg, and died of grief and vexation working on a frame shattered by a fall from his horse.

Frederick was still in the ascendant, the cause of the Pope still without prevailing power. The indefatigable Innocent sought throughout Germany, throughout Europe: he even summoned from the remote and barbarous North Hakim King of Norway to assume the crown of Germany.* At last William of Holland, a Oct. 3, 1247. youth of twenty years of age, under happier auspices, listened to the tempting offers of the Pope; but even Aix-la-Chapelle refused, till after a siege of some length, to admit the Papal Emperor to receive the crown within her walls: he was crowned, however, by the Papal Legate, the Cardinal of St. Sabina.

From this time till Frederick lay dying, four years after, at Fiorentino, some dire fatality seemed to hang over the house of Hohenstaufen. Frederick had advanced to Turin; his design no one knew; all conjectured according to their wishes or their fears. It was rumoured in England that he was at the head of a powerful force, intending to dash down the Alps and seize the Pope at Lyons. The Papalists gave out that he had some dark designs, less violent but more treacherous, to circumvent the Pontiff. Innocent had demanded succour from Louis, who might, with his brothers and the nobles of France, no doubt have been moved by the personal danger of the Pope to take up

* Letter to William of Holland

arms in his cause.^s Frederick had succeeded, by the surrender of the strong castle of Rivoli to Thomas Duke of Savoy, in removing the obstructions raised by that prince to the passage of the Alps. The Duke of Savoy played a double game: he attacked the Cardinal Octavian, who was despatched by the Pope with a strong chosen body of troops and 15,000 marks to aid the Milanese. The Cardinal reached Lombardy with hardly a man; his whole treasure fell into the hands of the Duke of Savoy. Others declared that Frederick was weary of the war, and had determined on the humblest submission. He himself may have had no fixed and settled object. He declared that he had resolved to proceed to Lyons to bring his cause to issue in the face of the Pope, and before the eyes of all mankind.^t He was roused from his irresolution by the first of those disasters which went on darkening to his end.

June, 1247.

The Pope was not only Pope; he had powerful compatriots and kindred among the great Guelfic houses of Italy. This, not his spiritual powers alone, gave the first impulse to the downfall of Frederick. In Parma itself the Rossi, the Correggi, the Lupi, connected with the Genoese family of the Sinibaldi, maintained a secret correspondence with their party within the city. The exiles appeared before Parma with a strong force; the Imperialist Podestà, Henry Testa of Arezzo, sallied forth, was repulsed and slain; the Guelfs entered the city with the flying troops, became masters of the citadel: Gherardo Correggio was Lord of Parma.

^s Matt. Paris. In the letters to Louis and to his mother Blanche the Pope intimates that they were ready to march an army not only to defend him in Lyons, but to cross the Alps.

^t Nicolas de Curbio, in Vit. Innoc. IV. "Causæ nostræ justitiam præsentialiter et potenter in adversarii nostri facie, coram transalpinis gentibus posituri."—Petr. de Vin. ii. 49.

This was the turning point in the fortunes of Frederick ; and Frederick, by the horrible barbarity of his revenge against the revolted Parmesans, might seem smitten with a judicial blindness, and to have laboured to extinguish the generous sympathies of mankind in his favour. His wrath against the ungrateful city, which he had endowed with many privileges, knew no bounds. He had made about one thousand prisoners: on one day he executed four, on the next two, before the walls, and declared that such should be the spectacle offered to the rebels every day during the siege. He was with difficulty persuaded to desist from this inhuman warfare.

August 2. Parma became the centre of the war ; on its capture depended all the terrors of the Imperial arms, on its relief the cause of the Guelfs. Around Frederick assembled King Enzo, Eccelin da Romano, Frederick of Antioch, Count Lancia, the Marquis Pallavicini, Thaddeus of Suessa, and Peter de Vineâ. On the other hand, the Marquis Boniface threw himself with a squadron of knights into the city. The troops of Mantua, the Marquis of Este, Alberic da Romano, the martial Cardinal Gregory of Monte Longo at the head of the Milanese ; the Count of Lavagna, the Pope's nephew, at the head of four hundred and thirty cross-bow men of Genoa and three hundred of his own, hovered on all sides to aid the beleaguered city. Parma endured the storm, the famine. Frederick had almost encircled Parma by his works, and called the strong point of his fortifications by the haughty but ill-omened name of Vittoria. After many months' siege, one fatal night the troops of Parma issued from the city, and surprised the strong line of forts, the Vittoria, which contained all the battering engines,

Turning
point in
Frederick's
fortunes.

Feb. 18, 1248.

stores, provisions, arms, tents, treasures, of the Imperial forces. So little alarm was at first caused, that Thaddeus of Suessa, who commanded in Vittoria, exclaimed, "What! have the mice left their holes?" In a few moments the whole fortress was in flames, it was a heap of ashes, the Imperial garrison slain or prisoners; two thousand were reckoned as killed, including the Marquis Lancia; three thousand prisoners." Among the inestimable booty in money, jewels, vessels of gold and silver, were the carroccio of Cremona, the Imperial fillet, the great seal, the sceptre and the crown. The crown of gold and jewels was found by a mean man, called in derision "Short-legs." He put the crown on his head, was raised on the shoulders of his comrades, and entered Parma, in mockery of the Emperor. Among the prisoners was the faithful and eloquent Thaddeus of Suessa. The hatred of his master's enemies was in proportion to his value to his master. Already both his hands were struck off; and in this state, faint with loss of blood, he was hewn in pieces.* And yet could Frederick hardly complain of the cruelty of his foes—cruelties shown when the blood was still hot from battle. Only three days before the loss of the Vittoria, Marcellino, Bishop of Arezzo, a dangerous and active partisan of the Pope, who had been taken prisoner, and confined for months in a dungeon, was brought forth to be hanged. His death was a strange wild confusion of the pious prelate and the intrepid Gueff. He was commanded to anathematise the Pope,

* Muratori, Annal. sub ann.

* Compare in Höfler's "Albert von Beham" the curious Latin songs on the defeat of Frederick before Parma. All the monkish bards broke out in

gratulant hymns.

"Amisit astrologos et magos et vates,
Beelzebub et Astaroth proprios Penates,
Tenebrarum consulens per quos potestate
Spreverat ecclesiam, et mundi magnates."

he broke out into an anathema against the Emperor. He then began to chant the *Te Deum*, while the furious Saracen soldiers tied him to the tail of a horse, bound his hands, blindfolded his eyes, dragged him to the gibbet, where he hung an awful example to the rebels of Parma. He was hanged, says the indignant Legate of the Pope, "like a villain, a plebeian, a nightman, a parricide, a murderer, a slave-dealer, a midnight robber."[†]

This was but the first of those reverses, which not only obscured the fame, but wrung with bitterest anguish the heart of Frederick. Still his gallant son Enzo made head against all his father's foes: in a skirmish before Bologna Enzo was wounded and taken prisoner. Implacable Bologna condemned him to perpetual imprisonment. All the entreaties to which his father humbled himself; all his own splendid promises that for his ransom he would gird the city with a ring of gold, neither melted nor dazzled the stubborn animosity of the Guelfs. A captive at the age of twenty-four, this youth, of beauty equal to his bravery—the poet, the musician, as well as the most valiant soldier and consummate captain—pined out twenty-three years of life, if not in a squalid dungeon, in miserable inactivity. Romance, by no means improbable, has darkened his fate. The passion of Lucia Biadagioli, the most beautiful and high-born maiden of Bologna, for the captive, her attempts to release him, were equally vain: once he had almost escaped, concealed in a cask; a lock of his bright hair

May 26,
1249.

Imprison-
ment of
Enzo.

[†] Matt. Paris, sub ann. 1249. | the sermon of the Archbishop of
Letter of Cardinal Rainier. However | Mentz at Wurtzburg. Ann. Erphurd.
extravagant this letter, the fact can | Pertz, xvi. 36.
hardly have been invention. Compare

betrayed the secret.² Nor had Frederick yet exhausted the cup of affliction; the worst was to come: suspected, at least, if unproved treachery in another of his most tried and faithful servants. Thaddeus of Suessa had been severed from him by death, his son by imprisonment, Peter de Vineâ was to be so, by the most galling stroke of all, either foul treason in De Vineâ, or in himself blind, ungrateful injustice. Peter de Vineâ had been raised by the wise choice of Frederick to the highest rank and influence. All the acts of Frederick were attributed to his chancellor.^a De Vineâ, like his master, was a poet: he was one of the counsellors in his great scheme of legislation. Some rumours spread abroad that at the Council of Lyons, though Frederick had forbidden all his representatives from holding private intercourse with the Pope, De Vineâ had many secret conferences with Innocent, and was accused of betraying his master's interests. Yet there was no seeming diminution in the trust placed in De Vineâ. Still to the end the Emperor's letters concerning the disaster at Parma are by the same hand. Over the cause of his disgrace and death, even in his own day, there was deep doubt and obscurity. The popular rumour ran that Frederick was ill; the physician of De Vineâ prescribed for him; the Emperor, having received some warning, addressed De Vineâ: "My friend, in thee I have full trust; art thou sure that this is medicine, not poison?" De Vineâ replied: "How often has my physician ministered healthful medicines!—why are you now afraid?" Frederick took the cup, sternly commanded the phy-

Peter de
Vineâ.

² Bologna gave him the mockery of a splendid funeral. "Sepultus est maximo cum honore."—B. Museum

Chronicon, p. 340.

^a There is some doubt whether he was actually chancellor.

sician to drink half of it. The physician threw himself at the King's feet, and as he fell overthrew the liquor. But what was left was administered to some criminals, who died in agony. The Emperor wrung his hands and wept bitterly: "Whom can I now trust, betrayed by my own familiar friend? Never can I know security, never can I know joy more." By one account Peter de Vineâ was led ignominiously on an ass through Pisa, and thrown into prison, where he dashed his brains out against the wall. Dante's immortal verse has saved the fame of De Vineâ: according to the poet, he was the victim of wicked and calumnious jealousy.^b

The next year Frederick himself lay dying at Fioren-
 June, 1250. rentino. His spirit was broken by the defeat
 Death of of Parma; a strange wayward irresolution
 Frederick II. came over him: now he would march fiercely to Lyons
 and dethrone the Pope; now he was ready to make the
 humblest submission; now he seemed to break out into
 paroxysms of cruelty—prisoners were put to the tor-
 ture, hung. Frederick, if at times rebellious against
 the religion, was not above the superstition of his times.
 He had faith in astrology: it had also been foretold
 that he should die in Firenze (Florence). In Fioren-
 Dec. 13, 1250. tino, a town not far from Lucera, he was seized
 with a mortal sickness. The hatred which
 pursued him to the grave, and far beyond the grave,
 described him as dying unreconciled to the Church,
 miserable, deserted, conscious of the desertion of all.
 The inexorable hatred pursued his family, and charged

^b "I son colui, che tenne ambo le chiavi
 Del cuor di Federigo, e che le volsi
 Serrando e disserando, si soavi * *

* * * * *
 La meretrice, che mal dal ospizio
 Di Cesare non torse gli occhi putti,

Morte commune, e delle corti vizio
 Infiammò contra me l' animi tutti.

E gl' infiammati infiammar si Au-
 gusto,
 Che i lieti onor tornarò in tristi lutti,"
et seqq.—*Inferno*, xlii. 58.

his son Manfred with hastening his death by smothering him with a pillow. By more credible accounts he died in Manfred's arms, having confessed and received absolution from the faithful Archbishop of Palermo. His body was carried to Palermo in great state, a magnificent tomb raised over his remains, an epitaph proclaiming his glory and his virtues was inscribed by his son Manfred.^c In his last will he directed that all her rights and honours should be restored to the Holy Church of Rome, his mother; under the condition that the Church should restore all the rights and honours of the Empire. In this provision the Church refused to see any concession, it was the still stubborn and perfidious act of a rebel. All his other pious legacies for the rebuilding and endowment of churches passed for nothing.

The world might suppose that with the death of Frederick the great cause of hostility had been removed; but he left to his whole race the inheritance of the implacable hatred of the Papal See; it was extinguished only in the blood of the last of the house of Hohenstaufen on the scaffold at Naples.

It might indeed seem as if, in this great conflict, each had done all in his power to justify the extreme suspicion, the immitigable aversion, of his adversary; to stir up the elements of strife, so that the whole world was arrayed, one half against the other, in defence of vital and absorbing principles of action. It was a war of ideas, as well as of men; and those ideas, on each side, maintained to the utmost imaginable height. That the justice of Frederick was a stern absolutism

^c "Si probitas, sensus, virtutum gratia, census,
Nobilitas orti possent obsistere morti
Non foret extinctus Fredericus qui jacet intus."

cannot be denied; that his notion of the Imperial power was not merely irreconcilable with the fierce and partisan liberties of the Italian republics, but with all true freedom; that he aspired to crush mankind into order and happiness with the iron hand of autocracy. Still no less than autocracy in those times could coerce the countless religious and temporal feudal tyrannies which oppressed and retarded civilisation. The Sicilian legislation of Frederick shows that order and happiness were the ultimate aim of his rule: the assertion of the absolute supremacy of law; premature advance towards representative government; the regard to the welfare of all classes; the wise commercial regulations; the cultivation of letters, arts, natural philosophy, science; all these if despotically enforced, were enforced by a wise and beneficent despotism. That Frederick was honoured, admired, loved by a great part of his subjects; that if by one party he was looked on with the bitterest abhorrence, to others he was no less the object of wonder and of profound attachment, appears from his whole history. In Sicily and Naples, though the nobles had been held down with an inflexible hand, though he was compelled to impose still heavier taxation, though his German house had contracted a large debt of unpopularity, though there might be more than one conspiracy instantly and sternly suppressed, yet there was in both countries a fond, almost romantic attachment, to his name and that of his descendants. The crown of Germany, which he won by his gallant enterprise, he secured by his affability, courtesy, chivalrous nobleness of character. In Germany, not all the influence of the Pope could for a long time raise up a formidable opposition; the feeble rebellion of his son, unlike most parricidal rebellions of

old, was crushed on his appearance. For a long time many of the highest churchmen were on his side : and when all the churchmen arrayed themselves against him, all, even his most dangerous enemies among the temporal princes, rallied round his banner ; the Empire was one ; it was difficult to find an obscure insignificant prince, with all the hierarchy on his side, to hazard the assumption of the Imperial crown.

The religion of Frederick is a more curious problem. If it exercised no rigorous control over his Religion of Frederick. luxurious life, there was in his day no indissoluble alliance between Christian morals and Christian religion. This holy influence was no less wanting to the religion of many other kings, who lived and died in the arms of the Church. Frederick, if he had not been Emperor and King of Sicily, and so formidable to the Papal power, might have dallied away his life in unrebuked voluptuousness. If he had not threatened the patrimony of St. Peter, he might have infringed on the pure precepts of St. Peter. Frederick was a persecutor of the worst kind—a persecutor without bigotry : but the heretics were not only misbelievers, they were Lombard rebels. How far he may have been goaded into general scepticism by the doubts forced upon him by the unchristian conduct of the great churchmen : how far, in his heart, he had sunk to the miserable mocking indifference betrayed by some of the sarcasms, current, as from his lips, and which, even if merely gay and careless words, jarred so harshly on the sensitive religion of his age, cannot be known. Frederick certainly made no open profession of unbelief ; he repeatedly offered to assert and vindicate the orthodoxy of his creed before the Pope himself. He was not superior, it is manifest, to some of the superstitions of

his time ; he is accused of studying the influence of the stars, but it may have been astrology aspiring (under Arabic teaching) to astronomy, rather than astronomy grovelling down to astrology.^d That which most revolted his own age, his liberality towards the Moham-medans, his intercourse by negotiation, and in the Holy Land, with the Sultan and his viziers, and with his own enlightened Saracen subjects, as well as his terrible body-guard at Nocera, will find a fairer construction in modern times. How much Europe had then to learn from Arabian letters, arts and sciences ; how much of her own wisdom to receive back through those channels, appeared during the present and the succeeding centuries. Frederick's, in my judgement, was neither scornful and godless infidelity, nor certainly a more advanced and enlightened Christianity, yearning after holiness and purity not then attainable. It was the shattered, dubious, at times trembling faith, at times desperately reckless incredulity, of a man for ever under the burthen of an undeserved excommunication, of which he could not but discern the injustice, but could not quite shake off the terrors : of a man, whom a better age of Christianity might not have made religious ; whom his own made irreligious. Perhaps the strongest argument in favour of Frederick, is the generous love which he inspired to many of the noblest minds of his time ; not merely such bold and eloquent legists as Thaddeus of Suessa, whose pride and conscious power might conspire with his zeal for the Imperial cause, to make him confront so intrepidly, so eloquently, the Council at Lyons ; it was the first bold encounter of the Roman lawyer

^d Read on the religion of Frederick the passage in Ernest Renan's *Averroes*, p. 286, *et seqq.*

with the host of Canon lawyers. Nor was it merely Peter de Vineâ, whose melancholy fate revenged itself for its injustice, if he ever discovered its injustice, on the stricken and desolate heart of the King: but of men, like Herman of Salza, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order. Herman was, by all accounts, one of the most blameless, the noblest, the most experienced, most religious of men. If his Teutonic Order owed the foundation of its greatness, with lavish grants and immunities, to Frederick, it owed its no less valuable religious existence, its privileges, its support against the hostile clergy, to the Popes. Honorius and Gregory vied with the Emperor in heaping honours on De Salza and his Order. Yet throughout his first conflict, De Salza is the firm, unswerving friend of Frederick. He follows his excommunicated master to the Holy Land, adheres to his person in good report and evil report; death alone separates the friends.* The Archbishop of Palermo (against whom is no breath of calumny) is no less, to the close of Frederick's life, his tried and inseparable friend; he never seems to have denied him, though excommunicate, the offices of religion; buried him, though yet unabsolved, in his cathedral; inscribed on his tomb an epitaph, which, if no favourable proof of the Archbishop's poetic powers, is the lasting tribute of his fervent, faithful admiration.

On the other hand, Innocent IV. not only carried the Papal claims to the utmost, and asserted them with a kind of ostentatious intrepidity: "We ^{Pope Innocent IV.} are no mere man, we have the place of God upon earth!" but there was a personal arrogance in his

* In Voigt, *Geschichte Preussens*, is a very elaborate and interesting account of Herman of Salza, and the rise of the Teutonic Order.

demeanour, and an implacability which revolted even the most awe-struck worshippers of the Papal power. Towards Frederick he showed, blended with the haughtiness of the Pope, the fierceness of a Guelfic partisan; he hated him with something of the personal hatred of a chief of the opposite faction in one of the Italian republics. Never was the rapacity of the Roman See so insatiate as under Innocent IV.; the taxes levied in England alone, her most profitable spiritual estate, amounted to incredible sums. Never was aggression so open or so daring on the rights and exemptions of the clergy (during the greater part of the strife the support of the two new Orders enabled the Pope to trample on the clergy, and to compel them to submit to extortionate contributions towards his wars): never was the spiritual character so entirely merged in the temporal as among his Legates. They were no longer the austere and pious, if haughty churchmen. Cardinal Rainier commanded the Papal forces in the state of St. Peter with something of the ability and all the ferocity and mercilessness of a later Captain of Condottieri. Albert von Beham, the Archdeacon of Passau, had not merely been detected, as we have seen, in fraudulent malversation and shamefully expelled from Bavaria, but when he appeared again as Dean of Passau, his own despatches, which describe his negotiations with the Duke of Bavaria, show a repulsive depth of arrogant iniquity. The incitement of Conrad to rebellion against his father seems to him but an ordinary proceeding. The Bishop of Ferrara, the Legate in Germany, was a drunkard, if not worse. Gregory of Monte Longo, during the whole period Papal representative in Lombardy, the conductor of all the negotiations with the republics, the republics which swarmed with heretics, was a man of notorious

incontinence; Frederick himself had hardly more concubines than the Cardinal Legate.

Immediately on the death of Frederick, the Pope began to announce his intention of returning ^{The Pope} to Italy. Peter Capoccio was ordered to ascer- ^{after the death} ^{of Frederick.} tain the state of feeling in the kingdom of Sicily. The Pope himself raised a song of triumph, addressed to all the prelates and all the nobles of the realm: "Earth and heaven were to break out into joy at this great deliverance."^f But the greater number of both orders seem to have been insensible to the blessing; they were mourning over the grave of him whom the Pope described as the hammer of persecution. The aged Archbishop of Palermo and the Archbishop of Salerno openly espoused the cause of Conrad; the Archbishop of Bari, Frederick's deadly enemy, seemed to stand alone in the Papal interest. Strangers, the Subdeacon Matthew, and a Dominican friar, were sent into Calabria and Sicily to stir up the clergy to a sense of their wrongs. In Germany Conrad was arraigned as a rebellious usurper for presuming to offer resistance to William of Holland. He was again solemnly excommunicated; a crusade was preached against him. The Pope even endeavoured to estrange the Swabians from their liege lord: "Herod is dead; Archelaus aspires to reign in his stead." In an attempt to murder Conrad at Ratisbon, the Abbot Ulric is sup- ^{Dec. 25, 1253.} posed to have been the chief actor; the Bishop of Ratisbon was awaiting without the walls the glad tidings of the accomplishment of the assassination.^g The Archbishop of Mentz, Christian, a prelate of great piety,

Raynald, sub ann. 1251.

^f "Qui episcopus foras muros civi- | sollicitus expectabat." — Herm. Alt.
tatis cum multis armatis eventum rei | apud Boehmer, ii. 507. See Chron.
Salis. Pez. i. 362.

broaches the unpalatable doctrine that, as far as spiritual enemies, the word of God is the only lawful sword, but as for drawing the sword of steel, he held it unbefitting his priestly character. He is deposed for these strange opinions.^h A youth, the Subdeacon Gerard, is placed on the Primate's throne of Germany.

Monarchs, however, seemed to vie in giving honour to the triumphant Pontiff on his proposed return to Rome. The Queen-mother Blanche of France (Louis IX., her son, was now prisoner in the East) offered to accompany him with a strong body of French troops. Henry of England expressed his earnest desire to prostrate himself at the feet of the Holy Father before he departed for the south. Alphonso of Castile entreated him to trust to the arms, fleets, and protection of Spain rather than of France. Before he bade farewell to the city of Lyons, whose pious hospitality he rewarded with high praise and some valuable privileges,ⁱ he had an interview within the city with his own Emperor William of Holland. After that he descended the Rhone to Vienne, to Orange, and then proceeded to Marseilles. He arrived at Genoa; the city hailed her holy son with the utmost honours. The knights and nobles of the territory supported a silken canopy over his head to

The kings do
honour to
Innocent IV.

April 19.

^h "At jure episcopatu dejectum ob principatum conjunctum exploratum est; cum non modo præsulem sed etiam principem agere, ac vim insultantum ecclesiæ vi repellere oporteret." Such is the comment of the ecclesiastical annalist Raynaldus, sub ann.

ⁱ The morals of Lyons were not improved by the residence of the Papal court. It was openly declared

by Cardinal Hugo, "Magnam fecimus, postquam in hanc urbem venimus, utilitatem et eleemosynam: quando enim primo huc venimus, tria vel quatuor prostibula invenimus; sed nunc recedentes unum solum relinquimus; verum ipsum durat continuatum ab orientali parte civitatis usque ad occidentalem."—Matt. Paris, p. 819.

protect him from the sun. On Ascension Day he received the delegates from the cities of Lombardy. Ghibellinism held down its awe-struck and discomfited head. Rome alone was not as yet thought worthy, or sought not to be admitted to the favour of his presence, or he dared not trust,^k notwithstanding his close alliance with the Frangipani (whom he had bought), that unruly city. He visited Milan, Brescia, Mantua, Ferrara, Modena, everywhere there was tumultuous joy among the Guelfs. While he was at Milan Lodi made her submission: the Count of Savoy abandoned the party of the Hohenstaufen. On All-Saints'-Day he was at Faenza; on the 5th of November he stayed his steps, and fixed his court at Perugia. For a year and a half he remained in that city; Rome was not honoured with the presence of her Pontiff till Rome compelled that presence.

May 17.

His return
to Italy.
July 24.

Among the first resolutions of Innocent was the suppression of heresy, more especially in the Ghibelline cities, such as Cremona. A holocaust of these outcasts would be a fit offering of gratitude to heaven for the removal of the perfidious Frederick. It was his design to strike in this manner at the head of the Ghibelline interests in Lombardy. The sum of Eccelin da Romano's atrocities, atrocities which, even if blackened by Guelfic hatred, are the most frightful in these frightful times, must be still aggravated by the charge of hereditary heresy. It may well be doubted if such a monster could have religion enough to be a heretic; but Eccelin was dead to spiritual censures as to the reproaches of his own conscience.

But the affairs of the kingdom of Naples occupied the

* Nic. de Curbio, c. 30.

thoughts of Innocent. Though the firm hand of Manfred had maintained almost the whole realm in allegiance, the nominal rule was intrusted by King Conrad to his younger brother Henry. The denunciations, intrigues, and censures of the Pope had wrought on certain nobles and cities. A conspiracy broke out simultaneously in many places, at the head of which was the Count of Aquino; in Apulia the cities of Foggia, Andrea, and Barletta; in the Terra di Lavoro Capua and Naples were in open rebellion. Capua and Naples defied all the forces of Manfred. The Pope had already assumed a sovereign power, as if the forfeited realm had reverted to the Holy See. He had revoked all Frederick's decrees which were hostile to the Church: he had invested Henry Frangipani with Manfred's principality of Tarentum and the land of Otranto; he had bestowed on the Venetian Marco Ziani, the kinsman of the captain executed by Frederick, the principality of Lecce.

Conrad had already with some forces crossed the Alps; he had been received by the few faithful Ghibelline cities in Lombardy, Verona, Padua, Conrad in Italy. Oct. 1251. Vicenza. But throughout Central Italy the Guelfic faction prevailed; the Papal forces were strong. He demanded of the Venetians, and as they were glad to get rid of Conrad from the north of Italy, he obtained ships to convey him to the south; he landed at Siponto, near Manfredonia. He was received by Manfred and Jan. 8, 1252. March, August, Oct. 1253. by the principal nobility as their deliverer. Aquino, Suessa, San Germano fell before him, and Capua opened her gates; Naples was stormed, sacked, and treated with the utmost cruelty. Innocent beheld the son of Frederick, though under excommunication, in full and undisturbed possession of his hereditary kingdom. Innocent looked in vain for

aid in Italy; his own forces, those of the Guelfs, had not obeyed the summons to relieve Naples. Eccelin da Romano and the Ghibellines occupied those of Lombardy; the Guelfs of Tuscany and Romagna, now superior to the Ghibellines, had broken out into factions among themselves; the fleets of Genoa were engaged against the infidels. Innocent looked abroad; the wealth of England had been his stay in former adversities. He had already sent an offer of the kingdom of Naples to the brother of King Henry, Richard of Cornwall; but Richard, from timidity or prudence, shrunk from this remote enterprise. He alleged the power of Conrad; his own relationship with the house of Swabia: in his mistrust he went so far as to demand guarantees and hostages for the fulfilment of his contract on the part of the Pope. But his feeble brother, Henry of England, was not embarrassed by this prudence. He accepted the offer of the investiture for his second son Edmund; in his weak vanity he addressed Edmund in his court, and treated him as already the King of Sicily. The more prudent Nuncio of the Pope enjoined greater caution; but all that the King could abstract from his own exchequer, borrow of his brother Richard, extort from the Jews, exact by his justices on their circuit, was faithfully transmitted to Rome, and defrayed the cost of the Papal armament against Conrad. For this vain title, which the Pope resumed at his earliest convenience, Henry III. endangered his own throne: these exactions precipitated the revolt of his Barons, which ended in the battle of Lewes.

Papal decree,
May 14, 1254.
Henry III.
accepts the
crown of
Apulia for
his son.
Aug. 1252.

But while Innocent IV. was thus triumphing over the fall of his great enemy; while he was levying taxes on the tributary world; while he was bestowing the empire

of Germany on William of Holland, assuming the kingdom of Naples as an appanage escheated to the See of Rome, and selling it to one foreign prince after another, he was himself submitting to the stern dictation of the people and the Senator of Rome. The Frangipanis could no longer repay with their vigorous support the honours bestowed upon their family by the grant of the principality of Tarentum. The popular party was in the ascendant. The Senator
Brancaleone. Brancaleone, a Bolognese of great fame as a lawyer, was summoned to assume the dignity of Senator of Rome. He refused for a time to place himself at the head of the unruly people; he consented only on the prudent condition that thirty hostages of the noblest families in Rome should be sent to Bologna. Nor would he condescend to accept the office but for the period of three years. He exacted a solemn oath of obedience from every citizen. At first the nobles as well as the people appear to have acquiesced in the stern, just rule of the Senator. No rank, no power could protect the high born; no obscurity, nor the favour of the populace, the meaner criminal. His first act was to hang from the windows of their castles some citizens notorious and convicted as homicides; other rebels he suspended on gibbets.^m Among his first acts was to summon the Bishop of Rome to take up his residence in his diocese; it was not becoming that the Queen of cities should sit as a widow without her Pontiff. Innocent hesitated; a more imperious message summoned him to instant obedience; at the same time the Perugians received a significant menace; that if they persisted in entertaining the Pope, the Romans would treat them as they had

^m Raynald. sub ann. 1254.

already treated other cities in the neighbourhood, whom they had subdued by force of arms. Innocent trembled and complied; he entered Rome May 25, 1253. with a serene countenance but heavy heart. He was received with triumph by the Senator and the whole people. In the spring Innocent again withdrew from Rome to Assisi; the pretext was the consecration of the magnificent church of St. Francis.^a But the impatient people murmured at his delay; the Senator Brancaleone again sent messengers to expostulate in haughty humility with the Pope; "it became not the pastor to abandon his flock: he was the Bishop not of Lyons, of Perugia, of Anagni, but of Rome." The people of Assisi, like those of Perugia, were warned by the fate of Ostia, Porto, Tusculum, Albano, Sabina, and of Tivoli, against which last the Romans were in arms. Innocent was compelled to return; he passed by Narni, and again he was received with outward demonstrations of joy; but now secret murmurs and even violent reclamations were heard that the Pope owed the people of Rome great sums for the losses sustained by his long absence. Pilgrims and suitors had been few; they had let no lodgings; their shops had been without customers; their provisions unsold; their old usurious profits of lending money had failed. The Pope could only take refuge in the rigid justice of the Senator; Brancaleone allayed or awed the tumult to peace.

Yet at the same time Innocent was pursuing his schemes upon the kingdom of Naples without Early in 1254. Conrad in Naples. fear or scruple. Conrad at first had made overtures of submission.^o He was strong enough to

^a Matt. Paris, sub ann. 1252. Curbio, Vit. Innocent. IV. Compare Gibbon, xii. 278, ch. xix.

^o To the Pope's first envoy, according to Spinelli, Conrad haughtily replied, "Chè farei meglio ad impacarsi con la chierica rasa."—*Diario*, apud Muratori.

indulge the hereditary cruelty which he unhappily displayed in a far higher degree than the ability and splendour of his forefathers,^p and to foster ignoble jealousy against his bastard brother, Manfred, to whom he owed the preservation of his realm, but whose fame, extraordinary powers of body and mind, influence, popularity overshadowed the authority of the King. He gradually withdrew his confidence from Manfred, and despoiled him of his power and honours.^q With admirable prudence Manfred quietly let fall title after title, post after post, possession after possession; nothing remained to him but the principality of Tarentum, and that burthened with a heavy tax raised for the royal treasury. The King dismissed, under various pretexts, the kindred of Manfred, Galvaneo and Frederico Lancia, Bonifacio di Argoino, his maternal uncle. The noble exiles found refuge with the Empress Constantia, Manfred's sister, at Constantinople: Conrad, by his ambassadors, insisted on their expulsion from that court.

But the Pope, in his despair at this unexpected strength displayed by the House of Swabia, had recourse to new measures of hostility. Conrad, like his ally Eccelin, was attainted of heresy; both were summoned to appear before the presence of the Pope to answer these charges; and to surrender themselves unarmed, unprotected into the hands of their enemy. Conrad, whose policy it was rather to conciliate than irreconcilably to break with the Pope, condescended to make his appearance by his proctor in the Papal Court.

But death was on the house of Hohenstaufen. Henry,

^p "Vi fece gran giustizia, e grande uccisione."—M. Spinelli, Diario, apud Muratori, R. I. S. xii. Bartholomeo

di Neocastro, c. iii. Murat., R. I. S. xiii.

^q Giannone, p. 485.

the younger son of Frederick, a youth of twelve years old, came from Sicily to visit his brother Conrad; he sickened and died.^r No death could take place in this doomed family, the object of such inex-tinguishable hate, without being darkened from a calamity into a crime. Conrad was accused of poisoning his brother, and by the Pope himself. Even the melancholy of Conrad at the loss of his brother, perhaps a presentiment of his own approaching end, was attributed to remorse. He hardly raised his head again; he wrote letters to the court of England, full of the most passionate grief. In another year Conrad himself was in his grave: he was seized with a violent fever, and died in a few days. Of his death the guilt, for guilt the Guelfs were determined to see, was laid on Manfred.^s Conradin, almost an infant, not three years old, was the one legitimate heir of Barbarossa and of Frederick II. The consummate sagacity of Manfred led him to declare that he would not accept the Regency of the realm which Conrad (perhaps in some late remorse, or in the desperate conviction enforced on his death-bed, that Manfred alone could protect his son) had thought of bequeathing to him. Manfred awaited his time: he left to Berthold, Marquis of Homburg, the commander of the German auxiliaries of Conrad, the perilous post, knowing perhaps at once the incapacity of Berthold, and the odiousness of the Germans to the subjects of Sicily. Berthold, according to the will of Conrad,

Death of
Prince Henry.
Dec. 1253.

Of Conrad,
May 21, 1254.

Conradin.

^r Matt. Paris, sub ann. Nic. de Jamsilla. The Pope is said to have proposed to marry his niece to Henry (Paris, p. 832). A treaty was begun. Conrad during the negotiations was poisoned, but recovered. He accused the Pope of this poisoning (ibid. 852). The Pope himself accused Conrad of poisoning Henry.
Jamsilla, Malespina.

assumed the Regency, took possession of the royal treasures, and, in obedience to the dying instructions of Conrad, sent a humble message entreating peace and the parental protection of the Pope for the fatherless orphan. Innocent was said to have broken out into a paroxysm of joy on hearing the death of Conrad. But he assumed a lofty tone of compassion; enlarged upon

June 19.

his own merciful disposition; granted to Conradin the barren title of King of Jerusalem, and acknowledged his right to the Dukedom of Swabia. But the absolute dominion of the kingdom of Naples had devolved to the Roman See: when Conradin should be of age, the See of Rome might then, if he should appear not undeserving, condescend to take his claims into her gracious consideration.

Innocent had again, perhaps on account of the summer heats, escaped from Rome, and was holding his court at Anagni. He spared no measures to become master of the kingdom of Naples. He issued extraordinary powers to William, Cardinal of St. Eustachio, to raise money and troops for this enterprise. The Cardinal was authorised to empawn as security to the Roman merchants, the Church of Rome, all the castles and possessions of the separate churches of the city, of the Campagna and the Maritima, and of the kingdom of Sicily. He was to seize and appropriate to the use of the war the possessions and revenues of all the vacant Bishoprics; and of all the Bishoprics, though not vacant, whose prelates did not espouse the Papal cause. He had power to levy taxes, and even money throughout the realm; to confiscate all the estates of the adherents of Frederick and of his son, who should not, after due admonition, return to their allegiance to the Pope. He might annul all grants, seize all fiefs,

and regrant them to the partisans of Rome. By these exertions, a great army was gathered on the frontier. From Anagni the Pope issued his bull of excommunication against Manfred, the Marquis of Homburg, and all the partisans of the house of Conrad.^t The Regent, the Marquis of Homburg, found that many of the nobles were in secret treaty with the Pope; he let the sceptre of Regency fall from his feeble hands; and amidst the general contempt abdicated his trust.

All eyes were turned on Manfred; all who were attached to the house of Swabia, all who abhorred or despised the Papal government, all who desired the independence of the realm, counts, barons, many of the higher clergy, at least in secret, implored Manfred to assume the Regency. Manfred, ^{Manfred} ^{Regent.} consummate in the art of self-command, could only be forced in these calamitous times to imperil his honour by taking up this dangerous post. Rumours indeed were abroad of the death of Conradin; and Manfred was the next successor, according to the will of his father Frederick.^u He assumed the Regency; threw a strong force of Germans into San Germano; fortified Capua and the adjacent towns to check the progress of the Papal arms. But everywhere ^{Date doubtful, 1254.} was rebellion, defection, treachery. The Papal agents had persuaded or bribed Pietro Ruffo, the Regent, under Berthold of Homburg, of Calabria and Sicily, and raised the Papal standard. Berthold's own conduct

^t Apud Raynald. 1254, Sept. 2.

^u Nic. Jamsilla makes Manfred legitimate; his mother, Bianca Lancia, was the *fifth* wife of Frederick. But Manfred does not seem to have asserted his own legitimacy. Malespina (though Papalist) writes, "Tanquam ex dam-

nato coitu derivatus, defectum natalium patitur, nobilis tamen naturæ decus utriusque parentis, qua ortus ejus esse meruerat generosus, maculam fere defectûs hujus expiabat." — Apud Muratori, viii. 787.

indicated treachery; he sent no troops to the aid of Manfred, but roved about with his Germans, committing acts of plunder, and so estranging the people from the Swabian rule. He retained possession of the royal treasures. Richard of Monte Negro had already, in hatred of Berthold, made his peace with the Pope; other nobles were secretly dealing for the renewal of their fiefs, or for the grant of escheated fiefs, with the Pope, who claimed the right of universal sovereign. Even in Capua a conspiracy was discovered against the power and against the life of Manfred.

Manfred was as great a master in the arts of dissimulation as the Pope himself. He found it Conduct of Manfred. necessary at least to appear to yield. Already the Papal agents had sounded his fidelity; he now openly appealed to the magnanimity of the Pope as the protector of the orphan; he expressed his willingness to admit the Pope into the realm, reserving his own rights and those of his royal ward. Innocent was in a transport of joy. In his most luxuriant language he dwelt on the moderation, the delight in mercy, the parental tenderness of the Roman See: he received Manfred into his highest favour. Not regarding his grant to the Frangipani, he invested Manfred (Galvaneo Fiamma, his uncle, receiving in his name the ring of investiture) with the Principality of Tarentum, with the County of Gravino, Tricarico, and the Honour of Monte St. Angelo: he added the Countship of Andrea, which he had obtained in exchange for other territories from the Marquis of Homburg: with this he invested Frederick Lancia, Manfred's other uncle. Manfred met all these advances with his consummate self-command. He received the Pope on his entrance into his kingdom at Ceperano, prostrated himself at his feet, led his horse,

as he passed the bridge over the Garigliano.* The pride of Innocent was at its height in seeing Naples in his power, the son of Frederick at his feet. He lavished honours on Manfred; proclaimed him Vicar of the realm as far as the Faro. Manfred persuaded the Pope to scatter his forces all through the provinces, and by their means controlled the Germans, whom he could not trust, and who began quietly to withdraw to their own country.† The people hailed Manfred as Vicar of the Pope. They enjoyed again, and under a Swabian Prince not environed by German soldiery, their full religious ceremonies.

The Pope entered the kingdom as though to take possession of the realm; after a short delay at Teano from indisposition, he entered Capua The Pope in Naples. Oct. 27, 1254. in state; he entered Naples in still greater pomp. His nephew, William Fiesco, Cardinal of St. Eustachio, his Legate, received the homage of the prelates and the nobles, with no reservation of the rights of the King or of the Prince, but absolutely in the name of the Pope, to whom had devolved the full sovereignty. Manfred himself was summoned to take the oath of allegiance. In his deep dissimulation he might have eluded this trial; he was perhaps awaiting the death of the Pope, now old and in bad health, but an accidental circumstance compelled him prematurely to throw off the mask. Borello d' Anglone, as the reward of his revolt to the Pope, had received the grant of the county of Lesina, an under-fief of Manfred's principality. Manfred summoned him to do homage; Anglone, confident in the Pope's favour, returned a haughty denial. Manfred

* On this homage, says Spinelli, "et onneuno se ne meravigliaio assai."—
Apud Muratori.

† Giannone, *in loc.*

appealed to the Pope. The oracle spoke with his usual cautious ambiguity, he had granted to Borello none of the rights of Manfred. Berthold of Homburg was on his way to do homage to the Pope; Manfred withdrew, lest he should encounter him in Capua; his guards fell in with those of Borello; strife arose, Borello, unknown

Death of
Borello
d'Anglone.
Flight of
Manfred.

to Manfred, was slain. Manfred sent his messengers, declaring himself ready to prove himself before the Pope guiltless of the death of Borello. He was summoned to answer in person. He received secret intelligence from his uncle Galvaneo Lancia, that the treacherous Berthold of Homburg, instead of espousing his cause, had secretly betrayed it; that his liberty at least was threatened, if not his life. He mounted his horse, with few followers; after many wild adventures, he reached the city of Lucera, occupied chiefly by the Saracenic allies of his father. In despite of the German knights who commanded in the city in the name of Berthold of Homburg, he was received with the loudest acclamations. He was proclaimed Prince and Sovereign. Before the people he swore to maintain and defend the rights and title of the King his nephew, and his own, the liberty and the good estate of the realm, and of the city.

In a short time he was master of Foggia, had gained a brilliant victory over the Papal troops, and those of the Marquis of Homburg.

Innocent had already entered into negotiations with that enemy afterwards so fatal to Manfred. He had once sold the realm of Sicily to Edmund of England,

Dec. 1254.

and received at least some part of the price: he had now, regardless of his former obligations, or supposing them forfeited by the inactivity or less lavish subsidies of England, offered the realm to

Charles of Anjou, the brother of the King of France. All his solemn engagements were, to Innocent IV., but means to advance his immediate interests. He might seem as if he would try to the utmost his own power of absolution, to release himself from the most sacred obligations.²

But death, which had prostrated the enemies of Innocent before his feet, and had reduced the house of Swabia to a child and a bastard, now laid his hand on Innocent himself. He died master of Naples, the city of his great adversary, in the palace of Peter de Vineâ, the minister of that adversary. He left a name odious for ambition, rapacity, implacable pride, to part, at least, of Christendom. In England, where his hand had been the heaviest, strange tales were accredited of his dying hours, and of what followed his death. It was said that he died in an agony of terror and remorse; his kindred were bitterly wailing around his bed, rending their garments and tearing their hair: he woke up from a state seemingly senseless, "Wretches, why are ye weeping? have I not made you all rich enough?" He had been, indeed, one of the first Popes, himself of noble family, who by the marriage of his nieces, by heaping up civil and ecclesiastical dignities on his relatives, had made a Papal family. On the very night of his death a monk, whose name the English historian conceals from prudence, had a vision. He was in Heaven, and saw God seated on his throne. On God's right was the Holy Virgin, on his left a stately and venerable matron, who held what seemed a temple in

Death of
Innocent.
Dec. 7, 1254.

² Petr. de Vineâ, Epist. ii. 45. I here agree with M. Cherrier: "Trop de faits attestent qu'Innocent IV. n'était sincère avec personne; qu'il promettait et se rétractait avec une égale facilité, suivant l'état de ses affaires."—t. iii. p. 394.

her outstretched hand. On the pediment of this temple was written in letters of gold, "The Church." Innocent was prostrate before the throne, with clasped and lifted hands and bowed knees, imploring pardon, not judgement. But the noble matron said, "O, equitable judge, render just judgement. I arraign this man on three charges: Thou hast founded the Church upon earth and bestowed upon her precious liberties; this man has made her the vilest of slaves. The Church was founded for the salvation of sinners; he has degraded it to a counting-house of money-changers. The Church has been built on the foundation stones of faith, justice, and truth; he has shaken alike faith and morals, destroyed justice, darkened truth." And the Lord said, "Depart and receive the recompense thou hast deserved;" and Innocent was dragged away. "Whether this was an unreal vision, we know not," adds the historian, "but it alarmed many. God grant it may have amended them."

Nor was this all. The successor of Innocent was himself warned and terrified by a dream of not less awful import. In a spacious palace sat a judge of venerable majesty; by his side a stately matron, environed by a countless company. A bier was carried out by mean-looking bearers; upon it rested a corpse of sad appearance. The dead arose, cast himself before the throne, "O God of might and mercy, have pity upon me!" The judge was silent, the matron spoke: "The time of repentance is passed, the day of judgement is come. Woe to thee, for thou shalt have justice, not mercy. Thou hast wasted the Church of God during thy life; thou hast become a carnal man; disdained, despised, annulled the acts of thy holy predecessors; therefore shall thine own acts be held annulled." The severe

judge uttered his sentence! The bier was hurried away. The dead sent to a place which the Christian may charitably hope was Purgatory. Pope Alexander tremblingly inquired who was the dead man. His guide replied, "Sinibald, thy predecessor, who died of grief, not for his sins, but for the defeat of his army." The affrighted Alexander, when he awoke, ordered masses and alms to mitigate the purgatorial suffering of his predecessor; he endeavoured to retrieve Innocent's sins by cancelling some of his acts; to one who offered rich presents to buy a benefice, the Pope replied, "No, my friend, he who sold churches is dead."^a

Such were the current and popular tales, which showed that even the Pope could not violate the great principles of Christian justice and generosity and mercy, with impunity, or without some strong remonstrance finding its expression. If Innocent, indeed, had not trampled on the rights of the clergy, these murmurs had not been so deep and loud: it was this that impersonated, as it were, the Church, to demand his condemnation. It was not Imperialist or Ghibelline hatred, but the hatred of churchmen which invented or propagated these legends.

In England, indeed, not only after his death, but during his life, the courageous English spirit had allied itself with the profoundest religious feeling to protest against the rapacity and usurpation of the Italian Pope. It had found a powerful and intrepid voice in Robert Grosstête Bishop of Lincoln. Robert Grosstête, during his life, had manfully resisted and fearlessly condemned the acts of the haughty Pontiff: after his death he had been permitted, it was believed, to appear in a vision.

^a All these are from Matt. Paris.

Robert Grosstête was of humble birth: at Oxford his profound learning won the admiration of Roger Bacon. He translated the book called the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs. He went to France to make himself master of that language. He became Archdeacon of Leicester, Bishop of Lincoln. As Bishop of that vast diocese he began to act with a holy rigour unprecedented in his times. With him Christian morals were inseparable from Christian faith. He endeavoured to bring back the festivals of the Church, which had grown into days of idleness and debauchery, to their sacred character; he would put down the Feast of Fools, held on New Year's Day. But it was against the clergy, as on them altogether depended the holiness of the people, that he acted with the most impartial severity. He was a Churchman of the highest hierarchical notions. Becket himself did not assert the immunities and privileges of the Church with greater intrepidity: rebellion against the clergy was as the sin of witchcraft; but those immunities, those privileges, implied heavier responsibility; that authority belonged justly only to a holy, exemplary, unworldly clergy. Everywhere he was encountered with sullen, stubborn, or open resistance. He was condemned as restless, harsh, passionate: he was the Ishmael of the hierarchy, with his hand against every man, every man's hand against him. The Dean and Chapter of Lincoln were his foremost and most obstinate opponents; the clergy asserted their privileges, the monasteries their Papal exemptions; the nobles complained of his interference with their rights of patronage, the King himself that he sternly prohibited the clergy from all secular offices; they must not act as the King's justiciaries, or sit to adjudge capital offences. His allies were the new

Orders, the Preachers and Mendicants. He addressed letters of confidence to the generals of both Orders. He resolutely took his stand on his right of refusing institution to unworthy clergy.^b He absolutely refused to admit to benefices pluralists, boys, those employed in the King's secular service, in the courts of judicature or the collection of the revenue; in many cases foreigners; he resisted alike Churchmen, the Chancellor of Exeter; nobles, he would not admit a son of the Earl of Ferrars, as under age; the King, whose indignation knew no bounds; he resisted the Cardinal Legates, the Pope himself.

As a Churchman, Grostête held the loftiest views of the power of the Pope: his earlier letters to the Pope are in the most submissive, almost adulatory tone; to the Cardinals they are full of the most profound reverence. The Canon Law is as eternal, immutable, universal as the law of God. The Pope has undoubted power to dispose of all benefices; but for the abuse of that power hell-fire is the doom.^c The resistance of the clergy to their Bishop involved the Bishops and themselves in vast expense; there was a perpetual appeal to Rome. Twice Grostête appeared in Lyons: the second time he was received with respect and courtesy by the Pope and Cardinals. The Pope even permitted him to read in his own presence and in the full consistory, a memorial against the abuses of the Court of Rome (the Curia), of its avarice and venality, its usurpations and exemptions, hardly surpassed in its

^b Godwin, de Præsul. Matt. Paris. | quoque quod quisquis abutitur hac
^c "Scio et veraciter scio, domini | potestate, ædificat ad ignem
 Papæ et sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ hanc | Gehennæ."—Epist. 49, apud Brown,
 esse potestatem, ut de omnibus beneficiis | Fasciculus ii. 339.

vigorous invective in later times. Grostête returned to England with a decree against the refractory Chapter of Lincoln, ample powers to reform his diocese, and the strong support of the seeming favour of the Pope. The Pope even condescended to limit to some extent the demands of the Italian clergy on English benefices. Yet on his return even the firm mind of Grostête was shaken by the difficulties of his position: he meditated retirement from the intractable world; but he shook off the unworthy sloth, and commenced and carried through a visitation of his diocese unprecedented in its stern severity. The contumacious clergy were compelled to submit, and accepted his conditions; the monasteries opened their reluctant gates, and acknowledged his authority. In the convents of nuns he is said to have put their chastity to a strange and indelicate test, which shows at once the coarseness of the times and the laxity of morals. Yet he extorted from the monkish historian, who perhaps had suffered under his rigour, the admission that his sole object was the salvation of souls.^d

On Innocent's triumphal return to Italy he had become, as it were, wanton in his invasions on the impoverished English Church. It was rumoured, incredible as it seems, that he demanded provision for three hundred of the Roman clergy.^e Robert Grostête was summoned to the test of his obedience to the See of Rome. He had ordered a calculation to be made of the ecclesiastical revenues possessed by strangers in Eng-

^d Paris, sub ann.

* There are many mandates for benefices in favour of Italians.—MS. B. M. E. g. Stephen the Pope's chaplain to hold the rich archdeaconry of Canterbury with the archdeaconry of Vienne,

et alia beneficia. vii. sub ann. 1252, p. 110; a Colonna, 213. An Annibaldi De —, and John of Civitella, 289; one or more prebends, *with* or *without* cure of souls.

land. It amounted to 70,000 marks: the King's income was not one-third of the sum. Grostète received command, through his Nuncio, to confer a canonry of Lincoln on the nephew of Innocent, a boy, Frederick of Lavagna. Grostète was not daunted by the ascendant power of the Pope.^f His answer was a firm, resolute, argumentative refusal: "I am bound by filial reverence to obey all commands of the Apostolic See; but those are not Apostolic commands which are not consonant to the doctrine of the Apostles, and the Master of the Apostles, Christ Jesus. The most holy Apostolic See cannot command that which verges on the odious detestable abomination, pernicious to mankind, opposed to the sanctity of the Apostolic See, contrary to the Catholic faith. You cannot in your discretion enact any penalty against me, for my resistance is neither strife nor rebellion, but filial affection to my father, and veneration for my mother the Church."^g

It was reported in England, that when this letter reached the Pope, he cried out in a passion of wrath, "Who is this old dotard who presumes to judge our acts? By St. Peter and St. Paul, if we were not restrained by our generosity, we would make him a fable, an astonishment, an example, and a warning to the world. Is not the King of England our vassal, rather our slave? Would he not, at a sign from us, throw

^f Paris.

^g The letter in Brown. Fasciculus, p. 400. There is a point which I find it difficult to explain. In the former epistle to the Legate Otho (quoted above), Epist. 49—seemingly of an earlier period—Grostète writes: "Licet post meam consecrationem in Episcopum nepos Domini Papæ promotus

sit in unâ de optimis præbendis in Lincolnensi Ecclesiâ." This could not be another nephew of Innocent; at the time of his nomination he must have been a boy indeed. Another writer (Ann. Burton) calls him puerulus. Compare Grostète's Letters on the Pope in the Grosteti Epistolæ (Rolls publications) page 432.

this Bishop into prison and reduce him to the lowest disgrace?" With difficulty the Cardinals allayed his wrath: they pleaded the Bishop's irreproachable life, his Catholic doctrine; they more than insinuated the truth of his charges. The condemnation of Grostête might revolt the whole clergy of France and England, "for he is held a great philosopher, deeply learned in Greek and Latin letters, a reader in theology, a devout preacher, an admirer of chastity, a persecutor of Simoniacs." The more moderate or more astute counsels prevailed. Papal letters were framed which in some degree mitigated the abuses of these Papal provisions. The Pope acknowledged, almost in apologetic tone, that he had been driven by the difficulties of the times and the irresistible urgency of partisans to measures which he did not altogether approve. All who possessed such benefices were to be guaranteed in their free enjoyment, all who had expectancies were to be preferred to other persons, but these benefices were not to go down, as it were, by hereditary descent from Italian to Italian: on decease or vacancy the patron, prelate, monastery, or layman, might at once present.^h

On Grostête's death it was believed that music was heard in the air, bells of distant churches tolled of their

^h This letter is dated Perugia, Ann. Pontific. 10, 1252. It is in the Burton Annals, and in the Additamenta to Paris. In Rymer there is another quite different in its provisions. There the Pope asserts that he has made very few appointments. But Westminster adds to Paris: "Inventum est quod nunquam aliquis predecessorum suorum in triplo aliquos sui generis vel

patriæ tot ditaverat." There is a strange clause in Innocent's letter, expressive of the wild times and the exasperation of the public mind: if a papal expectant should be murdered (si perimi contigerit, as if it were an usual occurrence), no one should be appointed who had not previously cleared himself of all concern in the murder.

own accord, miracles were wrought at his grave and in his church at Lincoln. But it was said likewise that the inexorable Pontiff entertained the design of having his body disinterred and his bones scattered. But Robert Grosstête himself appeared in a vision, dressed in his pontifical robes before the Pope. "Is it thou, Sinibald, thou miserable Pope, who wilt cast my bones out of their cemetery, to thy disgrace and that of the Church of Lincoln? Better were it for thee to respect after their death the zealous servants of God. Thou hast despised the advice which I gave thee in terms of respectful humility. Woe to thee who hast despised, thou shalt be despised in thy turn!" The Pope felt as if each word pierced him like a spear. From that night he was wasted by a slow fever. The hand of God was upon him. All his schemes failed, his armies were defeated, he passed neither day nor night undisturbed. Such was believed by a large part of Christendom to have been the end of Pope Innocent IV.¹

¹ It is a significant fact that Grosstête was never canonised. This honour was granted to the cloistral virtues of his predecessor, Hugh of Lincoln; to his contemporary, Edmund Rich of Canterbury. Edmund had ingloriously retired from his difficult post of primate; his timid piety despaired of reforming his clergy; he was embarrassed between the King and his Barons; between the King compelled to resist the exactions of the Pope, and the Pope whose demands Edmund would have gratified to the full. He took refuge in the retreat of Becket, Pontigny; but with nothing of Becket's character. Yet

the mild prelate shared with Becket the honours of a saint. Grosstête was canonised only by the reverence of his country. Even Matthew Paris after his death found out his virtues. Of these not the least was his opposition to the King and to Rome (fuit Domini Papæ et Regis redargutor manifestus; Romanorum malleus et contemptor); the instructor of the clergy, the support of scholars, the preacher of the people; persecutor only of the incontinent. At table he was liberal, plentiful, courteous, cheerful, and affable; in church, devout, tearful, penitent; as a prelate, sedulous, venerable, indefatigable.

BOOK XI.

CONTEMPORARY CHRONOLOGY.

POPEs.		EMPERORS OF GERMANY.		KINGS OF FRANCE.		KINGS OF ENGLAND.	
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
1254 Alexander IV.	1261	1249 William (Conrad)	1256				
1261 Urban IV.	1265						
1265 Clement IV.	1269	1256 Interregnum	1273	Louis IX.	1270		
1269 Vacancy	1271			1270 Philip the Hardy	1285	Henry III.	1272
1271 Gregory X.	1276	1273 Rodolph of Hapsburg	1291			1272 Edward I.	1307
1276 Innocent V. Hadrian V. John XIX.						<i>Archbishops of Canterbury.</i>	
1277 Nicolas III.	1281					1244 Boniface of Savoy	1273
1281 Martin IV.	1285			1285 Philip the Fair	1314		
1285 Honorius IV.	1289	1291 Adolph of Nassau	1296			1272 Robert Kilwardby	1278
1289 Nicolas IV.	1292					1275 Robert Peckham	1294
1292 Vacancy	1294						
1294 Celestine V. Boniface VIII.	1303	1298 Albert of Austria	1308			1294 Robert Winchelsey	1313
1303 Benedict X.	1305						
KINGS OF SCOTLAND.		KINGS OF SPAIN.		KINGS OF SWEDEN.		EASTERN EMPIRE.	
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
Alexander III.	1286	<i>Castile.</i> 1252 Alfonso XI., the Wise	1284	1250 Waldemar	1276	<i>Latin.</i> Baldwin II.	1261
1286 Interregnum	1292	1284 Sancho IV.	1295	1276 Magnus II.	1282	<i>Greek.</i> 1255 Theodorus	1258
1292 John Baliol		1295 Ferdinand IV.	1312	1282 Birger II.		1258 John IV.	
1301 Interregnum		<i>Aragon.</i> James I.		KINGS OF DENMARK.		1259 Michael (Paleologus)	1283
		Alfonso X.	1276	A.D.	A.D.	1283 Andronicus II (Paleologus)	
		1276 Pedro III.	1285	1252 Christopher	1259		
		1285 Alfonso III., the Beneficent	1291	1259 Eric VII.	1263		
		1291 James II., the Just	1312	1263 Olaus IV.	1280		
		KINGS OF PORTUGAL.		1280 Eric VIII.			
		A.D.	A.D.	1302 Hakim II.			
		Alfonso III.	1279				
		1279 Dionysius I.					

BOOK XI.



CHAPTER I.

St. Louis.

THE great fabric of mediæval religion might have suffered a shock from the haughtiness, the rapacity, the implacability of Innocent IV., which had raised a deep and sullen alienation even among the clergy, in parts of Christendom, especially in England and Germany. The Teutonic pride revolted at the absolute nomination of an obscure prince to the Empire by the will of the Pope. The bold speculations, the enlightened studies, promoted by Frederick II., even the contemptuous indifference ascribed to him, though outwardly rejected, were working no doubt in the depths of many minds. Heresy, crushed in blood in Languedoc, was spreading elsewhere the more extensively in defiance of the Inquisition, which was already becoming odious throughout Europe. The strife of the new Orders with the clergy had weakened their influence over the popular mind, influence not altogether replaced by the wonderful numbers, activity, learning, ubiquity of the Mendicants. In the Franciscan Order had already begun that schism, which was of far greater importance than is commonly supposed in religious history.

But there was not wanting the great example of religion to awe and to allure mankind: it was not in the

chair of St. Peter, not at the head of a new Order, but on the throne of France : the Saint of this period was a King. The unbounded admiration of St. Louis in his own days, the worship of the canonised Sovereign in later times, was a religious power, of which it is impossible to trace or define the limits. Difficult, indeed, it is to imagine that at the same historic period lived Frederick II. and Louis IX. Louis was a monk upon the throne, but a monk with none of the harshness, bitterness, or pride of monkery. His was a frank playfulness, or amenity at least of manner, which Henry IV. never surpassed, and a blamelessness hardly ever before, till very recent times never after, seen on the throne of France. Nor was he only a monk : he had kingly qualities of the noblest order, gentleness, affability, humanity towards all his believing subjects, a kind of dignity of justice, a loftiness of virtue, which prevented the most religious of men from degenerating into a slave of the clergy ; a simple sincerity even in his lowest superstitions, an honest frankness, an utter absence of malignity even in his intolerance, which holds even these failings and errors high above contempt, or even aversion. Who can read the Seneschal Joinville without love and veneration of his master ?

Louis was ten years old at the death of his father Louis VIII. His mother, Blanche of Castile, took possession at once of the regency. Her firm demeanour awed all ranks ; her vigorous administration at once established her power. Philip the Rough, the brother of Louis VIII. (the son of Philip Augustus by Agnes of Meran, but who had been acknowledged as a legitimate prince), submitted sullenly, yet submitted, to the female rule. It is strange to contrast the severe court of the Queen-mother Blanche with that

A.D. 1226.
Blanche of
Castile.

of Marie de Medicis, or Anne of Austria; the youth of Louis IX. with that of Louis XIV. or Louis XV.: and to suppose that the same religion was preached in the churches, then by a rude Dominican or a homely Franciscan, afterwards in the exquisite and finished language of Bossuet and Massillon. Blanche of Castile did not entirely escape the malicious slanders of her enemies. She was accused of too close an intimacy with the Legate himself. She fell under stronger suspicion as the idol of the amorous poetry of the gallant Thiebault, Count of Champagne, afterwards King of Navarre. But Thiebault's Platonic raptures were breathed in vain to the inaccessible matron; it was the policy not the heart of the Queen Regent which led her not to disdain the poetic suit of a dangerous subject, constantly falling off to the enemies of her son, and recalled to his allegiance by the authority of his mistress. The historian guarantees her chaste and cleanly life.^a Her treatment of her son showed no indulgence for such weaknesses. Once in his early youth he had looked with kindling eye on some fair damsels. "I had rather he were dead," said the rigid mother, "than that he should commit sin." Thus bred a monk, the congenial disposition of Louis embraced with ardour the austere rule. Had he not been early married, he would have vowed perpetual chastity. The jealousy of his mother of any other influence than her own was constantly watching his most familiar intercourse with his wife, Marguerite of Provence. He bore it, even the harshness with which Blanche treated her daughter-in-law at times when woman's sympathies are usually most tender, with the meekest filial submission. At all the great religious

^a "Sa vie bonne et nette."—Joinville.

periods, Advent, Lent, the high Festivals, and all holy days (which now filled no small part of the year), the youthful King denied himself all conubial indulgences; he would rise from his bed, and pace the cold chamber till he was frozen into virtue. His other appetites he controlled with equal inflexibility. Besides the most rigorous observance of the ordinary fasts, once only in the year would he allow himself to taste fruit: he wore the roughest sackcloth next to his skin. His spiritual teachers persuaded him to less severe observance, to deny himself only unripe fruit, to wear haircloth of less coarse texture. On Fridays he never laughed; if he detected himself in laughter he repressed and mourned over the light emotion. On Friday he never changed his raiment. In his girdle he wore an ivory case of iron-chain scourges (such boxes were his favourite presents to his courtiers), not for idle display. Every Friday during the year, and in Lent on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, he shut himself up in his chamber, searching every corner, lest any one should be present, with his confessor, the Dominican Godfrey of Beaulieu. The bleeding shoulders of the King attested his own sincerity, and the singular adulation of the confessor, who knew the King too well not to administer the discipline with unsparing hand. These more secret acts of holiness were no doubt too admirable for the clergy to allow them to remain secret; but the people were no less edified by his acts of public devotion. It was his constant practice to visit distant churches with bare feet, or, to disguise his piety, in sandals without soles. On every altar he offered profuse alms. One day he walked bare-foot from Nogent l'Erembert to the church of Our Lady at Chartres, a distance of four leagues; he was obliged to lean on his attendants for support. He constantly

washed the feet of beggars ; he invited the poor and the sick to his table ; he attended the hospitals, and performed the most menial and loathsome offices. A leper on the farther side of a swamp begged of him ; the King crossed over, not only gave him alms, but kissed his hand. He heard daily two, sometimes three or four, masses ; his whole day might seem one unbroken service ; as he rode, his chaplain chanted or recited the offices. Even in this respect his teachers attempted to repress his zeal. A Dominican preacher urged him from the pulpit not to lower too much the royal dignity, not to spend the whole day in church, to content himself with one mass : “ whoever counselled him otherwise was a fool, and guilty of a deadly sin.” “ If I spent twice as much time in dice and hawking, should I be so rebuked ? ”^b answered the gentle King. He bore even reproach with meekness. A woman named Sarrette, pleading in the King’s court, said “ Fie ! you are not King of France ; you are only a king of friars, of priests, and of clerks. It is a great pity that you are King of France ; you should be turned out of the kingship.”^c The blessed King would not allow his attendants to chastise the woman. “ You say true ! It has pleased the Lord to make me king ; it had been well if it had pleased him to make some one who had better ruled the realm.” He then ordered his chamberlain to give her money, as much as forty pence.

Louis had the most religious aversion for all lighter amusements, the juggler, the minstrel. He was profoundly ignorant of polite letters. His whole time might seem fully occupied in rehearsing over and over

^b Notices et Extraits, ix. 406.

^c Life, by the Confessor of Queen Margaret, in Bouquet, p. 366.

the same prayers ; yet he is said to have read perpetually in a Latin Bible with devotional notes, and to have been deeply versed in the writings of some of the Fathers, especially St. Augustine. But this learning, whatever it might be, he acquired with the most reverential humility ; it tempted him to no daring religious speculation, emboldened him to no polemic zeal. “ Even clerks, if not profoundly learned, ought to abstain from controversy with unbelievers ; the layman had but one argument, his good sword. If he heard a man to be an unbeliever, he should not dispute with him, he should at once run that sword into his entrails, and drive it home.”^d He related with special approbation the anecdote of a brave old knight, who broke up a discussion on the relative excellence of their law between some Catholic doctors and some Jewish Rabbis by bringing down his mace upon the head of the principal Jew teacher. Louis loved all mankind with a boundless love except Jews, heretics, and infidels, whom he hated with as boundless hatred.

But above all these weaknesses or exaggerated virtues there were the high Christian graces, His virtues. conscientiousness such as few kings are able or dare to display on the throne, which never swerved either through ambition or policy from strict rectitude. No acquisition of territory, no extension of the royal power, would have tempted Louis IX. to unjust aggression. He was strongly urged to put to death the son of the chief of the rebels in arms against him, the Count de la Marche, who had fallen into his hands ; he nobly

^d “ Mais lomme loy (laïc) quand il l'espee, de quoi il doit donner parmi le ventre dedans, tant comme il peut desputer a eulz, ne doit pas defendre la entrer.”—Joinville, in Bouquet, t. xx. p. 198.

replied: "A son could not refuse to obey his father's orders." The one great war in which he was involved, before his departure for the Crusade, which ended in the humiliation of the great vassals of the Crown and of the leader in that revolt, Henry III. of England, the chief of these great vassals, was provoked by no oppression or injustice on his part, was conducted with moderation unusual in that age; and his victory was not sullied by any act of wanton revenge or abuse of power. He had no rapacity; he coveted but one kind of treasure, reliques; and no doubt when he bought the real crown of thorns (the abbey of St. Denys had already boasted their possession of the authentic crown, but their crown sank into obscurity, when that of Constantinople arrived in Paris),^e when he obtained this inestimable prize at such enormous cost, there was no abstemiousness which he would not have practised, in order so to enrich his beloved France. He plundered the Jews, but that was on religious grounds; their tainted wealth might not infect the royal treasury; he bestowed the whole on Baldwin of Constantinople.

Yet Louis was no slave of the hierarchy. His religion was of too lofty a cast to submit to the dictates of a worldly clergy. His own great objects of admiration were the yet uncorrupt Mendicants, the Preachers and Minorites; half his body he would give to St. Dominic, half to St. Francis. He once gravely meditated the abandonment of his throne to put on the weeds of one of these Orders. His laws will afterwards display him, if not as the founder, the asserter of the liberties of the Gallican Church, and of the royal power, as limiting that of the Papacy. Throughout the strife between

^e Compare Tillemont, Vie de Saint Louis, ii. 337.

Frederick II. and Gregory IX. he maintained an impartial and dignified neutrality. He had not declined the summons of the Emperor to hold a meeting of the temporal Sovereigns of Christendom to resist in common the encroachments of the spiritual power. Nothing could surpass the calm loftiness with which he demanded the release of the French prelates taken at the battle of Meloria; he could advance the cogent argument, that he had resisted all the demands and entreaties of the Pope to be permitted to levy subsidies on the realm of France for the war against the Emperor. He had refused, as we have seen, the offer of the Imperial crown from Innocent IV. for his brother; only when Frederick threatened to march on Lyons, and crush the Pope, did Louis seem disposed to take up arms for the defence of the Pontiff.^f

Such a monarch could not but be seized by the yet unexpired passion for the Crusade. Urban II., Louis determines on a crusade. two centuries before, would not have found a more ardent follower. It was in St. Louis no love, no aptitude for war, no boiling and impetuous valour. His slight frame and delicate health gave no promise of personal prowess or fame; he was in no way distinguished in, he loved not, knightly exercises. He had no conscious confidence in his military skill or talent to intoxicate him with the hopes of a conqueror; he seems to have utterly wanted, perhaps to have despised, the most ordinary acquirements of a general. He went forth simply as the servant of God; he might seem to disdain even the commonest precautions. God was to fight his own battles; Louis was assured of victory or Paradise. All depended on the faith, and the sup-

^f Tillemont, iii. p. 164.

pression of military licence, at which he laboured with fond hopes of success, not on the valour, discipline, generalship of the army. In his determination to embark on the Crusade, Louis resolutely asserted the absolute power of the monarch: in this alone he resisted the colder caution of his mother Blanche; she was obliged to yield to the pious stubbornness of her son. Louis was seized with an alarming illness, he had sunk into a profound lethargy, he was thought dead; a pious female had drawn the covering, in sad respect, over what seemed the lifeless corpse. Another gently withdrew it. The soft but hollow voice of the King was heard: "God has raised me from the dead: give me the Cross." His mother wept tears of joy; when she saw the Cross on his breast, she A.D. 1244.
Dec. 10. knew the meaning of that gesture. She shuddered as if he lay dead before her.⁵

No expedition to the East was so ignominiously disastrous as that of St. Louis: yet none might seem to set forth under more promising auspices. He was three years in assembling his forces, preparing arms, money, horses, soldiers. It was in October (A.D. 1245) that in the Parliament of Paris he publicly took the Cross. The princes, the nobles, vied in following his example; his brother, Robert of Artois, the Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Brabant, the Countess of Flanders and her sons, Peter Mauclerc of Dreux and his son, the Count of Bretagne, the Counts of Bar, Soissons, St. Pol, de la Marche, Rhetel, Montfort; the Archbishops of Rheims, Sens, and Bourges, the Bishops of Beauvais, Laon, and Orleans, with countless knights and esquires. At Christmas in the same year Louis practised perhaps

⁵ Joinville, p. 207.

the only act of treachery of which he was guilty in his life. It was the custom for the King to distribute, as his gifts on that day, new robes to the courtiers. He ordered red crosses to be secretly embroidered between the shoulders; they were lavished in more than usual numbers. The courtiers were astonished to find that the King had thus piously enlisted them; they were now warriors of the Cross, who could not shrink from their engagement. It would have been indecent, disgraceful, ignoble, to throw aside the crosses; so, with true French levity, they laughed and wept at once, owning that they were completely entrapped by the King.

From that time the whole thoughts of Louis were absorbed in the Holy War. He resisted the offers of Pope Innocent to befriend him in a war against England, even in an invasion of England. He made, as he

A.D. 1246.

hoped, a lasting peace with his neighbour. He took no part in the confederacy of the French nobility to resist the exactions of the Pope and of the hierarchy.^h He laboured earnestly, though ineffectually, to reconcile the Emperor and the Pope.

So far, on the other hand, had his strife with the Emperor absorbed all other religious passions in the Pope, that not only was there no cordial co-operation on the part of Innocent in the Crusade of St. Louis, but exemptions from the Crusades were now notoriously sold, it was believed to defray the expenses of the war against the Emperor. The Crusaders in Italy were urged to join the Pope's forces, with all the privileges and exemptions of a Crusade to the Holy Land.

Louis himself did not embark at the head of a great

^h According to Paris, St. Louis favoured the League. Compare Tilliemont, iii. p. 120.

army, like a puissant monarch. The princes, prelates, and nobles were to arrange their own transport. St. Louis passed down the Rhône; he was urged to avenge the death of his father on rebellious Avignon: "I have taken arms to revenge Jesus Christ, not my father." The island of Cyprus was the place of rendezvous. In Cyprus there was a delay of eight months. Want of discipline and a fatal epidemic made great ravages in the army; there seemed a total absence of conduct or command. But for supplies sent by the Emperor Frederick, there had been famine. The grateful Louis made one more effort to mediate between the Pope and the Emperor. The overture was contemptuously rejected.

Louis embarks on the Crusade.

At length the armament set sail; its object was the conquest of Egypt, as securing that of the Holy Land. Damietta was abandoned by the Saracens; the Crusaders were masters of that great city.ⁱ But never were the terror and advantages of a first success so thrown away. Months were wasted; the King was performing the offices of a monk, not of a general. Yet the army of the pious Louis was abandoned to every kind of Oriental luxury.^k In June they were in Damietta, in November they marched, and shut themselves in a camp in a corner between the hills and the canal of Ashmoun. The flying bands of the enemy, with the Greek fire, harassed the camp. Good fortune and the valour of the soldiery extricated them from this diffi-

June 7, 1249.
(Cyprus.)

June 20.
(Damietta.)

Feb. 8-11.

ⁱ The instant St. Louis landed and saw the Saracens, he drew his sword and was for charging them at once. The wiser "preudhommes" stopped him. This was St. Louis's notion of military affairs.—Joinville, p. 215.

^k Not a stone's throw from the King the soldiers "tenoient leurs bordiaux." —Joinville, 217.

culty, only to involve them in more fatal disasters. The King's brother, the Count of Artois, fell in a hasty unsupported advance. The unrivalled valour of the French was wasted in unprofitable victories, like those of Mansourah, or in miserable defeats. The camp was in a state of blockade; pestilence,^m famine, did the work of the enemy. The King of France was a prisoner to the Sultan of Egypt. Of two thousand three hundred knights and fifteen thousand pilgrims few made their escape. His brothers, Alfonse of Poitou and Charles of Anjou, shared his captivity. His Queen, far advanced in pregnancy, remained with an insufficient force in Damietta. She bore a son prematurely; she called his name "Tristan."

Defeat and
captivity.
March 27,
April 6.

But it was adversity which displayed the great character of St. Louis. He was himself treated at first with courtesy; he was permitted to hear the canonical prayers, after the custom of the Church of Paris, recited by the single priest who had escaped; his breviary, the loss of which he deplored above all losses, was replaced by another. But he had the bitter aggravation of his misery—that, of ten thousand prisoners in Mansourah, all who would not abandon their faith (and some there were guilty of this apostasy) met a cruel death. But to all the courteous approaches of the Sultan, Louis was jealously on his guard, lest he should compromise his dignity as a King or his purity as a Christian: he would not receive the present of a dress from the Unbeliever. To their exorbitant demands and menaces he gave a calm and determined reply. They demanded the surrender of all the fortresses in Syria: these, it was

^m They had no fish all Lent but "bourbettes," which gluttonous fish fed on dead bodies, and produced dreadful maladies.

answered, belonged not to the King of France, but to Frederick II. as King of Jerusalem. To that of yielding up the castles garrisoned by the Knights of the Temple and of St. John, the answer was that the Orders could not surrender them without violating their vows. The King was threatened with torture—torture of the most cruel kind—the barnacles, which crushed the legs. “I am your prisoner,” he said, “ye may do with me as ye will.”ⁿ It is said that he defied even the more degrading menace of carrying him about and exhibiting him as a spectacle in all the cities of Islam. At length more reasonable terms were proposed; the evacuation of Damietta, and a large sum of money—for the King’s ransom one million byzantines; for the captive Barons five hundred thousand French livres. Concerning his own ransom Louis made some difficulty; he acceded at once to that of the Barons. “It becomes not the King of France to barter about the liberty of her subjects.”^o The Sultan, Turan-Shah, was moved by the monarch’s generosity; with Oriental magnificence, he struck off one-fifth—two hundred thousand byzantines—from his ransom.

In the new perils which arose on the murder of the Sultan Turan-Shah before the deliverance of the prisoners, the tranquil dignity of the King of France overawed even the bloody Mamelukes. The Emirs renewed the treaty; the difficulty was now the oath. The King demanded, by the advice of Master Nicolas of Ptolemaïs, that the Mussulmen should swear, “that if they broke the treaty they should be dishonoured as the Islamite who should go as a pilgrim

ⁿ Joinville, p. 243.

^o “Par ma foy larges est le Frans, quant il na pas bargigné (marchandé) sur si grant somme de deniers.” So said the Saracens. Joinville, 243.

to Mecca bareheaded, as one who should take back a divorced wife, as one who had eaten swine's flesh." A renegade suggested as an equivalent form to be required of the King, that in like case, should he violate the treaty, "he should be dishonoured as a Christian who had denied God and his Holy Mother, and had severed himself from the communion of God, his Apostles, and Saints; or, in mockery of God, had spat on the Holy Cross and trampled it under foot." Louis indignantly repelled the last clause. The Emirs threatened him with death; he declared that he had rather die than live, after having insulted God and his Holy Mother.^p His brothers and the other Barons followed the example of his firmness. In vain the Mamelukes seized the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who had come under the Sultan's safe conduct (which they disclaimed) into the camp, a man eighty years old, and tied him to a tent-post with his hands behind his back, till they swelled and almost burst. The Patriarch, in his agony, entreated the King to yield, and offered to take upon himself all the guilt of his oath. The oath was arranged, it is not known how, to mutual satisfaction; but so rigidly scrupulous was Louis, that when it appeared that in the payment of part of the ransom the Christians might have gained an advantage, either fairly or unfairly, of ten thousand byzantines in weight, he peremptorily commanded the full payment.

The release of the King on such favourable terms, at a price so much below the value of such a captive, astonished both the Christians and the Mussulmen. Damietta could not have resisted many days. Much was attributed to the awe inspired

Ransom and
release.

by the majestic demeanour and calm self-command of the King.⁴ Joinville, his faithful seneschal and historian, had persuaded himself that the Emirs, after the murder of Turan-Shah, had determined to offer the crown of Egypt to the King of France; they were only deterred by his stern Christianity, which would never have submitted to the toleration of their creed. The King himself declared to the Seneschal that he should not have declined the offer. Happily it was not made, probably was never contemplated; the death of Louis would soon have vindicated the affront on Islam. But all this, no doubt, heightened the religious romance which spread in Europe around the name of Louis.

Notwithstanding his defeat and humiliation and captivity, the passive courage of Louis was still unbroken; he persisted, contrary to all counsel, in remaining in Palestine. He would not suppose that God would utterly abandon his faithful servants; he would not believe that Christendom would be unmoved by his appeal; he still would fondly expect that the irresolute Henry of England would fulfil his vow, and come to his rescue at the head of his whole realm.⁵ To Henry the summons was earnest and repeated. Louis made the most advantageous overtures; he even, to the indignation and disgust of his own subjects, offered the surrender of Normandy, to which England still laid claim as her King's hereditary dominions.⁶ He still imagined that the Pope would lay aside all his

⁴ The Saracens, according to Joinville, said that if Mohammed had allowed such sufferings to be inflicted on them as St. Louis endured, they should have renounced him.—P. 247.

⁵ Henry took the cross (March 6, 1251), says Tillemont, "soit pour

pillar plus librement ses sujets, soit pour quelque meilleur dessein." The Pope wrote to Henry early in 1251. Henry swore to go to the Holy Land in three years.—Paris, p. 834.

⁶ Paris, 833, 834.

plans for the humiliation of Frederick, and be compelled, by his own Apostolic character, and the general voice of Christendom, to sacrifice everything to the recovery of the Holy Land; that there would be but one Crusade under his auspices, and that the legitimate one. Louis was deserted by his brothers, Deserted by his brothers. whose light conduct had caused him great vexation; while he was in perpetual self-mortification before God for his sins, which he did not doubt had caused his defeat and bondage, they were playing at dice, whiling away the hours with vain amusements. Almost all the Barons followed the Counts of Poitou and Anjou; Louis was left almost alone with Joinville, his faithful Seneschal. Nor was his weary sojourn in Palestine enlivened by any brilliant successes or gallant feats of arms. For these Louis had neither the activity nor the skill. He was performing the pious office of assisting with his own hands to bury the dead warriors. A.D. 1251. A hasty pilgrimage in sackcloth to Nazareth was almost the only reward; the only advantage of his residence was the fortification of Cæsarea, Ptolemaïs, and Joppa. The negotiations with the Sultan of Aleppo on one side, and the Egyptians on the other, by which he hoped to obtain the country west of the Jordan, came to nothing. He is said to have converted many Saracens;† he spent enormous sums in the purchase of Mohammedan or heathen slaves, whom he caused to be baptised.‡

It was only the death of the Queen-mother Blanche, Return to Europe. Nov. 1252. and the imperious necessity for his presence in his kingdom of France, which forced him at last to leave the hallowed soil. He returned—if with-

† Tillemont, from MSS., and Duchesne, p. 405.

‡ Ibid.

out fame for arms, or for the conduct of affairs—with the profoundest reverence for his sanctity. Only a few years before, Frederick II. had come back to Europe, leaving Jerusalem in the hands of the Christians; the Christian power in Palestine, but for its own dissensions, formidable both to the Sultan of Egypt and the Sultan of Damascus; he had come back still under the sentence of excommunication, under the reproach with the Papal party of having basely betrayed the interests of the Cross and of God. Louis left Jerusalem unapproachable but with difficulty and danger by the Christian pilgrim, and the kingdom of Jerusalem visibly trembling to its fall; yet an object of devout respect, having made some advance at least, to his future canonisation.

The contrast between Frederick and Louis may be carried on with singular interest, as illustrative of their times. It might have been supposed that Louis would have been the remorseless persecutor of heretics; Frederick, if not the bold asserter of equal toleration, which he allowed to Greeks and Mohammedans, would hardly have been the sovereign to enact and execute persecuting edicts, unprecedented in their cruelty, and to encourage the son to denounce the father.* Happily for Louis, his virtue was not tried by this sore temptation; it was not under his government that the spiritual ravagers still wasted Languedoc. After the treaty by which Raymond VII., Count of Toulouse, surrendered his principality, he remained with the barren dignity of sovereign, but without a voice in the fate of a large though concealed part of his subjects. Bishop Fulk of Toulouse, as far as actual power, was half sovereign of the land, and

Further contrast of Frederick and Louis.

Louis escapes being a persecutor.

* See above, p. 150.

the council of that sovereign, which alone displayed administrative activity, was the Inquisition. Heresy had been extinguished as far as its public services; but the Inquisition of Toulouse determined to root it out from the hearths, from the chambers, from the secret hearts and souls of men. The statutes of the Council of Lateran were too merciful. The Inquisition drew up its code of procedure,^y a Christian code, of which the base was a system of delation at which the worst of the Pagan emperors might have shuddered as iniquitous; in which the sole act deserving of mercy might seem to be the Judas-like betrayal of the dearest and most familiar friend, of the kinsman, the parent, the child. Though these acts belong neither to Frederick nor to Louis, they must find their place in our history.

The Court sat in profound secrecy; no advocate might appear before the tribunal; no witness was confronted with the accused: who were the informers, what the charges, except the vague charge of heresy, no one knew. The suspected heretic was first summoned to declare on oath that he would speak the truth, the whole truth, of all persons whatsoever, living or dead, with himself, or like himself, under suspicion of heresy or Vaudism. If he refused, he was cast into a dungeon—a dungeon the darkest in those dreary ages—the most dismal, the most foul, the most noisome. No falsehood was too false, no craft too crafty, no trick too base, for this calm, systematic moral torture which was to wring further confession against himself, denun-

^y The two forms of procedure may be read in Martene and Durand.—Thesaurus Anecdotorum, t. v. Their authenticity is beyond dispute. Nothing that the sternest or most passionate historian has revealed, nothing that the most impressive romance-writer could have imagined, can surpass the cold systematic treachery and cruelty of these, so called, judicial formularies.

ciation against others. If the rack, the pulleys, the thumbscrew, and the boots, were not yet invented or applied, it was not in mercy. It was the deliberate object to break the spirit. The prisoner was told that there were witnesses, undeniable witnesses, against him ; if convicted by such witnesses his death was inevitable. In the meantime his food was to be slowly, gradually diminished, till body and soul were prostrate. He was then to be left in darkness, solitude, silence. Then were to come one or two of the faithful, dexterous men, who were to speak in gentle words of interest and sympathy—"Fear not to confess that you have had dealings with those men, the teachers of heresy, because they seemed to you men of holiness and virtue ; wiser than you have been deceived." These dexterous men were to speak of the Bible, of the Gospels, of the Epistles of St. Paul, to talk the very language, the Scriptural language of the heretics. "These foxes," it was said, "can only be unearthed by fox-like cunning." But if all this art failed, or did not perfectly succeed, then came terror and the goading to despair. "Die you must—bethink you of your soul." Upon which if the desperate man said, "If I must die, I will die in the true faith of the Gospel"—he had made his confession : justice claimed its victim.

The Inquisition had three penalties : for those who recanted, penance in the severest form which the Court might enact ; for those not absolutely convicted, perpetual imprisonment ; for the obstinate or the relapsed, death—death at the stake, death by the secular arm. The Inquisition, with specious hypocrisy, while it prepared and dressed up the victim for the burning, looked on with calm and approving satisfaction, as it had left the sin of lighting the fire to pollute other hands.

Such was the procedure, of which the instructions may now be read in their very words, which Raymond of Toulouse must put in execution in his capital city.

A.D. 1231.

The death of the Bishop Fulk relieved him not; an inflexible Dominican sat on the episcopal seat of Toulouse. The Pope, Gregory IX., issued a bull, in which the Inquisition was placed in the inexorable hands of the Friar Preachers. Two inquisitors were appointed in every city; but the Bishops needed no excitement to their eager zeal, no remonstrance against mistimed mercy to the heretics. At the Council of Narbonne, presided over by the Archbishops of Narbonne, Aix, and Arles, was now issued a decree, that as

A.D. 1233.

there were not prisons vast enough to contain those who, however they had made submission, were still unworthy of the absolution of the Church, and deserved imprisonment for life, further instructions must be awaited from his Holiness the Pope. But the contumacious, who refused to submit to imprisonment, or who broke prison, were to be at once made over to the secular arm. No plea was to be admitted to release from imprisonment; not the duty of the husband to the young wife, of the young wife to her husband; not that of the parents for the care of their children, nor of children for the care of their parents; infirmity, age, dotage, nothing excused, nothing mitigated the sentence. So enormous was the crime of heresy, the infamous, whose witness was refused in all other cases, were admitted against the heretic: on no account was the name of a witness to be betrayed.

But the most oppressed may be overwrought to madness. Witnesses were found murdered; even the awful persons of inquisitors were not secure. An insurrection broke out in the suburbs of

Rebellion.

Narbonne against the Prior of the Dominicans; the Archbishop and the Viscount of Narbonne in their defence suffered a repulse. The insurgents despised the excommunication of the Archbishop, and fought gallantly against the rest of the city, which espoused the cause of the Church. Albi was in tumult, even Toulouse arose. The two great inquisitors, William Arnaud and Peter Cellani, were compelled to leave the city. They marched out at the head of the thirty-eight members of the Inquisition, with the Bishop and the parish priests in solemn procession; they hurled back an excommunication. Count Raymond compelled the re-admission of the clergy, but even Rome was appalled: a Franciscan was sent to allay by his gentleness the popular fury. The proceedings of the Inquisition (this merciful edict was purchased in Rome) were suspended for a time in Toulouse.*

A.D. 1237.

Five years passed. Raymond of Toulouse, under the shelter, as it were, of the wars between Louis IX. and Henry of England, and encouraged by hopes of support from the Spanish kings, aspired at the head of the league among the great vassals of the south to throw off the yoke of Northern France. The down-trodden Albigenians seized their opportunity. They met at Mirepoix, marched on the castle of Avignonet, where William Arnaud, the great inquisitor, held his tribunal. Four Dominicans, two Franciscans, seven Familiars, the whole terrible court, were hewn to pieces. That which had thrown a dreadful grandeur over the murders perpetrated by the inquisitors, gave a majestic endurance to their own. They died like the meekest

Rising.
Murder of the
Inquisitors.

* Martene, Thesaur. Anecd., i. 992. Vaissette, Hist. de Languedoc, Appendix xxv.

martyrs: they fell on their knees, crossed their hands over their breasts, and, chanting the *Te Deum*, as wont over their victims, they awaited the mortal blow.^a They were not long unavenged. Raymond was forced to submit; his act of subjection to Louis IX. stipulated his abandonment of the heretics. Two years after, at another Council at Narbonne, it was enacted that the penitents, who had escaped from prison, should in mercy be permitted to wear yellow crosses on their garments, to appear every Sunday during mass, and undergo public flagellation: the rest were to suffer life-long incarceration. At the same time Mont Segur,^b the last refuge of the Albigensians, a strong castle on the summit of a ravine in the Pyrenees, to which most of the Perfect with their Bishop had fled, was forced to surrender to the Archbishop of Narbonne, the Bishop of Albi, and the Seneschal of Carcassonne. All the heretics, with their Bishop and the noble lady, Esclarmonde, were burned alive in a vast enclosure of stakes and straw.^c Of all these atrocities, however, Louis IX. was guiltless; he was not yet, or was hardly, of age, and his whole soul was absorbed in his preparation for his crusade. Even his brother, Charles of Anjou, who by obtaining the hand of the heiress of Provence (to which Raymond of Toulouse aspired) had become lord of that territory, took no active part in these persecutions.

Yet even in the realm of France a frightful holocaust was offered near the city of Rheims. In the presence of the Archbishop and seventeen Bishops, and one hundred thousand people, on Mont Aimé near Vertus, one hundred and eighty-three

Persecutions
in France.
A.D. 1239.

^a Histoire de Languedoc, Preuves, p. 438.

^b Puy Laurent, c. 46.

^c Puy Laurent, c. 46.

Manicheans (one Perfect alone) were burned alive with their pastor, who calmly administered absolution to them all. Not one but died without fear. But this execution took place in the territory and under the sanction of Count Thiebault of Champagne, not of the King; of Thiebault (the King of Navarre), whose Troubadour songs were as little respectful to the clergy, or the Papalists, as those of the other Languedocian bards.^d If even under Louis a monk held his court in Paris, and, unrebuked, inflicted death on many innocent victims, this seems to have been an exceptional case; nor is it quite clear how far it had the concurrence of the King.^e

Yet for a time suspended, our comparison of Louis IX. and Frederick II. is not exhausted. As legislators there is the most striking analogy between these two, in so many other respects oppugnant sovereigns. The Sicilian laws of Frederick and the "Establishments" of St. Louis agree in the assertion (as far as their times would admit) of the absolute supremacy of the law, the law emanating from the King, and in the abrogation (though Louis is more timid or cautious than Frederick) of the ordeal, the trial by battle, and the still stranger usage of challenging the judges to battle.

The Justiciaries of Frederick belonged to a more advanced jurisprudence than the King himself, seated on his carpet in the forest of Vincennes Frederick and Louis as lawgivers. administering justice.^f But the introduction under his reign of the civil lawyers, the students and advocates of the Roman jurisprudence, into the courts of France (under Philip the Fair will be seen their strife, even triumph over the canon lawyers), gave a new character

^d Compare H. Martin, *Hist. de France*, i. 29, with his authorities.

^f See the picturesque description in

• Raynald, *sub ann.*, i. p. 29. Joinville, p. 199.

to the ordinances of St. Louis, and of far more lasting influence. The ruin of the house of Swabia, and the desuetude into which, in most respects, fell the constitution of Frederick, prevented Naples from becoming a school of Roman law as famous as that of Paris, and the lawyers of the kingdom of Sicily from rising into a body as powerful as those of France in her parliaments.

Both Kings, however, aimed at the establishment of equal justice. They would bring the haughty feudal nobles and even the churchmen (who lived apart under their own law) under the impartial sovereignty of the law of the land. The punishment of Enguerrand de Couci for a barbarous murder attested the firmness of the King. The proudest baron in France, the highest vassal of the crown, hardly escaped with his life. So, too, may be cited the account of the angry baron, indignant at the judicial equity of the King—"Were I king, I would hang all my barons; after the first step, all is easy." "How, John of Thouret, hang all my barons? I will not hang them; I will correct them if they commit misdeeds."

It was the religion, not the want of religion, in St. Louis which made him determine to bring the criminal clergy under the equal laws of the realm. That which Henry II. of England had attempted to do by his royal authority and by the Constitutions of Clarendon, the more pious or prudent Louis chose to effect with the Papal sanction. Even the Pope, Alexander IV., could not close his eyes to the monstrous fact of the crimes of the clergy, secured from adequate punishment by the immunities of their sacred persons.

The Pope made a specious concession; the King's judge did not incur excommunication for arresting, subject to the judgement of the ecclesiastical courts, priests, notoriously guilty of capital

As to the nobles.

As to the clergy.

A.D. 1260.

offences. Alexander threw off too from the Church, and abandoned as scapegoats to the law, all married clergy and all who followed low trades; with them the law might take its course, they had forfeited the privilege of clergy. But neither would Louis be the absolute slave of the intolerance of the hierarchy. The whole prelacy of France (writes Joinville)⁸ met to rebuke the tardy zeal of the King in enforcing the excommunications of the Church. "Sire," said Guy of Auxerre, "Christianity is falling to ruin in your hands." "How so?" said the King, making the sign of the cross. "Sire, men regard not excommunication; they care not if they die excommunicate and without absolution. The Bishops admonish you that you give orders to all the royal officers to compel persons excommunicate to obtain absolution by the forfeiture of their lands and goods." And the holy man (the King) said "that he would willingly do so to all who had done wrong to the Church." "It belongs not to you," said the Bishop, "to judge of such cases." And the King answered, "he would not do otherwise; it were to sin against God and against reason to force those to seek absolution to whom the clergy had done wrong."

The famous Pragmatic Sanction contained only the first principles, yet it did contain the first principles, of limitation as to the power of the Court of Rome to levy money on the churches of the realm, and of elections to benefices. It was, in fact, as the foundation of Gallicanism under specious terms of respect, a more mortal blow to the Papal power than all the tyranny, as it was called, exercised by Frederick II. over the ecclesiastics of the kingdom of Naples. Of this, however, more hereafter.

CHAPTER II.

Pope Alexander IV.

ON the death of Innocent IV., the Cardinal of Ostia, of the famous Papal house of Segni, was elected at Naples: he took the name of Alexander IV. He was a gentle and religious man, not of strong or independent character, open to flattery and to the suggestions of interested and avaricious courtiers.* Innocent IV. had left a difficult and perilous position to his successor. The Pope could not abandon the Papal policy: the see of Rome was too deeply pledged, to retract its arrogant pretensions concerning the kingdom of Naples, or to come to terms with one whom she had denounced as an usurper, and whose strength she did not yet comprehend. But Sinibald could not leave, with his tiara, his own indomitable courage, his indefatigable activity, his power of drawing resources from distant lands. Alexander was forced to be an Innocent IV. in his pretensions; he could but be a feeble Innocent IV. The rapidity with which Manfred after his first successes overran the whole of the two Sicilies, implies, if not a profound and ardent attachment to the house of Swabia, at least an obstinate aversion to the Papal sovereignty. It seemed a general national outburst; and Manfred, by circumstances and by his own sagacious judgement, having separated the

Accession of
Alexander IV.
Dec. 21,
A.D. 1254.

Manfred.

* Matt. Paris, sub ann.

cause of the hereditary kings from the odious German tyranny (the Saracen bands were less unpopular than the Germans), as yet appeared only as the loyal guardian of the infant Conradin. He was already almost master of Apulia; he was with difficulty persuaded to send ambassadors, as sovereign princes were wont to do, to congratulate the Pope. During the next year the legate of the Pope was in person at Palermo; the whole island of Sicily had acknowledged Manfred. His triumph was completed by Naples opening her gates; Otranto and Brundisium followed the example of the capital. Manfred ruled in the name of his nephew from Palermo to Messina, from the Faro to the borders of the Papal States. At the first it was evident that the weak army of the Pope, under the Cardinal Octavian, could not make head against this rising of the whole realm. Berthold of Homburg soon deserted the cause of the Pope.^b Alexander was trammelled with the engagements of his predecessor, who, having broken off his overtures to Charles of Anjou, had acknowledged Edmund of England king of Sicily. The more remote his hopes of success, the more ostentatiously did Henry III. attempt to dazzle the eyes of his subjects by this crown on the head of his second son. Edmund appeared in public as King of

A.D. 1255.
March 13.

England.

^b See the curious letter in Matt. Paris, from which it appears that certain churches and monasteries in England were bound to merchants of Sienna in 2000 marks of new sterling money in favour of Berthold and his brothers. For acts of treason, Berthold and his brothers were declared to have forfeited their claim. But the churches and monasteries were still to discharge the 2000 marks. The Prior and

monastery of Durham were assessed at 500 marks; Bath at 400; Thorney at 400; Croylond, 400; Gisburn, 300. Durham and Gisburn refused payment. This is dated Anagni, June 1256. There is also a letter (MS., B. M.) threatening excommunication against the Prior of Winchester and others, if they do not pay 315 marks to certain merchants of Sienna (sub ann. 1255, in init.).

Sicily, affected to wear an Italian dress, and indulged in all the pomp and state of royalty. The King himself, notwithstanding the sullen looks of his Barons, spoke as if determined on this wild expedition. His ambassadors, the Bishops of London and Hereford, the Abbot of Westminster, the Provost of Beverley, accepted the crown. It was agreed that, as Edmund was not of age, his father should swear fealty for him.^c Yet England was less liberal than usual of subsidies either to the Pope or to the King for this senseless enterprise. The legate, a Gascon, Rustand, had already received a commission, with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Hereford, to levy a tenth on England, Scotland, and Ireland. The King had an offer of an exemption from his vow of a crusade to the Holy Land, on condition of his appearing at the head of an army to subdue Manfred in Apulia. Rustand himself preached in London and in other places; and made others preach a crusade against Manfred, the enemy of the Pope and of their Lord the King of England, a crusade as meritorious as that to the Lord's sepulchre. The honest English were revolted at hearing that they were to receive the same indulgences for shedding Christian as Saracen blood. Rustand received a rich prebend of York as reward for his services.

Year after year came the same insatiate demands: ambassador after ambassador summoned the King to fulfil his engagements; the Pope condescended to

^c In Rymer, 1254, are the bulls or terms of grant of the kingdom of Sicily. See in MS., B. M. (viii. 195), letter to the King of England to pay 4800 livres Tournois (libras Tournaises)* for the expenses of W. terranus (Cardinal of Velletri) "electus de mandato f. m. Innocent. IV. in servitium Ecclesie pro stante negotio regni Siciliae."

* The livre Tournois was about 12 francs.

inform him through what merchants he could transmit his subsidies to Rome. The insolence and the falsehood of Rustand and the other legates, the Archbishop Elect of Toledo and the Bishop of Bologna, increased the exasperation. In the absence of the Primate of England, Rustand ruled supreme in the Church, and excommunicated refractory prelates, whose goods were instantly seized and confiscated to the King. They carefully disguised the successes of Manfred, and spread rumours of the victories of the Papal armies. The King had too much vanity and too much weakness to resist these frauds and violences. The King is said to have bound himself for two hundred thousand pounds sterling, besides fifty thousand levied by the Bishop of Hereford.^d Even the Cistercian monks could not escape the unusual and acknowledged alienation of the English clergy from the see of Rome. The Pope, or the Nuncio of the Pope, had recourse to violent measures against the second prelate of the realm, Sewal, Archbishop of York. The words of the English historian show the impression on the public mind: "About that time our Lord the Pope laid his hand heavily on the Archbishop of York. He gave orders (by a measure so strong and terrible he would daunt his courage) that Sewal should be ignominiously excommunicated throughout England with the light of torches and tolling of bells. But the said Archbishop, taught by the example of Thomas the Martyr, the example and lessons of the saintly Edmund, once his master, by the faithfulness of the blessed Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, did not despair of consolation from heaven, and patiently supported the tyranny of the Pope; for he would not

Sewal,
Archbishop
of York.
A.D. 1257.

^d Rymer, MS., B. M., sub ann. 1235.

bestow the abundant revenues of the Church on persons unworthy or unknown, from beyond the Alps, and scorned to submit himself, like a woman, to the Pope's will, abandoning his rights. Hence the more he was anathematised by the orders of the Pope, the more was he blessed by the people, though in secret for fear of the Romans." ^e

But where all this time was the Primate of England, and who was he? On the death of the un-
Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury. worldly and sainted Edmund Rich, the King and the Pope had forced on the too obsequious, afterwards bitterly repentant, monks of Canterbury, a foreigner, almost an Italian. Boniface, Bishop of Bellay, was uncle to the Queen, and brother of that Philip of Savoy, the warlike and mitred bodyguard of Innocent IV., who became Archbishop of Lyons. Boniface was elected in 1241, confirmed by Pope Innocent not before 1244. The handsome, proud prelate found that Edmund, however saintly, had been but an indifferent steward of the secular part of the diocese. Canterbury was loaded with an enormous debt, and Boniface came not to England to preside over an impoverished see. He obtained a grant from the Pope of first-fruits from all the benefices in his province, by which he raised a vast sum. Six years after, the Primate announced, and set forth
About Michaelmas, A.D. 1250. on a visitation of his province, not as it was said, and as too plainly appeared, for the glory of God, but in quest of ungodly gain. Bishops, chapters, monasteries must submit to this unusual discipline, haughtily and rapaciously enforced by a foreigner.

^e So writes Paris. "Falso pertinaciam illius constantiæ nomine exornat (M. Paris) cum *justè* Pontifex pro Sicilia, deposito tyranno, in Edmundum transferendâ, a clero Anglicano pecuniarum subsidia exigeret." Thus wrote Raynaldus in the 17th century.—Sub ann. 1257.

From Feversham and Rochester he extorted large sums. He appeared in London, treated the Bishop (Fulk Basset of the old noble Norman house) and his jurisdiction with contempt. The Dean of St. Paul's (Henry de Cornhill) stood by his Bishop. The Primate appeared with his cuirass gleaming under his pontifical robes. The Dean closed the doors of his cathedral against him. Boniface solemnly excommunicated Henry Dean of St. Paul's and his Chapter in the name of St. Thomas the Martyr of Canterbury. The Sub-Prior of St. Bartholomew's (the Prior was dead) fared still worse. He calmly pleaded the rights of the Bishop; the wrathful Primate rushed on the old man, struck him down with his own hand, tore his splendid vestment, and trampled it under foot. The Bishop of London was involved in the excommunication. The Dean of St. Paul's appealed to the Pope; the excommunication was suspended. But Boniface himself proceeded in great pomp to Rome. The uncle of the Queen of England, the now wealthy Primate of England, could not but obtain favour with Innocent. The Dean of St. Paul's was compelled to submit to the supreme Archiepiscopal authority. On his triumphant return Boniface continued his visitation. The Chapter of Lincoln, headed by the Archdeacon (Bishop Grostête was dead), resisted his demand to dispose of the vacant Prebends of the Church. The Archdeacon bore his own appeal to Rome. After three years he obtained (by what means appears not) what seemed a favourable sentence; but died, worn out, on his way home. Boniface trampled on all rights, all privileges. The monks of Canterbury obtained a Papal diploma of exemption, Boniface threw it into the fire, and excommunicated the bearers. The King cared not, for the Pope would not regard the insult.

After the accession of Alexander IV. the Archbishop of Canterbury is in arms, with his brother, the Archbishop of Lyons, besieging Turin, to release the head of his house, the Count of Savoy, whom his subjects had deposed and imprisoned for his intolerable tyranny. The wealth of the Churches of Canterbury and Lyons was showered, but showered in vain, on their bandit army. Turin resisted the secular, more obstinately than London the spiritual arms of the Primate. He returned, not without disgrace, to England. With such a Primate the Pope was not likely to find much vigorous or rightful opposition from the Church of England.^f

Pope Alexander IV., while he thus tyrannised in England, was not safe in Rome, or even in Anagni. The stern justice of the Senator Brancaleone had provoked resistance, no doubt not discouraged by the partisans of the Pope. The Nobles urged on an insurrection: Brancaleone was seized and thrown into prison. But his wise precaution had secured thirty hostages of the highest Roman patrician houses at Bologna. His wife fled to that city, and roused Bologna with harangues on the injustice and ingratitude shown to her great citizen. The hostages were kept guarded with stricter vigilance. The Nobles appealed to the Pope, who issued an angry mandate to

^f Paris, sub ann. 1241-4, 1250, 1256. See the letter from Pope Alexander, consolatory on the failure before Turin. Godwin de Præsulibus contains a full abstract of the life of Boniface. Compare MS. B. M. vi. p. 347, for the resistance and excommunication (the sentence) of the Dean of St. Paul's: also of Sub-Prior of St. Bartholomew; excommunication of

Bishop of London, p. 383. The Archbishop had obtained, under grant of first fruits, "magnam quantitatem pecuniæ," vii. 16. Papal decree against Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, p. 57. Archbishop Boniface was exempted from visiting his four Welsh dioceses, "propter guerrarum discrimina, penuriam victualium," b. viii.

the Bolognese, which they treated with scorn. The populace of Rome arose and broke the prison of Brancaleone. Brancaleone laid down his senatorship for two years (during which it was filled by a citizen of Brescia, who trod in his footsteps) to resume it with still more inflexible determination. On his reinauguration he summoned all malefactors before his tribunal, not the last the authors of his imprisonment.

A. D. 1258.

His sentence was inexorable by prayer or bribe. Men of the highest birth, even relatives of the Pope, were shown on gibbets. Two of the Annibaldi suffered this ignoble doom. He destroyed a hundred and forty castles of those lofty and titled spoilers. The Pope, at Viterbo, was so unadvised as to issue a sentence of excommunication against the Senator and the people of Rome. They were not content with treating this sentence with the bitterest derision. The Senator summoned the whole people to assemble, as one man, in arms; they marched under their banner towards Anagni, the birthplace of the Pope. The inhabitants of Anagni, many of them his kindred, implored Alexander with passionate entreaties to avert their doom. The Pope, to elude the disgrace of seeing his native city razed to the earth, was content to send deputies to Brancaleone, humbly imploring his mercy. The Senator had great difficulty in restraining the people. An alliance grew up between Manfred and Brancaleone. The Senator retained his dignity till his death: his head was then deposited in a coffer, like a precious relique, and placed, with all the pomp of a religious ceremony, by the grateful people, on the top of a marble column. Notwithstanding the prohibition of the Pope, the people raised the uncle of Brancaleone to the Senatorship of Rome.*

* Paris, sub ANL. 1258.

Alexander could look for no aid from the Empire. The Papal Emperor, William of Holland, had fallen in an expedition against the Frisians. There was no great

Death of
William of
Holland.
Jan. 25, 1256.

German Prince to command the Empire. The Pope, faithful to the legacy of hatred to the house of Swabia, contented himself with prohibiting in the strongest terms the election of the young Conradin. The Germans looked abroad; some of the divided Electors offered the throne again to

January,
1257.

Richard of Cornwall, others to Alfonso King of Castile. The enormous wealth of Richard of Cornwall, perhaps his feeble character, attracted the ambitious Archbishop of Cologne, who hoped in his

March 17.

Richard of
Cornwall.

name to rule the Empire, and to dispense the wealth of England. Richard was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. He had before declined the kingdom of Naples; his avarice had resisted all the attempts of the King his brother and of the Pope to employ his riches in the cause of young Edmund; he retained them to gratify his own vanity.^h

For seventeen years the Empire was in fact vacant;

Rudolph of
Hapsburg,
A.D. 1273.

better for the Pope such anarchy than a Swabian on the throne.

France, so long as the treaty existed between the Pope and England for the investiture of Prince Edmund with the throne of Sicily, could be roused by no adequate temptation. The Pope could offer no vigorous resistance, yet would not make a virtue of necessity and acknowledge the house of Swabia. He had now fully discovered the weakness, the impotence of the King of England.ⁱ

^h Paris says that, independent of the Empire, his revenues would have produced 100 marks a-day for ten years. | potentiam quam publice allegabat."—
MS., B.M. In a letter, b. viii. p. 49,
the Pope recites all the acts of Inno-

ⁱ "Videns ipsius debilitatem ac im-

cent IV., and the dates.

He had summoned him to execute his contract. Henry truly, but without shame, pleaded his poverty, and demanded a tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues. The excommunication hung over the head of the King for having made a bargain with the Pope which he could not fulfil.

Manfred had won the crown of Sicily in the name of his nephew Conradin; he was but Regent of the realm. Rumours were spread of the death of Conradin; the enemies of Manfred asserted that they were invented and disseminated by his astute ambition; his partisans that he had no concern in their propagation.^k But Manfred was necessary to the power, to the independence of the Sicilies. The Prelates, Barons, almost the whole realm entreated him to assume the crown. His coronation took place to the universal joy. Hardly was it over when ambassadors arrived from the mother of Conradin, and from her son, imploring Manfred not to usurp the rights which he had defended with so much valour. Manfred received the ambassadors in a great assemblage of his Barons. "He had ascended the throne, which he had himself won by his arms, at the call of his people; their affections could alone maintain that throne. It was neither for the interest of the realm nor of Conradin himself that Naples should be ruled by a woman and an infant: he had no relative but Conradin, for whom he should preserve the crown, and faithfully bequeath it on his death. If Conradin desired to uphold the privileges of an heir-apparent, he should reside at the court of Manfred, and win the love of the people whom he was to govern.

Manfred
king.
Aug. 11, 1258.

^k Jamsilla. Recordano, c. 147. Le credo io favole. Murat. Ann., sub ann. 1258.

Manfred would treat him as a son, and instruct him in the virtues of his glorious ancestors." How far Manfred was sincere, Manfred himself perhaps did not know; how far, if he had himself issue, his virtue would have resisted the fondness of a parent for his own offspring, and that which he might have alleged to himself and to others as an undeniable truth, the interest of the kingdom. What confusion, what bloodshed might have been spared to Naples, to Italy, to Christendom, if the crown of Naples had descended in the line of Manfred; if the German connexion had been broken for ever, the French connexion never formed; if Conradin had remained Duke of Swabia, and Charles of Anjou had not descended the Alps! A wiser Pope, and one less wedded to the hereditary policy and to the antipathies of his spiritual forefathers, might have discerned this, and seen how well it would have coincided with the interests of the see. Manfred acknowledged and fairly treated might have softened into a loyal Guelf; he was now compelled to be the head, a most formidable head, of the Ghibellines. Alexander lived to see Manfred in close alliance with Sienna, the stronghold of the exiled Ghibellines of Florence;^m to see the fatal battle of Arba, or Monte Aperto, in which the Florentine Guelfs were utterly crushed and forced to abandon their city. Florence was only saved from being razed to the earth at the instigation of the rival cities, Pisa and Sienna, by the patriotic appeal of the great Ghibelline, Farinata di Uberti, a name which lives in Dante's poetry.ⁿ In all the south of Italy Manfred was supreme: Genoa and Venice were his allies.

Sept. 4, 1260.

^m See throughout Muratori, who quotes impartially Guelfs and Ghibellines.

ⁿ Inferno, vi. 79, x. 32.

Nor was it the Guelfic or Papal influence, nor even his own unspeakable cruelties; it was his treachery to his friends alone that in the north of Italy caused the fall of the triumphant champion of the Ghibellines, Eccelin da Romano, and with him of his brother Alberic. The character of Eccelin was the object of the profoundest terror and abhorrence. No human suffering, it might seem, could glut his revenge; the enemy who fell into his hands might rejoice in immediate decapitation or hanging. The starvation of whole cities; the imprisonment of men, women, and children in loathsome dungeons touched not his heart, which seemed to have made cruelty a kind of voluptuous excitement.^o But what was the social state of this part of Christendom? How had that state been aggravated by the unmitigated dissensions and wars, the feuds of city with city, the intestine feuds within every city! Had the voice of the Father of Christendom, of the Vicegerent of the Prince of Peace ever been earnestly raised in protest or rebuke? Was not the Papal Legate the head of the Guelfic faction, and were the Guelfs on the whole more humane than the Ghibellines? Alexander might have published a crusade against this foe of the human race, and justly might he have offered more splendid promises of pardon and eternal life to him who should rid the world of this monster, than to him who should slay hosts of Moslemin.^p But a fitter, as an abler leader, might have been found for this enterprise than the Archbishop of Ravenna; and

Eccelin da
Romano.

Sept. 27,
1259.

^o It may be doubted whether Eccelin himself was not gradually trained to this habit of barbarity Frederick II., though severe and merciless to his foes, would hardly have addressed sportive

letters, or given his daughter in marriage to a wild beast, such a wild beast as Eccelin appears in his later days.

^p Compare Alexandri Epist. ad Episcopos.

when the army of the Archbishop got possession of Padua, the ruthless sacking of the town by his mercenary soldiers made the citizens look back with regret to the iron rule of Eccelin. Nor would Papal anathema or Papal crusade have shaken the power of Eccelin.⁶ With the Marquis Pallavicini and Buoso da Doara, the head of the Cremonese Ghibellines, he had become master of Brescia; but Eccelin never conquered save for himself. The flagrant treachery by which he had determined to rid himself of his colleagues was discovered; the indignant Ghibellines made a league against the common enemy of mankind. Eccelin was defeated, sorely wounded, captured. His end was worthy of his life. On the first night of his imprisonment the bells of a neighbouring chapel rang loudly, perhaps rejoicing at his bondage. He woke up in wrath: "Go, hew down that priest that makes such a din with his bells." "You forget," said his guard, "that you are in prison." He inquired where he was taken. "At Bassano." Like most strong minds of the day, Eccelin, who had faith in nothing else, had faith in divination. His astrologer had foretold that he should die in Bassano. The priests and friars thronged around him, urging, threatening, imploring, that he would confess and repent of his sins. "I repent of nothing, but that I have not wreaked full vengeance on my foes; that I have badly conducted my army, and allowed myself to be duped and betrayed."

Alberic da Romano. He would take neither food nor medicine; but death was slow: he tore the dressings from his wounds, and was found a corpse.⁷ Alberic,

⁶ Rolandini, Monach. Patavin. apud Muratori, Annali, sub annis 1259, Muratori. 1260. The B. Museum Chronicle

⁷ Throughout see Rolandin. xii. c. 13; Chron. Veron., S. R. T., v. viii.; and sums up, "nullus in ferocitate æ unquam fuit similis."—p. 245.

his brother, once his deadly enemy, was now his ally. Eccelin wanted but one vice, passion for women, which might possibly have given some softness to his heart. No woman was safe from the less sanguinary Alberic. Alberic was besieged during the next year in the castle of San Zeno. All hope of succour was gone; with some remains of generosity he allowed his followers to buy their own free departure by the surrender of himself and his wife, six sons and two daughters. He was at first treated with every kind of mockery; then his six sons slain in his sight, torn in pieces, their limbs thrust in his face. His wife, his beautiful and innocent daughters had their lower garments cut off; in this state of nakedness, in the sight of the whole army, were bound to a stake and burned alive. Alberic's own flesh was torn from his body by pincers; he was then tied to the tail of a horse, and dragged to death.

A.D. 1260.

What wonder that amid such deeds, whatever religion remained, as it ever must remain in the depths of the human heart, either took refuge beyond the pale of the Church, among the Cathari, who never were more numerous in the cities, especially of northern Italy, than in these days: or within the Church showed itself in wild epidemic madness? Against the Cathari the Friars preached in vain; the Inquisition in vain held its courts; and executions for heresy added more horrors to these dire times.

It was at this period too that one of those extravagant outbursts of fanaticism, which constantly occurred during the middle ages, relieved men's minds in some degree from the ordinary horrors and miseries. Who is surprised that mankind felt itself seized by a violent access of repentance, or that repentance disdained the usual form of discipline?

The Flagellants.

The Flagellants seemed to rise almost simultaneously in different parts of Italy. They began in Perugia. The penitential frenzy seized Rome: it spread through every city, Guelf and Ghibelline, crossed the Alps, and invaded Germany and France. Flagellation had long been a holy and meritorious discipline; it was now part of the monastic system; it had obtained a kind of dignity and importance, as the last sign of subjection to the sacerdotal power, the last mark of penitence for sins against the Church.^s Sovereign princes, as Raymond of Toulouse; Kings, as Henry of England, had yielded their backs to the scourge. How entirely self-flagellation had become part of sanctity, appears from its being the religious luxury of Louis IX. Peter Damiani had taught it by precept and example.^t Dominic, called the Cuirassier, had invented or popularised by his fame the usage of singing psalms to the accompaniment of self-scourging. It had come to have its stated value among works of penance.^u

The present outburst was not the effect of popular preaching, of the eloquence of one or more vehement and ardent men, working on the passions and the fears of a vast auditory. It seemed as if mankind, at least Italian mankind, was struck at once with a sudden paroxysm of remorse for the monstrous guilt of the age, which found vent in this wild but hallowed form of self-torture. All ranks, both sexes, all ages, were possessed with the madness—nobles, wealthy merchants, modest

^s The "Historia Flagellantium" is a brief but complete history of religious flagellations, first of legal floggings administered by authority, then of the origin and practice of self-flagellation.

v. 8.

^u "Consequitur ergo ut qui viginti psalteria cum disciplinâ decantet, centum annorum penitentiam se peregisse confidat."—Vit. Dominic Loric.

^t Epistol. ad Clericos Florentin., p. 85.

and delicate women, even children of five years old. They stripped themselves naked to the waist, covered their faces that they might not be known, and went two and two in solemn slow procession, with a cross and a banner before them, scourging themselves till the blood tracked their steps, and shrieking out their doleful psalms. They travelled from city to city. Whenever they entered a city, the contagion seized all predisposed minds. This was done by night as by day. Not only were the busy mart and the crowded street disturbed by these processions; in the dead midnight they were seen with their tapers or torches gleaming before them in their awful and shadowy grandeur, with the lashing sound of the scourge and the screaming chant. Thirty-three days and a half, the number of the years of the Lord's sad sojourn in this world of man, was the usual period for the penance of each. In the burning heat of summer, when the wintry roads were deep in snow, they still went on. Thousands, thousands, tens of thousands joined the ranks; till at length the madness wore itself out. Some princes and magistrates, finding that it was not sanctioned by the Roman See or by the authority of any great Saint, began to interpose: that which had been the object of general respect, became almost as rapidly the object of general contempt.*

* "Unde tepescere in brevi cepit res immoderate concepta."—Herm. Alt. There are two full descriptions of this singular movement: one by an Italian, the *Monachus Patavinensis* in *Muratori*, viii. 712; the other by a German, *Hermannus Altaheensis* (Abbot of *Nieder Altaisch*), in *Böhmer*, *Fontes*, ii. p. 516. See too *B. Museum Chronicle*: he adds, "Verumtamen propter hoc

multe paces inter discordantes facte fuerunt, et multa bona acta sunt." His account is curious.—p. 250. See in the Translation of Dr. Hecker's curious book on the Epidemics of the Middle Ages much strange matter on the German Flagellants, and the wild *Geissler-Lied*, the Hymn of the Flagellants, with an English version, p. 64.

The Flagellant phrensy was a purely religious movement.⁷ It had been preceded by about ten years by that of the Pastoureaux (the Shepherds) in Flanders and in France. This rising had something of the fierce resentment of an oppressed and down-trodden peasantry. But it was a democratic insurrection, not against the throne, but against the tyrannous nobles and tyrannous churchmen: it was among those lowest of the low whom the Friar Preachers and the followers of St. Francis had not reached, or had left for higher game. The new Mendicant Orders were denounced as rudely as the luxurious Cluniacs or haughty Cistercians. The Shepherds' first declaration of war was that "the good King Louis was left in bondage to the Mussulmen, through the criminal and traitorous remissness of the indolent and avaricious clergy." They, the peasants of France, had received the direct mission, a mission from the blessed Virgin herself, to rescue him from the hands of the Unbelievers. So sudden, so terrible was the insurrection, that it was as if the fire had burst out at one instant in remote parts of the land. It began in Flanders; at its head was a mysterious personage, who bore the name of the Master of Hungary. He was an aged man with a long beard, pale emaciated face; he spoke Latin, French, and German with the same fluent persuasiveness; he preached without authority of Pope or Prelate; as he preached, he clasped a roll in his hands, which contained his instructions from the blessed Virgin. The Virgin had appeared to him, encircled by hosts of angels, and had given him his celestial commission to

⁷ Affo, Storia di Parma, iii. p. 256, connects the Flagellants with the believers in the Abbot Joachim. (See forward.)

summon the poor Shepherds to the deliverance of the good King. Terror spread the strangest rumours of this awful personage. He was an apostate Cistercian monk ; in his youth he had denied Jesus Christ ; he had sucked in the pernicious practices of magic from the empoisoned wells of Toledo (among the Jews and Arabians of that city). He it was that in his youth had led the crusade of children, who had plunged, following his steps, by thousands into the sea ; he had made a solemn covenant with the Soldan of Babylon to lead a countless multitude of Christians to certain bondage in the Holy Land, that they and their King being in his power, he might subdue Christendom. Since the days of Mohammed, in the judgement of wise men, no such dangerous scourge of mankind had arisen in the Church of Christ. His title, the Master of Hungary, might lead to the suspicion that he was a Bulgarian Manichee, revenging on the haughty hierarchy the wrongs of his murdered brethren.²

The eloquence and mysterious bearing of the Master of Hungary stirred the lowest depths of society. The Shepherds, the peasants left their flocks, their stalls, their fields, their ploughs ; in vain friends, parents, wives remonstrated ; they took no thought of sustenance. So, drawing men after him, "as the loadstone draws the iron," he marched through Flanders and Picardy. He entered Amiens at the head of thirty thousand men, was received as the Deliverer with festive rejoicings. He passed on to the Isle of France, gathering, as some fell off from weakness or weariness, the whole labouring population in his wake. The villages and fields were desolate behind them. They passed

² Matt. Paris, *sub ann.*

through the cities (not one dared to close the gates against them), they moved in battle array, brandishing clubs, pikes, axes, all the wild weapons they could seize. The Provosts, the Mayors bowed in defenceless panic before them. They had at first only the standard of their Master, a Lamb bearing the banner of the Cross, the Lamb the sign of humility, the Cross that of victory.

Soon four hundred banners waved above them; on some were emblazoned the Virgin and the angels appearing to the Master. Before they reached Paris they were one hundred thousand and more. They had been joined by all the outlaws, the robbers, the excommunicate, followers more dangerous, as wielding and accustomed to wield arms, the two-edged axe, the sword, the dagger, and the pike. They had become an army. They seemed worshippers, it was said, of Mary rather than of Christ. Blanche, the Queen-Regent, either in panic or in some wild hope that these fierce hordes might themselves aid in achieving, or compel others to achieve the deliverance of her son, professed to believe their loyal protestations; they were admitted into Paris.

But already they had begun to show their implacable hostility to the Church. They usurped the offices of the clergy, performed marriages, distributed crosses, offered absolution to those who joined their Crusade. They taunted the Friar Preachers and Minorites as vagabonds and hypocrites; the White Monks (the Cistercians) with their covetousness, their vast possessions in lands and flocks; the Black Monks (the Benedictines) with gluttony and pride; the Canons, as worldly, self-indulgent men; Bishops, as hunters and hawkers, as given to all voluptuousness. No one dared to repeat the impious reproaches which they heaped on the Church of Rome.

All this the people heard with the utmost delight. It was rumoured that the Master miraculously fed the multitudes ; bread, meat, and wine, multiplied under his hands. They had entered Paris : the Master was admitted into the presence of the Queen, In Paris. and was received with honour and with gifts. The Master, emboldened, mounted the pulpit in the church of St. Eustache, with an episcopal mitre on his head, preached and blessed the holy water. Meantime, his followers swarmed in the neighbouring streets, mercilessly slew the priests who endeavoured to oppose their fierce fanaticism : the approaches to the University were closed, lest there should be a general massacre of the scholars.

The enormous host divided at Paris into three. One horde went towards Orleans and Bourges, one Division of the host. towards Bordeaux, one to the sea-coast at At Orleans. Marseilles. But though Paris, the seat of all wisdom and of the government, had received them, the southern cities had more courage ; or the strange illusion had begun to dissipate of itself. The Shepherds entered Orleans, notwithstanding the resistance of the Bishop and the clergy ; the citizens hailed their approach ; the people crowded in countless numbers and rapt admiration around the Preacher. The Bishop issued his inhibition to all clerks, ordering them to keep aloof from the profane assembly : the wiser and older obeyed ; some of the younger scholars were led by curiosity to hear one who preached unlicensed by Prelate, and who by his preaching had awed Paris and her famous University. The Master was in the pulpit ; he was pouring forth his monstrous tenets : a scholar rushed forward, " Wicked heretic ! foe to truth ; thou liest in thy throat ; thou deceivest the innocent with thy false and trea-

cherous speech." He had hardly uttered these words, when his skull was cloven by one of the Master's followers. The scholars were pursued; the gates of the University broken in; a frightful butchery followed; their books were thrown into the Loire. By another account, the scholars made a gallant resistance. The Bishop, who had been forced to fly, left the city under an interdict, as having entertained these precursors of Antichrist. The complaints of the Bishop reached the ears of Queen Blanche. Her calm wisdom had returned. "I thought," she said, "that these people might recover the Holy Land in simplicity and sanctity; since they are impostors, be they excommunicated, scattered, destroyed."

They entered Bourges: notwithstanding the denunciations of the Archbishop, the city had opened her gates.

In Bourges. Here the first act of the Master of Hungary was to penetrate into the Jews' quarter, to plunder their houses, and burn their books. But in Bourges he was so rash, or so intoxicated with success, as not to content himself with the wonders of his eloquence: after the sermon he promised, or was said to have promised, to work the most amazing miracles. The people, eager for the miracles, were perhaps less wrought upon by the sermon: they waited in breathless expectation, but they waited in vain. At that moment of doubt and disappointment, a man (he is called an executioner) rushed forth, and clove the head of the Master with a two-edged axe; his brains were scattered on the pavement; his soul, as all then believed, went direct to hell. The Royal Bailiff of Bourges was at hand with his men-at-arms; he fell on the panic-stricken followers, cast the body into the common sewer to be torn by hounds. The excommunication was read; the

whole host were pursued and massacred like mad dogs.

The second squadron met no better fate; Simon de Montfort closed the gates of Bordeaux against them, and threatened to sally out with his ^{Bordeaux.} knights and behead them all. Their leader, the favourite companion of the Master of Hungary, was seized, bound hand and foot, and thrown into the Garonne; the scattered followers were seized, hanged; a few found their way home as wretched beggars. Some of these, ^{Marseilles} and part of the third division, reached Marseilles; but the hallucination was over; they were easily dispersed, most perished miserably. So suddenly began, so almost as suddenly ended this religious Jacquerie.*

The pontificates of Innocent IV. and of Alexander IV., besides these great insurrections of one ^{Civil war in the Church. Progress of the Mendicant Orders.} order of society—the very lowest against all above them—beheld the growth of a less tumultuous but more lasting and obstinate civil war within the Church itself. The Mendicant Friars, from the humble and zealous assistants, the active itinerant subsidiary force of the hierarchy, rapidly aspired to be their rivals, their superiors—at least equal sharers, not only in their influence and their power, but also in their wealth and pomp; as far, at least, as in their buildings, their churches, their cloisters. They were no longer only among the poorest, the most ignorant of mankind: they were in the lordly halls of the nobles, in the palaces of kings. St. Louis, as we have heard, held them in such devout reverence, that if he could have

* I have chiefly followed Matt. Paris and William of Nangis, with some few facts from other chronicles. | There is a curious letter about them to Adam de Marisco in the *Burton Annals*, p. 290.

divided his body, he would have given one-half to either saint, Dominic or Francis.

Not only the Popes, the more religious of the hierarchy and of the old monastic orders, had hailed, welcomed, held in honour these new labourers, who took the hard and menial work in the lowly and neglected and despised part of the vineyard. The Popes had the wisdom to discern at once the power of this vast, silent, untraceable agency on the spiritual improvement of Christendom; its power, not only against vice, ignorance, irreligion, but against those who dared, in their independence of thought, to rebel at the doctrines—in the pride of temporal authority to contest the all-embracing supremacy of the See of Rome. We have seen them during the whole war with Frederick II. the demagogues of refractory subjects, the publishers and propagators of the fulminations of the Popes in all lands, the levellers of mankind before the Papal autocracy, the martyrs of the high Papal faith. Those of less worldly views saw them only as employed in their holier work. Conrad of Zahringen, the General of the Cistercian Order, when they established their first house at Paris, vowed brotherhood with the Friar Preachers. When Legate at Cologne, a priest complained that the Preachers interfered in his parish. “How many parishioners have you?” “Nine thousand.” The Legate signed himself with the sign of the Cross: “Miserable man! presumest thou to complain, charged with so many souls, that these holy men would relieve you from part of your burthen?”^b Yet Conrad issued his mandate, that though the Friars might preach

^b Ann. Cistercien. quoted in Hist. Littér. de la France, article “Conrad of Zahringen.”

and administer the sacrament of penance, they should refuse it to all who withdrew themselves from the care of their legitimate pastor. Robert Grosstête of Lincoln, as has been said, maintained them against his own negligent or luxurious clergy.

But their zeal or their ambition was not yet satisfied. They aspired to the chief seats of learning; they would rule the Universities, now rising to their height of fame and authority. Of all the universities beyond the Alps, Paris was then the most renowned. If Bologna might boast her civil lawyers, Salerno her physicians, Paris might vie with these great schools in their peculiar studies, and in herself concentrated the fame of all, especially of the highest—theology. The University of Paris had its inviolable privileges, its own endowments, government, laws, magistrates, jurisdiction; it was a state within a state, a city within a city, a church within a church. It refused to admit within its walls the sergeants of the Mayor of Paris, the apparitors of the Bishop of Paris; it opened its gates sullenly and reluctantly to the King's officers. The Mendicants (the Dominicans and Franciscans) would teach the teachers of the world; they would occupy not only the pulpits in the churches, and spread their doctrines in streets and market-places, they would lay down the laws of philosophy, theology, perhaps of canonical jurisprudence, from the chairs of professors; and they would vindicate their hardy aspirations by equalling, surpassing the most famous of the University. Already the Dominicans might put forward their Albert the Great, the nearest approach to a philosopher; the Franciscans, the Englishman Alexander Hales, the subtlest of the new race of schoolmen. Aquinas and Bonaventura were to come.

The jealous University, instead of receiving these great men as allies with open arms, rejected them as usurpers.^c

But the University was in implacable war with the authorities of Paris; there was a perpetual feud, as in other universities, between the town and the gown. However wild and unruly the youth, the University would maintain her prerogative of sole and exclusive jurisdiction over them. The sober citizens would not endure the riot, and worse than riot, of these profligate boys.^d Their insolent corporate spirit did not respect the Cardinal Legate.^e On one occasion (in 1228), in a fierce fray of many days, two scholars were killed by the city guard. The University haughtily demanded satisfaction; on the refusal closed her gates, suspended her lectures, at first maintained sullen silence, and then, at least a large portion of the scholars shook the dust from their feet, deserted the dark and ungrateful city, and migrated to Rheims, Orleans, Angers, even to Toulouse.^f The Dominicans seized their opportunity; they obtained full license for a chair of theology from the Bishop of Paris and the Chancellor. On the return of

^c Tillemont indeed says, "L'Université les receut même avec joie dans ses écoles, parceque leur vie paroissoit alors édifiante et utile au public, et qu'ils sembloient s'appliquer aux sciences avec autant d'humilité que d'ardeur et de succès. Mais elle éprouva bientôt qu'il est dangereux de donner entrée à des personnes trop puissantes, et de se lier avec ceux qui ont des desseins et des intérêts différens." See the laborious essay on Guillaume de St. Amour, *Vie de Louis IX.*, p. 133 *et seqq.*

^d The scholars were forbidden to bear arms in 1218. The Official of Paris complains "qu'ils enfonçoient et brisoient les portes des maisons; qu'ils enlevoient les filles et les femmes."—Crevier, i. p. 334.

^e Crevier, p. 335. The dispute was about the University seal.

^f Crevier, 341. The reader who requires more full, learned, and prolix information, will consult Du Boulay, *Hist. Univers. Paris.* Crevier's is a clear, rapid, and skilful epitome of Du Boulay.

the University to Paris, they found these powerful rivals in possession of a large share in the theologic instruction. Their re-establishment, resisted by the Crown and by the Bishop of Paris (the Crown indignant that the University had presumed to confer degrees at Orleans and at Angers, the Bishop jealous of their exemption from his jurisdiction), was only effected by the authority of Pope Gregory IX. The Pontiff was anxious that Paris, the foundation of all sound learning, should regain her distinction. His mild and conciliatory counsels prevailed: the University resumed her station, and even obtained the valuable privilege that the Rector and Scholars were not liable to any excommunication not directly sanctioned by the Holy See.

Above twenty years of treacherous peace followed. The Mendicants were gaining in power, fame, influence, unpopularity. They encroached more and more on the offices, on the privileges of the clergy; stood more aloof from episcopal jurisdiction; had become, instead of the clergy and the older monasteries, the universal legatees; obscured the University by the renown of their great teachers. The University raised a loud outcry that there were twelve chairs of theology at Paris: of these, five out of the six colleges of the Regulars—the Cistercians, Premonstratensians, Val de Grace, Trinitarians, Franciscans—held each one, the Dominicans two; the Canons of Paris occupied three; there remained but two for the whole Secular Clergy.⁵ They issued their edict suppressing one of the Dominicans: the Dominicans laughed them to scorn. The quarrel was aggravated by the refusal of the Dominican and Franciscan Professors to join the

1231-1252.
Dispute with
the Domi-
nicans.

* Crevier, p. 396.

rest of the University in demanding justice for the death of a scholar slain in a fray.^h The University passed a sentence of expulsion against the Dominican Professors. The Dominicans appealed to the Pope. They obtained, it was averred by false representations, a favourable award. Europe rang with the clamorous remonstrances of the University of Paris. They issued an address to the whole Episcopate of Christendom. "Would the Bishops, very many of whom had studied at Paris, allow that famous University, the foundation of the faith, to be shaken?"¹ They pressed their appeal before Pope Innocent IV. Innocent, a great student of the canon law, had always looked on the University of Paris with favour. The Mendicants had done their work; Frederick II. was dead; Innocent master of Italy. The Pope, who had alienated the University by his exactions and arrogance, endeavoured to propitiate them by the sacrifice of his faithful allies the Friars. He promulgated his celebrated bull, subjugating the Mendicant Orders to episcopal authority. *Bull of Pope Innocent.* Nov. 1254. The next month Pope Innocent was dead. The Dominicans revenged themselves on the ungrateful Pontiff by assuming the merit of his death, granted to their prayers. "From the Litanies of the Dominicans, good Lord deliver us," became a proverbial saying.^k

Alexander IV. was not the protector only, he was the humble slave of the Mendicants.^m His first act was to annul the bull of his predecessor

^h The University obtained justice; two men were hanged for the offence—Crevier, p. 400.

¹ "Si on attaque le fondement (de l'Eglise) qui est l'Ecole de Paris, tout l'edifice est mis en péril."—See Crevier, p. 407.

"Et se ne fust la bonne garde
De l'Université, qui garde
Le chief de la Chrétienté."
Roman de la Rose, l. 12115.

^k Antonini. Senens. in *Chronic. Compare Hist. Lit. de la France*, xix. p. 197, article William de St. Amour

^m The words of Crevier, p. 411.

without reservation.² The Mendicants were at once reinstated in all their power. In vain the eloquent William (called St. Amour, from the place of his birth in Franche Comté) maintained the privileges of the University: he returned discomfited, not defeated, to Paris. He was hailed as the acknowledged champion of the University, and devoted himself with dauntless courage and perseverance to the cause.³ He not only asserted the privileges of the University; Paris rung with his denunciations of the Mendicants, of Mendicancy itself. He preached with a popularity rivalling or surpassing the best preachers of the Orders. He accused the Friars as going about into houses, leading astray silly women, laden with sins, usurping everywhere the rule over their consciences and men's property, aspiring to tyrannise over public opinion. "And who were they? No successors of the Apostles; they presumed to act in the Church with no spiritual lineage, with no tradition of authority; from them arose the 'Perils of the days to come.'"⁴

William of
St Amour.

The Dominicans had boasted, according to the popular poet,⁵ that they ruled supreme in Paris and in Rome: they had lost Paris, but in Rome they ruled without rival. The first, the most famous, it is said, of forty bulls issued by Alexander IV., appeared during the

² He was elected Dec. 12; revoked the bull Dec. 22.

³ To William of St. Amour was attributed the bull of Innocent IV.

"S'il n'avait en sa verité
L'accord de l'Université
Et du peuple communement
Qui oyolent son prêchement."
Roman de la Rose, l. 12113.

⁴ Opera Gulielm. St. Amour, Præf. p. 23.

⁵ "Li Jacobin (Dominicains) sont si preudome.

Qu'il ont Paris et si ont Roume,
Et si sont roi et Apostole
Et de l'avoir ont il grant soume.
Et qui se muert, se il ne's homme
Pour exécuteurs, s'âme afole,
Et sont apostre par parole.

* * * * *
Lor halne n'est pas frivole,
Je, qui redout ma tête fole
Ne vous di plus mais qu'il sont home.
Rutebeuf, ed.: Jubinal, v. 161.

next year.^f It commenced with specious adulation of the University, ended with awarding complete victory to the Dominicans. While it seemed to give full power to the University, it absolutely annulled their statute of exclusion against the Dominicans. The Bishops of Orleans and Auxerre were charged with the execution of this bull; they were armed with ample powers of spiritual censure, of excommunicating, or suspending from their office all masters or scholars guilty of contumacy. The University defied or attempted to elude these censures. They obstinately refused to admit the Dominicans to their republic; they determined rather to dissolve the University; many masters and students withdrew, some returned and took up again their attitude of defiance. William de St. Amour was the special object of the hatred of the Mendicants. He was arraigned before the Bishop of Paris, at the suit of Gregory, a chaplain of Paris, as having disseminated a libel defamatory of the Pope. St. Amour appeared; but the courage of the accuser had failed, he was not to be found. St. Amour offered canonical purgation; to swear on the reliques of the Holy Martyrs that he was guiltless of the alleged crime. Four thousand scholars stood forward as his compurgators. The Bishop was forced to dismiss the charge.^g In vain the four great Archbishops of France interfered to allay the strife: the pulpits rung with mutual criminations.

William of St. Amour and his zealous partisans arraigned the Mendicants, not merely as usurpers of the rights, offices, emoluments of the clergy, of hereditipety

^f This bull was called "Quasi lig-
num vitæ." The successive bulls may
be read in the Bullarium. | dents of the University to the Pope. It
was possibly before the arrival of the
bull.

^g Crevier, from a letter of the stu-

and rapacity utterly at variance with their ostentatious poverty, but both orders, indiscriminately, Dominicans as well as Franciscans, as believers in, as preachers and propagators of the *Everlasting Gospel*. This book, which became the manual, I had almost said the Bible of the spiritual Franciscans, must await its full examination till those men—the Fraticelli—come before us in their formidable numbers and no less formidable activity. Suffice it here, that the *Everlasting Gospel*, the prophetic book ascribed to the Abbot Joachim, ^{The Eternal Gospel.} or rather the introduction to the *Everlasting Gospel*, proclaimed the approach, the commencement of the Last Age of the World, that of the Holy Ghost. The Age of the Father—that of the Law—had long since gone by; that of the Son was ebbing on its last sands; and with the Age of the Son, the Church, the hierarchy, its power, wealth, splendour, were to pass away. The Age of the Holy Ghost was at hand, it was in its dawn. The Holy Ghost would renew the world in the poverty, humility, Christian perfection of St. Francis. The *Everlasting Gospel* superseded and rendered useless the other four. It suited the enemies of the Mendicants to involve both Orders in this odious charge: the Introduction to the *Everlasting Gospel* was by some attributed to the Dominicans, its character, its spirit, its tone, were unquestionably Franciscan.[†]

[†] Matt. Paris (sub ann. 1256), Richer. Cron. Senens., and the authors of the Roman de la Rose, attribute the *Everlasting Gospel* to the Dominicans. Such was the tone in Paris. According, however, to the Roman de la Rose, it had another author :

“ Ung livre de par le grant Diable,
Dit l’Evangile pardurable.

Que le Saint Esperit ministre,
Bien est digne d’être brulé.

Tant * surmonte ceste * Evangile,
Ceux que les quatre Evangelistres
Jesu-Christ firent a leurs titres.”

—L. 12444, &c.

It appeared, according to the poet William de Lorris, in 1250: it was in the hands of every man and woman in the “sarvis Nôtre Dame.”

These two rival Orders had followed in their development the opposite character of their founders. To the stern, sober, practical views of Dominic had succeeded stern, sober, practical Generals. The mild, mystic, passionate Francis was followed by men all earnest and vehement, but dragged different ways by conflicting passions: the passion for poverty, as the consummation and perfection of all religion; the passion for other ends to which poverty was but the means, and therefore must be followed out with less rigour. The first General, Elias, even in the lifetime of the Saint, tampered with the vow of holy poverty; he was deposed, as we have heard, became no longer the partisan of the Pope, but of Frederick II., was hardly permitted on his deathbed to resume the dress of the Order.^a It may be presumed that Crescentius, the sixth General, was, from age or temper, less rigorous as to this vital law. He, too, was deposed from his high place, and John of Parma became General of the Order. John of Parma^{*} was, it might be said (if St. Francis himself was not the parent of the Spiritualist Franciscans), that parent; he was the extremest of the extreme. His first act was a visitation of all the monasteries of the Order, the enforcement of that indispensable virtue which would brook no infringement whatever. John of Parma was employed by Innocent IV. in Greece, in an endeavour to reconcile the Oriental schism. In 1251 he was again in Rome. In 1256, exactly the very year in which came forth the daring book of William de St. Amour, there were strange murmurs, sullen suppressed murmurs against John

^a Chroniques des Frères Mineurs, c. xlii. p. 27.

^{*} The best account which I have read of John of Parma is in the Hist.

Littéraire de la France, t. xx. p. 23. But the whole of this development of spiritual Franciscanism will be more fully traced hereafter.

of Parma. He was deposed, and only by the influence of the Cardinal Ottobuoni permitted to dwell in retirement at Rieti. There seems but slight doubt that he was deposed as the author of the Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel.⁷ It needed all the commanding gentleness, the unrivalled learning, the depth of piety, in St. Bonaventura, the new General, to allay the civil feud, and delay for some years the fatal schism among the followers of St. Francis — the revolt of the Spiritualists from the Order.

The war continued to rage in Paris, notwithstanding a short truce brought about by the King and the Bishops. Bull after bull arrived.² Pope Alexander appealed at length to the King; he demanded of the secular power the exile of the obstinate leaders of the Anti-Mendicant party, William de St. Amour, Eudes of Douai, Nicolas Dean of Bar-sur-Aube, and Christian Canon of Beauvais.³ Before the King (St. Louis), whose awful reverence and passionate attachment to the Mendicant Orders were well known, had determined on his course, William of St. Amour had published his terrible book on the "Perils of the Last Times." This book, written in the name, perhaps with the aid and concurrence of the theologians of the University, was more dangerous, because it denounced not openly the practices of the Friars, but it

The Perils of
the Last
Times.

⁷ It was the great object of Wadding and of Staraglia to release the memory of a General of their order from the authorship of an heretical book. It is attributed to him, or to Gerard da Borgo san Donnino, under his auspices, by Nicolas Eymeric. Direct. Inquis. ii. v. 24. Bzovius, sub ann. 1250. Bulæus, p. 299. See also Tillemont's

impartial summing up, p. 157.

² Tillemont, p. 182.

³ On these men compare Tillemont, p. 144. Thomas Canteptrat, among later writers the great enemy of William de St. Amour, admits that he seduced the clergy and people of Rome by his eloquence.

was a relentless, covert, galling exposure of them and of their proceedings. That they were meant as the forerunners of Antichrist, the irrefragable signs of the "perils of the last times," none could doubt. The book was sent by the indignant King himself to Rome. The University had endeavoured in vain to anticipate the more rapid movements of their adversary. They had despatched a mission (the very four men condemned by the Pope) to Rome, bearing the Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel, and demanding the condemnation of that flagrantly heretical book.^b They had obtained letters of recommendation from all the chapters in the province of Rheims.

Ere they arrived, the all-powerful Dominicans had struck their blow. The "Perils of the Last Times" had been submitted to the examination of four Cardinals, one of them a Dominican—Hugo de St. Cher, who sat as judge in his own cause. It was condemned as unjust, wicked, execrable; it was burned in the presence of the Pope, before the Cathedral at Anagni.

William de St. Amour stood alone in Rome against the Pope Alexander, the Cardinals, and the Dominicans, headed by Hugo de St. Cher.^c He conducted his defence with consummate courage and no less consummate address. It was impossible to fix upon him the fatal guilt of heresy.^d His health began to fail; he was prohibited for a time from returning to France, perhaps was not sorry to obey the prohibition. He does not seem even to have been de-

^b The introduction had been before or was now formally condemned at Rome.

^c On Hugo de St. Cher, Tillemont, p. 15.

^d It was condemned "non propter hæresim quam continebat sed quia contra præfatos religiosos seditionem et scandala concitabat."—G. Nangis.

prived of his benefices.^e His quiet place of exile was his native St. Amour, in Franche Comté, not yet in the dominions of France. He was followed by the respect and fond attachment of the whole University.

But it is singular that William of St. Amour was not only the champion of the learned University, he was the hero of Parisian vulgar poetry.

Popular
party.

Notwithstanding that the King, and that King St. Louis, espoused the cause of the Mendicants, the people were on the other side. The popular Preachers, and the popular ministers, who had sprung from the people, spoke the language, expressed at the same time and excited the sympathies and the religious passions of the lowest of the low, had ceased to be popular. They had been even outpreached by William of St. Amour. The Book of the Perils of the Last Times was disseminated in the vulgar tongue. The author of the romance of the Rose,^f above all, Rutebeuf, in his rude verse addressed to the vulgar of all orders, heaped scorn and hatred on the Mendicants.^g

* Tillemont, p. 212.

f "Si j'en devoie perdre la vie,
Ou estre mys contre droicture,
Comme Saint Pol en chartre obscure,
Ou estre banny du Royaulme,
A tort, comme fut Maistre Guillaume
De St. Amour, que ypocrisie
Fist exillier par grant envie,"
Roman de la Rose, l. 12123.

Lorris talks of scorning "papelorderie." Paris writes, "Subsannavit populus, eleemosynas consuetas subtrahens, vocans eos hypocritas, antichristi successores (antecessores?) pseudo-prædicatores."

g See especially the two poems, de Maistre Guillaume de St. Amour, pp. 71 and 78, "or est en son pais reclus"—on St. Amour, p. 81.

"Ou a nul si vallant homme
Qui por l'apostoille de Romme,
Ne por le rol,
Ne veut desreer son error,
Ainz en a souffert le desor
De perdre honor?"—P. 85.

Compare also "La Bataille des Vices contre les Vertus" (ii, p. 65), "La Discorde de l'Université et les Jacobins," "Les Ordres de Paris," &c. &c., with constant reference to the notes. The curious reader will not content himself with the valuable edition of Rutebeuf by M. Jubinal; he will consult also the excellent article by M. Paullin Paris in the *Hist. Lit. de la France*, xx p. 710. Rutebeuf reads to me like our Skelton; he has the same flowing rapid doggrel, the same satiric verve,

The war between the University and the Dominicans continued, if in less active, in sullen obstinacy. ^{Great Schoolmen.} They were still the rival powers, who would not coalesce, each striving to engross public education. Yet after all the Mendicants won a noble victory, not by the authority of the Pope, nor by the influence of the King, but by outshining the fame of the University through their own unrivalled teachers. On the death of Alexander IV., William of St. Amour returned to Paris; he was received with frantic rapture.^a His later book,ⁱ more cautious, yet not less hostile, was received with respect and approbation by Pope Clement IV.^k Yet who could deny, who presume to question, the transcendant fame, the complete mastery of the Dominicans in theology, and that philosophy which in those days aspired not to be more than the humble handmaid of theology? (Albert the Great might, perhaps, have views of more free and independent science, and so far, of course, became a suspected magician.) Who could compete with their Doctors, Hugo de St. Cher, Albert the Great, Thomas of Aquino? The Franciscans, too, had boasted their Alexander Hales,

with not much of poetry, but both are always alive. On the whole of this feud, and its connection with Averroism read the very remarkable pages of M. Ernest Renan, *Averroes et l'Averroïsme*, from page 259. Paris, 1861.

^a May 1261. "De bacchantibus summâ in lætitiâ omnibus Magistris Parisiensibus."—Du Boulay.

ⁱ *Collectiones Catholicæ*.

^k See on this book, and others, *Hist. Lit. de la France*, article St. Amour, t. xix. 197. To his earlier works belongs, not only the "De Periculis" (in his

works and in *Fasciculus of Brown*, who translated it, with some sermons), but also a book, *De Antichristo*, under the pseudonyme of Nicolas de Oresme. The object of this is to show the coming of Antichrist, of which the chief signs are the setting up the Everlasting Gospel against the true Gospels, and the multitudes of false preachers, false prophets, wandering and begging friars.—*Ibid.* See also account of the writings of Gerard of Abbeville, another powerful antagonist of the Mendicants.

they had now their Bonaventura: Duns Scotus, the rival of Aquinas, was speedily to come.^m The University could not refuse to itself the honour of conferring its degrees on Aquinas,ⁿ and on Bonaventura. And still the rivals in scholastic theology, who divided the world (the barren it might be, and dreary intellectual world, yet in that age the only field for mental greatness), were the descendants of the representatives of the two Orders. The Scotists and the Thomists fought what was thought a glorious fight on the highest metaphysics of the Faith, till the absorbing question, the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, arose to commit the two Orders in mortal and implacable antagonism.

The hatred of the Mendicants might seem to pass over to the secular clergy. In every part of Europe the hierarchy still opposed with dignity or with passion the encroachments of these fatal rivals. More than twenty years later met a National Council at Paris. Four Archbishops and twenty Bishops took their seats in a hall of the Episcopal Palace. The Masters, Doctors, Bachelors, and Students of the University, were summoned to hear the decrees of the Council. The heads of the other religious orders, not Mendicant, had their writs of convocation. Simon de Beaulieu, Archbishop of Bourges, took the lead. In a grave sermon, he declared that charity to their flocks demanded their interposition; their flocks, for whom

^m Those who esteemed themselves the genuine Franciscans, always sternly protested against the pride of learning, to which their false brethren aspired in the universities. Hear Jacopone da Todi :

"Tal è, qual è, tal è,
Non c'è religione

Mal vedemmo Parigi,
Che n'è destrutto Assisi.
Colla sua lettorìa
L'han messo in mala via."

ⁿ Thomas Aquinas condescended to answer William of St. Amour. See *Adversus Impugnantes Religionem*.

they were bound to lay down their lives. He inveighed against the Dominicans and the Franciscans, who were sowing discord in every diocese, in every rank, preaching and hearing confessions without license from the Bishop and the curate. Their insolence must be repressed. He appealed to the University to join in an appeal to the Pope to define more rigidly their asserted privileges. William of Macon, Bishop of Amiens, the most learned jurist in France, followed: he explained the bull of Innocent IV., which prohibited the Friars from preaching, hearing confessions, imposing penance without permission of the Bishop or lawful pastor. The whole clergy of France were ready to shed their blood in defence of their rights and duties.^o

^o This is well related in the *Hist. Lit. de la France*, t. xxi. article *Simon de Beauvieu*.

CHAPTER III.

Urban IV. Clement IV. Charles of Anjou.

ALEXANDER IV. died an exile from Rome at Viterbo. Either from indolence or irresolution, he had allowed the College of Cardinals to dwindle to the number of eight. These eight were of various nations and orders: two Bishops, Otho a Frenchman, Stephen a Hungarian; two Presbyters, John an English Cistercian, Hugo a Dominican from Savoy; four Deacons, Richard a Roman, and Octavian a Tuscan of noble birth, John another Roman, Ottobuoni a Genoese. There was no prevailing interest, no commanding name. More than three months passed in jealous dispute. The strife was fortuitously ended by the appearance of James Pantaleon, the Patriarch of Jerusalem. He was elevated by sudden acclamation to the Papal throne.

Death of
Alexander
IV.
June 12, 1261.

The Patriarch was the son of a cobbler at Troyes:^a and it was a wonderful sight, as it were, a provocation to the first principles of Christianity, to behold in those days of feudal monarchy and feudal aristocracies a man of such base parentage in the highest dignity upon earth. James had risen by regular steps up the ascent of ecclesiastical advancement, a Priest at Laon, a

^a "Pauperculi veteramentarii calceamenta resarcientis."—S. Antonin. iii. xiv. p. 59—big words to describe a cobbler. According to the Hist. Littér. (article Urban IV., t. xiv. p. 49),

there is a tapestry at Troyes, in the Church of St. Urban, representing Pantaleon (the father) in his shop full of boots and shoes, and his mother spinning and watching little James.

Canon at Lyons, Archdeacon of Liège, a Missionary Legate in Livonia, Pomerania, and Prussia,^b a pilgrim and Patriarch of Jerusalem. Such a man could not so have risen without great abilities or virtues. But if the rank in which he was born was honourable, the place was inauspicious. Had the election not fallen on a Frenchman, Italy might perhaps have escaped the descent of Charles of Anjou, with its immediate crimes and cruelties; and the wars almost of centuries, which had their origin in that fatal event. Any Pope, indeed, must have had great courage to break through the traditional policy of his predecessors (where the whole power rests on tradition, a bold, if not a perilous act). Urban must have recanted the long-cherished hatred and jealousy of the house of Hohenstaufen; he must have clearly foreseen (himself a Frenchman) that the French dominion in Naples would be as fatal as the German to the independence of Italy and of the Church; that Charles of Anjou would soon become as dangerous a neighbour as Manfred.

Urban IV. took up his residence in Viterbo: already might appear his determined policy to renew the close alliance between the Papacy and his native France. The holy character of Louis, who by the death of Frederick and the abeyance of the Empire, by the wars of the Barons against Henry of England, had become the most powerful monarch in Christendom, gave further preponderance to his French inclinations.^c He filled up the College of Cardinals with fourteen new prelates, at least one half of whom were French.

^b See in Voigt, *Geschichte Preussens*, ii. p. 591, his wise conduct as a mediator between the Teutonic Order, and Swartobol, Duke of Pomerania, the ally of the heathen Prussians.

^c See in Raynaldus the verses of Theodoricus Vallicolor, sub ann. 1262 sub fine.

The Empire still hung in suspense between the conflicting claims of Richard of Cornwall and Alfonso of Castile: Urban, with dexterous The Empire. skill, perpetuated the anarchy. By timely protestation, and by nicely balancing the hopes of both parties that his adjudication, earnestly and submissively sought by both, would be in favour of each, he suppressed a growing determination to place the crown on the head of young Conradin. Against this scheme Urban raised his voice with all the energy of his predecessors, and dwelt with the same menacing censure on the hereditary and indelible crimes of the house of Swabia: he threatened excommunication on all who should revive the claims of that impious race. After a grave examination of the pretensions of Richard of Cornwall and Alfonso of Castile, he cited both parties to plead their cause before him, and still drew out, with still baffled expectations of a speedy sentence, the controversy which he had no design to close.

The Latin Empire of Constantinople had fallen: Baldwin II. sought refuge, and only found refuge in the West. The Greek Palæologi were on the throne of the East, and seemed not indisposed to negotiate on the religious question with the Pope. The Holy Land, the former diocese of Pope Urban, was in the most deplorable state: the Sultan of Babylon had risen again in irresistible power; he had overrun the whole country; the Christians were hardly safe in Ptolemaïs. In vain the Pope appealed to his own countrymen in behalf of his old beloved diocese; the clergy of France withheld their contributions, and whether from Crusade fails. some jealousy of their lowly countryman, now so much above them; or since the cause had so utterly failed even under their King, it might seem absolutely despe-

rate, the Archbishops of Sens and of Bourges were unmoved by the Papal rebukes or remonstrances, and continued, at least not to encourage the zeal of their clergy.

The affairs of Italy and Naples threatened almost the personal safety of the Pope. Manfred was at the height of his power; he no longer deigned to make advances for reconciliation, which successive Popes seemed to treat with still stronger aversion. Everywhere Ghibellinism was in the ascendant. The Marquis Pallavicini and Buoso da Doara at the head of the Cremonese, maintained more than an equal balance in Lombardy. Pisa and Sienna, rampant after the fall of the Guelfic rule in Florence, received the letters of the Pope with civil contempt. It might appear that Manfred was admitted into the rank of the legitimate Sovereigns of Christendom. In vain the Pope denounced the wickedness, the impiety of a connexion with an excommunicated family, the King of Arragon did not scruple to marry his son to the daughter of Manfred. The marriage of the son of Louis of France to the daughter of Arragon, increased the jealous alarm of the Pope. Even Louis did not permit the Papal remonstrances to interfere with these arrangements.

Miserable, in the meantime, was the state of Italy.

Scarcely a city or territory from the confines of Apulia to the Alps was undisturbed by one of those accursed feuds, either of nobles against the people, or of Guelfs against Ghibellines. Nowhere was rest. Now one party, now another must dislodge from their homes, and go into exile. Urban could not remain in Rome. The stronger cities were waging war on the weaker. All the labours of the Holy Inquisition and all the rigour of their penalties, instead of extirpating

the heresy of the Paterins and various Manichean sects, might seem to promote their increase. In general, it was enough to be Ghibelline, and to oppose the Church, down came the excommunication; all sacred offices ceased. It may be well imagined how deeply all this grieved religious men, the triumph and joy of the heretics.^d

Only to France could the Pope, even if no Frenchman, have looked for succour, if determined to maintain the unextinguished feud with Manfred. Already the crown of Naples had been offered to Charles of Anjou. Urban IV. first laid it at the feet of Louis himself, either for his brother or one of his sons. But the delicate conscience of Louis revolted from the usurpation of a crown, to which were already three claimants of right. If it was hereditary, it belonged to Conradin; if at the disposal of the Pope, it was already awarded, and had not been surrendered by Edmund of England; and Manfred was on the throne, summoned, it might seem, by the voice of the nation. Manfred's claim, as maintained by an irreligious alliance with the Saracens, and as the possession of a Christian throne by one accused of favouring the Saracens, might easily be dismissed; but there was strong doubt as to the others. The Pope, who perhaps from the first had preferred the more active and enterprising Charles of Anjou, because he could not become King of France, in vain argued and took all the guilt on his own head:^e "the soul of Louis was as precious to the Pope and the Cardinals as to himself." Louis did not refuse his assent to the

^d See this and much more to the same effect in Muratori, *Annal.* sub ann. 1263.

notary who was empowered to treat as to the conditions of the assumption of the throne of Naples.—Raynald., sub ann. 1262.

^e *Epist.* to Albert of Parma, the

acceptance of the crown by his brother. It is said, that he was glad to rid his court, if not his realm, which he was endeavouring to subdue to monastic gravity, of his gayer brother, who was constantly summoning tournaments, was addicted to gaming, and every other knightly diversion.^f

Charles of Anjou might seem designated for this service. Valiant, adventurous, with none of that punctilious religiousness which might seem to set itself above ecclesiastical guidance, yet with all outward respect for the doctrine and ceremonial of the Church; with vast resources, holding, in right of his wife, the principality of Provence; he was a leader whom all the knighthood of France, who were eager to find vent for their valour, and to escape the peaceful inactivity or dull control under which they were kept by the scrupulous justice of Louis IX., would follow with headlong zeal. Charles had hardly yet shown that intense selfishness and cruelty which, in the ally, in the king chosen by the Pope for his vassal realm, could not but recoil upon the Pope himself. He had already indeed besieged and taken Marseilles, barbarously executed all the citizens who had defended the liberties of their town, and abrogated all the rights and privileges of that flourishing municipality. His ambitious wife, Beatrice of Provence, jealous of being the sister of three queens, herself no queen, urged her unreluctant husband to this promising enterprise. But the Pope had still much to do; there were disputes between the sisters, especially the Queen of France and the Countess of Provence, on certain rights as co-heiresses of that land. Though the

^f "Quies sui regni, quam perturbabat Carolus in torneamentis et aleis.
—Ptolom., Luc. c. xxv.

treaty was negotiated, drawn up, perhaps actually signed, it was not yet published. It was thought more safe and decent to obtain a more formal abjuration of his title from Edmund of England.

Bartholomew Pignatelli, Archbishop of Cosenza, a Guelfic prelate of noble blood, received a commission as legate to demand the surrender of the crown of Sicily. He was afterwards to lay the result of his mission before Louis of France, in order to obtain his full consent to the investiture of Charles of Anjou. Henry III., threatened by the insurrection of his barons, might well be supposed wholly unable to assert the pretensions of his son to a foreign crown; yet he complained with some bitterness that the treasures of England, so long poured into the lap of the Pontiff, had met with such return.^g Urban endeavoured to allay his indignation by espousing his cause against the Earl of Leicester (Simon de Montfort) and the barons of England: he absolutely annulled all their leagues.^h William, Archdeacon of Paris, the Pope's chaplain, had power to relieve Henry from all his constitutional oaths.ⁱ As the war became more imminent, more inevitable, both before and after the rejection of the award in favour of the King by the acknowledged arbiter Louis IX., the Pope adhered with imperious fidelity to the King. Ugo Falcodi, Cardinal of St. Sabina, was sent as Legate to command the vassal kingdom to peace: the rebellious subjects were to be ordered to submit to their sovereign, and abandon their audacious pretensions

^g See despatch to Archbishop of Cosenza, MS., B. M., July 25, 1263, to the King, *ibid.* v. x. Instructions at full length, dated Orvieto, Oct. 4.

^h "Conjuraciones omnes cassamus et irritamus. Ad fideles." — MS., B. M. 23rd Aug. 1263.

ⁱ MS., B. M., letter to Archdeacon of Paris.

to liberty. The Legate was armed with the amplest power to prohibit the observation of all the statutes, though sworn to by the King, the Queen, and the Prince; to suspend and depose all prelates or ecclesiastics; to deprive all counts, barons, or laymen, who held in fee estates of the Church, and to proceed at his discretion to any spiritual or temporal penalties.^k He had power to provide for all who should accompany him to England by canonries or other benefices.^m He had power of ecclesiastical censure against archbishops, bishops, monasteries, exempt or not exempt, and all others.ⁿ He had power to depose all ecclesiastics in rebellion,^o and of appointing loyal clerks to their benefices.^p In the case of the rebellion of archbishops or prelates, counts or barons, indulgences were to be granted to all who would serve or raise soldiers for the King, as if they went to the Holy Land:^q the Friar preachers and Friar minors were to aid the King to the utmost.^r After the award of the King of France, which the Pope confirmed,^s Urban becomes even more peremp-

^k "Ad quorum observantiam ipsos decrevimus non tenere, eosdem prelatos et clericos per suspensionis sententiam ab officiis, dignitatibus, honoribus et beneficiis: comites vero, barones et laicos predictos per privationem feudorum et omnium bonorum, quæ a quibusdam Ecclesiis predicti regni et aliis detinent et alios spiritualiter et temporaliter, prout expedire videris."—MS., B. M., Nov. 23, 1263. See also the next letter.

^m "Non obstante Statuto Ecclesiarum ipsarum de certo clericorum numero, juramento, confirmatione, sive quâcunque firmitate, vallato."—Ibid. v. xi. p. 48.

ⁿ "Communia universitatis et populos locorum quorumlibet."

^o Clerks, "indevoti, ingrati, inobedientes."

^p Even at this time peremptory orders were given for provision for Italian ecclesiastics in the English Church. John de Ebulo claimed the deanery of St. Paul's. The chapter resisted. He resigned the deanery, but accepted a canonry; till a canonry should be vacant, a certain pension.—P. 170.

Orvieto, Nov. 27. 1263.

^r Ibid., Nov. 27.

^s Rymer, i. 776, 778, 780, 784.

tory; he commands the infamous provision, one of those of Oxford, to be erased from the statute book; all those of Oxford are detestable and impious; he marks with special malediction that which prohibited the introduction of apostolic bulls or briefs into the realm, and withheld the rich subsidies from Rome.⁶ The Archbishop was to excommunicate all who should not submit to the award. The King's absolute illimitable power is asserted in the strongest terms.⁴ The expulsion of strangers, and the assumption of exclusive authority by native Englishmen, are severely reprobated.⁵

But the Cardinal Legate dared not to land in the island—even the Archbishop Boniface (of Savoy) would not venture into his province. Ere long the whole realm, the King himself, and Prince Edward are in the power of the Barons. The Legate must content himself with opening his court at Boulogne. There he issued his unobeyed citation to the Barons to appear, pronounced against them the sentence of excommunication, and placed London and the Cinque Ports under an interdict.⁷ Ugo Falcodi, when Pope, cherished a bitter remembrance of these affronting contempts.

Although the negotiations were all this time proceeding in secret with Charles of Anjou, the Pope cited Man-

⁶ The Pope's letters, at least, were after the award. "Nonnulli maledictionis alumpni, quædam statuta nepharia in depressionem libertatis ejusdem promulgasse dicuntur, videlicet quod quicumque literas apostolicas aut ipsius archiepiscopi in Angliam deferre præsumperit, graviter puniatur."—Orvieto, Feb. 20, 1264.

⁴ "Plenaria potestate in omnibus et per omnia."—Ibid.

⁵ The King of France "Retractavit

et cassavit illud statutum, per quod regnum Angliæ debebat per indigenas gubernari, et alienigenæ tenebantur ab eodem exire, ad illum minime reversuri."—Ibid.

⁷ "Propter imminentem turbationem." Feb. 15. His citations were to be valid, if issued in France. The Bishop of Lincoln was cited for various acts of contumacy to the Holy See.—June 4, 1264.

fred to appear before him to answer on certain charges, which he published to the world.^a They comprehended various acts of cruelty, the destruction of the city of Aria by the Saracens, the execution, called murder, of certain nobles, contempt of the ecclesiastical interdict, attachment to Mohammedan rites, the murder of an ambassador of Conradin.^a Manfred approached the borders; but the Pope insisted that he should be accompanied by only eighty men: Manfred refused to trust himself to a Papal safe-conduct.

But as he was not permitted to approach in peace, Manfred, well informed of the transactions with Charles of Anjou, threatened to approach in war.^b From Florence, from Pisa, from Sienna, the German and Saracen, as well as the Apulian and Sicilian forces began to draw towards Orvieto. The Pope hastily summoned a Council: and some troops came to his aid from various quarters. But a sudden event seemed to determine the descent of Charles of Anjou upon Italy, and brought at once the protracted negotiations, concerning the terms of his acceptance of the throne of Naples, to a close. The Roman people, having risen against the nobles, and cast many of them out of the city, determined on appointing a senator of not less than royal rank. One party proposed Manfred, another his son-in-law, the King of Arragon, a third Charles of Anjou. The Pope was embarrassed: he was compelled to maintain Charles of Anjou against his competitors: and yet a great sovereign as senator of Rome, and for life (as it was proposed), was the death-blow to the Papal rule in Rome. Charles of Anjou felt his strength; he yielded to the Pope's request to limit

^a Oct. 2, 1264.

^a Raynaldus, sub ann.

^b Giannone, xix. 1.

the grant of the senatorship to five years; but he seized the opportunity to lower the terms on which he was to be invested with the realm of Naples. He demanded a diminution of the tribute of ten thousand ounces of gold which Naples was to pay annually to the See of Rome. Such demand was unjust to him who was about to incur vast expense in the cause of Rome; unjust to Naples, which would be burthened with heavy taxation; impolitic, as preventing the new King from treating his subjects with splendid liberality. He required that the descent of the crown should be in the female as well as in the male line: that he should himself judge of the number of soldiers necessary for the expedition. He demanded the abrogation of the stipulation, that if any of his posterity should obtain the Empire, Lombardy or Tuscany, the crown of Naples should pass from them; the enlargement of the provision, that only a limited extent of possession in Lombardy or in Tuscany should be tenable with the Neapolitan crown.

Charles was so necessary to Urban, the weight of Urban's influence was so powerful in Rome, that the treaty was at length signed. Charles sent a representative to Rome to accept the Senatorship.^c

Manfred now kept no measures with the hostile Pope. His Saracen troops on one side, his German on the other, broke into the Roman territories. But a crusading army of Guelfs of some force had arisen around the Pope; and some failures and disasters checked the career of Manfred. Pandolf, Count of Anguillara, recovered Sutri from the Saracens. Peter de Vico, a powerful noble, had revolted from the Pope, and having

^c Charles agreed to surrender the senatorship when master of Naples. How far did he intend to observe this condition?—See Sismondi, p. 141.

secret intelligence in Rome, hoped to betray the city into the power of Manfred: he was repelled by the Romans. Percival d'Oria, who had captured many of the Guelfe castles, was accidentally drowned in the river Negra during a battle near Rieti: his death was bruited about as a miracle. Yet was not the Pope safe; Orvieto began to waver: he set forth to Perugia; he died on the road.

Oct. 2 or 10,
1264.

Death of
Urban IV.
Oct. 2, 1264.

Christendom at this peculiar crisis awaited with trembling anxiety the determination of the conclave: but this suspense of nearly five months did not arise altogether out of the dissensions in that body. Urban IV. had secured the predominance of the French interest; the election had been long made before it was published. It had fallen on Ugo Falcodi, that Papal Legate, who, on the northern shore of France, was issuing Urban's sentence of excommunication against the Barons of England, while that Pope was no longer living. Ugo Falcodi was born at St. Gilles upon the Rhône: he had been married before he took orders, and had two daughters. He was profoundly learned in the law; from the Archdiaconate of Narbonne he had been brought to Italy, and created Cardinal of S. Sabina. Of his policy there could be no doubt; Manfred has but a new and more vigorous enemy; Charles of Anjou a more devoted friend. The Cardinal of S. Sabina passed secretly over the Alps, suddenly appeared at Perugia, accepted the tiara, assumed the name of Clement IV., and then took up his residence at Viterbo.

Clement IV.
Feb. 5, 1265.

Yet Manfred could hardly have dreaded a foe so active, so implacable, so unscrupulous, or Charles hoped for an ally so zealous, so obsequious, above all, so prodigal. Letters were despatched through Christendom, to England, to France, urging immediate succour

to the Holy See, imperilled by the Saracen Manfred, and trusting for her relief only to the devout Charles. Everywhere the tenths were levied, notwithstanding the murmurs of Bishops and clergy; tenths still under the pretext of aid for Constantinople and Jerusalem. It was rebellion to refuse to pay; the Pope was even lavish of the Papal treasures; he pledged the ecclesiastical estates; usurious interest accumulated on the principal. A loan of 100,000 livres was raised on the security of the possessions of the Church in Rome (in vain many of the Cardinals protested), even on the churches from whence the Cardinals took their titles: St. Peter's, the Lateran, the Hospitals, and the convent of St. George were alone excepted. The Legates, the Prelates, the Mendicants were ordered to preach the Crusade with unwearied activity. They had new powers of absolution; they might admit as soldiers of Christ incendiaries, those excommunicated for refusing to pay tenths, sacrilegious persons, astrologers, those who had struck a clerk, or sold merchandise to Mohammedans, ecclesiastics under interdict, or under suspension, married clerks; those who, in violation of the canons, had practised law or physic. All attempts were made to maintain the Papal interests in Rome, and to excite revolt in the kingdom of Naples.^d

Charles of Anjou had now declared himself Senator of Rome, and invested with the crown of Naples. He had been long collecting his forces for the conquest. But Italy might seem to refuse access to the stranger. The Ghibellines were in the ascendant in Lombardy. The Marquis Pallavicini and Buoso da Doara, with the Cremonese, watched the passes of the Alps. The fleets

^d Martene. Compare Cherrier, iv. 79.

of Pisa and of Manfred swept the sea with eighty galleys; the mouth of the Tiber was stopped by a great dam of timber and stone. But courage and fortune favoured Charles: he boldly set sail from Marseilles with hardly more than twenty galleys and one thousand men-at-arms. A violent storm scattered the fleet of Pisa and Naples: he entered the Tiber, broke through all obstacles, and appeared at Rome at Pentecost, the time appointed for his inauguration as Senator. He chose for his abode the Pope's Lateran palace. That was an usurpation which the Pope could not endure: he sent a strong remonstrance against the presumption of the Senator of Rome, who had dared without permission to occupy the abode of the Pope: he was commanded to quit the palace and seek some more fitting residence. Yet even at this time Clement IV. insisted on dictating the terms on which Charles was to hold the kingdom of Naples, its reversion to the Papacy in default of heirs of his line, its absolute incompatibility with the Empire, the tribute of eight thousand crowns of gold, the homage and the white horse in token of fealty. Manfred attempted to provoke Charles to battle before the arrival of his main army; he advanced with a large force, many of them Saracens, to the neighbourhood of Rome. The prudence of the Pope restrained the impatience of Charles.^e

It was not till the end of the summer that the main army of Charles came down the pass of Mont Cenis into friendly Piedmont. It was splendidly provided, and boasted some of the noblest knights of France and Flanders. The Pope had absolved all those who had taken the cross for the Holy Land: equal hopes of

• Raynaldus, sub ann. 1265.

Heaven were attached to this new Crusade against Manfred, whom it was the policy to represent as more than half a Saracen. The Legate, Cardinal of S. Cecilia, had exacted a tenth from the French clergy. Robert of Bethune took the command; Guy of Beauvais, Bishop of Auxerre, was among the most distinguished warriors; there were Vendômes, Montmorencies, Mirepoix, De Montforts, Sullys, De Beaumonts. The Ghibellines made a great show of resistance: the Carrocios of Pavia, Cremona, and Piacenza Advance of the army. moved out as to a great battle. But the French army passed on, threatened Brescia; Milan and the Marquis of Montferrat ventured not to take their part openly, but supplied them with provisions. But through the treachery of the Ghibellines, bought, according to some writers of the time, by French gold, or intimidated by the great French force (which the Chronicles, perhaps faithfully recording the rumours of the day, represented as sixty thousand, forty thousand, thirty thousand strong) the allies of Manfred^f finally stood aloof in sullen passiveness. The French reached the Po. They advanced still without serious encounter, and joined their master in Rome. Charles, though it was the depth of winter, allowed no long repose. In Rome. He advanced to Ceperano, with the Legate, the Cardinal St. Angelo, preaching the Crusade on the way. In Naples. Manfred prepared himself for a gallant resistance; but he had neither calculated on the treachery of some of his own subjects, nor on the impetuous valour of the French. The passage of the Garigliano was betrayed by the Count of Caserta. San Germano, in

^f The annals of Modena give 5000 horse, 15,000 foot, 10,000 bowmen.— See the Chronicles in Muratori.

which he had secured a strong force and ample stores, was taken by assault. Manfred's courage was unshaken; he concentrated his army near Benevento, but he sent messengers to Charles to propose negotiations. "Tell the Sultan of Nocera that I will have neither peace nor treaty with him; I will send him to Hell, or he shall send me to Paradise!" Such was the reply of Charles of Anjou. The French army defiled into the plain before Benevento. Manfred is accused of rashness for venturing on a decisive battle. The French army were in want of money and of provisions; a protracted war might have worn them out. Manfred's nephew, Conrad of Antioch, was in the Abruzzi, Count Frederick in Calabria, and the Count of Ventimiglia in Sicily; but Manfred perhaps knew that nothing less than splendid success could hold in awe the wavering fidelity of his subjects. He drew up his army in three divisions. On the French side appeared, beside the three, a fourth. "Who are these?" inquired Manfred. "The Guelfs of Florence and the exiles from other cities." "Where are the Ghibellines, for whom I have done and hazarded so much?" The Germans and the Saracens fought with desperate valour. Manfred commanded the third army of the Barons of Apulia to move to the charge. Some, among them the great Chamberlain, hesitated, turned, fled.⁵ Manfred plunged in his desperation into the midst of the fray, and fell unknown by an unknown hand. The body was found after three days and recognised by a boor, who threw it across an ass, and went shouting along, "Who will buy King Manfred?" He was struck down by one

Battle of
Benevento.
Feb. 6, 1266.

Death of
Manfred.

⁵ Dante brands the treason of the Apulians: this was the field

"ove fu bugiardo
Ciascun Pugliese."—*Inferno*, xxviii. 16.

of Manfred's Barons; the body was taken to King Charles.^h Charles summoned the Barons who were prisoners, and demanded if it was indeed the body of Manfred. Galvano Lancia looked on it, hid his face in his hands, and burst into tears. The generous French urged that it should receive honourable burial. "It might be," said Charles, "were he not under excommunication." The body was hastily interred by the bridge of Benevento: the warriors, French and Apulian, cast each a stone, and a huge mound appeared,ⁱ like those under which repose the heroes of ancient times. But the Papal jealousy would not allow the Hohenstaufen to repose within the territory of the Church. The Archbishop of Cosenza, by the command of the Pope, ordered him to be torn up from his rude sepulchre. He was again buried in unconsecrated ground, on the borders of the kingdom of Naples, near the river Verde.^k

Feb. 26.

So perished the noble Manfred, a poet like his father, all accomplished as his father,^m a man of consummate courage and great ability. Naples could hardly have had a more promising founder for a native dynasty. But Naples was too near Rome; and the house of Hohenstaufen had not yet fulfilled its destiny.

The first act of the triumphant army of the Cross, under the Pope's ally, was the sacking of the Papal city of Benevento, a general massacre of both sexes,

^h Compare the letter of Charles announcing the victory of the Pope, before the body was found.

Ricordano Malespini.

^k "L' ossa del corpo mio sarieno ancora In cò del ponte, presso a Benevento, Sotta la guardia della grave mora; Or le bagna la pioggia, e muove 'l vento.

Di fuor dal regno, quasi lungo 'l Verde
Ove le transmuto a lume spento."
Dante, *Purgat.* iii, 128.

^m "Lo Re spesso la notte andava per Barletta, cantando Strambotti e canzoni, che iva pigliando il fresco, e con esso ivano dei Musici Siciliani ch' eran: gran Romanzatori."—Matteo Spinelli.

of all ages, violation of women, even of women dedicated to God: the churches did not escape the common profanation. Charles was King of Naples: the Capital yielded, Capua surrendered the vast treasures accumulated by Manfred. The King's officers were weighing these treasures. "What need of scales?" said Ugo di Balzo, a Provençal knight: he kicked the whole into three portions: "This is for my Lord the King, this for the Queen, this for your Knights." The whole of Apulia, Calabria, Sicily submitted to the Sovereign invested by the Pope.^a But they soon began to appreciate the change, to which they had looked as a great deliverance, as the dawn of a golden age of peace and plenty. The French soldiers spread wanton devastation wherever they went, neither respecting property, nor the rights of men nor the honour of women. Naples was at first disposed to admire the magnificence of Charles and his Barons; but those who had reproved the luxuriousness of Frederick's or the ruder splendour of Manfred's court, found that of the Provençal King at least not more favourable to the higher morals.^o Instead of being relieved from their heavy taxation, they were the prey of still more merciless exaction. King Charles seized the books and registers of the royal revenues in the hands of Gazzolino de Marra. Every royal privilege, subsidy, collection, or

Sack of Benevento.

Tyranny of the French.

^a Clement writes to Cardinal Otto-buoni, Legate in England: "Carissimus in Christo filius E. (C.) Rex Siciliæ illustris tenet totum regnum, illius hominis pestilentis cadaver putidum, uxorem et liberos optinens et thesaurum."—MS., B. M., May 1266. The March, Florence, Pistoia, Siena, Pisa, had returned to their

allegiance. Messengers were come from Uberto Pallavicini and the Cremonese. There were hopes of Genoa.

^o Muratori writes thus:—"Per altor la venuta de' Franzesi quella fu, che cominciò ad introdurre il lusso, e qualche cosa di peggio e fece mutar i costumi degl' Italiani."—Sul' ann.

tax was enforced with more rigorous severity. New justiciaries, officers of customs, notaries, and revenue collectors sprung up in hosts, draining without restraint the impoverished people. The realm began too late to deplore its own versatility, to look back on the days of good King Manfred. Thus are these feelings expressed by a Guelfic historian: "O King Manfred, little did we know thee when alive! Now that thou art dead, we deplore thee in vain! Thou appearedst as a ravening wolf among the flocks of this kingdom; now fallen by our fickleness and inconstancy under the present government, after which we groaned, we find that thou wert a lamb. Now we know by bitter comparison how mild was thy rule. We thought it hard that part of our substance must be yielded into thy hands, now we find that all our substance and even our persons are the prey of the stranger."^p

Clement IV. could not close his ears to these sad complaints. He had forced himself to remonstrate on the sack of Benevento; but through-
The Pope.
 out Italy the Guelfs rose again to power, Florence was in their hands, Pisa made supplication to the Pope to be released from excommunication. In Milan there was a Provençal governor, whose cruelties even surpassed Italian cruelties. Charles was manifestly aspiring to be supreme in Italy.^q

But the Pope did not neglect more remote offences. The Cardinal of S. Sabina had not forgotten the contemptuous refusal of the Barons of England
England.
 to accept his mediation.^r Henry III. was too useful, too

^p Saba Malespina, iii. 16.

^q See all the historians.

^r Letter to the Queen, complaining
 of the insolence of the Barons, who

had not permitted him to land in England when Legate.—MS., B. M., v. xii. p. 3.

profitable a vassal of the Roman See to be abandoned to his unruly subjects. Immediately on his accession the Pope had sent the Cardinal of S. Hadrian (Ottobuoni) as Legate, with the same ample powers with which himself had been invested.^s An interdict was laid upon the island if it refused to admit the Legate. If the Legate should not be permitted to land, he was to transmit inhibitions to the clergy, having equal force, inhibitions to allow no matrimonial rites to the rebels, or to communicate with them in any way whatever.^t He had the same authority to thrust his followers into dignities or benefices from which the rebellious clergy or those connected with the rebels were to be ejected. All sons of rebel Barons or Nobles, all nephews of rebel Churchmen were to be deprived of their parsonages or benefices, and declared incapable of holding them.^u No promotions were to be made to bishoprics or archbishoprics without express consent of the Holy See.^x It was admitted that many bishops were on the side of the Barons; no favour was to be shown to those of London, Worcester, Lincoln, or Ely; they were on no account to be released from excommunication.^y Tenths were to be levied for the Holy War.^z The Legate was to preach or cause to be preached a Crusade in England and even in Germany against the insurgent Barons.

* The bulls addressed to Ottobuoni are transcripts of those before addressed to the Cardinal S. Sabina, in the usual form, *mutatis mutandis*.—MS., B. M. They fill several pages.

^t Ibid., dated Perugia, June 1, 1265, p. 119. Since he had excommunicated "nonnullos barones et fautores eorum, et inhabitatores Quinque Portuum," if any of them had obtained letters of absolution, "in ægritudine verâ aut

simulatâ," unless they abandoned the party of Leicester they were to be as heathens and publicans.

^u Ibid., same date.

^x Ibid., same date.

^y Ibid., some months later, Oct. 1265.

^z Ibid., July 1. The Cistercians, Carthusians, Templars, Hospitallers, Teutonic Knights, Sisters of S. Clare, were alone exempt.

Louis of France was urged to take arms in defence of the common cause of monarchy against those rebels who were accused of a design to throw off altogether the kingly sway. Nothing less than a general league of Princes could put down those sons of wrath and of treason, the Barons of England.^a

The Pope, as Cardinal Legate, had excommunicated Simon de Montfort, Roger Earl of Norfolk, Hugo the Chief Justiciary, the City of London, and the Cinque Ports; he had summoned four of the English Prelates before him at Boulogne, and ordered them to publish the excommunication in England. The excommunication had been taken from the unreluctant hands of the Bishops. The excommunicated had appealed to the Pope; the appeal was ratified in a convocation of the clergy. But the excommunication was solemnly confirmed at Perugia. "Nothing could be done unless that turbulent man of sin (Leicester) and all his race were plucked up out of the realm."^b The new Cardinal Legate was urged to hasten to England to consummate his work.

Ere he had ceased to be Cardinal Legate, the Pope (Ugo Falcode) had heard at Boulogne the fatal tidings of the battle of Lewes, the captivity of the King and of Prince Edward. Then after his accession had come the news of the escape of Prince Edward, and the revolt of the Earl of Gloucester from the Barons. The Pope wrote in triumph to the Prince,^c urging him to make every effort to release his father from slavery; the excommunication was at once removed from the Earl of

^a Ibid., Perugia, May 6, 1265, p. 75, &c.

^b Epist. ad Card. S. Hadrian. "Nisi dictus vir pestilens cum totâ suâ progenie de regno Angliæ avellatur."—

July 19, 1265. At this time Manfred was advancing on Rome.

^c To Prince Edward. The letter enters into some details.

Gloucester.^d The tidings of the battle of Evesham, of the death of Simon Earl of Leicester, filled him with melancholy and joy.^e Yet extraordinary as it may seem, Simon de Montfort, excommunicated by the Pope, to the Pope the Man of Sin, was the Saint and Martyr of popular love and worship;^f he was equalled with Becket.^g Poetry, Latin, English, French, celebrated, sanctified, canonised him. His miracles, in their number, wonderfulness, and in their attestations might have moved the jealousy of S. Francis or of Becket himself.^h Prayers were addressed to him;ⁱ prayer was offered through his intercession.^k

The King's victory seemed complete, the Barons crushed, the liberties of England buried in the grave of Simon de Montfort. The Cardinal Legate crossed to England with the Queen. The Queen Eleanor was not the least odious of the foreigners who ruled the feeble mind of the King: to her influence had been attributed the unjust, ill-considered award of Louis of France. The Legate assumed a kind of dictatorial authority.^m In the church of Westminster, the splendid foundation of Henry III. (under whose shadow I wrote these lines), he appeared in his

Victory of
the King.

The Legate,
Oct. 29, 1265.

^d Ibid., p. 191.

^e "Læta nobis et tristia enarrastis."
—Clement IV., Epist. i. 89.

^f Rishanger says that all ranks heard of his death with the most profound sorrow, "præcipue religiosi, qui partibus illis favebant."—Chron. p. 48. Compare also Lords' Report on Dignity of a Peer. In the Parliament summoned after the battle of Lewes were 23 Barons, 122 Ecclesiastics.—pp. 145-6.

^g See in Wright's Political Songs that on the battle of Lewes. After his death we read in another:—

"Mes par sa mort, le cuens Monfort
Conquist la victoire,
Comme li Martyr de Cantertyr
Finist sa vie" (p. 125);

and the long Latin poem, p. 71.

^h See the "Miracula," published by Mr. Halliwell at the end of Rishanger, Camden Society, 1840.

ⁱ "Salve Simon Montefortis,
Totius flos militiae,
Duras passus poenas mortis,
Protector gentis Angliæ."

^k "Ora pro nobis, Beate Simon, ut digni simus promissionibus Christi."—Ibid. p. 109.

^m See the Papal Bulls, gratulatory

full scarlet pontifical robes, recited the act of excommunication passed on Simon de Montfort and all his adherents, abrogated all the oaths sworn by the King, declared null and void all the constitutions and provisions of the realm.ⁿ At Northampton he held a council, and by name confirmed the excommunication of the Prelates who had made common cause with the Barons, Winchester, Worcester, London, Chichester.^o The Pope, while he made large grants of the tenths, and triumphed in the King's triumph, in more Christian spirit enjoined him to use his victory with mercy and moderation.^p If any mercy was shown to the persons (and this is doubtful, for all the bravest and most formidable had perished in the field), there was none to their estates. The obsequious Parliament passed a sweeping sentence of confiscation on the lands of all who had joined or favoured De Montfort. The Legate was not less severe against the obnoxious clergy.^q There was a wide and general ejection of all who had been or were suspected of having been on the proscribed side. The Pope is again busy in reaping for his own colleagues and followers some grains of the golden harvest. Demands are made, at first modest for prebends, for pensions in favour of Roman ecclesiastics.^r He is compelled by the poverty of the Car-

to the King and Prince, and admonitory to the Barons to return to the King's allegiance.—Rymer, i. 817, 819.

ⁿ Wilkes, 72. ^o Rishanger, p. 47.

^p Rymer, *loc. citat.*

^q "Qui non solum et post terras et possessiones occisorum in bello et captivorum necessaria etiam bona tam spiritualia quam temporalia religionum violavere, nulli parcentes ordini, dignitati, vel ecclesiasticæ libertati . . .

infinitam pecuniam ab eis immiseri-corditer extorserunt, abbates et quas-cunque domos religiosas tantæ suppeditationi mancipando quod vix aut nunquam poterunt respirare."—Rishanger, p. 48.

^r MS., B. M., p. 202. Assignment of 260 marks on England to the Bishop of Ostia and Velletri, "propter egestatem." One or two benefices to be obtained in England to make up

dinals to become more pressing, more exorbitant in his exactions.

During the next year there is a formidable reaction ;
Reaction.
A.D. 1266. a wide and profound dissatisfaction had spread through the realm. The discontented are defending themselves with desperate resolution in the isle of Ely. Rome is alarmed by the gloomy news from England: the Pope is trembling for the lives of the King, the Queen, and the Prince; he is trembling for the irrecoverable loss of that noble fief of the See of Rome.^s The affrighted Cardinal is disposed to abandon his hopeless mission. The Pope reproves him for his cowardice, but leaves it to his discretion whether he will remain or not in the contumacious and ungrateful island.^t

The King's cause again prospers: at Christmas the King and the Legate are seen dining together in public at Westminster. The indignant people remark that the seat of honour, the first service of all the dishes are reserved to the Legate; the King sits lower, and partakes of the best fare, but after the Legate.^u At St. Edmondsbury the ecclesiastics resisted the demand not only of the tenths, but of thirty thousand marks more,

this sum. "In eundem modum pro domino veterano (Velletri) cccxxvi. marks." He intends to write, on account of the general poverty of the Cardinals, not only "pro duobus, pro pluribus, licet non in tantâ summâ sed minore."—Perugia, Oct. 26, 1265, p. 117. "Importabilis fratrum persuasio, quæ fonte liberalitatis ipsius qui ad Romanam Ecclesiam de mundi diversis partibus fluere consuevit, pæne, vel quæsi penitus arefacto, crescit, nec cessat crescere."—P. 223.

^s "Nihil aliud esset penitus, nisi totum everti negotium, Regem, Reginam et liberos tradi morti, et Ecclesiæ Romanæ feudum tam nobile sine spe qualibet recuperationis amitti."—MS., B. M., p. 233.

^t Ibid., May 16, 1266.

^u "Legato in sedili regis collocato, singulisque ferculis coram eo primitus appositis, et postremo coram rege, unde murmurabant multi in aula regis."—Rishanger, p. 59.

claimed by the Pope as arrears of the King's debt for the subjugation of Naples.^x

About a year and a half after, at the close of the Pontificate of Clement IV., the Cardinal Legate holds a Council of the Church of England and Ireland in the cathedral of St. Paul. The famous constitutions of Ottobuoni, the completion and confirmation of those of Cardinal Otho, are passed, which were held for some time as the canon law of England.^y Of these constitutions some must be noticed, as giving a view of the religion of the times. I. The absolute exemption of the property of the Church from all taxation by the state, the obedience of the laity to the clergy, were asserted in the fullest and most naked simplicity.^z II. One was directed against the clergy bearing arms. Some of the clergy are described (awful wickedness!) as little better than robber chieftains.^a It was forgotten that but a few years before the Archbishop of Canterbury had been in arms with the Archbishop of Lyons before Turin; that French Bishops were in the army of Charles of Anjou, the army blessed, sanctified by the Pope! III. Pluralities were generally condemned:^b pluralities without Papal dispensations

^x Rishanger, p. 61.

^y April 21, 1268. Wilkins' Concilia. It has been suggested to me that the author of these constitutions may have been no less than Benedetto Gaetani, afterwards Boniface VIII. He was the companion and counsellor of Ottobuoni in England.

^z "Nec alicui liceat censum ponere super ecclesiam Dei. Ammonemus Regem et principes et omnes qui in potestate sunt, ut cum magnâ humilitate archiepiscopis omnibusque aliis episcopis obediant."

^a "In his ergo tam horrendis sceleribus clericos debacchantes"—they had been described as joining hands of robbers—"prosequimur excommunicatione, deprivatione."—Art. viii.

^b John Maunsel is described (Rishanger, p. 12) as "multarum in Angliâ rector ecclesiarum et possessor reddituum quorum non erat numerus, ita quod ditior clericus eo non in orbe videretur." Mr. Halliwell quotes the Chron. Mailros. as giving him 700 livings, bringing in 18,000 marks. I cannot find the passage.

altogether proscribed.^c IV. There was a strong canon against the married clergy: not merely were many clergy married,^d but the usage existed to a great extent of the transmission of benefices from father to son, and these benefices were not seldom defended by violence and force of arms.^e

We return to Italy, with a glance at Spain, and the earlier years of Clement's Pontificate. The triumphs of James, the King of Arragon, over the Saracens of Spain, and the capture of Murcia, called forth the triumphant gratulations of the Pope. But James of Arragon was not to be indulged in weaknesses unbecoming a Christian warrior. The Pope summoned him to break the chains in which he was fettered by a

^c Henry de Wingham is a good example of what might be and was done by Papal dispensations (MS., B. M., ix, p. 314). Wingham has licence to hold the deanery of St. Martin's-le-Grand, the chancellorship of Exeter, a prebend of Salisbury, *ac universos alios personatus, etiam alia beneficia* (dated Anagni, July 23, 1259). A month after De Wingham (of whom Paris speaks as a disinterested man, *sub ann.* 1257) is bishop elect of London: he petitions to hold all these benefices with London for five years. He was also Lord Chancellor. The nephew of this poor man, holding only two livings, has Papal licence to hold two more.—P. 411. Anagni, Aug. 28, 1259.

^d "Nisi clerici et maxime qui in sacris ordinibus constituti, qui in domibus suis detinent publice concubinas."—Art. viii.

^e The MSS., B. M., are full of notices of married clergy in England. Letter to the Archbishop of York (xi. 124).

Sons succeeded to their fathers' benefices, "quidam in ecclesiis, in quibus patres ministrarint eorum, se immediate patribus ejus substituti, tanquam jure hereditario possidere sanctuarium Dei." The same in diocese of Lincoln, p. 132; Worcester, p. 136; Carlisle, p. 177. Complaints to Bishop of Salisbury of priests who have "focariae." To Bishop of Coventry, of their holding these benefices "violenter et armata manu," Dec. 21, 1235. See also to Bishop of Norwich, June 12, 1240; Winchester, p. 5 and 35, 1243. The Synod of Exeter (Wilkins, Concilia, c. xviii. p. 142) complains of clerks on their deathbeds providing for their concubines and children out of the ecclesiastical revenues, "præsumptione tam damnata in extremis laborantes, et de infernis minime cogitantes in suis ultimis voluntatibus . . . bona ecclesiæ concubinis relinquere non formidant." These wills were declared illegal.

beautiful mistress, and to return to his lawful wife : he urged him to imitate the holy example of Louis of France. King James pleaded that his wife was a leper, and demanded the dissolution of the marriage. "Thinkest thou," rejoined the Pope, "that if all the Queens of the earth were lepers, we would allow Kings to join in adulterous commerce with other women? Better that all the royal houses should wither root and branch." He put the obedience of the King of Arragon to another test : he ordered him inexorably to expel all Mussulmen from his dominions, to depose all the Jews from the high places which they held in this as in many of the Spanish kingdoms.^f

In less than two years after the conquest of Naples, the insupportable tyranny of the French under Charles of Anjou, and the resentment of the Ghibellines throughout Italy, had wrought up a spirit of wide-spread revolt. The young Conradin could alone deliver Sicily from the foreign yoke, check the revengeful superiority of the Guelfs, and restore the now lamented house of Hohenstaufen. Many secret messages were sent from Tuscany and Lombardy. Galvano and Frederick di Lancia, and the two chiefs of the house of Capece, whose lives had been excepted from the general proscription of Manfred's partisans, found their way to Germany. They called on Conradin to assert his hereditary rights ; to appear as a deliverer from foreign oppression. The youth, not yet sixteen, listened with too eager avidity. At the head of four thousand German troops he crossed the Alps, and held his court at Verona.

Naples.
Conradin.
A.D. 1267.

End of 1267.

Pope Clement heard the intelligence with dismay.

^f Clement Epist. Raynaldus, sub ann.

He instantly cited the presumptuous boy, who had dared to claim a kingdom granted away by the See of Rome, to answer before his liege lord at Viterbo. There, in the Cathedral of Viterbo, in May, and on the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, he proclaimed his excommunication. He wrote to Florence to warn the Republic of "the young serpent which had sprung up from the blood of the old." He wrote to Ottocar, King of Bohemia, to make a diversion by attacking the Swabian possessions of Conradin. He declared Conradin deposed from the kingdom of Jerusalem. At the same time he wrote to Charles of Anjou, in terms which showed his own consciousness that the danger was in the tyranny and in the hatred of Charles rather than in the strength or popularity of Conradin. He entreated him "to moderate the horrible exactions enforced under the royal seal;^g to listen to the petitions of his people; to put some check on the wasteful extravagance of his court; to keep a balance of his receipts and expenditure; to place on the seat of justice men of incorruptible integrity, with ample salaries, so as to be superior to bribery; not to permit unnecessary appeals to the King; to avoid all vexatious inquisitions; not to usurp the guardianship of orphans; to punish all attempts to corrupt magistrates; not to follow the baleful example of his predecessor in encroaching on the rights of the Church."^h Yet this King, who needed these sage admonitions as to the administration of his kingdom, was raised at this very juncture by the Pope to the extraordinary office now vacant—an office the commanding title of which was

^g "Sigillo tuo legem impera, ut tollatur infamia de horrendis exactionibus eo nomine factis," *et seqq.* Clem. Ep.

^h See the letter of Pope Clement in Martene, and in Raynaldus, sub ann.

ill-suited to the man and to the times—that of Peacemaker,¹ or Conservator of the Peace throughout Tuscany and all the provinces subject to the Roman empire; in other words, to keep down the Ghibellines, and by force of arms to compel them to lay down their arms.^k King Alfonso of Castile heard with jealousy of this new title, which sounded as though Charles of Anjou was usurping the prerogative of the Empire, if not intending to supplant both himself and his competitor, Richard of Cornwall. The Pope was compelled at once to soothe and to alarm the Spaniard; to allay his fears as to any designs of Charles upon the Empire, not without some significant hint that the coronation by the Archbishop of Cologne was indispensable for a just title to the Empire; and the Archbishop of Cologne had crowned Richard. Alfonso was awed into silence, if not satisfied.^m

But, not at the instigation, nor with any encouragement from the King of Castile, two of his brothers had become the most dangerous adversaries of the Pope. Henry and Frederick of Castile had been driven from their native land,ⁿ had taken to a wild adventurous life,

¹ “Paciarium non partiarium.”

^k There is a curious letter from the Pope to the Cardinal S. Hadrian. MS., B. M. When he had created Charles paciarius, “opponentibus Senensibus, Pisanis et pluribus Ghibellinis.” The Romans, under the Senator, Henry of Castile, were in league with the Ghibellines. Henry had taken some cities, and seized in Rome the brothers Napoleon and Mattheo Orsini, Angelo Malebranca, John Savelli, Peter Stefaneschi, Richard Annibaleschi, some of whom he had sent by night prisoners

to Monticelli. “We would, as far as possible, war with the Romans: Conradin is in Verona with all Lombardy, except Pavia, and the march of Treviso. Sicily is in full revolt under Frederick of Castile.” “God’s will be done,” concludes the devout Pope.—Viterbo, Nov. 23, 1267.

^m Clement, Epist.

ⁿ They seem to have been at the head of a constitutional opposition against their brother Alfonso, who aspired to rule without the Cortes.

and found hospitality at the court of the King of Tunis. It was said that they had adopted at least Mohammedan manners, attended Mohammedan rites, and more than half embraced the Mohammedan creed.^o They returned to Europe. Frederick landed in Sicily, where some short time after he raised the standard of Conradin. Henry went on to Italy; he was received by his cousin, Charles of Anjou, who bestowed on him sixty thousand crowns. Henry had hopes, fostered by the Papal Court, if not by the Pope, of obtaining the investiture of Sardinia, which the Pope would fain wrest from the rule of Ghibelline Pisa. But Charles of Anjou

Henry of
Castile. grew jealous of Henry of Castile; he too had pretensions on Sardinia; it was withdrawn from the grasp of Henry; and the Castilian was brooding in dissatisfaction and disappointment, when the opportunity of revenge arose. The people of Rome were looking abroad for a Senator. Charles had surrendered or forfeited his office when he became King of Naples. A short lived rule of two concurrent Senators had increased the immitigable feud. Angelo Capucio was a noble Roman, still attached to the fallen fortunes of Manfred. By his influence, notwithstanding the repugnance of the rest of the nobles, and strong opposition from some of the Cardinals, Henry of Castile was chosen Senator of Rome. He commenced his rule with some of those acts of stern equity which ever overawed and captivated the Roman people. Clement too late began to suspend his design of investing Charles of Anjou with the throne of Sardinia, to which

^o Mariana describes Henry as "in rebus bellicis potens et strenuus, et armium callidus, sed sceleratissimus et in fidei catholicæ cultu non diligens prosecutor." For private reasons for the hatred of Henry and Charles, see Hispan. Illustrat. ii. p. 647; Amari Vespro Siciliano, ciii. p. 30.

Henry might again aspire. But the hatred of Charles was deep in Henry's heart; he openly displayed the banner of Conradin. Galvano Lancia, the kinsman and most active partisan of Manfred, hastened to Rome; and the Pope heard with indignation that the Swabian standard was waving from the hallowed Lateran, where Lancia had taken up his quarters, and was parading his forces before it.^p The censures of the Pontiff addressed to the authorities of Rome made no impression. The Senator summoned the people to the Capitol; his armed bands were in readiness; he seized two of the Orsini, and sent them prisoners to the strong castle of Monticelli, near Tivoli; two of the Savelli were cast into the dungeons under the Capitol, many others into different prisons; Henry of Castile took possession of St. Peter's and of the Papal palaces.^q

The few German troops with which Conradin had crossed the Alps fell off for want of pay:^r but the Ghibelline interest, the nobler feelings, awakened in favour of the gallant boy thus cruelly deprived of his inheritance, and the growing hatred of the French, soon gathered an army around him. He set out from faithful Verona; he was received in Pavia, in Pisa, in Sienna, as the champion of Ghibellinism; as the lawful King of Sicily.^s In Apulia,

Rome for
Conradin.

Movements
of Conradin.
A.D. 1268.

^p "Ac loca, specialiter Laterani ad quæ ingredienda viri etiam justi vix digni sunt habiti, pompis lascivientibus circuire, ac ibidem hospitium accipere non expavit."—Lib. Pontif. quoted in Raynald. 1267.

^q See note above from MS., B. M.

^r It is curious to observe (in Böhmer's Register), of the few acts of

Conradin in Italy, how large a part are on the pawning (Verpfändung) of estates or rights for sums of money.—p. 287.

^s In Pavia, March 22; in Pisa, April 4; in Sienna, July 7; in Rome, July 7 or August 11. In Rome he is said to have had 5000 German knights Henry of Castile 800 Spaniards.

the Saracens of Lucera were in arms; in Sicily, Frederick of Castile, with the Saracens and some of Manfred's partisans, who had taken refuge in Africa and now returned. The island was in full revolt; the Lieutenant of Charles was defeated; except Messina, Palermo, and Syracuse, Sicily was in the power of Conradin. Already, in his agony of apprehension, the Pope, finding that Charles was still in Tuscany, pressing his advantages in favour of the Guelfs of Florence, hastily summoned him to return to Naples. "Why do we write to thee as King, while thou seemest utterly to disregard thy kingdom? It is without a head, exposed to the Saracens and to the traitorous Christians; already exhausted by your robberies, it is now plundered by others. The locust eats what the cankerworm has left. Spoilers will not be wanting, so long as its defender is away. If you love the kingdom, think not that the Church will incur the toil and cost of conquering it anew; you may return to your Countship, and, content with the vain name of king, await the issue of the contest. Perhaps, in reliance on your merits, you expect a miracle to be wrought in your favour; that God will act in your behalf, while you thus follow your own counsels, and despise those of others. I had resolved not to write to thee on this affair: my venerable brother, Rudolph, Bishop of Alba, has prevailed on me to send you these few last words."†

Charles obeyed, and returned in all haste to Naples; he formed the siege of Lucera, the stronghold of his most dangerous foes, the Saracens. Conradin advanced towards Rome; he marched under the walls of Viterbo, intending perhaps to insult or intimi-

Conradin
advances to
Rome.

† Clement, Epist. apud Raynald. A.D. 1269 p. 233.

date the Pope, who had a strong garrison in the city. The affrighted Cardinals thronged around the Pope, who was at prayer. "Fear not," he said; "they will be scattered like smoke." He even ascended the walls, beneath which Conradin and his young and faithful friend Frederick of Austria were prancing on their stately coursers. "Behold the victims for the sacrifice."^u

The dark vaticinations of the Pope, though sadly verified by the event (perhaps but the echo of the event), if bruited abroad in Rome, had no more effect than the ecclesiastical thunders which at every onward step Clement had hurled with reiterated solemnity at the head of Conradin. Notwithstanding these excommunications, the Romans welcomed with the loudest acclamations Conradin, called by the Pope "the accursed branch of an accursed stem, the manifest enemy of the Church:" "Rome had calmly seen that son of malediction, Galvano Lancia, who had so long walked the broad road to perdition, from whose approach they should have shrunk with scorn, displaying the banner of Conradin from the Lateran." It was an event as yet unheard, which disturbed the soul of the Pontiff, that although occasional discords, and even the scandal of wars, had taken place between the Pope and his City, now their fidelity should revolt to the persecutor of the Church; that Rome should incur the guilt of matricide.^x Yet not the less did the Senator and Rome welcome the young Swabian. Henry the Senator marched at the head of the Roman forces in Conradin's army, having first plundered the churches and monasteries. The Pope heard with deeper resentment that

^u Raynald. c. xxii. Freher.

^x Apud Raynald. A.D. 1269.

the Lateran, the churches of St. Paul, St. Basil on the Aventine, Santa Sabina, and other convents, had been obliged to surrender their treasures, which were expended upon the army of the excommunicate.⁷

But the destiny which hovered over the house of Hohenstaufen had not yet exhausted its vials of wrath. At the battle of Tagliacozzo, the French for once condescended to depend not on their impetuous valour alone, but on prudence, military skill, and a reserve held by the aged Alard de St. Valery, a French knight, just returned from that school of war, Palestine. St. Valery's eight hundred men retrieved the lost battle. Conradin, Frederick of Austria, Henry of Castile, were in the hands of the remorseless conqueror. Conradin had almost bribed John Frangipani, Lord of Astura, to lend him a bark to escape. The Frangipani sold him for large estates in the principedom of Benevento.²

Christendom heard with horror that the royal brother of St. Louis, that the champion of the Church, after a mock trial, by the sentence of one judge, Robert da Lavena—after an unanswerable pleading by Guido de Suzaria, a famous jurist—had condemned the last heir of the Swabian house—a rival king, who had fought gallantly for his hereditary throne—to be executed as a felon and a rebel on a public scaffold. So little did Conradin dread his fate, that when his doom was announced, he was playing at

⁷ Apud Raynald. A.D. 1269.

² "En 1256, quatre ans après les Vêpres Siciliennes, un amiral de Jacques d'Arragon emporta Astura, qu'il réduisit en cendres. Les biens des Frangipani furent ravagés; Jacob, le fils de Jean, périt dans le combat,

Sa postérité s'éteignit, et, de cette branche, dont le blason était taché du sang royal, il ne reste qu'un souvenir de déshonneur." Astura was near the spot where Cicero was killed.—Charrier, iv. p. 212.

chess with Frederick of Austria. "Slave," said Conradin to Robert of Bari, who read the fatal sentence, "do you dare to condemn as a criminal the son and heir of kings? Knows not your master that he is my equal, not my judge?" He added, "I am a mortal, and must die; yet ask the kings of the earth if a prince be criminal for seeking to win back the heritage of his ancestors. But if there be no pardon for me, spare, at least, my faithful companions; or if they must die, strike me first, that I may not behold their death."^a They died devoutly, nobly. Every circumstance aggravated the abhorrence: it was said—perhaps it was the invention of that abhorrence—that Robert of Flanders, the brother of Charles, struck dead the judge who had presumed to read the iniquitous sentence.^b When Conradin knelt, with uplifted hands, awaiting the blow of the executioner, he uttered these last words—"O my mother! how deep will be thy sorrow at the news of this day!"^c Even the followers of Charles could hardly restrain their pity and indignation. With Conradin died his young and valiant friend, Frederick of Austria, the two Lancias, two of the noble house of Donaticcio of Pisa. The inexorable Charles would not permit them to be buried in consecrated ground.

The Pope himself was accused as having counselled this atrocious act. One of those sentences, which from its pregnant brevity cleaves to the remembrance, lived

^a Bartholomeo di Neocastro apud Muratori, p. 1027.

^b There is evidence, it appears, that this judge, or prothonotary, was alive some years after.

^c "Ad cælum jungebat palmas,

mortemque inevitabilem patienter expectans, suum Domino spiritum commendabat: nec divertebat caput, sed exhibebat se quasi victimam et cesoris truces ictus in patientiâ expectabat.'

—Malespina apud Muratori, viii. 851

long in the memory of the Ghibellines: "The life of Conradin is the death of Charles, the death of Conradin the life of Charles." But to have given such advice, Clement must have belied his own nature, his own previous conduct, as well as his religion. Throughout he had been convinced of the impolicy, and was doubtless moved with inward remorse at the cruelties of Charles of Anjou. Clement had tried to mitigate the tyranny of the King. Even the colder assent, at least the evasive refusal to interfere on the side of mercy—"It becomes not the Pope to counsel the death of any one," is hardly in the character of Clement IV.^d There is another, somewhat legendary, story. Ambrose of Sienna, afterwards a Saint, presented himself on the first news of the capture of Conradin before the Pope; he dwelt on the parable of the prodigal son, received with mercy into his father's house. "Ambrose," said the Pope, "I would have mercy, not sacrifice." He turned to the Cardinals, "It is not the monk that speaks, it is the Spirit of the Most High."^e

But if he was responsible only for not putting forth the full Papal authority to command an act of wisdom as of compassion, Clement himself was soon called to answer before a higher tribunal. On the 29th October the head of Conradin fell on the scaffold; on the 29th November died Pope Clement IV. It is his praise that he did not exalt his kindred—that he left in obscurity the husbands of his daughters.^f But the wonder be-

^d Compare the fair and honest Tille-
mont, *Vie de Saint Louis*, vi. 129.
Poor Conradin had said in one of his
proclamations of Clement's hostility,
"Clemens cujus nomen ab effectu non

modicè distat."—B. Museum Chroni-
con, p. 273.

^e Vit. S. Ambrosii Senen. apud
Bollandistas, c. iii.

^f "Nec invenitur exaltasse parentes

trayed by this praise shows at once how Christendom had already been offended; it was prophetic of the stronger offence which nepotism would hereafter entail upon the Papal See.

totus Deo dicatus."—Ptolem. Luc. | not perhaps less inclined to admire him
xxxviii. Tillemont has collected the | because he was a Frenchman.—*Vie de*
passages (and they are many) to the | St. Louis, iv. p. 350 *et seq.*
praise of Clement IV. Tillemont is |

CHAPTER IV.

Gregory X. and his Successors.

AFTER the death of Clement IV. there was a vacancy of more than two years in the Pontificate. The cause of this dissension among the fifteen Cardinals^a nowhere transpires: it may have been personal jealousy, where there was no prelate of acknowledged superiority to demand the general suffrage. The French Cardinals may have been ambitious, under the dominant influence of the victorious Charles of Anjou, to continue the line of French Pontiffs: the Italians, both from their Italian patriotism and their jealousy of the power of Charles, may have stubbornly resisted such promotion. During this vacancy, Charles of Anjou was revenging himself with his characteristic barbarity on his rebellious kingdom, compressing with an iron hand the hatred of his subjects, which was slowly and sullenly brooding into desperation. He was thus unknowingly preparing his own fall by the terrible reaction of the Sicilian Vespers. He was becoming in influence, manifestly aspiring to be, through the triumphant Guelfic factions, the real master of the whole of Italy.

At this period was promulgated an Edict, before briefly alluded to,^b apparently unobserved, but which,

^a Ciacconius gives 17—5 or 6 French, 4 Romans.—p. 178.

^b See back, page 319. *Ordonnances des Rois*, i. 97, March, 1268. Sis-

mondi, viii. p. 104. I cannot see the force of the objection to the authenticity of the Ordinance, to which Mr Hallam seems to give some weight

nevertheless, in the hands of the great lawyers, who were now establishing in the minds of men, especially in France, a rival authority to that of the clergy, became a great Charter of Independence to the Gallican Church. The Pragmatic Sanction, limiting the interference of the court of Rome in the elections of the clergy, and directly denying its right of ecclesiastical taxation, being issued by the most religious of Kings, by a King a canonised Saint, seemed so incongruous and embarrassing, that desperate attempts have been made to question its authenticity: Louis IX. might seem, in his servile time, himself servilely religious, to be suddenly taking the lofty tone of Charlemagne. But it was this high religiousness of Louis which suggested, and which enabled him to promulgate this charter of liberty: as he intended none, so he might disguise even to himself the latent, rather than avowed hostility to the power of Rome. Among the dearest objects to the heart of Louis was the reformation of the clergy; that reformation not aiming at the depression, but tending to the immeasurable exaltation of their power, by grounding it on their piety and holiness. It is to this end that he asserts the absolute power of jurisdiction in the clergy, the rights of patrons, the right of free elections in the cathedrals and other

Pragmatic
Sanction.

that St. Louis had not any previous difference with the See of Rome. The right of patronage seems to have been a standing cause of quarrel throughout Christendom, as we have seen in England. See, too, in Tillemont, iv. p. 408-412—the king (Louis) asserting his rights of patronage to the prebends of Rheims and the arch-deaconry of Sens against the Pope. Tillemont does not doubt its authen-

ticity, and refers to these disputes as a possible cause. See also the strange account of John of Canterbury, who paid 10,000 livres Tournois for confirmation in the Archbishopric of Rheims. John had expended it for the honour of his Holiness and the Roman court. The Pope *blushed* at this great expense for his honour.— p. 414
Clement, Epist. p. 308.

churches. The Edict was issued in the name of "Louis by the grace of God, King of the French. To ensure the tranquil and wholesome state of the Church in our realm; to increase the worship of God, in order to promote the salvation of the souls of the faithful in Christ; to obtain for ourselves the grace and succour of Almighty God, to whose dominion and protection our realm has been ever subject, as we trust it will ever be, we enact and ordain by this edict, maturely considered and of perpetual observance:—

"I. That the prelates, patrons, and ordinary collators to benefices in the churches of our realm, have full enjoyment of their rights, and that the jurisdiction of each be wholly preserved.

"II. That the cathedral and other churches of our realm have full freedom of election in every point and particular.

"III. We will and ordain that the pestilential crime of simony, which undermines the Church, be for ever banished from our realm.

"IV. We will and ordain in like manner that promotions, collations, provisions and dispositions of the prelacies, the dignities, the benefices, of what sort soever, and of the ecclesiastical offices of our realm, be according to the disposition, ordinance, and determination of the common law, the sacred Councils of the Church of God, and the ancient institutions of the Holy Fathers.

"V. We will that no one may raise or collect in any manner exactions or assessments of money, which have been imposed by the court of Rome, by which our realm has been miserably impoverished, or which hereafter shall be imposed, unless the cause be reasonable, pious, most urgent, of inevitable necessity, and recog-

nised by our express and spontaneous consent, and by that of the Church of our realm.

“VI. By these presents we renew, approve, and confirm the liberties, franchises, immunities, prerogatives, rights, privileges, granted by the Kings our predecessors of pious memory, and by ourselves to all churches, monasteries, holy places, religious men and ecclesiastics in our realm.”

This Edict appeared either during the last year of Clement IV., when the Pope absolutely depended on the protection of Charles of Anjou against the reviving Ghibellinism under Conradin, and he might be reduced to take refuge under the tutelage of Louis; or during the vacancy in the Pontificate. In either case it would have been dangerous, injurious, it would have been resented by the common voice of Christendom, if the acts of Louis had been arraigned, or even protested against, as impious aggressions on the rights of Rome. The Edict itself was profoundly religious, even submissive in its tone; at all events, the assertion of the supremacy, of the ultimate right of judgement in the temporal power, was very different coming from Louis of France than from Frederick II., or any of his race. Louis was almost Pope in the public mind; his piety, his munificence, his devotion to the Crusade, in which he was again about to embark, his profound deference in general to the clergy and to the Pope himself, which had almost already arrayed him in worshipped sanctity, either allayed the jealousy of the Roman See, or made it imprudent to betray such jealousy. Hence it was that neither at the time of its publication, nor subsequently, did it provoke any counter protestation; it had already taken its place among the Ordinances of the realm, before its latent powers were discovered,

denounced, condemned. Then, seized on by the Parliaments, defended, interpreted, extended by the legists, strengthened by the memorable decree of the *Appeal against abuses*, it became the barrier against which the encroachments of the ecclesiastical power were destined to break; nor was it swept away till a stronger barrier had arisen in the unlimited power of the French crown.

During this vacancy in the Pontificate, St. Louis Aug. 25, 1270. Death of St. Louis. closed his holy life in the most ignoble, and not the least disastrous of the crusades, into Africa. It was the last, except the one desperate (in some degree brilliant) struggle, which was even now about to take place under our Prince Edward, for the narrow remnant of the Holy Land. Again the beauty of the passive virtues of Louis, his death, with all the submissive quietness of a martyr, blinded mankind to his utter incompetency to conduct a great army, and to the waste of noble blood; the Saint in life assumed in the estimation of mankind the crown of martyrdom.^c Nothing was wanting but his canonisation; and canonisation could add no reverence to the name of St. Louis.

Year after year had passed, and still the stubborn Papacy still vacant. fifteen Cardinals persisted in their feud; still Christendom was without a Pontiff; and might discover (at least the dangerous question might arise) the fatal secret that a supreme Pontiff was not necessary to Christendom. They withstood the bitter mockery of one of their brethren, the Bishop of Porto, that it were well to remove the roof of their chamber, that the Holy Ghost might descend upon them. The Franciscans seem to have been astonished that the

^c Joinville. Tillemont has collected all the striking circumstances of the death of St. Louis.—Vol. v. p. 169.

virtues and learning of the pride of their order, S. Bonaventura, did not command the general homage. They fabled, at least the annalist of the Church declares it a fable, that Bonaventura would not condescend to the proffered dignity.^a At length the Cardinals determined to delegate to six of their members the full power of the conclave.

The wisdom or felicity of their choice might, if ever, justify the belief in a superior overruling counsel. It fell upon one, towards whom it is Gregory X. difficult to conceive how their thoughts were directed, a man neither Cardinal nor Prelate, of no higher rank than Archdeacon of Liège, and dispossessed of his Archdeaconry by the unjust jealousy of his bishop; upon one now absent in the Holy Land on a pilgrimage. Gregory X., such was the name he assumed, was of a noble house, the Visconti of Piacenza, but having early left his country, was not committed to either of the great Italian factions: he was unembarrassed with family ties; he was an Italian, but not a Roman, not therefore an object of jealousy and hatred to rival houses among that fierce baronage. He had been a canon of Lyons, but was by no means implicated with French interests. One great religious passion possessed his soul. The Holy Land, with its afflictions and disasters, its ineffaceable sanctity, had sunk into the depth of his affections; the interests of that land were his highest duties. It was to this end that Gregory X. devoted himself with all the energy of a commanding mind, or rather to a preparatory object, perhaps greater, at all events indispensable to that end. It was in order to organise a Crusade, more powerful than any former Crusade, that he aspired

^a Raynald. sub ann.

to pacify that he succeeded for a time in pacifying, Western Christendom. This greatest of pontifical acts, but this alone, Gregory X. was permitted to achieve.

The reception of this comparatively obscure ecclesiastic, thus suddenly raised to the chair of St. Inauguration. Peter, might encourage his most holy hopes. Jan. 21, 1272. He landed at Brundisium, was escorted by King Charles to Capua, and from thence, passing by Rome, to Viterbo, where the Cardinals met him with reverential unanimity.

March 27, He was crowned at Rome with an elaborate 1272. ceremonial, published by himself as the future code, according to which the Roman Pontiffs were to be elected, inaugurated, invested: the most minute particulars of dress were arranged, and the whole course of processional service.* Gregory X. took up his residence at Orvieto.

Gregory had hardly ascended the Pontifical throne, when he determined to hold a great Œcumenic Council. That it might be a Council worthy of the title, he summoned it for two years later. The pacification of Christendom was the immediate, the reconquest of the Holy Land the remote, object of this great diet of Christendom. The place of the Council was debated with grave prudence. Within the Alps it was more convenient, perhaps it was more dignified, for the Pope to receive the vassal hierarchy; but beyond the Alps alone was there hope of re-awakening the slumbering enthusiasm for the sepulchre of the Saviour.

* The Jews were to offer, as a regular part of the ceremony, their congratulations, and to present the book of the Old Testament. The Pope was seated on the Sedes Stercoraria, emblematic of the verse in the Psalm "de stercore erigit pauperem." This is noticed on account of misapprehensions sometimes prevalent on this singular usage. See on the Sedes Stercoraria, Mabillon *Iter Italicum*, p. 57.

Lyons was the chosen city. Gregory in the mean time laboured assiduously at the great work which was to be consummated in the Council—the pacification of Christendom. Three measures were necessary: I. The extinction of the wars and feuds in Italy. II. The restoration of the Empire, in the person of a great German Prince. III. The acknowledgment of the Greek Emperor of Constantinople, and the admission of that Emperor into the league of Christian princes; with the reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches.

Gregory began his work of pacification in Lombardy: he did not at once withdraw himself from the head of the Guelfic confederacy; he still asserted the power of Charles of Anjou as Vicar of the Empire; he even confirmed the excommunication against the Ghibelline cities, Pisa, Pavia, Verona, and the Duke of Tyrol: nor did he take up the cause of Otho Visconti, the exiled Ghibelline Archbishop of Milan, against the Della Torres, who held that city.^f But he began gradually to feel his strength. He negotiated peace between Genoa and Venice, rivals for the mastery of the sea; between Venice and Bologna, rivals for the A.D. 1273. command of the navigation of the Po. Pisa was reconciled to the Church; the archiepiscopal dignity restored to the city. In Florence, on his way to the Council, Gregory attempted to awe into peace the Guelfs and Ghibellines. The Guelfs heard this strange doctrine applied to their enemies, “They are Ghibellines, it is true, but they are citizens, men, Christians.”^g He made the two factions, both at Florence and Sienna, swear to a treaty of peace, and to the re-admission of

^f Annal. Mediolanen. Muratori, Ann., sub ann. 1272.

^g S. Antonin. ii. tit. 20, s. 2.

the exiles on both sides, in his own presence and in that of Charles of Anjou, and Baldwin of Constantinople. But the hatred of Guelf and Ghibelline was too deeply rooted; Charles of Anjou openly approving the treaty, secretly contrived a rupture; the Ghibellines were menaced with assassination: the Pope paused on his journey to cast back an excommunication on forsworn and disobedient Florence. Nor would Genoa enter into terms of reconciliation with Charles of Anjou. Yet on the whole there was at least a surface of quiet; though under the smouldering ashes lay everywhere the fires, nursing their strength, and ready to burst out again in new fury.

Richard, Earl of Cornwall, died, having squandered his enormous wealth for the barren honour of bearing the imperial title of King of the Romans for fourteen years, and of displaying in London the splendour and majesty of his imperial pomp.^b Notwithstanding the claim of Alfonso of Castile, who had exercised no other right than sending a few troops into Lombardy, the Pope commanded a new election. Perhaps he already anticipated the choice of Rodolph of Hapsburg, the founder of the great house of Austria. The Pope confirmed the choice; he tried all means of soothing the pride; he used the gentlest, most courteous persuasions, but he paid no regard to the remonstrances of the King of Castile. Rodolph of Hapsburg, whose great activity and abilities had been already displayed in the internal affairs of Germany, who had commanded the suffrages of all the

^b The Germans soon saw, according to Paris, the contempt in which England held Richard of Cornwall; and withdrew, ashamed of their Emperor. He passed as much time in England as in Germany.—Matt. Paris, pp. 953-4.

electors, except the hostile Ottocar, King of Bohemia, was the sovereign whose accession any Pope, especially Gregory X., might hail with satisfaction. He seemed designated as the chief who might unite Christendom in the Holy War.^k He had none of the fatal hereditary claims to possessions in Italy, or to the throne of Naples. In the north of Italy he might curb the insatiate ambition, the restless encroachments of Charles of Anjou: the Pope exacted his promise from Rodolph that he would not assail Charles in his kingdom of Sicily or in Tuscany. Gregory X. aspired to include within the pale of the great Christian confederacy, to embark in the common crusade, even a more useful ally, the Greek Emperor of Constantinople. A Greek was again Emperor of the East; Michael Palæologus ruled in Constantinople; Baldwin II., the last of the Latin emperors, was an exile in Europe. Instead of espousing his cause, or encouraging the ambition of Charles of Anjou, who had married his daughter to the heir of Baldwin, and aspired to the dominion of the East in the name of his son-in-law, Gregory embraced the wiser and bolder policy of acknowledging the title of the Greek. Palæologus consented to pay the great price of this acknowledgment,

A.D. 1272.

¹ The electors were Wernher of Eppstein, Archbishop of Mentz; Henry of Fustingen, Archbishop of Treves; Engelbert of Falkenstein, Archbishop of Cologne; Louis, Palatine of the Rhine and Duke of Bavaria; John, Duke of Saxony; John, Margrave of Brandenburg. According to some authorities, Ottocar, King of Bohemia, declined the crown. The reader will find a fair popular account of the elevation of Rodolph of Hapsburg in

Coxe's House of Austria.

^k Rodolph was besieging the Bishop of Basle when he received the intelligence of his election. The city at once surrendered to the King of the Romans. The Bishop was furious. "Sit firm," he cried, "O Lord God, or Rodolph will occupy thy throne." "Sede fortiter, Domine Deus, vel locum Rudolphi occupabit tuum."—Albert. Argentin. p. 100.

no less than submission to the Papal supremacy, and the union of the Greek with the Latin Church.^m Palæologus had no great reason for profound attachment to the Greek clergy. The Patriarch Arsenius, with boldness unusual in the Eastern hierarchy, had solemnly excommunicated the Emperor for his crime in cruelly blinding the young John Lascaris, in whose name he held the empire. Arsenius had been banished on a charge of treason; a new patriarch sat on the throne, but a powerful faction of the clergy were still Arsenites. On his death, they compelled the burial of the banished prelate in the sanctuary of Santa Sophia; absolution in his name alone reconciled the Emperor to God. Palæologus, though the ruling Patriarch was more submissive, might not be disinclined to admit larger authority in a more remote power, held by a Pope in Italy rather than a Patriarch in Constantinople. By every act, by bribery, intimidation, by skilfully softening off the points of difference, and urging the undoubted blessings of union, he wrung a slow consent from the leading clergy of the East: they were gradually taught to consider that the procession of the Holy Ghost, from the Father and the Son, was not a doctrine of such repulsive heterodoxy, and to admit a kind of vague supremacy in the Pope, which the Emperor assured them would not endanger their independence, as dear to him as to themselves.ⁿ Ambassadors arrived at

^m Pachymer, ii. 15; iii. 1, 2; v. 10; p. 369, &c. Nicephorus Gregoras, iii. 1; iv. 1. Gibbon, edit. Milman, xi. 313, *et seq.*

ⁿ Pachymer complains, not without bitterness, that the Latins called the Greeks, in their contempt, "white Hagarines." *προσίστατο γὰρ τὸ σκάν-*

δαλον, καὶ τὸ λευκοῦς Ἀγαρηνοῦς εἶναι Γραικοῦς παρ' ἐκείνοις μείζον ἤρετο.— Lib. v. p. 367, edit. Bonn. The Greek clergy were secretly determined to maintain their independence, to acknowledge no primacy, and not to subject themselves to the judgment of traitors and low men. I presume they thought

Rome with splendid offerings for the altar of St. Peter, and with the treaty of union and of submission to the Roman see, signed by the Emperor, his son, thirty-five archbishops and metropolitans, with their suffragan synods. The Council of Lyons witnessed with joy this reunion—a reunion unhappily but of few years—of the Church of Basil, the Gregories, and Chrysostom, with that of Leo and Gregory the Great.

Nothing could contrast more strongly than the first and second Councils of Lyons. The first was summoned by Innocent IV., attended by Council of Lyons. hardly one hundred and fifty prelates, to represent the whole clergy of Christendom; its aim to perpetuate a desperate war, and to commit the Empire and the Papacy in implacable hostility; its authority disclaimed by the larger part of Christendom, cordially and fully accepted by scarcely one of the great kingdoms. At the second Council of Lyons, Gregory X. took his seat at the head of five hundred bishops, seventy abbots, and at least a thousand dignified ecclesiastics. Every kingdom of the West acknowledged its œcumenic power. The King of Arragon was present; the Latin patriarchs of Constantinople and of Antioch, fourteen cardinals, ambassadors from Germany, France, England, Sicily, the Master of the Templars, with many knights of St. John. Of the two great theologic luminaries of the age, the Dominican Thomas Aquinas May 7, 1274. and the Franciscan Bonaventura, Thomas died on his way to the Council: ° Bonaventura was present, preached

all Italians like the Genoese of Pera, merchants, ἀλλὰ μένειν καὶ αἰθῆς ἐν τῇ κυρία τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἡγούμενοι, καθὼς καὶ ἀρχῆθεν εἶχε, καὶ μὴ παρὰ κατ' ἄλῳ κινδυνεύειν κρίνεσθαι

καὶ βαναύσων.—p. 368. Strange collision of Greek and Roman pride! The sovereign did not like the φρέριοι who were very busy.

° Dante has given perpetuity to the

during its sittings, but died before its dissolution. The Council of Lyons aspired to establish peace throughout Christendom; the recognition of an Emperor, elected with the full approval, under the closest bonds of union with the Pope; the re-admission of the Eastern Empire, and of the Greek Church, within the pale of Western Christendom. Such was the function of this great assembly, perhaps the first and last Council which was undisturbed by dispute, and uttered no sentence of interdict or excommunication. The declared objects for which the Council was summoned were succour to the Holy Land, the reconciliation of the Greek Church, the reformation of manners. The session opened with great solemnity. The Pope himself officiated in the religious ceremonial, assisted by his cardinals. For the first object, the succour to the Holy Land, a tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues was voted for six years. The Council, as it awaited the arrival of the Greek ambassadors, occupied itself on regulations concerning the discipline and morals of the clergy. On the 24th June arrived the ambassadors. After the edict of the Emperor of Byzantium, sealed with a golden seal, had been exhibited and read, the act for the union of the two Churches was solemnly passed; the Pope himself intoned the *Te Deum* with tears of joy; the Latin clergy chanted the creed in Latin; the Greek, those of the embassy, assisted by the Calabrese bishops, chanted it in Greek. As they came to the words, "who proceedeth

charge against Charles of Anjou of having poisoned St. Thomas; adduced also by Villani, ix. 218 :—

"Carlo venne in Italia, e per ammenda
Vittima fè di Corradino, e poi
Ripinse al ciel Tommaso per ammenda."
Purgat. xx. 67.

Compare commentary of Benvenuto da

Imola (apud Muratori). The Guelf Villani assigns as a motive the fear that St. Thomas (a Neapolitan), the oracle of Christendom, would expose the cruelty and wickedness of Charles. It is probably an invention of the pro-found Neapolitan hatred.

from the Father and the Son," they repeated it, with more emphatic solemnity, three times. The representative of the Eastern Emperor acknowledged in ample terms (such were his secret instructions) the supremacy of St. Peter's successor.

Gregory X. did not permit this Council to be dissolved until he had secured the Papacy from the scandals which had preceded his own election; but to the stern law with which he endeavoured to bind the cardinals, he found strong opposition. It was only by his personal authority with each single prelate, that he extorted their irrevocable signature and seal to the statute which was to regulate the proceedings of the conclave on the death of a Pope. The statute retained to the cardinals the proud prerogative of sole election; but it ordained that only ten days after the death of the Pope they were to be shut up, without waiting for absent members of the college, in a single chamber in the deceased Pope's palace, where they were to live in common; all access was to be strictly prohibited, as well as writing or message: each was to have but one domestic; their meals were to be received through a window too narrow to admit a man. Any communication with them was inhibited under the menace of interdict. If they agreed not in three days, their repast was to be limited, for five days, to a single dish; after that to only bread and wine; so they were to be starved into unanimity. If the Pope died out of Rome, in that city where he died was to be this imprisonment of the conclave, under the municipal magistrates, who were sworn to allow the liberty permitted by statute, but no more. All offenders against this decree, of whatever rank, were at once excommunicate, infamous, and could rise to no dignity or public office;

any fief or estate they might hold of the Church of Rome, or any other Church, was forfeit. All former pacts, conventions, or agreements, were declared null and void; if under oath, the oath was abrogated, annulled. In every city in Christendom public prayers were to be offered up to God to infuse concord, speedy and wise decision, into the hearts of that venerable conclave.^p So closed the second Council of Lyons. One act of severity alone, the degradation of Gregory's old enemy, the Bishop of Liège, appears in the annals of this Council. The Christian world was, on the other hand, highly edified by the appearance and solemn baptism of certain Tartars.

Gregory X., after an interview with the King of

Castile at Beaucaire, whom he strove to recon-
Oct. 18, 1275. cile to the loss of the Empire, and an interview

with the Emperor Rodolph at Lausanne, repassed the Alps. He was received with deserved honours; only into excommunicated Florence — excommunicated, no one could deny, with perfect Christian justice—the peaceful prelate refused to enter. The world was anxiously awaiting the issue of these sage and holy counsels. The pontificate of peace, peace only to be broken by the discomfiture of the infidels in the East, was expanding, it was to be hoped, into many happy and glorious years. Suddenly Gregory sickened on his

road to Arezzo; he died, and with him broke
Jan. 10, 1276. up the whole confederation of Christendom.

The world again, from the conclave to the remotest limits not of Europe alone, but of Christianity, became one vast feud. With Gregory X. expired the Crusades; Christianity lost this principle of union, the Pope this

^p Mansi et Labbe, sub ann.

principle of command, this title to the exaction of tribute from the vassal world. From this time he began to sink into an Italian prince, or into the servant of one of the great monarchies of Europe. The last convulsive effort of the Popedom for the dominion of the world, under Boniface VIII., ended in the disastrous death of that Pope; the captivity of the Papacy at Avignon.

After the death of Gregory X., in hardly more than three years three successive Popes rose and passed like shadows over the throne of St.

Rapid succession of Popes.

Peter, and a fourth commenced his short reign. The popular superstition and the popular hatred, which, unallayed by the short-lived dignity, holiness, and wisdom of Gregory X., lay so deep in the public mind, beheld in these deaths which followed each other in such darkening rapidity, either the judicial hand of God or the crime of man. The Popes were no sooner proclaimed than dead, either, it was believed, smitten for men's sins or their own, or cut off by poison.^a

Innocent V. 1276.

The first of these, Peter of Tarantaise (Innocent V.), was elected in January, took up his residence in Rome, and died in June. Ottobuoni Fieschi, the nephew of Innocent IV., answered his kindred, who crowded around him with congratulations

Hadrian V. Elected July 9, died Aug. 18.

on his election, "Would that ye came to a cardinal in good health, not to a dying Pope." He just lived to take the name of Hadrian V., to release his native Genoa from interdict, and to suspend with his dying breath the constitution of Gregory X. concerning the Conclave. He was not crowned, consecrated, or even ordained priest. Hadrian V. died at Viterbo.

^a "Papæ quatuor mortui, duo divino iudicio, et duo veneno exhausti."—*Chronic. Foro Livien. Muratori, S. I. xxii.*

The immediate choice of the cardinals now fell on Pedro Juliani, a Portuguese, the Cardinal Bishop of Tusculum. Though the cardinals had already obtained from the dying Hadrian the suspension of the severely restrictive edict of Gregory X. concerning the Conclave, the edict was popular abroad. There were many, and among them prelates who declared that, excepting under that statute, and in conformity with its regulations, the cardinals had no right to the sole election of the Pope.^r There was a great uproar in Viterbo, instigated by these prelates. The Archbishop of Corinth, with some other ecclesiastics who were sent forth to read the suspension of the edict by Hadrian V., confirmed by John XXI., the new Pope, was maltreated; yet, even if the ceremonial was not rigidly observed, there had been the utmost speed in the election of John XXI. The Pope was a man of letters, and even of science; he had published some mathematical treatises which excited the astonishment and therefore the suspicion of his age. He was a churchman of easy access, conversed freely with humbler men, if men of letters, and was therefore accused of lowering the dignity of the Pontificate. He was perhaps hasty and unguarded in his language, but he had a more inextinguishable fault. He had no love for monks or friars: it was supposed that he meditated some severe coercive edicts on these brotherhoods. Hence his death (he was crushed by the falling of the roof in a noble chamber which he had built in the palace of Viterbo) was foreshown by

^r "In tantam prorupere temeritatis insaniam, ut in dubium auctoritatem et jurisdictionem collegii ejusdem Ecclesie revocarent, et de illis in derogationem ipsarum disputantes utilibet, enervare immo et evacuaré pro viribus niterentur inanibus argumentis."—*Rescript. Joann. XXI., apud Faynald 1276.*

gloomy prodigies, and held either to be a divine judgement, or a direct act of the Evil One. John XXI. was contemplating with too great pride the work of his own hands, and burst out into laughter; at that instant the avenging roof came down on his head. Two ^{May 15 (?)} visions revealed to different holy men the ^{20? 1277.} Evil One hewing down the supports, and so overwhelming the reprobate Pontiff. He was said by others to have been, at the moment of his death, in the act of writing a book full of the most deadly heresies, or practising the arts of magic.^s

For six weeks, the Cardinals, released from the coercive statute, met in conclave without coming to any conclusion. At length the election fell ^{Nov. 25,} on John Gaetano, of the noble Roman house, ^{1277.} the Orsini, a man of remarkable beauty of person and ^{Nicolas III.} demeanour. His name, "the Accomplished," implied ^{11 Camperto.} that in him met all the graces of the handsomest clerks in the world; but he was a man likewise of irreproachable morals, of vast ambition, and of great ability. This age of short-lived Popes was the age of magnificent designs as short-lived as their authors. The nobler, more comprehensive, more disinterested scheme of Gregory X. had sunk into nothing at his death; that of Nicolas III. had deeper root, but came not to maturity during his reign, or in his line. An Italian, a Roman, was again upon the throne of St. Peter. The Orsini at first took up his residence at Rome. He built a splendid palace, the Vatican, near St. Peter's, with gardens around, and fortified with a strong wall.^t He repaired, enlarged, and strengthened the Lateran Palace.

^s Ptolem. Luc. xxvi. Nangis, however, says that he died "perceptis omnibus sacramentis ecclesiasticis,"—
 Sub ann. 1277. Siffred. in Chronic.
^t Bunsen und Platner, Roms Beschreibung, ii. p. 231.

Unlike his rash predecessor, he was a friend to the great monastic orders: he knew how completely the preachers and other mendicants still, notwithstanding the hatred of the clergy, now they had taken possession of the high places of theology, ruled the public mind. To Thomas Aquinas and S. Bonaventura the world looked up as to its guiding lights; nor had they lost their power over the popular passions.

Nicolas III. did not in any degree relax the Papal superintendence over Christendom to its extreme limits: he is interfering in the affairs of Poland and Hungary, mediating in the wars between France and Spain, watching over the crumbling wreck of the Christian possessions in the Holy Land. In the East he not merely held the justly alarmed Emperor, Michael Palæologus, to his plighted fidelity and allegiance, but insisted on the more ample recognition of the Papal supremacy.^u He demanded that a solemn oath of subordination should be taken by the Patriarch and the clergy. To the prudent request of the Emperor, that the obnoxious words which asserted the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, should not be forced at once into the creed, he returned a haughty reply that no indulgence could be granted, though some toleration might be conceded for a time on the other points in which the Greek differed from the Roman ritual. He even required that the Greek Church should humbly seek absolution for the sin of their long schism. A strong faction broke out in the Empire, in Constantinople, in the Court, in the family of the

^u Raynald. sub ann. 1279, 80. | *Oυρωσινοσ*, the Orsini — perhaps a
Pachymer (vi. 10, p. 461) calls the | blunder of the Greeks. The whole
Pope *υρβανοσ*. The Jesuit Possin, | long intrigue may be traced through
Chronol. in Pachymerum, conjectures | two or three tooks of Pachymer.

Emperor. They branded the Pope, the Patriarch, the Emperor, as heretics. Palæologus became that most odious of persecutors, a persecutor without the excuse of religious bigotry; confiscation, scourging, mutilation, punished the refractory assertors of the independence of the Greek Church. The Pope's Legates were gratified by the sight of four princes of the blood confined in a loathsome prison. But discontent led to insurrection. The Prince of Trebisond, who had always retained the title of Emperor, espoused the cause of Greek orthodoxy. His generals betrayed the unhappy Palæologus: his family, especially his nieces, intrigued against him. He hesitated; for his hesitation he was excommunicated at Rome by Martin IV., the slave of his enemy Charles of Anjou. On his death the Greeks with one consent threw off the yoke; the churches were purified from the infection of the Latin rites; the creed resumed its old form; Andronicus, the son of Palæologus, refused burial to his schismatic father.*

Return of
the Greek
Church to in-
dependence.

But Italy was the scene of the great achievements, it was to be that of the still greater designs, of Nicolas III. The Emperor Rodolph was not yet so firmly seated on his throne (he was involved in a perilous war with Ottocar of Bohemia) as to disdain the aid of the Roman Pontiff. He could not but look to the resumption at least of some imperial rights in Lombardy; if the Pope should maintain the cause of Charles of Anjou, Italy was entirely lost. From the magnificence, the policy, or the fears of Rodolph, the Pope extorted the absolute cession to the Roman See, not only of Romagna, but of the exarchate of

* Raynald. 1279. ii.

Ravenna. The Chancellor of the Emperor had exacted an oath of allegiance from the cities of Bologna, Imola, Faenza, Forlì, Cesena, Ravenna, Rimini, Urbino, and

some other towns. Rodolph disclaimed the
 May 29, 1278.

acts of his Chancellor, recognised the donation of the Emperor Louis, and made a new donation, in his own name, of the whole territory from Radicofani to Ceperano, the march of Ancona, the duchy of Spoleto, the county of Bertinoro, the lands of the Countess Matilda, the exarchate of Ravenna, the Pentapolis, Ferrara, Commachio, Montefeltro, and Massa Trabaria, absolutely; and with all his full rights to the See of St. Peter. The Pope obtained a confirmatory acknowledgment of his sovereignty, as well as over Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily, from the great electors of the Empire.⁷ This document is signed by the Archbishop of Saltzburg, and other prelates, by the Chancellor of the Empire, by Albert the eldest, and

Hartman the second son of the Emperor,
 Feb. 14, 1279.

by many of the nobles with their own hand, by some with that of their notaries.⁸ This cession Nicolas determined should not be, as it had heretofore been, an idle form in the officers of the Empire; and the Legates of the Pope presented themselves at the gates of the greater cities, demanding the acknowledgment of the Papal sovereignty. The independent principalities, the republics which had grown up in these territories, made no resistance; they were released from their oath to the Emperor, and took the oath to the Pope; even Bologna submitted on certain terms. The Pope was actual ruling sovereign of the whole of

⁷ Raynald. p. 473.

⁸ Boehmer observes of this document that the two sons of the Emperor

could write: the Burgrave of Nuremberg and the Archbishop of Saltzburg could not.—Regesta, p. 98.

the dominions to which the Papal See had advanced its pretensions.^a The extent of this sovereignty was still vague and undefined: the princes maintained their principalities, the republics their municipal institutions and self-government. They admitted no rulers appointed by the Pope; his power of levying taxes was certainly not unrestricted, nor the popular rule absolutely abrogated. Thus strong in the manifest favour of the Emperor Rodolph, Nicolas III. made a great merit to Charles of Anjou that he had stipulated that the Emperor should abstain from all warlike operations against Charles. The ambitious Frenchman overawed, quietly allowed himself to be despoiled first of his vicariate of Tuscany, and then of his senatorship of Rome. Charles humbly entreated that he might not suffer the indignity of surrendering that office, which, on the expulsion of Henry of Castile, had been regranted to him for ten years by Pope Clement IV., before the expiration of that term, now almost elapsed. Nicolas condescended to grant his humble petition; but on the abdication of Charles he passed a rigorous edict that the senatorship from that time should never be held by emperor, king, prince, marquis, duke, count, or baron, or any man of great rank or power, or even by their brother, son, or grandson; no one could hold it for above a year; no one without special licence of the Apostolic See.^b This hostility to Charles may have been the deliberate policy of the Pope: it was said that the Pope had demanded the niece of Charles in marriage for his nephew; Charles contemptuously answered, the Pope

Sept. 16 in
the following
year.

Schemes of
Charles of
Anjou.

^a "Ma quello, che i cherici prendono, tardi sanno rendere."—Villani, vii. 53

^b Nicolai III., Regesta. Raynald. sub ann.

was no hereditary prince, and that notwithstanding the red shoes he wore, he must not presume to mix his blood with that of kings.^c There can be no doubt that Charles had used his influence in the conclave to oppose the elevation of the Roman Orsini.

Charles retired to his dominions to brood over revenge, to meditate a league against the Eastern Empire which was to compensate for his losses in the West. The Popes had taken the reconciled Greeks, the submissive Palæologus (the fear of Charles had been a chief motive for the religious tractableness of the Greeks^d), under their protection. Gregory X. had refused to sanction or to consecrate the banner which Charles was prepared to unfold in the name of the Latin Philip; Charles had been seen to gnaw his ivory sceptre in wrath, in the antechamber of the Pope, at this desertion of what he asserted to be the cause of legitimate right and orthodox belief.^e Charles was now negotiating with the Latins of the Eastern Empire and the republic of Venice to take arms and replace the son of Baldwin on the throne of Constantinople. Even in Sicily Charles of Anjou was not absolutely secure: the Pope was understood to entertain secret relations with the enemies of the French rule.

But Nicolas III. had ulterior schemes, which seem to foreshow and anticipate the magnificent designs of later nepotism. Already, under pretence of heresy, he had confiscated the castles of some of the nobles of Romagna, that particularly of Suriano, and invested his nephews with them. The castle of St. Angelo, separated from the Church, was

Nepotism of
Nicolas III.

^c Ricordano Malaspina, 204. Villani, vii. 53.

^d This appears throughout the Byzantine accounts.

^e Pachymer, v. 26, p. 410.

granted to his nephew Orso. His kinsmen were by various means elected the Podestàs of many cities. Three of his brethren, four more of his kindred, had been advanced to the Cardinalate. Bertoldo Orsini, his brother, was created Count of Romagna. His favourite nephew, by his sister's side, Latino Malebranca (a Brancaleone), the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, a powerful preacher, had great success in allaying the feuds in many of the cities,^f even in Bologna, wearied by the long strife of the Lambertazzi and the Gieromei; wherever the Cardinal established peace, the Count of Romagna assumed authority. Himself he had declared perpetual Senator of Rome. His nephew Orso was his vicar in this great office. But these were but the first steps to the throne which Nicolas III. aspired to raise for the house of Orsini. It was believed that he had laid before the Emperor Rodolph a plan by which the Empire was to become hereditary in his house, the kingdom of Vienna was to be in Charles Martel, grandson of Charles of Anjou, the son-in-law of the Emperor. Italy was to be divided into the two kingdoms of Insubria and Tuscany, besides that of Sicily; and on these thrones were to be placed two of the house of Orsini.^g

A sudden fit of apoplexy at his castle of Soriano cut short all these splendid designs.^h From this favourite residence he had dated his Bulls, a practice which had given great offence. The Pope

Aug. 22, 1280
Death of
Nicolas III.

^f Villani, ii. c. 55. Villani calls Bertoldo Orsini nepote of Nicolas III.

^g Muratori, *Annal.* sub ann. 1280, with authorities.

^h Nicolas is in Dante's hell for his unmeasured nepotism :—

“ Sappi ch' io fui vestito del gran manto ;
E veramente fui figliuol del Orsa,
Cupido sì per avansar l' Orsatti,
Che su l' avere, e qui mi misi in borsa.

Inferno, xix. 66.

“ Però ti sta ; chè tu se' ben punito,
E guarda ben la mal tolta moneta,
Ch' cesser ti fece contra Carlo ardito.”—97.

was, as it were, merging himself in the stately Italian sovereign.

Charles of Anjou heard with the utmost joy the un-
 expected tidings of the death of his enemy
 The conclave at Viterbo. Nicolas III. He instantly took measures to
 secure himself against the calamity of a second hostile
 Pope, to wrest the Pontificate from the aspiring family
 of the Orsini, and form an independent Italian interest.^l
 The family of the Annibaldeschi rivalled that of the
 Orsini in wealth and power. There was a rising in
 Rome; the divided people had recourse to the vain
 step for the preservation of peace, the creation of two
 Senators, one out of each of the rival houses. This, as
 might have been expected, increased the confusion;
 Rome became a scene of strife, murder, anarchy. But
 Viterbo, where the conclave of Cardinals was assem-
 bled, was even of more importance, an Annibaldeschi
 was Lord of that city.^k The people of Viterbo were
 won, by force or bribery, to the party of Charles. The
 constitution of Gregory X. was utterly forgotten; the
 conclave prolonged its sittings. The Pope had crowded
 the college with Orsinis and their dependants. The
 Viterbans surrounded the chamber; they accused the
 Orsini Cardinals as disturbing or arresting the freedom
 of election, dragged forth two of them, and cast them
 into prison. With them they seized and incarcerated
 Feb. 22, 1281. Malebranca the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia: the
 Latino
 Malebranca. rest were kept on the statutable bread and
 wine; the French Cardinals, it was said, were furtively
 provided with better viands. Yet the strife endured
 for nearly six months before the stubborn conclave
 would yield to the election of the Cardinal of Santa

^l Villani, vii. c. 57.

Muratori, sub ann. 1281.

Cecilia, a Frenchman, the slave and passive instrument of Charles of Anjou.

Martin IV. was born at Mont Pencé in Brie; he had been Canon of Tours. He put on at first the show of maintaining the lofty character of ^{Martin IV.} the Churchman. He excommunicated the Viterbans for their sacrilegious maltreatment of the Cardinals; Rinaldo Annibaldi, the Lord of Viterbo, was compelled to ask pardon on his knees of the Cardinal Rosso, and forgiven only at the intervention of the Pope.^m Martin IV. retired to Orvieto.

But the Frenchman soon began to predominate over the Pontiff; he sunk into the vassal of Charles of Anjou. The great policy of his predecessor, to assuage the feuds of Guelf and Ghibelline, was an Italian policy; it was altogether abandoned. The Ghibellines in every city were menaced or smitten with excommunication; the Lambertazzi were driven from Bologna. Forlì was placed under interdict for harbouring the exiles; the goods of the citizens were confiscated for the benefit of the Pope. Bertoldo Orsini was deposed from the Countship of Romagna: the office was bestowed on John of Appia, with instructions everywhere to coerce or to chastise the refractory Ghibellines.ⁿ The Pope himself was elected Senator of Rome, in defiance of the decree of Nicolas III.; Charles of Anjou was his vicegerent. Nor did excommunication confine itself to Italy; Charles was now in a state to carry on his league for the subjugation of the Eastern Empire, in conjunction with the exiled Latin Sovereign and the Venetian republic. Palæologus, who had sur-

^m Ptolem. Luc. xxiv. 2.

ⁿ "Che votò l'erario delle smuniche per fulminar tutti i Ghibellini, e

chiunque era nemico o poco amico del medesimo Ré Carlo." So writes the calm Muratori, p. 185.

rendered the liberties of the Greek Church to the supremacy of Rome, who, at the command of the Pope, had persecuted, had provoked his subjects, his kindred to rebellion, had raised up a rival Greek Patriarch to contest Constantinople, who had been denounced as worse than a heretic, as an apostate, was now, because something was yet thought wanting to his base compliance, or rather because he maintained his throne in defiance of Charles of Anjou, solemnly excommunicated by Martin IV.^o The last hope of union between the Churches was thus cut away by the Pope's suicidal hand; Palæologus died repudiated as a renegade by his own Church, under the interdict of the Church of Rome. His son Andronicus, as has been said, dissolved the inauspicious alliance; and the Churches were again for above two centuries in implacable oppugnancy.

Charles of Anjou, with the Pope as his obsequious minister, might seem reinstated in more than his former plenitude of power; he resided with the Pope at Orvieto, as it were to dictate his counsels. Though Martin did not yet venture to dispossess the Emperor Rodolph of the Vicariate of Tuscany, Charles might have been justified in the noblest hopes of his ambition in Italy, but he was looking with more wide-grasping predilection to the East. Under the pretext of a Crusade to the Holy Land, he was aspiring to add Constantinople to his realm.

* This passionate and partial excommunication shocked his own age. From the date of this act, writes Ptolemy of Lucca, all went wrong with Charles and the Church. See back. 413.

CHAPTER V.

Sicilian Vespers.

BUT a mine had long been working under his throne, which in the next year burst with all the suddenness and terror of one of his kingdom's volcanoes. While he contemplated the sovereignty of the East, Sicily was lost to his house. Around one man has gathered all the glory of this signal revolution; John of Procida has been handed down as almost the sole author of the expulsion of the French, and the translation of the crown of Sicily to the house of Arragon: Peter of Arragon, the Emperor Palæologus, Nicolas III., the revolted Barons of Sicily were but instruments wielded by his strong will, brought into close alliance through negotiations conducted by him alone; excited, sustained, guided by his ubiquitous presence. Even the Vespers of Palermo were attributed to his secret instigation. John of Procida perhaps achieved not all which is ascribed to him alone; in the vast system of secret agency he was not the sole mover; much which was traced to his suggestion arose out of natural passions, resentment, revenge, ambition, interest, patriotism, love of power and glory in those who conspired to this memorable work. A fatal revelation, but too trustworthy, shows John of Procida in his early career (he had been already physician to Frederick II. and to Conrad, and confidential counsellor of Manfred) as basely abandoning the cause

of the fallen Manfred, crouching at the feet of the Pope at Viterbo, protesting that he had only bowed beneath the storm of Manfred's tyranny; he was commended to the mercy of Charles of Anjou by the Pope, as his beloved son, as the future faithful servant of King Charles. How far he was admitted to favour appears not, but three years after he is involved in a charge of high treason, and flies from Naples. But however base instead of noble, revenge disappointed treachery and ambition are hardly less strong and obstinate motives to action than generous indignation at tyranny, and holy love of country.*

In all the conspiracy, a conspiracy of thoughts, feelings, passions, if not of compacts and treaties, the most fatal to Charles was the insupportable, unexampled, acknowledged tyranny of the French dominion.^b Sicily had groaned and bled under the cruel despotism of the Emperor Henry; the German rudeness aggravated the harshness of his rule. Frederick II., as also his son, had been severe, though just; if his fiscal regulations were oppressive, they were repaid by the brilliancy of his court, by his wise laws, by noble foundations, by the national pride in beholding Naples and Sicily the most civilised kingdom in the world. Charles and his French and Provençal nobles, with the haughtiness and cruelty of foreign rulers, indulged without restraint those outrages which gall to madness. Charles from the first treated the realm as a conquered land; after the insurrection in

* See the document among the Pièces justificatives in Cherrier, iv. 524, from a copy in the Royal Library at Paris. Compare Amari's preface and document first edit, iv., Florence, 1851; St. Priest, *Histoire de la Conquête de Naples*, Paris, 1847.

^b "Sub tyrannicæ turbine tempestatis."

favour of Conradin, as a revolted kingdom. The insurgents, or reputed insurgents, were hunted down, torn from their families: happy if only put to a violent death!^c To the exactions of Charles there were no limits. The great fiefs seized, confiscated on the slightest suspicion of disaffection, were granted to French nobles; the foreign soldiers lived at free quarters; they were executioners commissioned to punish a rebellious race. To all complaints of cruelty, outrage, extortion, Charles replied with a haughty scoff, as though it were fit treatment for the impious rebels against himself and the Pope. The laws, severe enough before, were aggravated by still more sanguinary enactments, and by their execution with refined mercilessness. But there were worse cruelties than these; those women only were safe who, being heiresses, were compelled to marry French nobles; of these there was a regular register; of all others the honour was at the mercy of those who in this respect knew no mercy: there was no redress, no pity; it might seem as if Sicilian women were thought honoured by being defiled by French and Provençal brutality.^d Over this tyranny, which himself had inflicted on this beautiful land, Clement IV. had groaned in bitter remorse. Charles in his impartial rapacity spared not the property of the Church; if in his cruelty he respected the sacred persons of ecclesiastics, he taxed even the Templars and Knights of St. John. The Pope had sent remonstrances, embassies, to warn, to threaten, but in

^c Amari, c. iii., for a full account of these horrors, with his authorities.

^d See these enactments, quoted in Amari. On the forced marriages, p. 61. His fourth chapter we read

with a revulsive shudder, and would fain disbelieve; but the industry of Amari has been too searching, his facts and documents are too strong even for charitable palliation.

vain.^e He had entreated the intervention of the holy Louis. Gregory X. menaced that for the tyrannies of the same kind which Charles exercised in Tuscany the wrath of God would fall on such a tyrant. "I know not," answered Charles, "what that word tyrant means; this I know, that so far I have been protected by God; I doubt not that he will still protect me." The Archbishop of Capua denounced him at the Council of Lyons; he laughed to scorn the complaints of the Prelates, the Legates of the Council, the letters of the Pope to Philip of France. In Sicily all the abuses of the government were felt in their extreme weight. Naples was the residence of the court, and derived some glory or advantage from its splendour; Palermo sank to a provincial town, Sicily to a province. The Parliament had fallen into desuetude; it was an iron reign of force without justice, without law, without humanity, without mercy, without regard to morality, without consideration of any one of the rights, or of the interests or the welfare of mankind.

The race of Sicily's old kings was not utterly extinct.

House of Arragon. In Constance, the daughter of Manfred, the wife of Peter of Arragon, lingered the last drops of Swabian blood: it was said that on the scaffold Conradin had cast down his glove, to be borne to the King of Arragon, as the heir of his rights, the avenger of his death. To the court of the King of Arragon had fled those Sicilians of the Swabian party who had the good fortune to become exiles—among these three of great name, Roger Loria, Conrad Lancia, John of Procida. John of Procida was an exile soon after the

* See two letters especially, in Raynaldus, 1267; also in Martene and Durand, *Thes. Nov. Anecd.* ii. 530, 537, &c.

failure and death of Conradin. His hatred to the French is said to have been deepened by the worst outrage, perpetrated on his wife and his daughter. Existing grants to his wife Landolfina intimate that she was under the protection of some powerful influence, not improbably of a French paramour.^f John of Procida was born at Salerno; though a noble, he was profoundly skilled, as in other learning, in the science of his native city, that of medicine. He rose in the favour of Peter of Arragon, became his bosom counsellor, was endowed with lands, the lands of Luxen, Benezzano, and Palma, in the kingdom of Valencia; he was a Valencian noble.^g

Peter of Arragon, with his court and his confidential council, thus occupied by Sicilian exiles, who were constantly urging upon him the odious Peter of Arragon. tyranny of Charles the usurper, and the discontent, disaffection, despair of the Sicilians; with his Queen not likely to forget her own hereditary claims, or the wrongs of her noble father Manfred and his ancient house; lord but of his own narrow kingdom hardly won from the Moors, and held, as it were, in a joint sovereignty with his Nobles, was not likely to avert his eyes from the prospect of a greater monarchy, which expanded before him. He had made treaties of peace with the rival Kings his neighbours, a treaty for five years with the King of Granada, a league with Castile; and over King Sancho of Castile he held the menace of letting loose the two young princes, nearer to the throne than Sancho, and resident at the court of Arragon.^h He kept up friendly relations with Philip of France, the husband

^f Amari, note, p. 82.

^g See Amari's note, p. 83.

^h Montaner, c. 40, 45; in Buchon, Collection des Mémoires, D'Esclot, c. 76.

of his sister; he even made advances to Charles of Anjou; there was a proposal of marriage between his son and the daughter of Charles. Peter was embarked in suspicious negotiations with the Saracens in Tunis.¹ At the same time he was making great preparations for war; in his arsenals in Valencia, Tortosa, and Barcelona was gathering a powerful fleet; his subjects granted subsidies; provisions, stores, arms, accoutrements of war were accumulated as for some momentous design. How far John of Procida instigated these designs, or only encouraged the profound ambition of the King for dominion, of the Queen for revenge for her injured house, none can know: nor how far Procida acted from his own intense patriotism or revenge, or but as an instrument in the hand of others.

There can be no doubt that there was a secret understanding, that there was direct communication between the enemies of Charles, the Emperor of the East, Pope John of Procida. Nicolas III., the King of Arragon, perhaps the Sicilian nobles, Alaimo da Lentini and his colleagues: Procida may have been, no doubt was, one of the chief of those agents;^k if not actually commissioned, tacitly recognised. He was once, if not twice, at the court of Constantinople. There he needed not to rouse the fears and jealousy of Palæologus; the designs of Charles against the Eastern Empire were, if not avowed, but half disguised. Charles was the open ally of Philip, the Latin claimant of the Empire. Palæolo-

¹ Amari, p. 86, with his notes.

^k Amari is inclined to treat as romance this primary organization of the whole confederacy by John of Procida; his ubiquitous agency; his disguises; especially his frequent intercourse with the Sicilian nobles. But there seems a

great difficulty as to the growth of this romance, and this elevation of Procida into the sole hero of the war and the great deliverer, after his apostasy from the cause of Arragon, and after he had incurred the hatred of the Arragoness party.

gus might well enter into correspondence, or admit to a secret interview, the bosom counsellor of King Peter of Arragon. To Procida Palæologus may have entrusted his secret offers of large sums of money for the Pope, the hundred thousand byzantines, not to detach him from the interests of Charles of Anjou, against whom he had already taken hostile measures, but to enable him to defy the power of the Angevine.^m Procida, according to the common account—an account contradicted only by the silence of other writers—left Constantinople, pretending to be driven away by the Emperor; he disguised himself as a Mendicant Friar, reached Malta, landed in Sicily, had frequent interviews with the disaffected nobles, Walter of Caltagirone, Palmerio Abbate, Alaimo da Lentini. From them he obtained an invitation to Peter of Arragon to advance his claims to the inheritance of his wife. In the friar's garb he made his way to Nicolas III. in Soriano, revealed himself to the Holy Father, explained the extent, the success of his negotiations; laid the treasures of Palæologus at his feet. Nicolas consented to recognise the claims of Peter of Arragon, and by letters of the most profound secrecy promised him the investiture of the realm. Procida appeared at Barcelona with these animating tidings to rekindle the somewhat slumbering ambition of the King. The warlike preparations were urged with greater activity. Procida set forth on a second mission: he landed at Pisa; at Viterbo he saw the Pope; at Trapani conferred with the Sicilian nobles; passed to Negropont undiscovered, reached Constantinople. He was welcomed by the Emperor; negotiations were com-

^m "E guarda ben la mal tolta moneta,
Ch'esser ti fece contra Carlo arditto."
Dante, *Inf.* xix. 98.

Amari's new interpretation of this verse is to me quite unsatisfactory.

menced for an alliance by marriage between the courts of Arragon and Constantinople. Accardo, a Lombard knight, was secretly despatched by the Emperor to the court of Peter with thirty thousand ounces of gold. Procida embarked on board a ship of Pisa, Accardo was concealed in the ship. At Malta they met the Sicilian conspirators, with the news of the death of Nicolas III. The Sicilians would have abandoned the hopeless enterprise; Procida reinvigorated them by the introduction of Accardo, and the sight of the Byzantine gold. All Procida's eloquence, all his ability, it is said, but very improbably, was needed to dissuade the King of Arragon from the abandonment of the hopeless enterprise. Again the plan was fully organised; the manner, the time of the insurrection arranged.^a

It is certain that the warlike preparations of the King of Arragon had not escaped the jealous observation of Charles of Anjou; he could not but know the claims, the wrongs, of the Queen of Peter of Arragon and the stern, reserved, ambitious character of Peter; perhaps he had obtained some clue to the great league which was secretly forming against him. The vague rumours industriously propagated of designs against the Saracens of Africa by Peter of Arragon, however at other times they might have justified vast and secret armaments, could not blind the Angevine's keen apprehensions. Charles had himself demanded explanations. Among the first acts of Martin IV. was to require, through Philip of France, and from Peter himself directly, the scope and object of these menacing preparations: if they were against the infidels, he offered his sanction,

^a The sons of Manfred were living, but in prison, from whence they never came forth.

his prayers, his contributions. Peter baffled his inquiries with his dexterous but inflexible reply. He implored the prayers of the Pope on his design; "but if he thought his right hand knew his secret, he would cut it off, lest it should betray it to his left."

Charles, on his part, had been making great preparations; he had a large fleet in the ports of Sicily and Naples; a powerful land force was assembled for embarkation. He had increased the burthens of the kingdom to provide this army, compelled the Sicilian nobles to furnish vessels; and he was as little disposed to disclose his own secret objects as the King of Arragon. The ostensible object was the deliverance of the Holy Land; the immediate one the subjugation of the Greek Empire. These forces were still in the garrisons and towns of Sicily. Forty-two castles had been built, either in the strongest positions, or to command the great cities, and were held by French feudatories. They were provided with arms, and could summon at an instant's notice all their French sub-feudatories, or the Sicilians on whom they could depend for aid. Heribert of Orleans, the King's Lieutenant, was in Messina; in Palermo, John di San Remi, the Justiciary of the Val di Mazzara.

At this juncture the crisis was precipitated by one of those events which no sagacity could have foreseen,^o which all the ubiquitous activity ascribed to John of Procida could not have devised—
Sicilian
Vespers.
 an outburst of popular fury excited by one of those acts of insulting tyranny which goad an oppressed people to

^o Amari, c. v. p. 89. "Le trame coi Ghitellini e con alcuni Baroni di Napoli o di Sicilia, non si possono ormai revocare in dubbio. Falso è che la pratica, si strettamente condotta, fosse a punto riuscita a produrre lo scoppio del Vespro." I fully subscribe to this latter clause.

madness. The insurrection of Palermo received the darkly famous name of the "Sicilian Vespers."

The Sicilians still crowded to their religious festivals with all the gaiety and light-heartedness of a southern people. Even their churches, where they assembled for the worship of that God whose representative on earth had handed them over to their ruthless tyrant, where alone they found consolation under the grinding tyranny, were not secure against the all-present agents of that tyranny. The officers of the revenue watched the doors of the churches: as all who had not paid their taxes went in or came forth, even from within the sanctuary itself they dragged off their miserable victims, whom they branded with the name of heretics—"Pay, ye Paterins, pay!"

It was at a festival on Easter Tuesday that a multi-
March 31. tude of the inhabitants of Palermo and the neighbourhood had thronged to a church, about half a mile out of the town, dedicated to the Holy Ghost. The religious service was over, the merriment begun; tables were spread, the amusements of all sorts, games, dances under the trees, were going gaily on; when the harmony was suddenly interrupted, and the joyousness chilled by the appearance of a body of French soldiery, under the pretext of keeping the peace. The French mingled familiarly with the people, paid court, not in the most respectful manner, to the women; the young men made sullen remonstrances, and told them to go their way. The Frenchmen began to draw together. "These rebellious Paterins must have arms, or they would not venture on such insolence," They began to search some of them for arms. The two parties were already glaring at each other in angry hostility. At that moment the beautiful daughter of Roger Mas-

trangelo, a maiden of exquisite loveliness and modesty, with her bridegroom, approached the church. A Frenchman named Drouet, either in wantonness or insult, came up to her, and under the pretence of searching for arms, thrust his hand into her bosom. The girl fainted in her bridegroom's arms. He uttered in his agony the fatal cry, "Death to the French!" A youth rushed forward, stabbed Drouet to the heart with his own sword, was himself struck down. The cry, the shriek, ran through the crowd, "Death to the French!" Many Sicilians fell, but of two hundred on the spot, not one Frenchman escaped. The cry spread to the city: Mastrangelo took the lead; every house was stormed, every hole and corner searched; their dress, their speech, their persons, their manners denounced the French. The palace was forced; the Justiciary, being luckily wounded in the face, and rolled in the dust, and so undetected, mounted a horse, and fled with two followers. Two thousand French were slain. They denied them decent burial, heaped them together in a great pit. The horrors of the scene were indescribable: the insurgents broke into the convents, the churches. The friars, especial objects of hatred, were massacred; they slew the French monks, the French priests. Neither old age, nor sex, nor infancy, was spared; it is a charge more than once repeated in the Papal acts, that they ripped up Sicilian women who were pregnant by Frenchmen, in order to exterminate the hated brood. A government was hastily formed; Roger Mastrangelo, Arrigo Barresi, Niccoloso d'Ortoleva (knights), with Niccolo de Ebdemonia were summoned by acclamation to be Captains of the people. They then proclaimed the "Good estate and liberty," unfolded the banner of the city, an eagle on a field of gold; the keys of the Church were still quartered upon it.

The Justiciary was pursued to Vicari, thirty miles distant; the people rose at the cry of "Death to the French!"^p The garrison at first refused to capitulate, and to be sent safe to Provence; it was now too late, the Justiciary was shot down by a random arrow, every Frenchman massacred. Sicily was everywhere in arms; Corleone first followed the example of Palermo. Everywhere the French were hunted down and murdered. One man alone was spared. William Porcelet, Governor of Calatafimi, who had ruled with justice and humanity, was, by common consent, sent safe on board ship by the Palermitans, and returned to Provence. In Messina was the strength of the French force, under the Viceroy, Heribert of Orleans. Messina rose. Heribert was compelled to submit to terms; he swore to transport himself and all his soldiers to Aigues Mortes, in Provence. He broke his oath, and landed in Calabria; the Messinese revenged his perjury on every Frenchman who was left behind. In one month, that of April, Sicily was free; the French had disappeared.

Such was the revolution which bears in history the appalling name of the Sicilian Vespers, sudden, popular, reckless, sanguinary, so as to appear the unpremeditated explosion of a people goaded to phrensy by intolerable oppression; yet general, simultaneous, orderly, so as to imply, if not some previous organisation, some slow and secret preparation of the public mind. John of Procida, the barons in league with John of Procida, appear not during the first outburst; the fleets of Peter of Arragon are yet within their harbours. The towns take

^p Muoian le Francese! In this account I am quite with Amari against Mon. de St. Priest, who cannot forget to be a Frenchman.—See Amari's authorities, p. 103, and Appendix.

the lead: they assert their own independence, and form a league for mutual defence. Acts are dated as under the rule of the Church and the Republic. The Church is everywhere respected; it might seem as if the Sicilians supposed Nicolas III. still on the Pontifical throne, or that they would not believe that the Pope was so servile an adherent of the Angevine. They were soon disabused. When Charles first heard of the revolt, of the total loss of Sicily, and the massacre of at least two thousand Frenchmen, he lifted his eyes to Heaven in devout prayer: "O Lord God, if it hath pleased thee to visit me with adverse fortune, grant at least that it may come with gentle steps."^q As though he had satisfied his religion by this one stern act of humility, no sooner had he reached Naples than he burst into the most furious paroxysms of wrath. Now he sat silent, glaring fiercely around him, gnawing the top of his sceptre; then broke forth into the most horrible vows of vengeance: "if he could live a thousand years, he would go on razing the cities, burning the lands, torturing the rebellious slaves. He would leave Sicily a blasted, barren, uninhabited rock, as a warning to the present age, an example to the future." Pope Martin, less violent in his demeanour, was hardly less so in his public acts. The Palermitans sent an embassy declaring their humble submission to the Papal See. The messengers were monks. They addressed the Pope—"O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us!" Martin compared them to the Jews, who smote the Saviour, and cried "Hail, King of the Jews."^r His Bull of excommunication describes in the blackest terms the horrors

Conduct of
Charles of
Anjou.

^q Villani, vii. 71.

^r Ibid. 62.

of the massacre.* A crusade was proclaimed against the Sicilians: all ecclesiastics, archbishops, bishops, abbots, who favoured the insurgents, were at once deprived and deposed; all laymen stripped of their fiefs or estates. The people of Palermo sternly replied, that "they had unfolded the banner of St. Peter, in hopes, under that protection, to obtain their liberties; they must now unfold the banner of another Peter, the King of Arragon."[†]

Charles made the most vigorous preparations for war.

The age and state of the public mind are singularly illustrated by the following story: a Mendicant Friar, Bartolomeo Piazza, appeared in his camp, a man of blameless morals and some learning; he disdained the disguise of a spy. He was led before the King. "How darest thou," Charles abruptly accosted him, "come from that land of traitors?" "Neither am I a traitor, nor come I from a land of traitors. I come, urged by religion and conscience, to warn my holy brethren that they follow not your unjust arms. You have abandoned the people committed by God to your charge to be torn by wolves and hounds; you have hardened your heart against complaints and supplications; they have avenged their wrongs, they will defend, they will die for, their holiest rights. Think of Pharaoh!" Either awe, or the notion that Bartolomeo would bear back a true account of his overwhelming forces, induced the King to endure this affront; the Friar returned to Messina.[‡]

Before Messina appeared Charles with all his army, burning for revenge. At first he obtained some suc-

* Saba Malaspina. The Bull in Raynald. sub ann. 1282. | a long oration, assuredly made after the time.

† Compare Amari, Documento x.; | ‡ Bartolom. de Neocastro, cap. 32, 34.

cesses; but the popular leader, Manfrone, was deposed, the Noble Alaimo da Lentini placed at the head of the garrison. The resistance became Charles before Messina. obstinate. The women were most active, as perhaps most exposed to the vengeance of the French. Their delicate hands bore stones, ammunition; they tended the sick and wounded.* The Legate of the Pope, the Cardinal Gerard, accompanied the King; he was armed with the amplest powers. He demanded, or was invited to enter the city. He was received with general jubilation, and escorted to the Cathedral; Alaimo da Lentini laid at his feet the keys of the city and his own staff of command. They entreated him to accept the dominion of the city in the name of the Church, to appoint a governor: "to the Church they would willingly pay their tribute, but away with the French! in the name of God let them be driven from the lands of the Church!" Gerard replied, in the fierce and criminary tone ascribed to him by one historian as to insolent rebels, yet with a haughty condescension.† "Heinous as were their sins, they were not beyond the mercy of their mother the Church; he would reconcile the Messinese to their King; subjects must not speak of terms to their sovereign. Let them trust the magnanimity, the clemency of Charles; the savage murderers alone would meet with condign punishment. Let Messina lay herself in the lap of the Church; in her name to be restored to King Charles." "To Charles! Never!" shouted Alaimo; he seized his staff from the hand of the astonished Prelate. "To the French, never! so

* "Deh com' egli è gran pietate,
Delle donne de Messina,
Veggendole scapigliate,
Portando pretta e calcina.
Iddio gli dia briga e travaglia,
A chi Messina vuol guastar."

—Popular song, quoted by Villani, vii. 77.

† Neocastro, Villani, Malaspina, &c.

long as we have blood to shed and swords to wield." The whole people took up the cry; Gerard made one more effort: thirty citizens were appointed to treat with the Legate; but all was in vain. They knew too well the mercy of Charles. "O, candid counsel of the Church to lay our necks down before the headsman! We are sold to the French; we must ransom ourselves by arms. We offer to the Pope the sovereignty of the land: Martin declines it. Instead of being the mild and gentle Vicar of Christ, he is but the tool of the French. Go and tell the Angevine tyrant that lions and foxes shall never more enter into Messina."

In the mean time, the fleets of Peter of Arragon were upon the seas; still disguising his aim, as if he designed to make war only on the Saracens of Africa, he landed his forces on the coast of Tunis. He appeared as the ally of the Prince of Constantina. He disembarked in the Port of Collo: he had some vigorous engagements with the Saracens.* He despatched ambassadors to Rome to implore the blessing of the Pope on his Crusade against the infidels, the protection of the Church for his dominions in Spain, the presence of a Legate, the right to levy the tenths for a war against the infidels. This specious embassy was received with specious civility by the Pope at Monte Fiascone.

The Parliament had met at Palermo; it had been determined to offer the throne of Sicily to Peter. He received the ambassadors of the Sicilians with grave solemnity; as offering to him unexpected, unsolicited honours. The Holy War was at an end; Peter and his fleet in the port of Trapani. At

* Zurita,

Palermo he was saluted by acclamation King of Sicily. The relief of Messina was the first aim of the new King. He ordered a general levy of all who could bear arms: men crowded to his banner. To Charles he sent an embassy of the noble Catalonians, Pietro Queralto, Ruy Ximenes de Luna, William Aymeric, Justiciary of Barcelona. He demanded safe-conduct by two Carmelite Friars. In two days Charles declared that he would give them audience; two days—during which he hoped to find himself master of Messina. But his terrific assault by sea and land was repelled; instead of receiving the ambassadors of the King of Arragon as a haughty conqueror, he received them weary with toil, boiling with rage and baffled pride. He was seated on his bed, which was covered with rich silk drapery. He threw disdainfully aside on his pillow the letter of the King of Arragon: he awaited the address of the ambassador Queralto. Queralto's words were doubtless those of the letter, they ran thus: "The illustrious Peter, King, by the grace of God, of Arragon and Sicily, commands you, Charles, Count of Provence and King of Jerusalem, to depart from his kingdom; to give him free passage into his city of Messina, which you are besieging by sea and land; he is astonished at your presumption in impeding the passage of the King through his own dominions." ^a The ambassadors no doubt asserted the hereditary claim of the King of Arragon. Charles, with the gesture constantly ascribed to him, bit his sceptre in his wrath; his reply had his usual pride, but, by one account, something of dejection. He told the ambassadors to survey his vast forces; he expressed

Aug. 30.

Sept. 14.

Ambassadors
to Charles.

^a See, in Amari, the variations in the copies of this letter, p. 166, note.

utter astonishment that the King of Arragon should presume to interfere between him and his rebellious subjects; he held Naples and Sicily as a grant from the Pope; but he intimated that he might withdraw his weary troops to refresh them in Calabria: it would only, however, be to return and wreak his vengeance on Sicily; the Catalonian dominions of the King of Arragon would not be safe from his resentment.

From this period the mind of Charles, never strong, Conduct of Charles. but so insolent and tyrannical in prosperity, sank into a strange prostration, in which fits of an absurd chivalry alternated with utter abjectness. He would neither press vigorously, nor abandon the siege of Messina. Now he wreaked his vengeance on all the lands in his possession, burned churches and monasteries; now offered advantageous terms to the Sicilians; now endeavoured openly to bribe Alaimo da Lentini, who cast back his offers with public scorn. At length, threatened by the fleets of Arragon, he withdrew to his continental dominions.

The climax of this strange state of mind was his challenge to the King of Arragon, to determine their quarrel by single combat. In vain the Pope denounced the impiety, and remonstrated against the wild impolicy of this feudal usage, now falling into desuetude. The King of Arragon leaped at the proposition, which he could so easily elude; and which left him full time to consolidate undisturbed his new kingdom, to invade Calabria, to cover the sea with his fleets. This defiance to mortal combat, this wager of battle, was an appeal, according to the wild justice of the age, to the God of Battles, who, it was an established popular belief, would declare himself on the righteous side. Charles of Anjou had the opportunity of publicly arraigning before Chris-

tendom his hated rival of disloyal treachery, of secret leaguings with his revolted subjects, of falsehood in his protestations of friendship. The King of Arragon stood forth on the broad ground of asserting his hereditary right, of appearing as the deliverer of a people most barbarously oppressed, as summoned to the crown by the barons and people of Sicily. He was almost admitted as possessing an equal claim with him who had received the Papal investiture. The grave and serious manner in which the time, the place, the manner of holding those lists were discussed might seem to portend a tragic close; this great ordeal would be commended to still greater honour and acceptance by the strife of two monarchs for one of the noblest kingdoms of the earth, the kingdom of Naples. Italy itself offered no fair or secure field. The King of England, Edward I., was the one powerful and impartial monarch, who might preside as umpire; his Gascon territories, a neutral ground, on which might be waged this momentous combat. All proceeded with the most serious and solemn dignity, as if there could be no doubt that the challenge so given, so accepted, would come to direct and inevitable issue. Bordeaux was chosen as the scene of the kingly tournament. The lists were prepared at great cost and with great splendour. Each King proceeded to enrol the hundred knights who were to have the honour of joining in this glorious conflict with their monarch. The noblest and bravest chivalry of France offered themselves to Charles of Anjou; his nephew, Philip the Hardy, offered to enter the lists with him. On the side of Peter of Arragon were the most valiant Spanish knights, men accustomed to joust with the Moor, to meet the champions of the Crescent from Cordova or Granada. A Moorish Prince presented himself; if God

gave the victory to Peter, not only would the Moor share the triumph, but submit to baptism in the name of the Christian's God. The Pope was overborne; the Church had pronounced its condemnation on judicial combats. Martin had condemned this on general grounds^b and on the special objection, that it was setting on the issue of arms that which had already been solemnly adjudged by the supreme Pontiff; it was to call in question the Pope's right of granting the kingdom of Naples. He commanded Charles to desist from the humiliating comparison of himself and his heaven-sanctioned claims, with those of a presumptuous adventurer, of one already under the censure, under the excommunication of the Roman See; he offered to absolve the King from all his oaths: yet even on this point the Pope was compelled to yield his reluctant consent to the imperious will of his master.

The wrath of the Pope on the first intelligence of the insurrection, still more at the invasion of the realm by Peter of Arragon, had been hardly less violent than that of Charles of Anjou. At Orvieto he proclaimed more than the excommunication, the degradation of Peter. He denounced again the crime of the Palermitans in the massacre of the French; the impious rebellion of the realm of Sicily; he boasted the mild attempts of the Church, especially through Cardinal Gerard in Messina, to reconcile them to their lawful Sovereign. "Since Peter, King of Arragon, under the false colour of an expedition to Africa, has invaded the island of Sicily—the peculiar territory of

The Pope endeavours in vain to prohibit the battle.

His censure on the King of Arragon. March 21, 1283.

^b Martin writes to King Edward of England that he had power "impediendi tam detestanda tam nociva."—MS., B. M., vol. xiv. Orvieto, April 15, 1284.

the Roman Church—with horse and foot; has set up the claim of his wife, the daughter of the accursed Manfred, to the throne; has usurped the name of King of Sicily;° has openly countenanced the Messinese as he before secretly instigated the Palermitans to rebel against their Sovereign: he has incurred the severest penalties, of usurpation, sedition, and violence. His crime is aggravated by the relation of the crown of Arragon to the See of Rome. That crown was granted by the Pope; his grandfather, Peter of Arragon, received it from the Pope, and swore fealty in his own name and in that of his successors to the successor of St. Peter.” The King was now not only in rebellion; he had practised an impious fraud on his holy Father; he had implored the aid of the Pope, his blessing on his army, as though designed against the African barbarians. For these reasons not only was Peter adjudged a lawless usurper of the realm of Sicily, but deposed from his kingdom of Arragon; his subjects were discharged from all their oaths of fealty. His kingdom was to be seized and occupied by any Catholic Sovereign, who should be duly commissioned to that end by the Pope. The Cardinal of St. Cecilia was sent into France to offer the forfeited throne of Arragon to any one of the King’s sons who would undertake the conquest: the only provision was the exclusion of the heir to the French throne: the two kingdoms could not be united under the same Sovereign. The subjugated realm was to be held of Pope Martin and his successors in the Apostolic

° The Pope seems here to charge Peter of Arragon with being the prime mover of the rebellion. “Sicque non solum Panormitanos eosdem, quos alias pluries ad hæc sollicitasse per nuncios

dicebatur, in inchoatæ contra præfatum regem seditionis et rebellionis contumaciâ obfirmavit,” &c. &c.—Raynald. 1283, xix.

See. The forfeiture comprehended the whole dominions of Peter, the kingdom of Arragon, the kingdom of Valencia, Catalonia, and Barcelona.

The wager of battle between the Kings, which Wager of battle. maintained its solemn dignity up almost to the appointed time, ended in a pitiful comedy, in which Charles of Anjou had the ignominy of practising base and disloyal designs against his adversary; Peter, that of eluding the contest by craft, justifiable only as his mistrust of his adversary was well or ill grounded, but much too cunning for a frank and generous knight. He had embarked with his knights for the South of France; he was cast back by tempests on the shores of Spain. He set off with some of his armed Peter at Bordeaux. companions, crossed the Pyrenees undiscovered, appeared before the gates of Bordeaux, and summoned the English Seneschal. To him he proclaimed himself to be the King of Arragon, demanded to see the lists, rode down them in slow state, obtained May 31. an attestation that he had made his appearance within the covenanted time, and affixed his solemn protest against the palpable premeditated treachery of his rival, which made it unsafe for him to remain longer at Bordeaux. Charles, on his part, was furious that Peter had thus broken through the spider's web of his policy. He was in Bordeaux, when Peter appeared under the walls, and had challenged him in vain. Charles presented himself in full armour on the appointed day, summoned Peter to appear, proclaimed him a recreant and a dastardly craven, unworthy of the name of knight.

Pope Martin's enmity was as indefatigable as the ambition of Peter of Arragon. He strained his utmost power to break off a marriage proposed between Alfonso,

the elder son of Peter, with Eleanora, the daughter of Edward of England. He expostulated with Edward on the degradation of allying his illustrious house with that of an excommunicated prince; he inhibited the marriage as within the fourth degree of consanguinity. By enormous charges on the Papal treasury he bought off the Venetians from a treaty, which would have placed their fleet on the enemy's side.^d He borrowed still larger sums on the security of the Papal revenues, above 28,393 ounces of gold: the tenths decreed by the Council of Lyons were awarded to this new Crusade. The annual payment of 8000 ounces of gold for the kingdom of Naples was postponed, on account of the inability of the Prince of Salerno to discharge the debt. Thrice in the following year, on Holy Thursday, on Ascension Day, on the Dedication of A.D. 1283. St. Peter's church, the excommunication was promulgated at Orvieto, in Rome, in every city in Italy which would admit this display of Papal authority. The Cardinal Gerard, of S. Sabina, was commissioned to preach everywhere the Crusade: he might offer unlimited indulgences to all who would take up arms against Peter and the Sicilian rebels. The kingdom of Arragon, with the county of Barcelona and the kingdom of Valencia were solemnly adjudged to Charles of Valois, the son of the King of France. Great forces were prepared in France to invade these Spanish realms of Peter. But in the mean time, Martin himself might tremble in his dominions. Guido of Montefeltro was in arms, hardly kept in check by John of Epps, the Papal General. At Rome were threatening commo-

^d Five thousand ounces of gold, which were likewise to hire and man twenty galleys for the fleet of Charles.

tions: the Pope endeavoured to maintain his influence by the purchase of corn in great quantities in Apulia during a famine, its free or cheap distribution, and by other concessions. But the King of Arragon was not without his secret allies within the city.

Worse than this, Charles of Anjou returned to Italy; he was met by the disastrous tidings of the utter destruction of his fleet by Roger Loria, and the capture of his son Charles, Prince of Salerno. This precious hostage was in the power of his enemies; on him they might wreak their vengeance for the death of the young Conradin. Charles put on a haughty equanimity: "I had rather have heard of his death than of his captivity." He overwrought this proud endurance. He assembled the nobles; he enjoined them to rejoice with him that he had lost a priest, who had only impeded the vigour and success of his arms.^e He entered Naples, and declared it mercy that he impaled only one out of a hundred and fifty, who were suspected or accused of tampering with the victorious Arragonese.

But his arms were to be arrested by a mightier power. One fatal year was to witness the death of all the great personages engaged in this conflict; it was to be bequeathed to a new generation of combatants. In the midst of his preparations for a more determined invasion of Sicily, Charles, exhausted by disappointment and sorrow, died at Foggia: the Papal writers aver he made a most Christian end. Philip of France, after a doubtful campaign in Catalonia, for the conquest of the Spanish dominions of Peter of Arragon, in behalf of his brother, Charles of Valois, died at Perpignan: Peter of Arragon about a month

Feb. 7, 1285.

Oct. 5.

Nov. 11.

^e Ptolem. Luc. xiv. 9. Compare throughout Raynaldus, and Muratori, *Annal. sub annis*, with their authorities.

later at Villa Franca di Penades. Alfonso, the elder son, quietly succeeded to his father's Arragonese crown; the infant James, according to his father's will, to that of Sicily. On the 29th of March before had died at Orvieto Pope Martin IV., who had emptied the whole armoury of excommunication against the enemies of Charles of Anjou.^f Such was the issue of all the interdicts, the anathemas, the crusades, and all the blood shed to determine the possession of the throne of Sicily.

There was now no commanding interest to contest the Pontificate. The Emperor Rodolph did not busy himself much in Italian politics. A Roman Prelate, John Boccamuzza, Archbishop of Monreale, Cardinal Bishop of Tusculum, resided as Legate in Germany; he presided over a Council at Wurtzburg, in the presence of the Emperor Rodolph. A chronicler of the times compares him with the Dragon in the Revelations, dragging his venomous tail (a host of corrupt Bishops) through Germany, which he contaminated with his simoniac perversity, amassing riches from all quarters, selling privileges, which he instantly revoked to sell them again, bartering with utter shamelessness the patrimony of the Crucified: he was insulted by the lofty German Prelates; he retired muttering vengeance.^g In Italy the Angevine cause was paralysed by the death of Charles, and the imprisonment of his son. The house of Arragon had no footing in the conclave. Under such circumstances the great families of Rome had usually some Prelate of sufficient weight and character, if parties among themselves were not too equally balanced, to advance to the highest eminence in the Church.

^f Muratori, sub ann. 1285.

^g Gothofridus Esm. apud Boehmer, Fontes, ii, 111. Labbe, Concil. sub ann. 1286.

An Orsini had but now occupied the Papal throne, then a Savelli, and then a Pope of humble birth, enslaved by a nepotism of favour, not of blood, to the family of Colonna, followed in rapid succession. The Savelli, **Honorius IV.**, was a man of great ability, a martyr to the gout. Almost his only important acts were the publication of two Edicts, matured under his predecessor Martin, which if issued and carried out under the Angevine reign in Naples and Sicily, might perhaps have averted the revolt. One was designed to propitiate the clergy of the realm: it asserted in the highest terms their independence, immunities, freedom of election, and other privileges. The second re-enacted the laws, and professed to renew the policy of William the Good, the most popular monarch who had ever reigned in Sicily.^h But they came too late. Sicily first under James, the second son of Peter of Arragon, afterwards, on the accession of James to the throne of Arragon, under Frederick, defied the Papal authority, and remained an independent kingdom. The captive Charles, now King of Naples, had framed a treaty for his own deliverance; he bought it at the price of his kingdom of Sicily and the city of Reggio. Although the Pope annulled the treaty which granted away the dominion of the Apostolic See, it was held to be of force by the contracting parties. This was the last act of **Honorius IV.**ⁱ

The Conclave met; for months, the hot summer months, they sate in strife: six of them died. The Cardinal Bishop of Præneste, by keeping a constant fire in his chamber, corrected the bad air, and maintained his vigour; the rest fled in fear. In February they met

^h Raynald. sub ann. Sept. 17.

ⁱ He died April 3, 1287

again: their choice fell on the Cardinal of Præneste. The General of the Franciscan Order, the first of that Order who had ascended the Feb. 22, 1288.
Nicolas IV. Papal throne. The Bishop of Præneste, born, it is said, of lowly race, at Ascoli, owed his elevation to the Cardinalate to the Orsini, Nicolas III. In gratitude to his patron he took the name of Nicolas IV. His first promotion of Cardinals, though it seemed impartially distributed among the great local and religious interests, betrayed his inclinations. There was one Dominican, Matthew Acquasparta, the General of the Order; an Orsini, Napoleon; one of the house of Colonna, Peter; there was one already of that house in the Conclave, Jacobo Colonna. On the Colonnas were heaped all the wealth and honours; under their safeguard the Pope, who at first took up his residence at Rieti, ventured to occupy the Papal palace at Rome.

The liberation of Charles the Lame, the King of Naples, from his long captivity, was the great affair of Christendom. The mediation of Edward of England, allied with the houses of Arragon and of Anjou, and now the most powerful monarch in Europe, was employed to arrange the terms of some treaty which should restore him to freedom. The King of Arragon would not surrender his captive, still in prison in Catalonia, but at the price of the recognition of the Arragonese title to the kingdom of Sicily; Charles, weary of bondage, had already at Oleron acceded to this basis of the treaty.

By the treaty of Oleron,^k Charles was to pay fifty thousand marks of silver. He pledged himself July 15, 1297. to arrange a peace in a manner satisfactory to the Kings of Arragon and of Sicily: in the mean time

^k The treaty and documents in Rymer, 1286-7.

there was to be a truce between the two realms, including Sicily. Charles was to obtain the ratification of the Pope, and the cession of Charles of Valois, who still claimed, as awarded by the Pope, the crown of Arragon; or at the close of that period he was to return into captivity. He was to surrender his three sons, and sixty Provençal Nobles and Barons, as hostages: the Seneschals of the fortresses in Provence were to take an oath that if the King did not terminate the peace or return into bondage, they were to surrender those fortresses to the King of Arragon. This treaty had been annulled first during the vacancy by the College of Cardinals, again at Rieti by Nicolas IV. The King of England was urged to find some other means of releasing the royal captive. King Alfonso was forbidden to aid the cause of his brother James of Sicily; in that cause Alfonso himself had grown cool. A new treaty was framed at Campo Franco; it was written by a Papal notary. Charles was to pay at once twenty thousand marks (England lent ten thousand); he was to give security for the rest. He was to pledge his word to the other conditions of the compact.^m In this treaty there was a vague silence concerning the kingdom of Sicily: within one year Charles was bound to procure peace between France and Arragon: for this he left his three sons as hostages; and solemnly swore that if this peace was not ratified, he would return to his prison. He obtained his freedom.

Nicolas IV. on his accession had not dared to take up his residence at Rome; Charles appeared before him at

^m Rymer, p. 368 *et seq.* The whole progress of the negotiation is well and accurately traced by Amari, in a note to c. 13, p. 321.

Rieti. He was crowned, if not in direct violation of the words, of the whole spirit of the treaty, King of Naples and Sicily; for the whole of the dominions claimed by the house of Anjou he did homage and swore fealty to the Pope.^a The Pope boldly and without scruple annulled the treaty written by his own notary, signed, executed without any protest on his part, by which Charles the Lame had obtained his freedom. This decree of Nicolas was the most monstrous exercise of the absolving power which had ever been advanced in the face of Christendom: it struck at the root of all chivalrous honour, at the faith of all treaties. It declared, in fact, that no treaty was to be maintained with any one engaged in what the Holy See might pronounce an unjust war, that is a war contrary to her interests—a war such as that now waged between James of Arragon, as King of Sicily, and the crusading army of the son of Charles the Lame. The war of the house of Arragon against the house of Anjou being originally unjust, no compact was binding. The kingdom of Naples, including Sicily, having been granted by the Holy See as a fief, the title of Charles was indefeasible; himself had no power of surrendering it to another. It declared that all obligations entered into by a prince in captivity were null and void, even though oaths had been interchanged and hostages given for their performance. Charles had no right to pledge the Roman See and the King of France, and the King of Arragon (Charles of Valois had assumed that title) to such terms. If Charles had sworn that should those Kings not accede to the treaty, he would return into captivity, the Pope replied that the imprisonment having been from the first unjust, Charles

^a May 29 (Muratori), June 19 (Amari), 1289.

was not bound to return to it: his services being imperiously demanded as a vassal and special athlete for the defence of the Church, he was bound to fulfil that higher duty.^o On these grounds Pope Nicolas IV. declared the King and his heirs altogether released from all obligations and all oaths. He went further; he prohibited Charles the Lame from observing the conditions of the treaty, and surrendering his eldest son, according to the covenant, as one of the hostages. Nor was the Pope content with thus entirely abrogating the treaty; he anathematised King Alfonso for exacting, contrary to the commands of the Church, such hard terms; he ordered him, under pain of the highest ecclesiastical censure, to release Charles from all the conditions of the treaty; he even threatened the King of England with interdict, if, as guarantee of the treaty, he should enforce its forfeitures. But Charles the Lame himself would not be content with the Papal absolution: he satisfied his chivalrous honour with a more miserable subterfuge. He suddenly appeared near the castle of Panicas, on the borders of Arragon, proclaimed that he was come in conformity to his oath to surrender himself into captivity. But as no one was there on the part of the King of Arragon to receive him, he averred that he had kept his faith, and even demanded the restoration of the hostages and of the money left in pawn.

The war continued: James, not content with the occupation of Sicily, invaded Apulia; before Spring, 1289. Gaeta he suffered an ignominious failure. Charles, weakly, to the disgust of the Count of Artois and his other French followers who returned to France,

^o “Nominatæ Ecclesiæ incommoda multa proveniant, dum ipse ejusdem ecclesiæ vassallus præcipuus, et specialis athleta ab illius per hoc defensione subtrahitur.”—Bulla Nicolai IV. Compare Raynaldus, sub ann.

agreed to a truce of two years. The death of his brother Alfonso made James King of Arragon: he ^{1289-1291.} left his younger brother Frederick his Viceroy ^{June 18, 1291.} in Sicily. Frederick became afterwards the founder of the line of Arragonese Kings of the island.

Nicolas IV. closed his short Pontificate in disaster, shame, and unpopularity. He had in some respects held a lofty tone; he had declared the kingdom of Hungary a fief of the Holy See; and rebuked the Emperor Rodolph for causing his son, Albert, without the Pope's permission, to be chosen King of the Romans.^p But the total loss of the last Christian possessions in the East, the surrender of Berytus, Tripoli, even at last Acre,^q to the irresistible Sultan: the fatal and ignominious close of the Crusades, so great a source of Papal power and Papal influence, the disgrace which was supposed to have fallen on all Christendom, but with special weight upon its Head, bowed Nicolas down in shame and sorrow. The war between Edward of England and Philip of France, in which his mediation, his menace, were loftily rejected or courteously declined, destroyed all hopes of a new Crusade; that cry would no longer pacify ambitious and hostile Kings.

Close of
Crusades.

Nicolas had become enslaved to the Colonnas. No doubt under their powerful protection he had continued to reside in Rome.^r They were associated in his munificence to the Churches. On the vault of S. Maria Maggiore, repaired at their common

Nicolas IV
and the
Colonnas.

^p Raynald. sub ann.

^q Read the siege of Acre (Ptolemais) in Michaud, iv. 458 *et seq.* Wilken, vii. p. 35 *et seq.* Acre fell, May 18, 1291. Michaud quotes the emphatic sentence of a Mussulman

writer on this, it seems, final close of the Crusades:—"Les choses, s'il plait à Dieu, resteront ainsi jusqu'au dernier jugement."—P. 487.

^r Franciscus Pipon., S. R. I., t. ix.

cost, appeared painted together the Pope and the Cardinal James Colonna. John Colonna was appointed Marquis of Ancona, Stephen Colonna Count of Romagna: this high office had been wrested from the Monaldeschi. Cesena, Rimini after some resistance, Imola, Forlì were in his power. In attempting to seize Ravenna he was himself surprised and taken prisoner by the sons of Guido di Polenta. But they were afterwards overawed by the vigorous measures of the Pontiff, urged by the Colonnas. Ildobrandino da Romagna, Bishop of Arezzo, was invested with the title of Count of Romagna; the subject cities leagued under his influence;^a the sons of Polenta were compelled to pay three thousand florins of gold for their daring attack on the Pope's Court.^b The Romans seemed to enter into the favouritism of the Pope. James Colonna was created Senator; he was dragged, as in the guise of an Emperor, through the city, and saluted with the name of Cæsar; he gratified the Romans by marching at their head to the attack of Viterbo and other cities over which Rome, whenever occasion offered, aspired to extend her sovereignty."^c

There were acts in these terrible wars that raged in almost every part of Italy which might have grieved the heart of a wise and humane Pontiff more than the loss of the Holy Land. The mercy of Christendom might seem at a lower ebb than its valour. The Bishop of Arezzo, an Ubaldini, was killed in a battle against the

^a Muratori, sub annis 1290, 1291.

^b Rubeus, Chronic. Ravennat., Chronic. Parm., Chronic. Forliviens. S. R. I. xxii.

^c The play upon the name of Colonna, which Petrarch afterwards enshrined in his noble verse, had long occurred to

the Saturnalian wit of Rome. In the frontispiece of a book, entitled "The Beginning of Evils," the Pope Nicolas IV. was represented as a column crowned by his own mitred head, and supported by two other columns.—Muratori.

Florentines; the Florentines slung an ass, with a mitre fastened on his head, into his beleaguered city.* The Marquis of Montferrat, the most powerful prince in northern Italy, was taken prisoner by the Alexandrians, shut up in an iron cage, in which he languished for nearly two years and died.† Dante has impressed indelibly on the heart of man the imprisonment and death of the Pisan Ugolino (a man, it is true, of profound ambition and treachery) with that of his guiltless sons.

A.D. 1290.

Nicolas is said to have died in sorrow and humiliation; he died accused by the Guelfs of unpapal Ghibellinism,‡ perhaps because he was more sparing of his anathemas against the Ghibellines, and had consented, hardly indeed, but had consented to the peace between France and Arragon, Naples and Sicily: still more on account of his favour to the Colonnas, Ghibelline by descent and by tradition, and hereafter to become more obstinately, furiously, and fatally Ghibelline in their implacable feud with Boniface VIII.‡

April 4, 1292

* 1289. Villani, vii. c. 130. Muratori, sub ann.

† Annal. Mediolanens. S. H. T. t. xvi.

‡ Rodolph of Hapsburg, the Em-

peror, died July 15, 1291.

‡ "Ma molto favoreggiò i Ghibellini." So writes the Guelf Villani vii. c. 150.

CHAPTER VI.

Cœlestine V.

NICOLAS IV. died on the 4th of April, 1292. Only twelve Cardinals formed the Conclave. The constitution of Gregory X. had been long suspended, and had fallen altogether into disuse. Six of these Cardinals were Romans, of these two Orsinis and two Colonnas; four Italians; two French.^a Each of the twelve might aspire to the supreme dignity. The Romans prevailed in numbers, but were among themselves more implacably hostile: on the one side stood the Orsinis, on the other the Colonnas.^b Three

^a The list in Ciacconius :—

Romans.

1. Latino Malebranca, a Franciscan, Cardinal of Ostia, the nephew of, and created by, Nicolas III.

2. John Buccamuzza, Cardinal of Tusculum (once Legate in Germany), created by Martin IV.

3. Jacobo Colonna, Cardinal of S. Maria in Viâ Latâ, created by Nicolas III.

4. Peter Colonna, Cardinal of S. Eustachio, created by Nicolas IV.

5. Napoleon Orsini, Cardinal of S. Hadrian, created by Nicolas IV.

6. Matteo Rosso (Rubeus), Cardinal of S. Maria in Porticu, created by Urban IV.

Italians.

7 Gerard Bianchi of Parma, Car-

dinal Sabinus, created by Honorius IV.

8. Matthew Acquasparta, Cardinal of Porto, created by Nicolas IV.

9. Peter Peregrusso, a Milanese, Cardinal of S. Mark, created by Nicolas IV.

10. Benedetto Gaetani of Anagni, Cardinal of S. Silvester (afterwards Boniface VIII.), created by Martin IV. He was dangerously ill, retired to his native Anagni, and recovered.

Frenchmen.

11. Hugh de Billiom, Cardinal of S. Sabina, created by Nicolas III.

12. Jean Cholet, Cardinal of S. Cecilia, died of fever in Rome, Aug. 2 1292.

^b The proceedings of each member of the Conclave, during this interval,

times they met, in the palace of Nicolas IV., near S. Maria Maggiore, in that of Honorius IV. on the Aventine, and in S. Maria sopra Minerva.^c The heats of June, and a dangerous fever (of which, one, the Frenchman, Jean Cholet, died), drove them out of Rome; and Rome became such a scene of disorder, feud, and murder (the election of the Senator being left to the popular suffrage), that they dared not reassemble within the walls. Two rival Senators, an Orsini and a Colonna, were at the head of the two factions.^d Above a year had elapsed, when the Conclave agreed to meet again at Perugia. The contest lasted eight months more. At one time the two Colonnas and John of Tusculum had nearly persuaded Hugh of Auvergne and Peter the Milanese to join them in electing a Roman, one of the Colonnas. The plan was discovered and thwarted by the Orsini, Matteo Rosso. The Guelfic Orsini were devoted to the interests of Charles, the King of Naples; they laboured to advance a prelate in the Angevine interest. The Colonnas, Ghibelline because the Orsini were Guelf, were more for themselves than for Ghibellinism. Charles of Naples came to Perugia, by his personal presence to overawe the refractory members of the Conclave. The intrepid Benedict Gaetani, the future

Oct. 18, 1293.
St. Luke's
day.

In Perugia.

are described in the preface to the poem of the Cardinal St. George.—Muratori, v. p. 616. The Cardinal describes himself as being “*veluti præsens, videns, ministrans, palpans, et audiens, notusque Pontifici, quia Pontificibus carus.*”—P. 614.

^c The Cardinal of St. George highly disapproved of the building of new palaces, by Honorius IV. on the Aventine, by Nicolas IV. near S. Maria

Maggiore. It implied the desertion of the Lateran and the Vatican:—

“*nec utile mundo
Exemplum, nam quisque suas (e?) ducet in
altum
Ædes, et capitis Petri delubra relinquet,
Ac Lateranenses aulas, regalia dona,
Despiciet, gaudens proprios habitare pe-
nates.*”—P. 621.

^d One of the Senators was Peter the son of Stephen, father of the author; the other, Otho de San Eustazio.—See Cardinal St. George.

Boniface VIII., haughtily rebuked him for presuming to interfere with the office of the Holy Spirit. No one of the Cardinals would yield the post to his adversary, and expose himself to the vengeance of a successful rival; yet all seemed resolute to confine the nomination to their own body.

Suddenly a solitary monk was summoned from his cell, in the remote Abruzzi, to ascend the Pontifical throne. The Cardinal of Ostia, Latino Malebranca. Latino Malebranca, had admired the severe and ascetic virtues of Peter Morrone, a man of humble birth, but already, from his extraordinary austerities, held by the people as a man of the highest sanctity. He had retired from desert to desert, and still multitudes had tracked him out in vast swarms, some to wonder at, some to join his devout seclusion. He seemed to rival if not to outdo the famous anchorites of old. His dress was haircloth, with an iron cuirass; his food bread and water, with a few herbs on Sunday.

Peter Morrone has left an account of his own youth. Peter Morrone. The brothers of his Order, who took his name, the Cœlestinians, vouched for its authenticity. His mother was devoutly ambitious that one of her eleven children should be dedicated to God. Many of them died, but Peter fulfilled her most ardent desires. His infancy was marked with miracles. In his youth he had learned to read the Psalter; he then knew not the person of the Blessed Virgin, or of St. John. One day they descended bodily from a picture of the Crucifixion, stood before him, and sweetly chanted portions of the Psalter. At the age of twenty he went into the desert: visions of Angels were ever round him, sometimes showering roses over him. God showed him a great stone, under which he dug a hole, in which he

could neither stand upright, nor stretch his limbs, and there he dwelt in all the luxury of self-torture among lizards, serpents, and toads. A bell in the heavens constantly sounded to summon him to prayers. He was offered a cock; he accepted the ill-omened gift; for his want of faith the bell was thenceforth silent. He was more sorely tried; beautiful women came and lay down by his side.* He was encircled by a crowd of followers, whom he had already formed into a kind of Order or Brotherhood; they were rude, illiterate peasants from the neighbouring mountains.^f

Either designedly or accidentally the Cardinal Malebranca spoke of the wonderful virtues of the hermit, Peter Morrone; the weary Conclave listened with interest. A few days after the Cardinal declared that a vision had been vouchsafed to a Holy Man, that if before All-Saints' Day they had not elected a Pope, the wrath of God would fall on them with some signal chastisement. "This, I presume," spake Benedetto Gaetani, "is one of the visions of your Peter Morrone." In truth it was; Malebranca had received a letter purporting to be in his hand. The Conclave was in that perplexed and exhausted state, when men seize desperately on any strange counsel to extricate themselves from their difficulty. To some it might seem ^{Election of Coelestine V.} a voice from heaven. Others might shelter their own disappointment under the consolation that their rivals were equally disappointed: all might think it wise to

* One vision is too coarse almost to allude to; but how are we to judge of the times or the men without their coarseness? The question was whether he should offer mass "post pollutionem nocturnam." The vision which sets his mind at rest is that of "aselli

stercorandi" on the steps of a palace, that of the Holy Trinity. One of these awful persons is represented as pointing the moral of this foul imagination.

^f "Non culta satis sed rustica turba Montibus altisonis." - *Card. St. George*

elect a Pope without personal enmity to any one. It might be a winning hazard for each party, each interest, each Cardinal; the Hermit was open to be ruled, as ruled he would be, by any one. Malebranca saw the impression he had made; he pressed it in an eloquent speech. Peter Morrone was declared supreme Pontiff by unanimous acclamation.⁵

The fatal sentence was hardly uttered when the brief unanimity ceased. Some of the cardinals began to repent or to be ashamed of their precipitate decree. No one of them (this they were hereafter to rue) would undertake the office of bearing the tidings of his elevation to the Pope. The deputation consisted of the Archbishop of Lyons, two Bishops, and two notaries of the Court.

The place of Morrone's retreat was a cave in a wild mountain above the pleasant valley of Sulmona. The ambassadors of the Conclave having achieved their journey from Perugia, with difficulty found guides to conduct them to the solitude. As they toiled up the rugged ascent, they were overtaken by the Cardinal Peter Colonna, who had followed them without commission from the rest, no doubt to watch their proceedings, and to take advantage of any opportunity to advance his own interests. The cave, in which the saint could neither sit upright nor stretch himself out, had a grated window with iron bars, through which he uttered his oracular responses to the wondering people. None even of the brethren of the order might penetrate into the dark sanctuary of his austerities. The ambassadors of the Conclave found an old man with

⁵ The Cardinal St. George describes the order and manner in which the Cardinals gave their accession to this vote.—P. 617.

a long shaggy beard, sunken eyes overhung with heavy brows, and lids swollen with perpetual weeping, pale hollow cheeks, and limbs meagre with fasting: they fell on their knees before him, and he before them. The future Cardinal-Poet was among the number: his barren Muse can hardly be suspected of invention.^h

So Peter Morrone the Hermit saw before him, in submissive attitudes, the three prelates, attended by the official notaries, who announced his election to the Papacy. He thought it was a dream: and for once assuredly there was a profound and religious reluctance to accept the highest dignity in the world. He protested with tears his utter inability to cope with the affairs, to administer the sacred trust, to become the successor of the Apostle.ⁱ The news spread abroad; the neighbouring people came hurrying by thousands, delighted that they were to have a saint, and their own saint, for a Pope. The Hermit in vain tried to escape; he was brought back with respectful force, guarded with reverential vigilance. Nor was it the common people only who were thus moved. King Charles himself may not have been superior to the access of religious wonder, for to him especially (if indeed there was no design in the whole affair) this sudden unanimity among the ambitious Cardinals might pass for a miracle, more miraculous than many which were acknowledged by the common belief. The King of Naples, accompanied by his son, now in right of his wife entitled King of

^h Cardinal St. George, apud Muratori.

ⁱ The Cardinal St. George, however, asserts that Celestine hardly affected reluctance; and the Cardinal says that

he was among a great multitude of all ranks, who elambered up the mountain, "cursu conscendere montem Gliscbam vates, membris vultuque resu dans," to catch a glimpse of the Pope.

Hungary, hastened to do honour to his holy subject, to persuade the Hermit, who perhaps would be dazzled by royal flatteries into a useful ally, to accept the proffered dignity. The Hermit-Pope was conducted from his lowly cave to the monastery of Santo Spirito, at the foot of the mountain. He still refused to be invested in the pontifical robes. At length arrived the Cardinal Malebranca: his age, dignity, character, and his language, urging the awful responsibility which Peter Morrone would incur by resisting the manifest will of God, and by keeping the Popedom longer vacant (for all which he would be called to give account on the day of judgement), prevailed over the awe-struck saint. Not the least earnest in pressing him to assume at once the throne were his rude but not so unambitious hermit brethren: they too looked for advancement; they followed him in crowds wherever he went, to Aquila and to Naples. Over his shaggy sackcloth at length the Hermit put on the gorgeous attire of the Pontiff; yet he would not go to Perugia to receive the homage of the Conclave. Age and the heat of the season (he had been accustomed to breathe the mountain air) would not permit him to undertake the long unwonted journey. He entered the city of Aquila riding on an ass, with a King on each side of him to hold his bridle. Some of the indignant clergy murmured at this humiliation of the Papal majesty (the successor of St. Peter was wont to ride on a stately palfrey), but they suppressed their discontent.

If there had been more splendid, never was there so popular an election. Two hundred thousand spectators (of whom the historian, Ptolemy of Lucca, was one^k)

^k "Quibus ipse interfui."—Ptolem. Luc.

crowded the streets. In the evening the Pope was compelled again and again to come to the window to bestow his benediction; and if hierarchical ^{Inauguration.} pride had been offended at the lowliness of his pomp, it but excited greater admiration in the commonalty: they thought of Him who entered Jerusalem "riding on an ass's colt." Miracles confirmed their wonder: a boy, lame from the womb, was placed on the ass on which the Pope had ridden; he was restored to the full use of his limbs.

But already the Cardinals might gravely reflect on their strange election. The Pope still obstinately refused to go to Perugia, or even to ^{The Cardinals repent.} Rome, though they suggested that he might be conveyed in a litter. The Cardinals declared that they were not to be summoned to the kingdom of Naples. Two only, Hugh of Auvergne and Napoleon Orsini, condescended to go to Aquila. Malebranca probably had begun to droop under the illness which ere long carried him off. But the way in which the Pope began to use his vast powers still more appalled and offended them. He bestowed the offices in his court and about his person on rude and unknown Abruzzese; and to the great disgust of the clergy, appointed a layman his secretary. High at once in his favour rose the French Prelate, Hugh Ascalon de Billiom, Archbishop of ^{Hugh of Ascalon.} Benevento under Nicolas IV., Cardinal of S. Sabina. He had been the first to follow Malebranca in the acclamation of the Pope Morrone. On the death of Malebranca he was raised to the Bishopric of Ostia and Velletri, and became Dean of the College of Cardinals. Large pensions, charged on great abbeys in France, gilded his elevation. The Frenchman seemed destined to rule with undivided sway over the feeble Cœlestine:

the Italians looked with undisguised jealousy and aversion on the foreign prelate.^m

The Cardinal, Napoleon Orsini, assisted at the inauguration, gave to the Pope the scarlet mantle, the mitre set with gold and jewels; he announced to the people that Peter had taken the name of Cœlestine V. The foot of the lowly hermit was kissed by kings, cardinals, bishops, nobles. He was set on high to be adored by the people.ⁿ The numbers of the clergy caused singular astonishment; but the Cardinals, though reluctant, would not allow the coronation to proceed without them; they came singly and in unwilling haste.^o Last of all came Benedetto Gaetani:

Coronation. he had deeply offended Charles of Naples by his haughty rebuke at Perugia. Yet still, though all assisted at the ceremony, the place of honour was given to the French Cardinal: he anointed the new Pope, but the Pontiff was crowned by Matteo Rosso, after Malebranca's death, probably the elder of the Cardinals present.^p

A few months showed that meekness, humility, holiness, unworldliness might make a saint; **Cœlestine V. in Naples.** they were not the virtues suited to a Pope. To Naples he had been led, as it were, in submissive triumph by King Charles; he took up his residence in the royal palace, an unsuspecting prisoner, mocked

^m Compare on Hugh Ascalon de Billiom, *Hist. Littér. de la France*, xx. 73.

ⁿ "Quod stupori erat videre, quia magis veniebant ad suam obtinendam benedictionem, quam pro præbendæ acquisitione."—Ptolem. Luc.

^o "Domini Jacobus de Colonna, et Dominus Rubeus, et Dominus Hugo de

Ascalon"—(he must have been there before)—"Aquilam veniunt, factique sunt domini Curia, quod alii Cardinales videntes Aquilam properant."—Ptolem. Luc. *Annal.* p. 1298.

"Hæc postquam videre Rubri, seu morte Latini

Fracti animos, celerant ad tanta pericula cursum."—*Cardin. St. George*, p. 635.

^p He was created by Urban IV.

with the most ostentatious veneration. So totally did the harmless Cœlestine surrender himself to his royal protector, that he stubbornly refused to leave Naples. His utter incapacity for business soon appeared; he lavished offices, dignities, bishoprics, with profuse hand; he granted and revoked grants, bestowed benefices, vacant or about to be vacant.^a He was duped by the officers of his court, and gave the same benefice over and over again; but still the greater share fell to his brethren from the Abruzzi. His officers issued orders of all kinds in his name. He shrunk from publicity, and even from the ceremonial duties of his office; he could speak only a few words of bad Latin. One day, when he ought to have sat on the pontifical tribunal, he was sought in vain; he had taken refuge in the church, and was with difficulty persuaded to resume his state. His weakness made him as prodigal of his power as of his gifts.^r At the dictation of King Charles he created at once thirteen new Cardinals, thus outnumbering the present conclave.^s Of these, seven were French; the

His conduct.

Sept. 1294.

^a "Dabat enim dignitates, prælationes, officia et beneficia, in quibus non sequebatur curiæ consuetudinem, sed potius quorundam suggestionem, et suam rudem simplicitatem."—Jacob. a Vorag. apud Muratori S. R. T. ix. p. 54. "Multa fecit de plenitudine potestatis sed plura de plenitudine simplicitatis," *ibid.* The favouritism of the French Cardinal of S. Sabina, by this author's account, was generally odious.

^r "Quam multiplices indocta potentia formas Edidit, indulgens, donans, faciensque recessu, Atque vacaturas concedens atque vacantes."—*Card. St. George.*

—See also Ptolem. Luc. lxxiv. c. 29.

^r There was a small monkish tyranny about the good Cœlestine. He compelled the monks of the ancient and famous abbey of Monte Casino to wear the dress of his own order. The Cardinal-Poet is pathetic on this:—

"Syderei collis, Montisque Casini
Compulsi, heu! monachos habitus assu-
mere fratrum
Degentum sub lege Petri: (Morrone) non-
nullus ab inde,
Dum parere negat, monachus tunc exulat.
O quam
Deciperis!"

^s See the lists in Ciacconius. One, a Beneventan, Cardinal of S. Vitale, died the next year.

rest Italians; of the latter, three Neapolitans, not one Roman. In order to place the Conclave more completely in the power of Charles, who intended to keep him till his death in his own dominions, he re-enacted the Conclave law of Gregory X.

The weary man became anxious to lay down his heavy burthen. Some of the Cardinals urged upon him that he retained the Papacy at the peril of his soul. Gaetani's powerful mind (once at Naples, he resumed the ascendancy of his commanding abilities) had doubtless great influence in his determination. He was soon supposed to rule the Court and the Pope himself, to be Cœlestine's bosom counsellor.^t It was reported, and the trick was attributed to Gaetani his ambitious successor, that through a hole skilfully contrived in the wall of his chamber, a terrible voice was repeatedly heard at the dead of night, announcing itself as that of a messenger of God. It commanded the trembling Pontiff to renounce the blandishments of the world, and devote himself to God's service. Rumour spread abroad that Cœlestine was about to abdicate. The King secretly, the monks of his brotherhood openly, worked upon the lower order of Naples, and instigated them to a holy insurrection. Naples was in an uproar at this rumoured degradation of the Pope. A long and solemn procession of all the clergy, of whom Ptolemy of Lucca was one, passed through the city to the palace. A Bishop, a kind of prolocutor, addressed him with a voice like a trumpet, urging him to abandon his fatal design. The speech was heard by Ptolemy of Lucca. Another

^t "Gaetani—eo quod Regem Carolum Perusii multum exasperasset, qu. statim suis ministeriis et artibus factus est Dominus Curiae et amicus Regis."
—Ptolem. Luc. p. 1299.

Bishop from the walls announced that the Pope had no such intention. The Bishop below immediately broke out into a triumphant *Te Deum*, which was taken up by a thousand voices. The procession passed away.⁶

But Advent was drawing on. Cœlestine would not pass that holy season in pomp and secular business. He had contrived a cell within the Advent. royal palace, from whence he could not see the sky. He had determined to seclude himself in all his wonted solitude and undisturbed austerities, like a bird, says the Cardinal-Poet, which hides its head from the fowler, and thinks that it is unseen.⁷ He had actually signed a commission to three Cardinals to administer during his seclusion the affairs of the Popedom: it wanted but the seal to be a Papal Bull. But this perhaps more dangerous step of putting the Papacy in commission was averted.

Long and inconclusive debates took place on the legality of a Papal abdication. Could any human Debates in
Conclave. power release him who was the representative of Christ on earth from his obligations? Could the successor of St. Peter, of his own free will, sink back into the ordinary race of men? Holy Orders were indelible: how much more indelible must be the consecration to this office, the fount and source of all Apostolic ordination? Cœlestine himself, from irresolution doubtless rather than artful dissimulation, had lulled his supporters, even the King himself, into security.⁷ On a sudden, on the day of S. Lucia, the Conclave was summoned to receive the abdication

⁶ Ptolem. Luc. apud Muratori.

⁷ P. 638.

⁸ "Dissimulans, ceu vera loquens, aliisque vacare sollicitus, quo ad illa domus secreta, Patresque

Crediderint, hunc nolle quidam dimittere primum.
Cumque foret generata fides, omnesque putarent,
Rex etiam, miri cœpisse oblivia facti,
Immemorem variumque Petrum, &c."
Card. St. George.

of the Pope. The trembling Cœlestine alleged as the cause of his abdication, his age, his rude manners and ruder speech, his incapacity, his inexperience. He confessed humbly his manifold errors, and entreated the Conclave to bestow upon the world of Christendom a pastor not liable to such infirmities. The Conclave is said to have been moved to tears, yet no one (all no doubt prepared) refused to accept the abdication. But the Pope was urged first, while his authority was yet full and above appeal, to issue a Constitution declaring that the Pope might at any time lay down his dignity, and that the Cardinals were at liberty to receive that voluntary demission of the Popedom. No

sooner was this done than Cœlestine retired; Abdication. he stripped off at once the cumbrous magnificence of his Papal robes and his two-horned mitre; he put on the coarse and rugged habit of his brotherhood. As soon as he could, the discrowned Pope withdrew to his old mountain hermitage.

The abdication of Cœlestine V. was an event unprecedented in the annals of the Church, and jarred harshly against some of the first principles of the Papal authority. It was a confession of common humanity, of weakness below the ordinary standard of men, in him whom the Conclave, with more than usual certitude, as guided by the special interposition of the Holy Ghost, had raised to the spiritual throne of the world. The Conclave had been, as it seemed, either under an illusion as to this declared manifestation of the Holy Spirit, or had been permitted to deceive itself. Nor was there less incongruity in a Pope, whose office invested him in something at least approaching to infallibility, acknowledging before the world his utter incapacity, his undeniable fallibility. That idea,

formed out of many conflicting conceptions, yet forcibly harmonised by long traditionary reverence, of unerring wisdom, oracular truth, authority which it was sinful to question or limit, was strangely disturbed and confused, not as before by too overweening ambition, or even awful yet still unacknowledged crime, but by avowed weakness, bordering on imbecility. His profound piety hardly reconciled the confusion. A saint, after all, made but a bad Pope.

It was viewed, in his own time, in a different light by different minds. The monkish writers held it up as the most noble example of monastic, How thought of in his own time. of Christian perfection. Admirable as was his election, his abdication was even more to be admired. It was an example of humility stupendous to all, imitable by few.^a The divine approval was said to be shown by a miracle which followed directly on his resignation;^a but the scorn of man has been expressed by the undying verse of Dante, who condemned him who was guilty of the baseness of the "great refusal" Dante. to that circle of hell where are those disdained alike by mercy and justice, on whom the poet will not condescend to look.^b This sentence, so accordant with the stirring and passionate soul of the great Florentine, has been feebly counteracted, if counteracted, by the praise of Petrarch in his declamation on the Petrarch. beauty of a solitary life, for which the lyrist professed a somewhat hollow and poetic admiration.^c Assuredly there was no magnanimity contemptuous of the Papal

^a "Præbuit humilitatis exemplum, stupendum cunctis, imitabile paucis."
—Jordan. M.S., quoted by Raynaldus.

^a Bernard, in Chron. Roman. Pontif.

^b "Che fece per viltà il gran rifiuto."
Inferno, iii. 60.

I cannot for an instant doubt the allusion to Cœlestine; perhaps it was embittered by Dante's hatred of Boniface VIII.

^c "Petrarch de Vitâ solitariâ," a rhetorical exercise.

greatness in the abdication of Coelestine: it was the weariness, the conscious inefficiency, the regret of a man suddenly wrenched away from all his habits, pursuits, and avocations, and unnaturally compelled or tempted to assume an uncongenial dignity. It was the cry of passionate feebleness to be released from an insupportable burthen. Compassion is the highest emotion of sympathy which it would have desired or could deserve.

But coeval with Dante there was another, a ruder poet, who must be heard, that we may fully comprehend the times. Jacopone da Todi, the Franciscan, had been among those who hailed with mingled exultation and fear the advancement of the holy Coelestine.^d "What wilt thou do, Peter Morrone, now that thou art on thy trial?" "If the world be deceived in thee, malediction! Thy fame has soared on high; it has spread through the world. If thou failest, there will be confusion to the good. As the arrow on its mark, the world is fixed on thee. If thou holdest not the balance right, there is no appeal but to God." "The Court of Rome is a furnace which tries the fine gold." "If thou takest delight in thine office (there is no malady so infectious), accursed is that life

^d "Che farai, Pier da Morrone?
Se' venuto al paragone.

* * * * *
Se 'l mondo e di te ingannato,
Seguirà maledittione.

La tua fama alto è salita,
E 'n molta parte n'è gita:
Se ti tozzi a la finita,
A i buon sarai confusione.

Como segno a sagitta
Tutto 'l mondo a té si affitta;
Se non tien bilanza ritta,
A Dio ne va appellatione.

* * * * *
Questa corte e una fucina,
Ch' l' buon auro si ci afina

* * * * *
Se l' officio ti diletta,
Nulla malsania più infetta;

Bene è vita maledetta,
Perder Dio per tal boccone.

* * * * *
Che' t' hai posto giogo in coglio,
Da temer tua damnatione.

* * * * *
L' ordine Cardinalato,
Posto ha in basso stato;
Chi suo parentado
D' arriccar ha intentione.

* * * * *
Guardati da barattiere,
Ch' el ner bianco fan vedere;
Se non ti sai ben schermire,
Canterai mala canzone."—*Satir. xv.*

There are other passages which betray the pride in the elevation of Pier Morrone.

which for such a morsel loses God." "Thou hast put the yoke on thy neck, must we not fear thy damnation?" "The order of Cardinals has sunk to the lowest level: their sole aim is to enrich their kindred." "Guard thyself from the traffickers who make black white. If thou dost not guard thyself well, sad will be the burthen of thy song." Yet in these mistrustful warnings of the poet there is the manifest pride and hope of a devoted partisan that a new era has begun, that Peter Morrone is destined to regenerate the Papacy. The abdication, no doubt, was the last event to which these hermit followers of Peter Morrone looked forward. Bitter must have been their disappointment when he himself thus frustrated their pious expectations, their passionate vaticinations; yet they adhered to him in his self-chosen lowliness; they were still his stedfast admirers; they denied his right to abdicate, no doubt they disseminated the rumours of the arts employed to frighten him from the throne. Their hatred of Boniface, who supplanted him, was as deep and obstinate as their love of Cœlestine. This poet will appear as at least cognisant of the formidable conspiracy which threatened the power of Boniface VIII. Nor was the poet alone: his was but the voice which expressed, in its coarse but vigorous strains, the sense of a vast and to a certain extent organised party, in every rank, in every order, but especially among the low, and the lowest of the low.

END OF VOL. VI.

HISTORY
OF
LATIN CHRISTIANITY;

INCLUDING THAT OF
THE POPES TO THE PONTIFICATE OF NICOLAS V.

By HENRY HART MILMAN, D.D.,
DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S.

IN NINE VOLUMES.—VOL. VII.

FOURTH EDITION.

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HISTORY

OF

LATIN CHRISTIANITY.

BOOK XI.—*continued.*

CHAPTER VII.

Boniface VIII.

THE Conclave might seem determined to retrieve their former error in placing the devout but unworldly Cœlestine in the chair of St. Peter, by raising to the Pontificate a prelate of the most opposite character. Human nature could hardly offer a stronger contrast than Benedetto Gaetani and Peter Morrone, Boniface VIII. and Cœlestine V. Of all the Roman Pontiffs, Boniface has left the darkest name for craft, arrogance, ambition, even for avarice and cruelty. Against the memory of Boniface were joined in fatal conspiracy, the passions, interests, undying hostilities, the conscientious partisanship, the not ungrounded oppugnancies, not of individual foes alone, but of houses, of factions, of orders, of classes, of professions, it may be said of kingdoms. His own acts laid the foundation of this sempiternal hatred. In his own day his harsh treatment of Cœlestine and the Cœlestinians (afterwards mingled up or confounded with the wide-spread Fraticelli, the extreme and democratic Franciscans) laid up a deep store of aversion in the popular mind. So in the higher orders, his terrible

determination to crush the old and powerful family of the Colonnas, and the stern hand with which he repressed others of the Italian nobles: his resolute Guelfism, his invitation of Charles of Valois into Italy, involved him in the hatefulness of all Charles's tyranny and oppression. This, with his own exile, goaded the Guelf-born Dante into a relentless Ghibelline, and doomed Pope Boniface to an earthly immortality of shame and torment in the Hell of the poet. The quarrel with the King of France, Philip the Fair, brought him during his lifetime into formidable collision with a new power, the strength of which was yet unsuspected in Christendom, that of the lawyers, his fatal foes; and bequeathed him in later times throughout the writings of the French historians, and even divines (French national pride triumphing over the zeal of the Churchman), as an object of hostility during two centuries of the most profound Roman Catholic learning, and most perfect Roman Catholic eloquence. The revolt against the Papal power at the Reformation seized with avidity the memory of one, thus consigned in his own day, in life and after death, to the blackest obloquy, abandoned by most of his natural supporters, and from whose broad and undisguised assertions of Papal power later Popes had shrunk and attempted to efface them from their records. Thus Boniface VIII. has not merely been handed down, and justly, as the Pontiff of the loftiest spiritual pretensions, pretensions which, in their language at least, might have appalled Hildebrand or Innocent III., but almost all contemporary history as well as poetry, from the sublime verse of Dante to the vulgar but vigorous rhapsodies of Jacopone da Todi, are full of those striking and unforgotten touches of haughtiness and rapacity, many of which cannot be true, many ne

doubt invented by his enemies, many others are suspicious, yet all show the height of detestation which, either by adherence to principles grown unpopular, or by his own arrogance and violence, he had raised in great part of Christendom. Boniface was hardly dead, when the epitaph, which no time can erase, from the impression of which the most candid mind strives with difficulty to emancipate itself, was proclaimed to the unprotesting Christian world: "He came in like a fox, he ruled like a lion, he died like a dog." Yet calmer justice, as well as the awful reverence for all successors of St. Peter, and the ardent corporate zeal which urges Roman Catholic writers on the forlorn hope of vindicating every act and every edict of every Roman Pontiff, have not left Boniface VIII. without defence; some, indeed, have ventured to appeal to the respect and admiration of posterity.*

The abdication of Cœlestine took place on the feast of St. Lucia. The law of Gregory X., which Dec. 13.
Conclave. secluded the Conclave in unapproachable separation from the world, had been re-enacted, but was not enforced to its utmost rigour. Latino Malebranca, the Cardinal who had exercised so much influence in the election of Cœlestine V., had been some months dead. The old Italian interest was represented by the Cardinals of the two great houses, long opposed in their fierce hereditary hostility, Guelf and Ghibelline, Matteo

* Cardinal Wiseman has embarked in this desperate cause with considerable learning and more ingenuity. His article in the "Dublin Review," now reprinted in his Essays, was answered at the time by a clever paper in the "British and Foreign Review," in which may be traced an Italian hand. Since that time have appeared Tosti's panegyric, but not very successful biography; and a fairer, more impartial Life by Drumann; not, however in my opinion equal to the subject.

Rosso and Napoleon the Orsinis, and the two Colonnas, of whom the elder, Peter, was a man of bold and unscrupulous ambition. But the preponderance of numbers was with the new Cardinals appointed by Cœlestine at the dictation of Charles of Naples. Of these thirteen, seven (one was dead) were Frenchmen: it might seem that the election must absolutely depend on the will of Charles. Benedetto Gaetani stood alone; he was recommended by his consummate ability; but on that account, too, he was feared, perhaps suspected, by all who wished to rule, and few were there in the Conclave without that wish. The strong reaction might dispose the Cardinals to elect a Pope of the loftiest spiritual views, who might be expected to rescue the Popedom from its present state of impotency and contempt: but that reaction would hardly counterpoise the rival ambition of the Orsinis and Colonnas, and the sworn subserviency of so many to the King of Naples.

The Cardinal Benedetto Gaetani was of a noble family in Anagni, which city from its patriciate had already given two of its greatest Popes to the chair of St. Peter. He was of blameless morals, and unrivalled in his knowledge of the Canon law, equally unrivalled in experience and the despatch of business. He had been in almost every kingdom of Western Christendom, England, France, Portugal, as the representative of the Pope; was personally known to most of the monarchs, and acquainted with the politics and churches of most of the realms in Europe. It had been at first supposed that Benedetto Gaetani, who had insulted King Charles at Perugia, and had haughtily rebuked him for his interference with the Conclave, would not venture to Naples. He had come the last,

and with reluctance:^b but his knowledge of affairs, and the superiority of his abilities, soon made him master in the deliberations of the Conclave. The abdication of Cœlestine had been, if not at his suggestion, urged on the irresolute and vacillating Pope by his commanding mind; even if the vulgar artifices of frightening him into the determination were unnecessary, and beneath the severe character of Gaetani. The Conclave sat, in the Castel Nuovo at Naples, for ten days; at the close, Benedetto Gaetani, as it seemed, by unanimous consent, was declared Pope. The secrets of the intermediate proceedings might undoubtedly transpire; the hostility, which almost immediately broke out among all parties, would not scruple to reveal the darkest intrigues; those intrigues would even take the most naked and distinct form. Private mutual understandings would become direct covenants; promises made with reserve and caution, undisguised declarations. The vulgar rumours, therefore, would contain the truth, but more than the truth. It was no sudden acclamation, no deference at once to the superiority of Gaetani. The long delay shows a balance and strife of parties; the conqueror betrays by his success that he conducted most subtly, or adroitly, the game of conquest. Gaetani, it is said, not only availed himself of the irreconcilable hostility between the Orsinis and Colonnas, but played each against the other with exquisite dexterity. Each at length consented to leave the nomination to him, each expecting to be named. Gaetani named himself; the Orsini, Matteo Rosso, submitted; the Colonnas be-

^b See quotation above from Ptolem. Luc. "Venit igitur ultimus, et sic scivit deducere sua negotia, quod factus esset quasi Dominus Curiaë."—c. xxii. Ptolemy was present during most of these proceedings.

trayed their indignation; and this, if not the first, was the deepest cause of the mutual unforgiving hatred.^c From that time (it may however be remembered that the Colonnas were Ghibelline) was implacable feud between the Pope and that house. But the Italian interest, represented by the Orsinis and Colonnas, no longer ruled the Conclave. Charles of Naples must be propitiated, for he held perhaps twelve suffrages. Gaetani suggested, it was said, at a midnight interview with Charles, that a weak Pontiff could not befriend the King with half the power which might be wielded by a strong one. "King Charles, your Pope Cœlestine had the will and the power to aid you, but knew not how; influence the Cardinals, your friends, in my favour, I shall have not only the will and the power, but the knowledge also to serve you."^d Charles's obsequious Cardinals gave their vote for Gaetani, it may be presumed with the consent or cognisance at least of Charles. Nor in justice can it be denied that if he pledged himself to use every effort for the reconquest of Sicily, he did more than adhere with unshaken fidelity to his engagements, even when it had been perhaps the better Papal policy to have abandoned the cause. It was unquestionably through the Pope's consummate ability, rather than by favouring circumstances or the popularity of his character, that Charles afterwards maintained the contest for that kingdom.

^c Ferretus Vicentinus apud Muratori, S. R. T. t. ix. Ferretus, though a contemporary, is by no means an accurate writer: he has made some singular mistakes, and he wrote at Vicenza. Before it reached him, any private and doubtful negotiation, which we can hardly question took place,

would become positive and determinate.

^d "Re Carlo, il tuo Papa Celestino t'ha voluto e potuto servire, ma non ha saputo: onde se tu adoperi co' tuoi amici Cardinali chè io sia eletto Papa, io saprò e verrò e potrò."—Villani, viii. 6.

Guelfism, too, brought Charles and Benedetto Gaetani into one common interest.

Benedetto Gaetani was chosen Pope with all apparent unanimity on the 23rd of December; no doubt it was truly said, not to his own dissatisfaction.^e He took the name of Boniface; it was reported that he intimated by that name that he was to be known by deeds rather than by words. The abdication, the negotiation with the conflicting Cardinals, with Charles of Naples, was the work of ten days, implying by its duration strife and resistance; by its rapidity, despatch, and boldness in reconciling strife and surmounting difficulty.

But no sooner was Gaetani Pope than he yearned for the independence, the sole supremacy, of Rome or the Roman dominions; he would not be a Pope, the instrument of, and in thrall to, a King at Naples. The most pressing invitations, the most urgent remonstrances, would not induce him to delay; he hurried on by Capua, Monte Casino, Anagni. In his native city he was welcomed with festive dances; everywhere received with humble deference, deference which he enforced by his lofty demeanour. At the gates of Rome he was met by the militia, by the knighthood, by the clergy of Rome, chanting in triumph, as though the Pope had escaped from prison. Italy, Christendom were to know that a true Pope had ascended the throne.

The inauguration of Boniface was the most magnificent which Rome had ever beheld.^f In his procession

^e "Electus est ipse non invitatus, non gemens."—Pepin. Chron. apud Muratori, c. xli. Dante suggests the fraudulent means of success:—

"Sei tu sì tosto de quel haver sazio,
Per lo qual non temesti torre a inganno
La bella Donna, e di poi farne strazio."
Inferno, xix. 55.

^f There is a very odd account of the difference of the voices of the Italian and French clergy during this ceremony:—

"Ille tonum Romanus avet clarum diapente,
Ille canit, ferit ille gravein quartam diatesson :"

Lubricus in vocem nescit consistere pernix
Italia.

to St. Peter's and back to the Lateran palace, where he was entertained, he rode not a humble ass, but a noble white horse, richly caparisoned: he had a crown on his head; the King of Naples held the bridle on one side, his son, the King of Hungary, on the other. The nobility of Rome, the Orsinis, the Colonnas, the Savellis, the Stefaneschi, the Annibaldi, who had not only welcomed him to Rome, but conferred on him the Senatorial dignity, followed in a body: the procession could hardly force its way through the masses of the kneeling people. In the midst, a furious hurricane burst over the city, and extinguished every lamp and torch in the church. A darker omen followed: a riot broke out among the populace, in which forty lives were lost. The day after, the Pope dined in public in the Lateran; the two Kings waited behind his chair. Before his coronation, Boniface took a solemn oath of fidelity to St. Peter and to the Church, to maintain the great mysteries of the faith, the decrees of the eight General Councils, the ritual and Order of the Church, not to alienate the possessions of the Church, and to restore discipline. This oath was unusual (at least in its length), it was attested by a notary, and laid up in the Pontifical archives.^g

Immediately after the consecration, a Manifesto proclaimed to Christendom the voluntary abdication of Coelestine, on account of his acknowledged inexperi-

Italus, ipse notas refricans, ceu nubila guttas.

At flatu mellis r vox Gallica lege morosum
Præcinit, et guerble* geminans retinacula puncti

Instar habet dure percussi incudibus æris."
Cardin. St. George.

‡ Pagi and others have shown that the profession of faith attached to this oath cannot be genuine. Qu.? forged when Boniface was afterwards accused of heresy?

* Wirbel, *Germ.*; warble, *Engl.*

ence, incapacity, ignorance of secular affairs, love of devout solitude; and the elevation of Boniface, who had been compelled to accept the throne. But serious and dangerous doubts were still entertained, or might be made the specious pretext of rebellion against the authority of the Pope. Did the omnipotence of the Pope extend to the resignation of the office? His Bull, empowering himself to abdicate, and his abdication, were without precedent, and contrary to some canonical principles. Already, if not openly uttered, might be heard by the quick and jealous ears of Boniface some murmurs even among his Cardinals. No one knew better the versatility of Rome and of her nobles. Boniface was not the man to allow advantage to his adversaries, and adversaries he knew well that he had, and would have more, and those more formidable, if they should gain possession of the person of Cœlestine, and use his name for their own anarchical purposes.^h Cœlestine had abandoned the pomp and authority, he could not shake off the dangers and troubles, the jealousies and apprehensions which belonged to his former Cœlestine V state. The solitude, in which he hoped to live and die in peace, was closely watched; he was agitated by no groundless fears, probably by intimations, that it might be necessary to invite him to Rome. Once he escaped, and hid himself among some other hermits in a wood. But he could not elude the emissaries of Boniface. He received a more alarming warning of his danger, and

^h Angelario, the Cœlestinian Abbot of Monte Casino, was imprisoned in the terrible dungeon of the Lake of Bolsena, where the clergy were sent to expiate the worst crimes; he survived but few days, eating the bread of tribulation, drinking the water of bitterness. According to Benedetto da Imola, his crime was having favoured the escape of Cœlestine. Tosti suggests as more probable, that with his brother Cœlestinians he had dissuaded Cœlestine from the gran rifiuto.—Tosti, Monte Casino, iii. p. 41.

fled to the sea-coast, in order to take refuge in the untrodden forests of Dalmatia. His little vessel was cast back by contrary winds; he was seized by the Governor of Iapygia, in the district of the Capitanata. He was sent, according to the order of Boniface, to Anagni. All along the road, for above one hundred and fifty miles, the people, deeply impressed with the sanctity of Cœlestine, crowded around him with perilous homage. They plucked the hairs of the ass on which he rode, and cut off pieces of his garments to keep as reliques. They watched him at night till he went to rest; they were ready by thousands in the early morning to see him set forth upon his journey. Some of the more zealous entreated him to resume the Pontificate. The humility of Cœlestine did not forsake him for an instant; everywhere he protested that his resignation was voluntary. He was brought into the presence of Boniface. Like the meanest son of the Church, he fell down at the feet of the Pope; his only prayer, a prayer urged with tears, was that he might be permitted to return to his desert hermitage. Boniface addressed him in severe language. He was committed to safe custody in the castle of Fumone, watched day and night by soldiers, like a prisoner of state. His treatment is described as more or less harsh, according as the writer is more or less favourable to Boniface.¹ By one account, his cell was so narrow that he had not room to move; where his feet stood when he celebrated mass by day, there his head reposed at night. He obtained with difficulty permission for two of his brethren to be with him; but so unwholesome was the place, that they were obliged to resign their charitable office. According to

Imprison-
ment.

¹ Ptolem. Luc. Stefaneschi. Vit. Celest. apud Bollandistas, with other Lives.

another statement, the narrowness of his cell was his own choice: he was permitted to indulge in this meritorious misery; his brethren were allowed free access to him; he suffered no insult, but was treated with the utmost humanity and respect. Death released him before long from his spontaneous or enforced wretchedness. He was seized with a fever, generated perhaps by the unhealthy confinement, accustomed as he had been to the free mountain air. He died

Death.

May 19, 1296, was buried with ostentatious publicity, that the world might know that Boniface now reigned without rival, in the church of Ferentino. The Cardinal Thomas, his own Cardinal, and Theodoric, the Pope's Chamberlain, conducted the ceremonial, to which all the prelates and clergy in the neighbourhood were summoned.^k Countless miracles were told of his death: a golden cross appeared to the soldiers, shining above the door of his cell: his soul was seen by a faithful disciple visibly ascending to heaven. His body became the cause of a fierce quarrel, and of a pious crime. It was stolen from the grave at Ferentino, and carried to Aquila. An insurrection of the people of Ferentino was hardly quelled by the Bishop; on the assurance, after the visitation of the tomb, that the heart of the Saint had been fortunately left behind, they consented to abandon their design of vengeance. Immediately on the death of Boniface the canonisation of Cœlestine was urgently demanded, especially by the enemies of that Pope. It was granted by Clement V. The monks of the Cœlestinian brotherhood (self-incorporated, self-organised) grew and flourished; they built convents in many parts of Italy, even in France. But the

Canonisation.
A.D. 1313.

^k Supplementum Vit. S. Celestin. apud Bd landistas.

memory of the Pope, who had disdained and thrown aside the Papal diadem, dwelt with no less veneration among the Fraticelli, the only true followers, as they averred, and in one respect justly averred, of St. Francis. The Cœlestinians were not, strictly speaking, Franciscans; they were a separate Order; owed their foundation, as they said, to the sainted Pope; but held the same opinions, sprang from the same class, seem at length to have merged into and mingled with the lower and more fanatic of the Minorites. Of them, and of the place assigned to Cœlestine in the visions of the Abbot Joachim, the Book of the Everlasting Gospel, and in all the prophecies spread abroad by these wild sects more hereafter.

Boniface surveyed Christendom with the haughty glance of a master, but not altogether with the cool and penetrating wisdom of a statesman. Noble visions of universal pacification, of new crusades, of that glorious but impracticable scheme of uniting Europe in one vast confederacy against Saracenic sway, swept before his thoughts. To a mind like his, which held it to be sacrilege or impiety to recede from any claim once made by the See of Rome, and acknowledged by the ignorance, interests, or weakness of the temporal sovereign, the Papacy was a perilous height on which the steadiest head might become dizzy and lose its self-command. From Naples to Scotland the Papal supremacy was in possession of full, established, and acknowledged power, which took cognisance of the moral acts of sovereigns, their private life, their justice, humanity, respect for the rights of their subjects. It was thus absolutely illimitable. Besides this, the Popes held an actual feudal suzerainty over some of the smaller kingdoms, admitted by their kings in times of weakness, or in order to

legalise the usurpation of the throne by some new dynasty. For this power they could cite precedent, more or less venerable, recognised, uncontested; and precedent was universally held the great foundation of such tenure. It was an axiom of the Papal policy that rights, superiorities, sovereignties, once claimed by the Pope, belonged to the Pope: he claimed Corsica and Sardinia, partly as islands, partly as said to have formed a portion of the domains of the Countess Matilda, and then granted Corsica and Sardinia as his own inalienable, incontestable property. Not only Naples and Sicily, Arragon, Portugal, Hungary, Bohemia, Scotland, England—it was averred, though the indignant nation still repudiated, or but reluctantly acknowledged, the submission of John, and, still while it paid irregularly, murmured against the tribute—had been ceded as fiefs, or were claimed as owing that kind of allegiance. Over the Empire the Pope still asserted the privilege of the Pope's at least ratifying the election, of deposing the Emperor who might invade or violate the rights of the Roman See, rights indefinite and interpreted by his sole authority, against which lay no appeal. Even in France the ruling dynasty was liable to be reminded that the throne had been conferred by Pope Zacharias on Pepin the father of Charlemagne; so too on the Papal sanction rested its later transference to the House of Capet. Throughout Christendom the Pope had a kingdom of his own within every kingdom. The clergy, possessing a vast portion, in some countries more than half the land and wealth, and of unbounded influence, owed to him their first allegiance. They were assessable and to be taxed only for him or by his authority; and, though occasionally refractory, occasionally more true to their national descent and their national pride than to their

sacerdotal interests, and sometimes standing strongly on their separate hierarchical independence; yet, as they held their independence of the civil power, their immunities from taxation, their distinct sacred character, chiefly from the Pope, and looked to his spiritual arms for their security and protection, they were everywhere his subjects in the first instance. And besides the clergy, and compelling the clergy themselves to more unlimited Papal obedience, the monastic orders, more especially the Friars, were his great standing army, his garrison throughout the Christian world.

Boniface had visited many countries in Europe. It is asserted that in his youth he studied law in Paris, and even that he had been canon in that church.^m He had accompanied the Cardinal Ottobuoni to England, when sent by Alexander IV. to offer the crown of Sicily to the Prince Edmund. He had been joined in a mission with Matteo, Cardinal of Acqua Sparta, to adjust the conflicting claims of Charles of Anjou and Sicily, and of Rodolph, King of the Romans, to the inheritance of Provence. The treaty, which he drew, placed the Pope in the high office of arbiter in temporal as in spiritual matters. In any dispute as to the fulfilment or interpretation of the treaty, the two Kings submitted themselves absolutely to the judgement of the Pope.ⁿ For his success in this legation Gaetani had been rewarded with the Cardinalate. Gaetani had been employed to dissuade Charles of Anjou from his duel at Bordeaux with the King of Arragon. He had sat in Rome in a commission upon the ecclesiastical affairs of Portugal. The student of

Boniface as
Papal agent
and as Car-
dinal.

^m Du Boulay, Hist. Univers. Paris. | Todi, of Lyons, of St. Peter in Rome.
Tosti, Storia di Bonifazio VIII. to p. | He was also Apostolic Notary.
31. He was canon also of Anagni, of | ■ Raynald. sub an. 1280.

law in the University of Paris returned to that city as Papal Legate (with the Cardinal of Parma) from Nicolas IV. They had the difficult commission to demand the refunding the tenths raised by Philip the Bold for a Crusade to the Holy Land, from his son Philip the Fair. He had thus experience of the stern rapacity of Philip the Fair, his defiance of all authority, even that of the Pope, in affairs of money. He had to allay the other most intense and dominant passion of the same Philip the Fair, hatred and jealousy of Edward I., King of England. On the first question he presided in a synod held in the church of St. Genevieve, a synod which ended in nothing. On the second point Philip was equally impracticable; he coldly repelled the advice which would reconcile him with his detested rival. The same Legates at Tarascon had Feb. 18, 1291. been instructed to arrange the treaty between France, Charles of Naples, and Alfonso of Arragon. The peace had been settled, but broken off by the death of King Alfonso.

But in all his travels and his intercourse with these sovereigns, Boniface had not discerned, or his haughty hierarchical spirit had refused to see, the revolution which had been slowly working throughout Christendom: in France the growth of the royal power; in England the aspirations after religious as well as civil freedom; the advance of the Universities; the rise of the civil lawyers, who were to meet the clergy on their own ground, and wrest from them the supremacy, or at least to confront them on equal terms in the field of jurisprudence—a lettered order, bound together by as strong a corporate spirit, and often hostile to the ecclesiastical canonists. Boniface had not discovered that the Papal power had reached, had passed its zenith;

that his attempt to raise it even higher, to exhibit it in a more naked and undisguised form than had been dared by Gregory VII. or Innocent III., would shake it to its base.

Boniface was bound by gratitude to Charles, King of Naples, claimant of Sicily, perhaps by a plighted or understood covenant during his election. His first act was one of haughty leniency: he granted a remission of any forfeiture of the fief of Naples which might have been incurred by his father, Charles of Anjou, or by Charles himself, for not having fulfilled the conditions of his vassalage. If either should have become liable, not merely to forfeiture, but to excommunication, as having violated any one of the covenants imposed by his liege lord the Church, had neglected or refused to pay the stipulated tribute, and thereby incurred deprivation, the Pope condescended to grant absolution on the condition of full satisfaction to the Church.^o On the sudden death of Charles of Hungary, during the absence of King Charles of Naples, the Pope acted at once as Liege Lord of Hungary, appointed his Legate Landulph, and afterwards, yielding to the petitions of the people, the Queen Maria as Regent of the realm.

The interests of the Papal See, no less than his alliance with Charles of Naples, bound Pope Boniface to reconcile, if possible, the conflicting pretensions of the Houses of Anjou and Arragon. The Arragonese, notwithstanding the reiterated grants of the kingdom of Sicily to the Angevine, notwithstanding the most solemn excommunications, and the most strenuous warfare of the combined Papal and Angevine armies, had still

^o Bull apud Raynaldum.

obstinately maintained their title by descent, election of the people, actual possession. The throne of Sicily had successively passed down the whole line of brothers, from Peter to Alfonso, from Alfonso to James, from James it had devolved, in fact, if not by any regular grant or title, through assent or connivance, on the more active and ambitious Frederick.

During the reign of the more peaceful James a treaty had been agreed to. Two marriages, to which Pope Cœlestine removed the canonical impediments, ratified the peace. James of Arragon was espoused to Blanche, the daughter of Charles; Robert, son of Charles, to Iolante, the sister of James.^p Throughout this whole transaction the Pope (now Boniface) assumed, and it should seem without protest, the power to grant the kingdoms of Arragon and Valencia. In the surrender of those kingdoms by Charles of Valois, he insisted on the full recognition that he had held them by grant of the Pope. They were regranted to James of Arragon, who on this tenure did not scruple to accept, as the successor of his brother Alfonso, the hereditary dominions of his house. All who presumed to impede or to disturb this peace were solemnly excommunicated at Anagni on St. John the Baptist's day.

June 24,
1295.

But the younger branches of the house of Arragon had not been so easily overawed by the terrors of the Church to abandon the rich inheritance of Sicily, nor was Sicily, yet reeking with the blood shed at the Vespers, prepared to submit to the vengeance of the house of Anjou. The deep, inextinguishable hatred of the French was in the hearts of all orders; it was nursed by the remembrance of their merciless oppressions; by

^p Briefs in Raynaldus, 1294.

the satisfaction of revenge once glutted, and the fear that the revolt, the Vesper massacre, and the years of war, would be even more terribly atoned for. Boniface knew the bold and ambitious character of Frederick, the younger son of the house of Arragon. He had a splendid lure for him—no less than the Empire of Constantinople. The Pope invited him to a conference. Frederick appeared on the coast of Italy with a powerful and well-appointed fleet, accompanied by John of Procida and the great Admiral Roger Loria, near Velletri. The Pope offered him the hand of Catherine Courtenay, the daughter of Philip, titular Latin Emperor of the East: all the powers of the West were to confederate and place her, with her young and valiant husband, on the Byzantine throne. To her likewise he had written, under the magnificent title of Empress of Constantinople, in a tone of parental persuasion and spiritual authority, urging her to give her hand to the brave Prince of Arragon.^a By so doing she would show herself a worthy descendant of her grandfather Baldwin and her father Philip, a dutiful daughter of the Church; she would not merely gain the glorious crown of her ancestors, but restore the erring and schismatical Greeks to their obedience to the Holy See.^r

A treaty was formed on the following terms. Charles of Valois fully surrendered his empty title to Arragon, and acquired a title (as empty it proved) to the throne of Corsica and Sardinia, with large subsidies in money. James of Arragon had the full recognition of his right to the throne of Arragon, which he already possessed,

^a Nicol. Special. ii. 21. Compare Amari, p. 363, ch. xiv.

^r Brief of the Pope to Catherine of Courtenay, Raynald, sub ann. 1296 (27th June).

peace, and the shame of having abandoned his brother and the claim of the house of Arragon to the throne of Sicily. The Pope secured, as he fondly hoped throughout, the lasting gratitude of Charles of Valois, the glory of having commanded peace, and the vain hope that he had deluded Frederick to surrender the actual possession of the throne of Sicily for a visionary empire in the East, which the Pope assumed the power, not of granting, but of having bestowed with the hand of the heiress to that barren title, Catherine of Courtenay. "A princess without a foot of land must not wed a prince without a foot of land; she was to bring her imperial dowry."^s

But the youthful Prince Frederick of Arragon was not so easily tempted by the astute Pontiff. He required time for consideration, and returned with his fleet to Sicily. Nor was James of Arragon so absolutely in earnest, nor so determined on the surrender of his hereditary claims on Sicily. In public he dared not own the treaty. Envoys were sent from Palermo to demand whether he had actually ceded the island to the Pope and the King of Naples. King James was forced to acknowledge that he had done so. On the publication of his answer, there was a cry in the streets of Palermo, "What sorrow is like unto our sorrow?" But in secret, it was said, King James had more than suggested resistance. He was asked, "How, then, shall Prince Frederick act?" "He is a soldier, and knows his duty; ye, too, know your duty." John of Calamandra was sent by the Pope to Messina to offer a blank parchment to the Sicilians, on which they were to inscribe whatever exemptions, immunities, or securities,

^s Brief of Pope Boniface, Raynald, 1296, c. 9.

might tempt the nation to acknowledge the treaty. A noble, Peter de Ansalo, drew his sword, "It is by the sword, not by parchments, that Sicily will win peace." The Papal Envoy left the island with all the haste of terror.^t

Frederick was crowned in the Cathedral of Palermo, March 21, 1296. on Easter Day, with the acclamation of all Sicily, determined to resist to the utmost the abhorred dominion of the French. He sailed instantly with a powerful fleet, subjected Reggio and the country around, and threatened the whole kingdom of Naples. On Ascension Day the Pope condemned Frederick and the Sicilians by a bull, couched, if possible, in more than ordinarily terrific phrases. He heaped up charges of perfidy, usurpation, impiety, contempt of God and of his Church; he annulled absolutely and entirely the election of Frederick as King of Sicily; he threatened with excommunication, with the extremest spiritual and temporal penalties, all who should not instantly abandon his cause; he forbade all who owned spiritual allegiance to Rome to enter into treaty with him; and he revoked all indulgencies, privileges, or immunities, granted at any time to the kingdom of Sicily, more especially all granted to those concerned in the consecration or rather execration of the usurping King. The Sicilians, strong in their patriotism and their hatred of the French dominion, despised these idle fulminations. Charles must prepare for war, or rather the Pope in the name of Charles. But the resources of Naples were altogether exhausted; King Charles had paid a large sum to James of Arragon for the renunciation of his rights, and borrowed more of the Pope. Boniface was at once rapa

scious and liberal. He put off the day for the discharge of the first debt, and furnished five thousand ounces of gold. Charles was empowered to tax the Church property in his realm for this pious war, waged to maintain the rights of the Church.

The war of Sicily continued almost to the close of the Pontificate of Boniface VIII. King James of Arragon was summoned by the inflexible Pope to assist in wresting the kingdom from his brother; he received the title of standard-bearer of the Church. James obeyed with enforced but ostentatious obsequiousness. Yet he was suspected, perhaps not without reason, of a traitorous reluctance to conquer.^u The war dragged on, aggressive on the side of Frederick against Naples, rather than endangering Sicily. Roger de Loria, affronted by an untimely suspicion of perfidy, yielded to the temptation of the principality, over two barren islands on the coast of Africa, conquered from the Moors. The revolted Sicilian Admiral inflicted a terrible discomfiture on the fleet of his former sovereign, Frederick. But in the same year Frederick revenged himself by the total defeat of the army of Charles of Naples on the plains of Formicaria, and the capture of his son, Philip of Tarento. In the next year another naval victory raised still higher the fame of Roger Loria, who seemed to carry with him, whichever cause he espoused, the dominion of the sea. But the invasion of Sicily was baffled by the prudence and Fabian policy of King Fre-

A.D. 1297.

July 4,
1299.

A.D. 1302.

^u "Quod si sacer Princeps Ecclesie ipsum ad hæc per edicta verenda prorsus impellat, se licet invitum, Dei magis quam hominum offensam metuentem, necesse quidem esse favorabiliter obsequi. Cupiebat enim fratris ruinam, sed ut omnis objectio legitimâ causâ vestiretur, compelli voluit." —Ferret. Vicentin. apud Muratori, S. R. T. xi. p. 959.

derick. The Pope, at length weary of the expenditure, suspecting the lukewarm aid of James of Arragon, and not yet in open breach with Philip King of France, summoned Philip's brother, Charles of Valois, whose successes in Flanders had obtained for him the fame of a great general, to aid the final conquest of Sicily. Perhaps he meditated the transference of the crown of Naples and Sicily from the feeble descendants of the house of Anjou to the more powerful Charles of Valois. The summons to Charles of Valois was, as the invitation to French princes by the Pope to take part in Italian affairs has ever been, fatal to the liberties and welfare of Italy, ruinous to the Popes themselves. He did but crush the liberties of Florence, and left the excommunicated Frederick on the throne of Sicily.* "He came," says the historian, "to bring peace to Florence, and brought war; to wage war against Sicily, and concluded an ignominious peace." His invasion of Sicily with an overwhelming force only made more obstinate the resistance of the Sicilians: they met him not in the field; they allowed him to wear away his army in vain successes.† Boniface heard before his death that a treaty of peace had been sealed, leaving Frederick in peaceable possession of the whole island for his lifetime, under the title of King of Trinacria. The only price which he paid was the acceptance as his wife of a daughter of the house of Anjou. Frederick of Arragon, notwithstanding the terms of the treaty, by which on his death the crown of Sicily was

* 'Tempo vegg'io non molto doppo ancoi
Che tragge un altro Carlo fuor di
Francia,
Per far conoscer meglio e se, e' i suoi;
Senz' arme n' esce, e solo con la lancia
Con la qual giostrò Giuda; e quella
punta

Si, ch' a Firenze fa scoppiar la
pancia." *Purgat. xx. 70.*

† The war may be read fully
and well told in the last chapter of
Amari.

to revert to the King of Naples, handed it quietly down to his own posterity. But we must return hereafter to Charles of Valois.

Boniface aspired to be the pacificator of Italy, but it was not by a lofty superiority to the passions ^{Boniface a} of the times, by tempering the ferocity of the ^{Guelf.} conflicting factions, and with a stern but impartial justice repressing Guelf and Ghibelline; it was rather by avowedly proclaiming himself the head of the Guelfic interest, seizing the opportunity of the feebleness of the Empire to crush all the Imperialist faction, and to annul all the Imperial rights in Italy. Anagni had been a Ghibelline city; the Gaetani a Ghibelline family. But in Boniface the Churchman had long struggled triumphantly against the Ghibelline; the Papacy wrought him at once into a determined Guelf. Even before his pontificate he had connected himself with the Orsini, the enemies of his enemies, the Colonnas. The Ghibellines spread stories about Pope Boniface; true or false, naked or exaggerated truth, they found ready credence. The Ghibellines were masters, through the Orsini and Spinolas, of Genoa; the Archbishop Stephen Porchetto was of that family. In the solemn service of the Church, when the Pope strews ashes on the heads of all, to admonish them of the nothingness of man, instead of the usual words, Boniface broke out, "Ghibelline, remember that thou art dust, and with all other Ghibellines to dust thou shalt return." *

The Colonnas centered in themselves everything

* This, according to Muratori, if Jacob a Voragine (author of the *Legenda Aurea*).—Muratori, S. R. I. ix
ever said, must have been said to Archbishop Porchetto, who succeeded | Note on Jacob a Voragine, p. 10.

which could keep alive the well-grounded fear, the jealousy, the vindictiveness of the Pope, as well as to justify his desire of order, of law, and of peace. They had Ghibellinism, power, wealth, lawlessness, ill-concealed doubts of his title to the Papacy, no doubt ambition to transfer the Papacy to themselves. Under Nicolas IV. they had ruled supreme over the Pope; under Gaetani, would they endure to be nothing? All the Papacy could give or add to their vast possessions, titles, ranks, were theirs, or had been theirs but a few years ago. They had long been the great Ghibelline house. In Rome, still more in the Romagna, they had fortresses held to be impregnable—Palestrina, Nepi, Zagaruola, Colonna; and these gave them, if not the absolute command of the region, the power of plundering and tyrannising with impunity. Nor was that power under any constraint of respect for sacred things, of humanity, or of justice. They might become what the Counts and Nobles of former centuries had been, masters of the Papal territories, of the Papacy itself.

The Colonnas were strong, as has been seen, even in the conclave, in which sat two Cardinals of that house. The death of Coelestine had not removed all doubt as to the validity of the election of Boniface. No one knew better than Boniface how the Colonnas had been deceived into giving their favourable suffrages, how deeply, if silently, they already repented of their weakness; how ready they would be to fall back on the illegality of the whole affair. There can be little question that they were watching the opportunity of revolt as eagerly as Boniface that of crushing the detested house of Colonna. It concerned his own security not less than that of the Papacy; the uncontested sovereignty of the Pope over his own dominions; the permanent rescue of

the throne of St. Peter from the tyranny of a fierce and unscrupulous host of bandit chieftains, and from Ghibelines at the gates of Rome, and even in Rome.^a

The Colonnas were so ill-advised, or so unable to restrain each other, as to give a plausible reason, and more than one reason, for the Pope to break out in just it seemed, if implacable, resentment. The Colonna, who held the city of Palestrina, surprised and carried off on the road to Anagni a rich caravan of furniture belonging to the Pope. The crime of one was the crime of all. But heavier charges were not wanting which involved the whole house. They were accused of conspiracy, as doubtless they had conspired in their wishes if not in overt acts, with Frederick of Arragon and the Sicilians. It was said that they had openly received in Palestrina Francis Crescentio and Nicolas Pazzi, citizens of Rome, envoys from Frederick of Arragon.^b There is a dark indication that already France was tampering in the opposition to Boniface.^c

A Bull came forth denouncing the whole family, their ancestors, as well as the present race, with indiscriminate condemnation, but centering all the penalty on the two Cardinals.^d Papal Bull against the Colonnas. "Having taken into consideration the wicked acts of the Colonnas in former times, their present manifest relapse into their hereditary guiltiness, and our just

^a Compare Raynaldus, sub ann. 1297, p. 233.

^b Muratori doubts this (p. 256); it is not brought forward as a specific charge by the Pope, but for this the Pope might have his reasons. It is asserted by Villani, viii. 21; Ptolem. Lucen. in Annal. Chronicon Foroliviens. S. H. T. xxii. Tosti has rather

ostentatiously brought forward a new cause of hostility. Cardinal James Colonna was trustee for his three brothers, and robbed them of their property. They appealed to the Pope. From Patrini, Memorie Penestrine. Rome, 1795.

^c See note next page.

^d The Bull in Raynaldus, A.D. 1297

fears of their former misdeeds, it is clear as daylight that this odious house of Colonna, cruel to its subjects, troublesome to its neighbours, the enemy of the Roman Republic, rebellious against the Holy Roman Church, the disturber of the public peace in the city and in the territory of Rome, impatient of equals, ungrateful for benefits, stranger to humility, and possessed by madness, having neither fear nor respect for man, and an insatiable lust to throw the city and the whole world into confusion, has endeavoured (here follow the specific charges) to instigate our dear sons James of Arragon and the noble youth Frederick to rebellion." The Pope then avows that he had summoned the Colonnas to surrender their castles of Palestrina, Colonna, and Zagaruola, into his hands. Their refusal to obey this imperious demand was at once the proof and the aggravation of their disloyalty. "Believing, then," he proceeds, "the rank of Cardinal held by these stubborn and intractable men to be a scandal to the faithful, we have determined, after trying those milder measures (the demand of the unconditional surrender of their castles), in the strength of the power of the Most High, to subdue the pride of the aforesaid James and Peter, to crush their arrogance, to cast them forth as diseased sheep from the fold, to depose them for ever from their high station." He goes on to deprive them of all their ecclesiastical rank and revenues, to declare them excommunicate, and to threaten with the severest censures of the Church all who should thenceforth treat them as Cardinals, or in any way befriend their cause. Such partisans were to be considered in heresy, schism, and rebellion, to lose all ecclesiastical rank, dignity, or bishopric, and to forfeit their estates. The descendants of one branch were declared incapable, to the fourth

generation, of entering into holy orders. Such was the attainder for their spiritual treason.

The Colonnas had offered, on the mediation of the Senator and the Commonalty of Rome, to submit themselves in the fullest manner to the Pope.* But the Pope would be satisfied with nothing less than the surrender of all their great castles. Therefore, when they could no longer avoid it, they accepted the defiance to internecine war. They answered by a proclamation of great length, hardly inferior in violence, more desperately daring than that of the Pope. They repudiated altogether the right of Boniface to the Pontificate; they denied the power of Cœlestine to resign. They accused Boniface of obtaining the abdication of Cœlestine by fraudulent means, by conditions and secret understandings, by stratagems and machinations;† they appealed to a General Council, that significant menace, in later times

* The senators and commonalty of Rome had persuaded the Colonnas to this course. "Suaserunt, induxerunt quod ad pedes nostros reverenter venirent, nostra et ipsius Romanæ Ecclesiæ absolute ac liberè mandata facturi; ad quæ præfati schismatici et rebelles ipsis ambasciatoribus responderunt, se venturos ad pedes nostros ac nostra et præfata Ecclesiæ mandata facturos."—Epist. Bonifac. ad Pandect. Savelli, Orvieto, 29th Sept.

† These words are remarkable:—"Quod in renuntiatione ipsius multæ fraudes et doli, conditiones et intendimenta et machinamenta, et tales et talia intervenisse multipliciter asseruntur, quod esto, quod posset fieri renuntiatio, de quo merito dubitatur, ipsam vitiarent et redderent illegitimam, in-

efficacem, et nullam."—Apud Raynald. sub ann. 1297, No. 34. But the most remarkable fact regarding this document is that it was attested in the Castle of Longhezza by five dignitaries of the Church of France, the Provost of Rheims, the Archdeacon of Rouen, three canons, of Chartres, of Evreux, and of Senlis; and by three Franciscan friars, of whom one was the famous poet *Jacopone da Todi*, afterwards persecuted by Boniface. This is of great importance. The quarrel with Philip the Fair had already begun in the year before; the Bull "Clericis Laicos" had been issued; and here is a confederacy of the Colonnas, the agents of the King of France, and the Cœlestinian Franciscans. It bears date May 10, 1297.—Dupuy, *Preuves du Dissènd.*

of such fearful power. This long argumentative declaration of the Colonna Cardinals was promulgated in all quarters, affixed to the doors of churches, and placed on the very altar of St. Peter. But the Colonnas stood alone; none other of the Conclave joined them; no popular tumult broke out on their side. Their allies, and allies they doubtless had, were beyond the Faro; within the Alps, Ghibellinism was overawed, and abandoned its champions, notwithstanding their purple, to the unresisted Pontiff. Boniface proceeded to pass his public sentence against his contumacious spiritual vassals. The sentence was a concentration of all Papal sentence. Dec. 1297. the maledictory language of ecclesiastical wrath. No instrument, after a trial for capital treason, in any period, was drawn with more careful and vindictive particularity. It was not content with treating the appeal as heretical, blasphemous, and schismatical, but as an act of insanity. The Pope had an unanswerable argument against their denial of the validity of his election, their undisturbed, unprotesting allegiance during three years, their recognition of the Pope by assisting him in all his papal functions. The Bull denounced their audacity in presuming, after their deposition, to assume the names and to wear the dress and insignia of Cardinals. The penalty was not merely perpetual degradation, but excommunication in its severest form; the absolute confiscation of the entire estates, not only of the Cardinals, but of the whole Colonna family. It included, by name, John di San Vito, and Otho, the son of John, the brother of the Cardinal James and the father of Cardinal Peter, Agapeto, Stephen, and James Sciarra, sons of the same John, with all their kindred and relatives, and their descendants for ever. It absolutely incapacitated them from

nolding rank, office, function, or property. All towns, castles, or places which harboured any of their persons fell under interdict; and the faithful were commanded to deliver them up wherever they might be found.

This proscription, this determination to extinguish one of the most ancient and powerful families of Italy, with the degradation of two Cardinals, was an act of rigour and severity beyond all precedent. Nor was it a loud and furious but idle menace. Boniface had not miscalculated his strength. The Orsini lent all their forces to humble the rival Colonnas, and a Crusade was proclaimed, a Crusade against two Cardinals of the Church, a Crusade at the gates of Rome.^g The same indulgences were granted to those who should take up arms against the Cardinals and their family which were offered to those who warred on the unbelievers in the Holy Land. The Cardinal of Porto, Matthew Acquasparta, Bishop of S. Sabina, commanded the army of the Pope in this sacred war. Stronghold after stronghold was stormed; castle after castle fell.^h Palestrina alone held out with intrepid obstinacy. Almost the whole Colonna house sought their last refuge in the walls of this redoubted fortress, which defied the siege, and wearied out the assailing forces. Guido di Montefeltro, a famous Ghibelline chieftain, had led a life of bloody and remorseless warfare, in which he was even more distinguished by craft than by valour. He had treated with contemptuous defiance all the papal censures which rebuked and would

^g Raynaldus, sub ann. 1298. Dante puts these words in the mouth of Guido di Montefeltro :—

^h Lo principe de nuovi Farisei,
Havendo guerra presso a Laterano,

E non con Saracin nè con Giudei;
Che ciascun suo nimico era Cristiano;
E nessuno era stato a vincere Acri,
Ne mercatante in terra di Soldano."
Inferno, c. xxvii. 85

^h Ptolem. Lucen. p. 1219.

avenge his discomfiture of many papal generals and the depression of the Guelfs. In an access of devotion, now grown old, he had taken the habit and the vows of St. Francis, divorced his wife, given up his wealth, obtained remission of his sins, first from Cœlestine, afterwards from Boniface, and was living in quiet in a convent at Ancona.ⁱ He was summoned from his cell on his allegiance to the Pope, and with plenary absolution for his broken vows, commanded to inspect the walls, and give his counsel on the best means of reducing the stubborn citadel. The old soldier surveyed the impregnable defences, and then, requiring still further absolution for any crime of which he might be guilty, uttered his memorable oracle, "Promise largely; keep little of your promises."^k The large promises were made; the Colonnas opened their gates; within the prescribed three days appeared the two Cardinals, with others of the house, Agapeto and Sciarra, not on horseback, but more humbly, on foot, before the Pope at Rieti. They were received with outward blandness, and admitted to absolution. They afterwards averred^m that they had been tempted to surrender with the understanding that the Papal banners were to be displayed on the walls of Palestrina;

ⁱ Tosti, the apologetic biographer of Boniface VIII., endeavours to raise some chronological difficulties, which amount to this, that Palestrina surrendered in the month of September, and that Guido di Montefeltro died at Assisi (it might be suddenly, he was an old worn-out man) on the 23rd or 29th of that month.

^k "Lunga promessa, con attender corto."—*Inferno*, xx. *Comment. di Benvenuto da Imola* (apud Murator.).

Ferret. *Vicent. Papinus* (ibid.). These are Ghibelline writers; this alone throws suspicion on their authority. But Dante writes as of a notorious fact. Tosti's argument, which infers from the Colonnas' act of humiliation, of which he adduces good evidence, that the surrender was unconditional, is more remarkable for its zeal than its logic.

^m In the proceedings before Clement V. apud Dupuy.

but that the Papal honour once satisfied, perhaps the fortifications dismantled, the city was to be restored to its lords. Not such was the design of Boniface. He determined to make the rebellious city an example of righteous pontifical rigour. He first condemned it to be no longer the seat of a Bishop; then commanded, as elder Rome her rival Carthage, that it should be utterly razed to the ground, passed over by the plough, and sown with salt, so as never again to be the habitation of man.^a A new city, to be called the Papal city, was to be built in the neighbourhood.

The Colonnas found that they had nothing to hope, much to fear from the Pope, who was thus destroying, as it were, the lair of these wild beasts, whom he might seem determined to extirpate, rather than permit to resume any fragment of their dangerous power. Though themselves depressed, humbled, they were still formidable by their connexions. The Pope accused them, justly it might be such desperate men, of meditating new schemes of revolt. The Annibaleschi, their relatives, a powerful family, had raised or threatened to raise the Maremma. Boniface seized John of Ceccano of that house, cast him into prison, and confiscated all his lands. The Colonnas fled; some found refuge in Sicily; Stephen was received with honour in France. The Cardinals retired into obscurity. In France, too, after having been taken by corsairs, arrived Sciarra Colonna, hereafter to wreak the terrible vengeance of his house upon the implacable Pope.

Throughout Italy Boniface had assumed the same

^a "Ipsamque aratro subjici et veteris instar Carthaginis Africanæ, ac salem in eum et fecimus et mandavimus seminari, ut nec rem, nec nomen, nec titulum haberet civitatis."—See the edict in Raynaldus.

imperious dictatorship. His aim, the suppression of the interminable wars which arrayed city against city, order against order, family against family, was not unbecoming his holy office; but it was in the tone of a master that he commanded the world to peace, a tone which provoked resistance. It was not by persuasive influence, which might lull the conflicting passions of men, and enlighten them as to their real interests. Nor was his arbitration so serenely superior to the disturbing impulse of Guelfic and Papal ambition as to be accepted as an impartial award. The depression of Ghibellinism, not Christian peace, might seem his ultimate aim.

Italy, however, was but a narrow part of the great spiritual realm over which Boniface aspired to maintain an authority surpassing, at least in the plain boldness of its pretensions, that of his most lofty predecessors. Boniface did not abandon the principle upon which the Popes had originally assumed the right of interposing in the quarrels of kings, their paramount duty to obey his summons as soldiers of the Cross, and to confederate for the reconquest of the Holy Land. But this object had shrunk into the background; even among the religious, the crusading passion, by being diverted to less holy purposes, was wellnigh extinguished; it had begun even to revolt more than stir popular feeling. But Boniface rather rested his mandates on the universal, and, as he declared, the unlimited supremacy of the Roman See.

The great antagonistic power which had so long wrestled with the Papacy had indeed fallen into comparative insignificance. The Empire, under Adolph of Nassau (though acknowledged as King of the Romans he had not yet received the Imperial

The Empire.
Adolph of
Nassau.

crowns), had sunk from a formidable rival into an object of disdainful protection to the Pope.

On the death of Rodolph of Hapsburg the Princes of Germany dreaded the perpetuation of the Empire in that house, which had united to its Swabian possessions the great inheritance of Austria. A.D. 1291.

Albert of Austria, the son of Rodolph, was feared and hated; feared for his unmeasured ambition, extensive dominions, and the stern determination with which he had put down the continual insurrections in Austria and Styria; hated for his haughty and overbearing manners, and the undisguised despotism of his character. Wenzel, King of Bohemia, Albert, Elector of Saxony, Otho the Long, Margrave of Brandenburg, were drawn together by their common apprehensions and jealousy of the Austrian. The ecclesiastical Electors were equally averse to a hereditary Emperor, and to one of commanding power, ability, and resolution. But it was not easy to find a rival to oppose to the redoubted Albert, who reckoned almost in careless security on the succession to the Empire, and had already seized the regalia in the Castle of Trefels. May, 1292. Siegfried,

Archbishop of Cologne, suggested the name of Adolph of Nassau, a prince with no qualification but intrepid valour and the fame of some military skill, but with neither wealth, territory, nor influence. Gerhard, the subtle Archbishop of Mentz, seized the opportunity of making an Emperor who should not merely be the vassal of the Church of Rome, but even of the Church in Germany. It was said that he threatened severally each elector that, if he refused his vote for Adolph, the Archbishop would bring forward that Prince who would be most obnoxious to each one of them. Adolph of Nassau was chosen King of the Romans, but he was

too poor to defray the cost of his own coronation: the magistrates of Frankfort opposed a tax which the Archbishop threatened to extort from the Jews of that city. The Archbishop of Mentz raised 20,000 marks of silver on the lands of his See; and so the coronation of

June 24,
1292.

Adolph took place at Aix-la-Chapelle. But there was no disinterestedness in this act of the Archbishop. The elevation of Adolph of Nassau, if it did not begin, was the first flagrant example of the purchase of the Imperial crown by the sacrifice of its rights. The capitulations^o show the times. The King of the Romans was to compel the burghers of Mentz to

Terms ex-
acted by the
Archbishop
of Mentz.
July 1.

pay a fine of 6000 marks of silver, imposed upon them by the Emperor Rodolph, for some act of disobedience to their Prelate; he was neither in act nor in counsel to aid the burghers against that Prelate; never to take Ulric of Hanau or Master Henry of Klingenberg into his counsels, or to show them any favour, but always to espouse the cause of the Archbishop and of the Church against these troublesome neighbours: he was to grant to the Archbishop certain villages and districts, with the privilege of a free city: to grant certain privileges and possessions to certain relatives of the Archbishop; to protect him by his royal favour against the Duke of Brunswick, and all his enemies; to grant the toll at Boppard on the Rhine in perpetuity to the Church of Mentz; to pay all the debts due from the Archbishop to the Court of Rome, and to hold the Archbishop harmless from all processes in respect of such debts; to repay all charges incurred on account of his coronation; to grant to the Archbishop the Imperial cities of Muhlhausen and Nordhausen, and

^o Wurdwein. Diplom. Moguntiaca, i. 28.

to compel the burghers to take the oath of fealty to him. Nor was this all. Among the further stipulations, the Emperor was to make over the Jews of Mentz (the Jews of the Empire were now the men of the Emperor) to the Archbishop; this superiority had been usurped by the burghers of Mentz. The Emperor was not to intermeddle with causes which belonged to the spiritual Courts; not to allow them to be brought before temporal tribunals; to leave the Archbishop and his clergy, and also all his suffragan bishops, in full possession of their immunities and rights, castles, fortresses, and goods. One article alone concerned the whole principality of the Empire. No prince was to be summoned to the Imperial presence without the notice of fifteen weeks, prescribed by ancient usage. The other ecclesiastical electors were not quite so grasping in their demands: Cologne and Treves were content with the cession of certain towns and possessions. Adolph submitted to all these terms, which, if he had the will, he had hardly the power to fulfil.^a

The Emperor, who was thus subservient to the Archbishop of Mentz, was not likely to offer any dangerous resistance to the pretensions of the Pope; and to him Pope Boniface issued his mandates and his inhibitions as to a subject. Adolph might at first have held the balance between the conflicting Kings of France and England; his inclinations or his necessities drove him into the party of England. He sent a cartel of defiance to the King of France, to which A.D. 1291. King Philip rejoined, if not insultingly, with the language of an equal. But the subtle as well as haughty Philip revenged himself on the hostile Empire by taking

^a Compare throughout Schmidt, *Geschichte der Deutschen*, viii. p. 115, *et seqq*

more serious advantage of its weakness. The last wreck of the kingdom of Arles, Provence, became part of the kingdom of France; the old county of Burgundy, Franche Comté, by skilful negotiations, was severed from the Empire.⁹ These hostile measures, and the subsidies of England, were irresistible to the indigent yet warlike Adolph. He declared himself the ally of Edward; and when Boniface sent two Cardinals to command France and England to make peace, at the same time the Bishops of Reggio and Sienna had instructions to warn the Emperor, under the terror of ecclesiastical censures, not to presume to interfere in the quarrel. The Pope's remonstrance was a bitter

insult: "Becomes it so great and powerful a
A.D. 1295.

Prince to serve as a common soldier for hire in the armies of England?"^r But English gold outweighed Apostolic censure and scorn. In the campaign in Flanders the Emperor Adolph had 2000 knights in arms on the side and in the pay of England. The rapid successes, however, of the King of France enabled Adolph at once to fulfil his engagements with England without much risk to his subsidiary troops. The Emperor was included in the peace to which the two monarchs were reduced under the arbitration of Boniface.^s

The reign of Adolph of Nassau was not long. Boniface may have contributed unintentionally to its early and fatal close by exacting the payment of the debt due from Gerhard of Mentz to the See of Rome, which Adolph was under covenant to discharge, but wanted the will or the power, or both. He would not apply

⁹ Leibnitz, Cod. G. Diplom. x. No. 18, p. 32 | Raynaldus and in Rymer, sub annis
Schmidt, Geschichte der Deutschen,

^r Apud Raynald, 1295, No. 45.

^s The documents may be read in

viii. p. 130, et seqq.

the subsidies of England to this object. There was deep and sullen discontent throughout Germany.

At the coronation of Wenzel as King of Bohemia, Gerhard of Mentz performed the solemn office ; June 2, 1297. thirty-eight Princes of the Empire were present. Albert of Austria was lavish of his wealth and of his promises.[†] Gerhard was to receive 15,000 marks of silver. Count Hageloch was sent to Rome to purchase the assent of the Pope to the deposition of Adolph, and a new election to the Empire. Boniface refused all hearing to the offer. But Albert of Austria trusted to himself, his own arms, and to the League, which now embraced almost all the temporal and ecclesiastical Princes, the Elector of Saxony, the young Margrave of Brandenburg, Herman the Tall, the Ambassadors of Bohemia and Cologne. Adolph was declared deposed ; Albert of Austria elected King of the Romans. The crimes alleged against Adolph were that he had plundered churches, debauched maidens, received pay from his inferior the King of England. He was also accused of having broken the seals of letters, administered justice for bribes, neither maintained the peace of the Empire, nor the security of the public roads. Thrice was he summoned to answer, and then condemned as contumacious. The one great quality of Adolph of Nassau, his personal bravery, was his ruin ; he hastened to meet his rival in battle near Worms, plunged fiercely into the fray, and was slain.

The crime of Adolph's death (for a crime it was declared, an act of rebellion, treason, and murder, July 2, 1298. against the anointed head of the Empire) placed Albert of Austria at the mercy of the Pope

[†] Schmidt, p. 137.

The sentence of excommunication was passed, which none but the Pope could annul, and which, suspended over the head of the King elect of the Romans, made him dependent, to a certain degree, on the Pope, for the validity of his unratified election, the security of his unconfirmed throne. And so affairs stood till the last fatal quarrel of Boniface with the King of France made the alliance of the Emperor not merely of high advantage, but almost of necessity. Albert's sins suddenly disappeared. The perjured usurper of the Empire, the murderer of his blameless predecessor, became without difficulty the legitimate King of the Romans, the uncontested Sovereign of the Holy Roman Empire.

CHAPTER VIII.

Boniface VIII. England and France.

IF the Empire had sunk to impotence, almost to contempt, the kingdoms of France and England were rising towards the dawn of their future greatness. Each too had begun to develop itself towards that state which it fully attained only after some centuries, England that of a balanced constitutional realm, France that of an absolute monarchy. In England the kingly power was growing into strength in the hands of the able and vigorous Edward I.; but around it were rising likewise those free institutions which were hereafter to limit and to strengthen the royal authority. The national representation began to assume a more regular and extended form; the Parliaments were more frequent; the boroughs were confirmed in their right of choosing representatives; the commons were taking their place as at once an acknowledged and an influential Estate of the realm; the King had been compelled more than once, though reluctantly and evasively, to renew the great charters.^a The law became more distinct and authoritative, but it was not the Roman law, but the old common law descended from the Saxon times, and guaranteed by the charters wrested from the Norman kings. It grew up beside the canon law of the clergy, each rather avoiding the

England.
Development
of Constitu-
tion.

^a Throughout Hallam, Middle Ages, ii. 160, 166.

other's ground, than rigidly defining its own province. Edward was called the Justinian of England, but it was not by enacting a new code, but as framing statutes which embodied some of the principles of the common law of the kingdom. The clergy were still a separate caste, ruled by their own law, amenable almost exclusively to their own superiors; but they had gradually receded or been quietly repelled from their co-ordinate administration of the affairs and the justice of the realm. They were one Estate, but in the civil wars they had been divided: some were for the King, some boldly and freely sided with the Barons; and the Barons had become a great distinct aristocracy, whom the King was disposed to balance, not by the clergy, but by the commons. The King's justices had long begun to supersede the mingled court composed of the bishops and the barons: some bishops sat as barons, not as bishops. The civil courts were still wresting some privilege or power from the ecclesiastical. The clergy contended obstinately, but not always successfully, for exclusive jurisdiction in all causes relating to Church property, or property to which the Church advanced a claim, as to tithes. There was a slow, persevering determination, notwithstanding the triumph of Becket, to bring the clergy accused of civil offences under the judgement of the King's courts, thus infringing or rather abrogating the sole cognisance of the Church over Churchmen.^b It was enacted that the clerk might be arraigned in the King's court, and not surrendered to the ordinary till the full inquest in the matter of accusation had been carried out. On that the whole estate, real and personal, of the felon clerk might be seized. The ordinary

^b See the whole course of this silent change in Hallam, ii. pp. 20-23

thus became either the mere executioner, according to the Church's milder form of punishment, of a sentence passed by the civil court, or became obnoxious to the charge of protecting, or unjustly acquitting a convicted felon. If, while the property was thus boldly escheated, there was still some reverence for the sacred person of the "anointed of the Lord,"^c even archbishops will be seen, before two reigns are passed, bowing their necks to the block (for treason), without any severe shock to public feeling, or any potent remonstrance from the hierarchy. On the other hand, the singular usage, the benefit of clergy, by expanding that benefit over other classes, tended to mitigate the rigour of the penal law, with but rare infringements of substantial justice.^d

In France the royal power had grown up, checked by no great league of the feudal aristocracy, limited by no charter. The strong and remorseless rule of Philip Augustus, the popular virtues of Saint Louis, had lent lustre, and so brought power to the throne, which in England had been degraded by the tyrannical and pusillanimous John, and enfeebled by the long, inglorious reign of Henry III. In France the power of the clergy might have been a sufficient, as it was almost the only organised counterpoise to the kingly prerogative; but there had gradually risen, chiefly in the Universities, a new power, that of the Lawyers: they had begun to attain that ascendancy in the Parliaments which grew into absolute dominion over those assemblies. But the law which these men expounded was not like the common law of England, the

France.

The Lawyers.

^c The alleged Scriptural groundwork of this immunity, "Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm" (Ps. cv. 15), was enshrined in the De-

cretals as an eternal, irrefragable axiom.
^d On benefit of clergy read the note in Serjeant Stephen's Blackstone, v. iv. p. 466.

growth of the forests of Germany, the old free Teutonic usages of the Franks, but the Roman imperial law, of which the Sovereign was the fountain and supreme head. The clergy had allowed this important study to escape out of their exclusive possession. It had been widely cultivated at Bologna, Paris, Auxerre, and other universities. The clergy had retired to their own stronghold of the canon law, while they seemed not aware of the dangerous rivals which were rising up against them. The Lawyers became thus, as it were, a new estate: they lent themselves, partly in opposition to the clergy, partly from the tendency of the Roman law, to the assertion and extension of the royal prerogative. The hierarchy found, almost suddenly, instead of a cowering superstitious people, awed by their superior learning, trembling at the fulminations of their authority, a grave intellectual aristocracy, equal to themselves in profound erudition, resting on ancient written authority, appealing to the vast body of the unabrogated civil law, of which they were perfect masters, opposing to the canons of the Church canons at least of greater antiquity. The King was to the lawyers what Cæsar had been to the Roman Empire, what the Pope was to the Churchmen. Cæsar was undisputed lord in his own realm, as Christ in his. The Pandects, it has been said, were the gospel of the lawyers.^o

On the thrones of these two kingdoms, France and England, sat two kings with some resemblance, yet with some marked oppugnancy in their characters. Edward I. and Philip the Fair were both men of unmeasured ambition, strong deter-

Edward and Philip the Fair before the accession of Boniface VIII.

^o Compare Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, vii. 6, 10, and the eloquent but usual rather overwrought passage in Michelet.

mination of will, with much of the ferocity and the craft of barbarism ; neither of them scrupulous of bloodshed to attain his ends, neither disdainful of dark and crooked policy. There was more frank force in Edward ; he was by nature and habit a warlike prince ; the irresistible temptation of the crown of Scotland alone betrayed him into ungenerous and fraudulent proceedings. In Philip the Fair the gallantry of the French temperament broke out on rare occasions : his first Flemish campaigns were conducted with bravery and skill, but Philip ever preferred the subtle negotiation, the slow and wily encroachment ; till his enemies were, if not in his power, at least at great disadvantage, he did not venture on the usurpation or invasion. In the slow systematic pursuit of his object he was utterly without scruple, without remorse. He was not so much cruel as altogether obtuse to human suffering, if necessary to the prosecution of his schemes ; not so much rapacious as, finding money indispensable to his aggrandisement, seeking money by means of which he hardly seemed to discern the injustice or the folly. Never was man or monarch so intensely selfish as Philip the Fair : his own power was his ultimate scope ; he extended so enormously the royal prerogative, the influence of France, because he was King of France. His rapacity, which persecuted the Templars, his vindictiveness, which warred on Boniface after death as through life, was this selfishness in other forms.

Edward of England was considerably the older of the two Kings. As Prince of Wales he had shown great ability and vigour in the suppression of the Barons' wars ; he had rescued the endangered throne. He had been engaged in the Crusades ; his was the last gleam of romantic valour and enterprise in the Holy Land,

even if the fine story of his wife Eleanora sucking the poison from his wound was the poetry of a later time. On his return from the East he heard of his father's death; his journey through Sicily and Italy was the triumphant procession of a champion of the Church; the great cities vied with each other in the magnificence of his reception. He had obtained satisfaction for the barbarous and sacrilegious murder of his kinsman, Henry of Almain, son of Richard of Cornwall, in the cathedral of Viterbo during the elevation of the Host, by Guy de Montfort with his brother Simon. The murderer (Simon had died) had been subjected to the most rigorous and humiliating penance.^f

Since his accession Edward had deliberately adhered to his great aim, the consolidation of the whole
 Nov. 1271. British islands under his sovereignty, to the comparative neglect of his continental possessions. He aspired to be the King of Great Britain rather than the vassal rival of France. He had subdued Wales; he had established his suzerainty over Scotland; he had awarded the throne of Scotland to John Baliol, whom he was almost goading to rebellion, in order to find a pretext for the subjugation of that kingdom. Edward, in the early part of his reign, was on the best terms with the clergy: he respected them, and they respected him. The clergy under Henry III. would have ruled the superstitious King with unbounded authority had they

^f The documents relating to this strange murder are most of them in Rymer and in the MS., B. M. See especially letter of Gregory X., Nov. 29, 1273. Guy sought to be admitted to this Pope's presence at Florence; he with his accomplices followed the Pope two miles out of the city, without shoes, without clothes, except their shirts and breeches. Guy threw himself at the Pope's feet, wept and howled, "alt et bas sine tenore." On the subsequent fate of Guy of Montfort see Dr. Lingard, vol. iii. p. 186.

not been involved in silent stubborn resistance to the See of Rome. Henry, as has been seen, heaped on them wealth and honours; but he offered no opposition to, he shared in, their immoderate taxation by Rome; he did not resist the possession of some of the richest benefices and bishoprics by foreigners. If his fear of the clergy was strong, his fear of the Pope was stronger; he was only prevented from being the slave of his own ecclesiastics because he preferred the remote and no less onerous servitude to Rome.^g But this quarrel of the English clergy with Rome was somewhat reconciled: the short lives of the later Popes, the vacancy in the See, the brief Papacy of Cœlestine, had relaxed, to some extent, the demands of tenths and subsidies. Edward therefore found the hierarchy ready to support him in his plans of insular conquest. John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, accompanied him to Wales, and pronounced an excommunication against the rebellious princes: no voice was raised against the cruel and ignominious executions with which Edward secured and sullied his conquest.^h Against the massacre of the bards, perhaps esteemed by the English clergy mere barbarians, if not heathens, there was no remonstrance. Among the hundred and four judges appointed to examine into the claims of the competitors for the Scottish throne, Edward named twenty-four. Of these were four bishops, two deans, one archdeacon, and some other clergy. The Scots named eight bishops and several abbots. Edward's great financial measure, the remorseless plunder and cruel expatriation of the Jews, was beheld by the clergy as a noble act of Christian vigour.

^g We must not forget his difficulties about Prince Edmund's claim to Sicily.

^h Collier, i. p. 484.

Among the cancelled debts were vast numbers of theirs; among the plunder no inconsiderable portion had been Church property, pawned or sold by necessitous or irreligious ecclesiastics. The great wealth obtained for the instant by the King might stave off, they would fondly hope, for some time, all demands on the Church.¹

If Edward of England meditated the reduction of the whole British islands under one monarchy, and had pursued this end since his accession with unswerving determination, Philip the Fair coveted with no less eager ambition the continental territories of England. He too aspired to be King of all France, not mere feudal sovereign over almost independent vassals, but actual ruling monarch. He had succeeded in incorporating the wreck of the kingdom of Arles with his own realm. He had laid the train for the annexation of Burgundy: his son was affianced to the daughter and heiress of Otho V. Edward, however, had given no cause for aggression; he had performed with scrupulous punctiliousness all the acts of homage and fealty which the King of France could command for the lands of Gascony, Guienne, and the other hereditary possessions of the Kings of England.

There had been peace between France and England for the unusual period of thirty-five years, but Long peace. 1259 to 1294. already misunderstanding and jealousies had begun. Peace between two such Kings, in such relation to each other, in such an age, could hardly be permanent. The successes of Edward in his own realm stimulated rather than appalled the unscrupulous

¹ Hist. of Jews, iii. 258-262. The documents may be read in Anglia Judaica. Tovey says (p. 244) whole rolls of patents relating to their estates are still remaining in the Tower. Have we not any Jewish antiquaries to explore this mine?

ambition of Philip. An accidental quarrel among the mariners of the two nations was the signal for the explosion of these smouldering hostilities. The quarrel led to piratical warfare, waged with the utmost cruelty along the whole British Channel and the western coast of France. The King of France was only too ready to demand satisfaction. Edward of England, though reluctant to engage in continental warfare, could not abandon his own subjects; yet so absorbed was Edward in his own affairs that he became the victim of the grossest artifice. The first offenders in the quarrel had been sailors of Edward's port of Bayonne. It was indispensable for the honour of France that they should suffer condign punishment. Guienne must be surrendered for a time to the Suzerain, the King of France, that he might exercise his unresisted jurisdiction over the criminals. Philip was permitted to march into Guienne, and to occupy with force some of the strongest castles. On the demand of restitution he laughed to scorn the deluded Edward; negotiations, remonstrances, were equally unavailing. The affront was too flagrant and humiliating, the loss too precious; war seemed inevitable. Edward, by his heralds, renounced his allegiance; he would no longer be the man, the vassal, of a King who violated all treaties sworn to by their common ancestors. But the Barons and the Churchmen of England were now averse to foreign wars: their subsidies, their aids, their musters, were slow, reluctant, almost refused. Each Sovereign strengthened himself with foreign allies: Edward, as has been said, subsidised the Emperor Adolph of Nassau, and entered into a league with the Counts of Flanders and of Bar, who were prepared to raise the standard of revolt against the Suzerain, the King of France. Philip

entered into hardly less dangerous correspondence with the opponents of Edward's power in Scotland.^k

So stood affairs between the kingdoms of France and England at the accession of Boniface VIII.
Accession of Boniface. Dec. 1294. Philip had now overrun the whole of Gascony, and Edward had renounced all allegiance, and declared that he would hold his Aquitanian possessions without fealty to the King of France; but the Seneschal of Gascony had been defeated and was a prisoner.^m Duke John of Brabant had risen in rebellion against the King of France; he had been compelled to humiliating submission by Charles of Valois. Almost the first act of Boniface was to command peace. Berard, Cardinal Bishop of Alba, and Simon, Cardinal Bishop of Palestrina, were sent as Legates, armed with the power of releasing from all oaths or obligations which might stand in the way of pacification, and of inflicting ecclesiastical censures, without appeal, upon all, of whatsoever degree, rank, or condition, who should rebel against their authority.ⁿ The Cardinals crossed to England; they were received in a full Parliament at Westminster. The King of England ordered his brother Edmund and John de Lacy to explain the causes of the war, his grievances and insults endured from the King of France. The Cardinals peremptorily insisted on peace. Edward replied that he could not make peace without the concurrence of his ally the King of the Romans. The Cardinals urged a truce; this Edward rejected with equal determination. They endeavoured to prevent the sailing of Edward's fleet, already assembled in the ports of the

^k Documents in Rymer, sub ann. 1294. Walsingham, 61. Hume, Edward I.

^m Jordanus apud Raynald. Matt. Westmonast. sub ann.

ⁿ Instructions in Raynald. sub ann. 1295.

island. Edward steadily refused even that concession. But Boniface was not so to be silenced; he declared all existing treaties of alliance null and void, and peremptorily enjoined a truce from St. John Baptist's day until the same festival in the ensuing year.^o To Edward he wrote expressing his surprise and grief that he, who in his youth had waged only holy wars against unbelievers, should fall off in his mature age into a disturber of the peace of Christendom, and feel no compunction at the slaughter of Christians by each other. He wrote, as has been told, in more haughty and almost contemptuous language to the King of the Romans; he reproached him for serving as a base mercenary of the King of England: the King of the Romans, if disobedient, could have no hope or claim to the Imperial Crown; obedient, he might merit not only the praise of man, but the favour and patronage of the Apostolic See. The Archbishop of Mentz was commanded to give no aid whatever to the King of the Romans in this unholy war; on Adolph too was imperatively urged the truce for a year.^p

The Cardinal Legates, Alba and Palestrina, discouraged by their reception in England, did not venture to appear before the more haughty and irascible Philip of France with the Pope's imperious mandate; they assumed that the truce for a year, enjoined by the Pope, would find obsequious observance. Boniface did not think fit to rebuke their judicious prudence; but of his own supreme power ordered that on the expiration of

^o Raynald. sub ann. 1296.

^p Letters apud Raynald. 1295. The Nuncios in Germany, the Bishops of

Reggio and Sienna, had full powers to release from all oaths and treaties. See above, p. 36.

the first year the truce should be continued for two years longer.⁹

The blessings of peace, the league of all Christian princes against the Infidel, might be the remote and splendid end which Boniface either had or thought he had in view in his confident assertion of his inhibitory powers, and his right of interposing in the quarrels of Christian princes. But there was one immediate and pressing evil which could not well escape his sagacity. Such wars could no longer be carried on without the

Taxation of
the clergy.

Inevitable
results of
war.

taxation of the clergy. Not merely was the Pope the supreme guardian of this inestimable immunity, freedom from civil assessments, but it was impossible that the clergy either could or would endure the double burthens imposed on them by their own Sovereigns and by the See of Rome. All the subjects of the Roman See, as they owed, if not exclusive, yet superior allegiance to the Pope, so their vast possessions must be tributary to him alone, at least his permission must be obtained for contributions to secular purposes. Wars, even if conducted on the perfect feudal principle (each Lord, at the summons of the Crown, levying, arming, bringing into the field, and maintaining his vassals at his own cost), were necessarily conducted with much growing expense for munitions of war, military engines, commissariat however imperfect, vessels for freight, if in foreign lands. But the principle of feudalism had been weakened; war ceased to be the one noble, the one not ignominious calling, the duty and privilege of the aristocracy at the head of their retainers. No sooner had agriculture,

⁹ The Bull in Raynaldus (1296, No. 19), addressed to Adolph, King of the Romans.

commerce, manufactures, become respectable and lucrative; no sooner must armies be raised and retained on service, even in part, by regular pay, than the cost of keeping such armies on foot began to augment beyond all proportion. The ecclesiastics who held Knights' Fees were bound to furnish their quota of vassals; they did often furnish them with tolerable regularity; they had even appeared often, and still appeared, at the head of their contingent; yet there must have been more difficulty, more frequent evasion, more dispute as to liability of service, as the land of the realm fell more and more into the hands of the clergy. Though the great Statute of Mortmain, enacted by successive Kings, the first bold limitary law to the Statute of Mortmain. all-absorbing acquisition of land by the clergy, may have been at first more directly aimed at other losses sustained by the Crown, when estates were held by ecclesiastic or monastic bodies, such as reliefs upon succession, upon alienation, upon wardships and marriages, which could not arise out of lands held by perpetual corporations and corporations perpetuated by ecclesiastical descent; yet among the objects sought by that Statute must have been that the Crown should be less dependent on ecclesiastical retainers in time of war.

The Mortmain Statute,^r of which the principle was established by the Great Charter, only applied to religious houses. The second great Charter of Henry III. comprehended the whole Hierarchy, Bishops, Chapters, and Beneficiaries. The Statute of Edward endeavoured to strike at the root of the evil, and prohibited the receiving land in mortmain, whether by gift, bequest, or any other mode; the penalty was the forfeiture of the

^r 7th Edward I. Compare Hallam, ii. p. 24.

land to the Lord, in default of the Lord to the King. But the law, or the interpretation of the law, was still in the hands or at the command of the clergy, who were the only learned body in the realm. Ingenious devices were framed, fictitious titles to the original fief, fraudulent or collusive acknowledgements, refusal or neglect to plead on the part of the tenant, and so recoveries of the land by the Church, as originally and indefeasibly its own; afterwards grants to feoffees in perpetuity, or for long terms of years, for the use of religious houses or ecclesiastics. It required two later Statutes, that of Westminster under Edward I. (in his eighteenth year), finally that of Richard II. (in his fifteenth year), before the skill and ingenuity of this hierarchical invasion of property was finally baffled, and an end put to the all-absorbing aggression of the Church on the land of England.^s

The Popes themselves had, to a certain extent, given the authority and the precedent in the direct taxation of the clergy for purposes of war; but these were for holy wars. Sovereigns, themselves engaged in crusades, or who allowed crusades to be preached and troops raised and armed in their dominions for that sacred object, occasionally received grants of twentieths, tenths, or more, on the ecclesiastical revenues for this religious use. In many instances the Sovereigns, following the examples, as was believed, of the Popes themselves, had raised the money under this pretext and applied it to their own more profane purposes, and thus had learned to look on ecclesiastical property as by no means so sacred, to hold the violation of its peculiar exemptions very far from the impious sacrilege which it had been

^s Blackstone, ii. ch. 18.

asserted and believed to be in more superstitious times. But all subsidies, which in latter years had begun to be granted in England, at least throughout the reign of Henry III., had been held to be free gifts, voted by the clergy themselves in their own special Synods or Convocations. Now, however, these voluntary subsidies, suggested by the King's friends among the clergy, but liable to absolute refusal, had grown into imperative exactions. Edward, as his necessities became more urgent, from his conquests, his intrigues, his now open invasion of Scotland, and the impending war with France, could not, if he hoped for success, and was not disposed from any overweening terror of the spiritual power, to permit one-third or one-half* (if we are to believe some statements), at all events a very large portion of the realm, to withhold its contribution to the public service. The wealth of the clergy, the facility with which, if he once got over his religious fear and scruples, such taxes could be levied; the natural desire of forestalling the demands of Rome, which so fatally, according to the economic views of the time, drained the land of a large portion of its wealth; perhaps his own mistaken policy in expelling the Jews, and so inflicting at once a heavy blow on the trade of the country, and depriving him of a wealthy class whom he might have plundered in a more slow and productive manner without remorse, resistance, or remonstrance; all conspired to urge the King on his course. Certainly, whatever his motives, his wants, or his designs, Edward had already asserted, in various ways and in the boldest manner, his right to tax the clergy, had raised the tax to an unprecedented amount,

* See the passage in Turner's Hist. of England, in a future Note. This subject will be discussed hereafter.

and showed that he would hesitate at no means to enforce his demands. He had obtained from Pope Nicolas IV. (about 1291) a grant of the tenth of the whole ecclesiastical property, under the pretext of an expedition to the Holy Land, a pretext which the Pope would more easily admit from a Prince who had already displayed his zeal and valour in a Crusade, and of which Edward himself, after the subjugation of Wales and Scotland and the security of his French dominions, might remotely contemplate the fulfilment. This grant was assessed on a new valuation,^u enforced on oath, and which probably raised to a great amount the value of the Church property, and so increased the demands of the King, and aggravated the burthens of the clergy.* By another more arbitrary act, before his war in Guienne, Edward had appointed Commissioners to make inquisition into the treasuries of all the religious houses and chapters in the realm. Not only were these

^u This valuation was maintained, as that on which all ecclesiastical property was assessed, till the time of Henry VIII. It was published in 1802 by the Record Commission, folio.

* In the MS., B. M., sub ann. 1278, vol. xiii., is an account of the "Societas" of the Ricardi of Florence, for tenths collected in England. The total sum (the details of each diocese are given, but some, as Canterbury and London, do not appear) is 11,035*l.*, xiv. solidi, 3 denarii. The bankers undertake to deliver the same in London or any place, "ultra et citra mare." They take upon themselves all risks of pillage, theft, violence, fire, or shipwreck. Whence their profits do not appear. "E io Rainieri sopra-dito con la mia mano abo inscrito quie

di sotto, e messo lo mio sugello, con quello dela compagnia." Other signatures follow. In a later account, after the valuation of Nicolas IV., dated Aug. 30, vol. xv., the whole property, with the exception of the goods of the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, and Christ Church, Canterbury, is set at 204,143*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* et oboli; the tenth, 20,404*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* et oboli. Winton and Lincoln, 3977*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.* &c.; tenth, 397*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* 10 oboli. Christ Church, 355*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.*; tenth, 35*l.* 10*s.* 11*d.* Special tax on pluralities, 73*l.* 19*s.* 11*d.* 1. Total collected, 20,855*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.* In another place, the Dean of St Paul's as treasurer (vol. xiii. p. 110), accounts for the sum of 3135*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.* 1, arrears for three years.

religious houses in possession of considerable accumulations of wealth, but they were the only banks of deposit in which others could lay up their riches in security. All these sums were enrolled in the Exchequer, and, under the specious name of loans, carried off for the King's use.

But with the King's necessities, the King's demands grew in urgency, frequency, imperiousness.

It was during the brief Pontificate of Cœlestine V., when Robert of Winchelsea, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was at Rome to receive his pall from the hands of the Pope, that the King in a Parliament at Westminster demanded of the clergy a subsidy of half of their annual revenue. The clergy were confounded; they entreated permission to retire and consult on the grave question. William Montfort, Dean of St. Paul's, was chosen to persuade the King to desist from, or at least to reduce his demand to some less exorbitant amount. The Dean had hardly begun his speech, when he fell dead at the feet of the King. A.D. 1294.

Edward was unmoved; he might perhaps turn the natural argument of the clergy on themselves, and treat the death of Montfort as a judgement of God upon a refractory subject. He sent Sir John Havering to the Prelates, who were still shut up in the royal palace at Westminster. The Knight was to proclaim that whoever opposed the King's will was to come forth and discover himself; and that the King would at once proceed against him as a disturber of the public peace. The spirit of Becket prevailed not among the Prelates; no one would venture to put to the test the stern and determined Edward. They submitted with ungracious reluctance, in hopes no doubt that their Primate would soon appear among them; and that he, braced, as it July.

were, by the air of Rome, would bear the brunt of opposition to the King.^y

If the necessities of Edward drove him to these strong measures against the clergy of England, the French hierarchy had still more to dread from the insatiable rapacity and wants of Philip the Fair. That rapacity, the remorseless oppression of the whole people by the despotic monarch, and his loss of their loyal affection, was now so notorious that the Pope, in one of his letters to the King, speaks of it as an admitted fact.^z Philip had as yet been engaged in no expensive wars; his court might indulge in some coarse pomp and luxury; yet trade might have flourished, even arts and manufactures might have been introduced from Flanders and Italy, but for the stern and exterminating measures of his rude finance. His coffers were always filling, never full; and he knew no way of raising a revenue but by direct and cruel extortion, exercised by himself, or by his farmers of the taxes under his seal and authority. Two Italian bankers, the brothers Biccio and Musciatto dei Francesi, possessed his entire confidence, and were armed with his unlimited powers. But the taxes wrung from the tenants of the crown, from the peasants to whom they left not the seed for the future harvest, were soon exhausted, and of course diminished with every year of intolerable burthen: other sources of wealth must be discovered.

The Jews were the first; their strange obstinacy in money-making made them his perpetual victims. Philip

^y Compare Collier, Ecc. Hist. i. p. 493, folio edit.

^z "Ipsi quidem subditi adeo sunt diversis oneribus aggravati, quod eorum ad te solita et subjecta multum

putatur infriguisse devotio, et quanto amplius aggravantur, tanto potius in posterum refrigescat." — Ad Philip. Reg. Dupuy, p. 16.

might seem to feed them up by his favour to become a richer sacrifice:^a he sold to particular persons acts of security; he exacted large sums The Jews. as though he would protect them in fair trade from their communities. At length after some years of this plundering and pacifying, came the fatal blow, their expulsion from the realm with every aggravation of cruelty, the seizure and confiscation of their property.^b What is more strange, the persecuted and A.D. 1306. exiled Jews were in five years rich and numerous enough to tempt a second expulsion, a second confiscation.

But in France the Jews had formidable commercial rivals in the Italian bankers. Philip respected wealthy Christians no more than wealthy misbelievers. The whole of these peaceful and opulent men May 1, 1291. were seized and imprisoned on the charge of violating the laws against usury; and to warn them from that unchristian practice, they were mercifully threatened with the severest tortures, to be escaped only on the payment of enormous mulcts.^c Some resisted; but the gaolers had their orders to urge upon the weary prisoners the inflexible determination of the King. Most of them yielded; but they fled the inhospitable realm; and if they left behind much of their actual wealth, they carried with them their enterprise and industry.^d The Francesis, Philip's odious financiers, derived a double advantage from their departure, the

^a In 1288 he forbade the arbitrary imprisonment of the Jews at the desire of any monk. This seems to have been a common practice.

^b Hist. of Jews, iii. p. 206-7.

^c Villani, vii. c. 146.

^d Villani (vii. 146). The commercial Florentine sees the ruin of France in this ill usage of the Italian bankers. "Onde fu multo ripresso, e d' allora innanzi lo reame di Francia sempre andò abbassando."

plunder of their riches and the monopoly of all the internal trade, which had been carried on by their exiled countrymen, with the sole liberty no doubt of violating with impunity the awful laws against usury.

Philip even had strength and daring to plunder his Nobles. Under the pretext of a sumptuary law, which limited the possession of such pompous indulgences to those few who possessed more than six thousand livres tournois^e of annual revenue, he demanded the surrender of all their gold and silver plate, it was averred, only for safe custody; but that which reached the royal treasury only came out in the shape of stamped coin. This stamped coin was greatly inferior, in weight and from its alloy, to the current money. The King could not deny or dissemble the iniquity of this transaction; he excused it from the urgent necessities of the kingdom; promised that the treasury would reimburse the loss; that the royal exchequer would receive the coin at its nominal value; and even promised to pledge the royal domains as security. But Philip's promises in affairs of money were but specious evasions.^f

As an order, the clergy of France had not been subjected to any direct or special taxation under the name of voluntary subsidy; but Philip had shown on many occasions no pious respect for the goods of the Church; he had long retained the estates of vacant bishoprics. Their time could not but come. Philip at the beginning of his reign had struck a fatal blow against the clergy, of which the clergy itself, not then ruled by Boniface, perhaps hardly discerned the

^e Equal, it is calculated, to 72,000 francs, probably much more.

^f Ordonnances des Rois, May, 1295.

bearings even on the future inevitable question of their taxation by the state. He banished the clergy from the whole administration of the law: expelled them from the courts, from that time forth to be the special and undisputed domain of their rivals and future foes, the civil lawyers. An Ordinance commanded all dukes, counts, barons, archbishops, bishops, abbots, chapters, who had jurisdiction, to commit the exercise of that jurisdiction to bailiffs, provosts, and assessors, not ecclesiastics. The pretext was specious, that if such men abused their power, they could be punished for the abuse. It was also forbidden to all chapters and monasteries to employ an ecclesiastic as proctor. Another Ordinance deprived the clergy of the right of being elected as provost, mayor, sheriff (*échevin*), or municipal councillor. Bishops could only sit in the Royal Parliament by permission of the President.^g

Still up to this time the clergy had not been subjected to the common assessments. The first tax-
Taxation of clergy.
 tion, which bore the odious name of the *mal-tôte* (the ill assessed and ill levied), respected them.^h It had fallen chiefly, if not exclusively, on the traders. But whether emboldened by the success of his rival Edward in England, or knowing that, if Edward wielded the wealth of the English clergy, he must wield that of France, in the now extraordinary impost the impartial assessment comprehended ecclesiastics as well as the laity.

Boniface VIII., with all his ability and sagacity, was possessed even to infatuation with the conviction of the unlimited, irresistible power of the Papacy. He determined, once for all, on the broadest, boldest, most

^g *Ordonnances des Rois, 1287-1289.*

^h *Sub ann. 1292.*

uncontestable ground to bring to issue this inevitable question ; to sever the property of the Church from all secular obligations ; to declare himself the one exclusive trustee of all the lands, goods, and properties, held throughout Christendom by the clergy, by monastic bodies, even by the universities : and that, without his consent, no aid, benevolence, grant, or subsidy could be raised on their estates or possessions by any temporal sovereign in the world. Such is the full and distinct sense of the famous Bull issued by Boniface The Bull "Clericis Laicos." at the commencement of the second year of his Pontificate. "The laity, such is the witness of all antiquity, have been ever hostile to the clergy : recent experience sadly confirms this truth. They are ignorant that over ecclesiastical persons, over ecclesiastical property, they have no power whatever. But they have dared to exact both from the secular and the regular clergy a twentieth, a tenth, half of their revenue,¹ and applied the money to their own secular uses. Some base and time-serving prelates have been so dastardly as to submit to these wicked exactions." The prohibition of the Pope was as particular and explicit as could be framed in words : "On no title, on no plea, under no name, was any tax to be levied on any property of the Church, without the distinct permission of the Pope. Every layman of whatever rank, emperor, king, prince, duke, or their officers, who received such money, was at once and absolutely under excommunication ; they could only be absolved, under competent authority, at the hour of death. Every ecclesiastic who

¹ This seems aimed directly at Edward I. It was believed in England that the bull was obtained by the influence of the English primate, Robert of Winchelsea, then at Rome.

submitted to such taxation was at once deposed, and incapable of holding any benefice. The Universities which should so offend were under interdict.”^k

But the Kings of France and England were not so easily appalled into acquiescence in a claim which either smote their exchequer with barrenness, or reduced them to dependence not only on their own subjects, but also on the Pope. It gave to the Pontiff of Rome the ultimate judgement on war and peace between nations. Edward had gone too far: he had derived too much advantage from the subsidies of the clergy to abandon that fruitful source of revenue. The year after the levy of one-half of the income of the clergy, a Parliament met at St. Edmondsbury. The laity granted a subsidy; the clergy, pleading their inability, as drained by the payment of the last year, or emboldened by the presence of the Primate Robert of Winchelsea, refused all further grant. The King allowed time for deliberation, but in the mean time with significant precaution ordered locks to be placed on all their barns, and that they should be sealed with the King’s seal. The Archbishop at once commanded the Bull of Pope Boniface to be read publicly in all the cathedral churches of the realm; but the barns did not fly open at the bidding of the great enchanter. The Primate summoned a provincial Synod or Convocation of the Clergy, to meet in St. Paul’s, London. The King sent an order warning the Synod against making any constitution which might infringe on his prerogative, or which might turn to “the disadvantage of us, our ministers, or any of our

England.
A.D. 1296.

Parliament
at Bury.

Council at
St. Paul’s.

^k The bull “Clericis Laicos,” apud Dupuy, Preuves, p. 14. In Raynaldus, sub ann. 1296, January, and Rymer, ii. 706.

faithful subjects.”^m The majority of the Synod peremptorily refused all grant or concession. Upon this King Edward took the bold yet tenable ground, thât those who would not contribute to the maintenance of the temporal power should not enjoy its protection ; if they refused the obligations, they must abandon the rights of subjects. The whole clergy of the realm were declared by the Chief Justice on the Bench to be in a state of outlawry : they had no resort to the King’s justice. Nor was this an idle menace. Officers were ordered to seize the best horses both of the secular and regular clergy : if they sought redress, the lawyers were forbidden to plead on their behalf : the King’s courts were closed against them. They were now in a perilous and perplexing condition ; they must either resist the King or the Pope. They felt the King’s hand ; the demand took the form not merely of a subsidy, but of a fine for the contumacious resistance to the King’s authority. Yet the terrible anathemas of the Pope’s Bull had hardly died away in their cathedrals. There was division among themselves. A great part of the clergy leaned towards the more prudent course, and empowered the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Durham, Salisbury, and Ely to endeavour to effect a compromise. They yield. A fifth part of their revenue from estates and goods was set apart in some sanctuary or privileged place, to be drawn forth when required by the necessities of the Church or the kingdom. The Papal prohibition was thus, it was thought, eluded : the King, remaining judge of the necessity, cared not, provided he obtained the money.ⁿ The Primate, as though the

^m Spelman, *Concilia*, sub ann.

ⁿ Hemingford, 107, 108. Brady, Appendix, 19, 23. Westminster, ad ann 1296. Collier, i. 491, &c.

shrine of Thomas à Becket spoke warning and encouragement (he knew, too, what Pope was on the throne), refused all submission, but he ^{Archbishop resists.} stood alone, and alone bore the penalty. His whole estate was seized to the King's use. The Archbishop had but the barren consolation of declaring the rest of the clergy to have incurred the Papal sentence of excommunication. He left the Synod with a solemn admonition to the other Prelates and clergy lest they should imperil their souls by criminal concession. On the other hand, the preaching Friars of the Order of St. Dominic, usually the unscrupulous assertors of the Papal power, appeared in St. Paul's, and offered publicly to maintain the doctrine, that in time of war it was lawful for the clergy to contribute to the necessities of the sovereign. Notwithstanding the Papal prohibition, the clergy at length yielded, and granted a fourth of their revenue. The Archbishop alone stood firm; but his lands were in the hands of the King's officers; himself an exile from the court. He retired with a single chaplain to a country parsonage, discharged the humble duties of a priest, and lived on the alms of his flock. Lincoln alone followed his conscientious example; Becket and Grostête had met together. But Lincoln had generously officious friends, who bought the King's pardon.

The war had now broken out; the King was about to leave the realm, and to embark for Flanders. It had been dangerous, if Edward should en- ^{The King relents.} counter any of the accidents of war, or be compelled to protracted absence, to leave his young son in the midst of a hostile clergy, and a people embittered by heavy exactions. Edward restored his barony to the Archbishop, and summoned him to attend a Parliament at

Westminster; the Archbishop stood by the side of the young Prince of Wales. The prudent King condescended to an apologetic tone: he lamented that the aggressions of his enemies in France and Scotland had compelled him reluctantly to lay these onerous burthens on his subjects. He was about to expose his life to the chances of war; if God should bless his arms with success, he promised to restore to his people the taxes which he had levied: if he should fall, he commended his young son and heir to their loyal love.^o The whole assembly was moved; the Archbishop melted into tears. Yet these soft emotions by no means blinded them to the advantage, offered by the occasion, of wresting from the King some further security for their liberties. The two charters, the Great Charter, and that of the Forests, were confirmed, and with them more specific guarantees obtained. All judgements given by the King's justices or ministers of the crown, contrary to the provisions of the charters, were declared null and void.^p The King commanded that the charters under his seal should be sent to all the cathedral churches in the realm, to be there kept and read in the hearing of the people twice every year. The Archbishops and Prelates at each reading were to declare all who violated these great national statutes by word, deed, or counsel, under actual sentence of excommunication. The Archbishops were to compel by distraint or otherwise the suffragan Prelates who should be remiss in the reiteration of the grave anathemas.^q

^o Westminster, sub ann. 1297. Here
 mingford, Knighton.

^p The Acts in Rymer.

^q The civil lawyers, as Sir Edward Coke, maintain that the clergy

here acted under the authority and command of the temporal power.

High Churchmen, like Collier, insist

that the bishops were consenting to the measure; that it

Thus the clergy of England, abandoning their own ground of ecclesiastical immunities, took shelter under the liberties of the realm. Of these liberties they constituted themselves the guardians; and so shrouded their own exemptions under the general right, now acknowledged, that the subject could not be taxed without his own consent. The Archbishop during the next year published an excommunication in which the rights of the clergy and of the people were blended with consummate skill. It condemned the King's officers who had seized the goods and imprisoned the persons of the clergy (perhaps for the arrears of the subsidy), and at the same time all who should have violated the charter. It re-asserted the immunity of all the King's subjects from taxation to which they had not given their assent. He thus obeyed the royal mandate, aimed a blow at the royal power, and asserted the special exemptions of the clergy.^f

The famous Bull was received in France by the more violent and haughty Philip with still greater indignation; it struck at once at his pride, ^{Bull in France.} his power, and his cupidity. Philip, in his imperious taxation, had been embarrassed by none of the slow forms, the semblance at least of voluntary grant, to the observance of which the Great Charter, and now usage, had bound the King of England; and which, joined with their own peculiar exemptions, made it necessary that the contributions of the clergy should be voted as an aid, benevolence, or subsidy. Philip, of his sole will, had imposed the tax for the second time (the

was according to decrees of several provincial councils; that the penalties on refractory prelates were left to the spiritual authority of the archbishops. Compare Collier, i. p. 494.
^f Westm. sub ann. 1298. Collier, i. p. 495. Spelman, Concilia.

first was a hundredth of actual property, now a fiftieth), which passed under the detested name of *maltôte*: the harshness and extortion of his officers, who levied this charge, increased its unpopularity. At first it had been demanded of the merchants, then of all citizens, last of the clergy. But if the wrath of Philip was more vehement, his revenge was more cool and deliberate; it was a retaliation which bore the appearance of moderation, but struck the Popedom deep in the most vital and sensitive part. If the clergy might not be taxed for the exigencies of France, nor might in any way be tributary to the King, France would no longer be tributary to the Pope. From all the kingdoms of Western Christendom vast wealth was constantly flowing to Rome; every great promotion had to pay its fees, no cause could be evoked to Rome without large expenditure in Rome: no pilgrim visited the Eternal City unladen with precious gifts and offerings: the Pope claimed and not seldom had exercised the power of assessing the clergy, not merely for ordinary purposes, but for extraordinary exigencies which concerned the safety or the grandeur of the Pontificate. Philip issued an Ordinance,* prohibiting in the most rigid and precise terms the exportation of gold or silver, either in ingots or in plate, of precious stones, of provisions, arms, horses, or munitions of war, of any article, indeed, of current value, without special permission sealed and delivered by the crown.†

* This edict, passed by the King in Parliament, had been preceded and was accompanied by another, prohibiting the entrance of all foreign merchants into the realm, under the strange plea that the internal trade of the country was carried on with sufficient activity by the natives of France. So well

indeed had Philip been served by his agents in Rome, that these prohibitory edicts almost, if not quite, anticipated the formal publication of the Papal bull in France.

† The edict, Aug. 17, 1296. Sismondi has mistaken the republication of the bull "*Clericis Laicos*," Aug. 18

Thus, at one blow, Rome was deprived of all her supplies from France. The other Edict, which prohibited foreign trading in the land, proscribed the agents, the bankers, who transmitted in other ways the Papal revenues to Rome. Boniface had gone too far: but it was neither in his character, his station, nor in the interest of the hierarchy, to retract. Yet, he was still true to the old Guelfic policy, close alliance with France. He had espoused the cause of the French house of Anjou in Naples with ardour. As Pope, he no doubt contemplated with admiration that model of a Christian King, whom he was called upon by the almost adoring voice of Christendom to canonise, Saint Louis. The Empire, though now abased, might rally again, and resume its hostility; the Colonnas were not yet crushed; Ghibellinism not absolutely under his feet. He had, indeed, under the lofty character which he assumed of arbiter of the world, as the Supreme Pontiff, to whom lay resort against all Christian vassals as well as Sovereigns, received the appeal of the Count of Flanders against his liege Lord, Philip of France. Philip, jealous of the design of the Count of Flanders to marry his daughter to the heir of England, had summoned the Count and Countess with their daughter to Paris. They had been treacherously seized; the Count and Countess had escaped, or had been dismissed, but the daughter was kept as a hostage in the power of Philip, who bred her up with his own family. The Count of Flanders complained to the Pope of this injustice. The Pope had sent his Legate, the Bishop of Meaux, to demand

in France, for the original promulgation in January (Hist. des Français, viii. 516). Raynaldus and Dupuy place it in January. It was known

in England early in the year. The Pope refers to it in his answer, as the cause of the King's hostile ordinance.

her liberation. The only answer was a lofty rebuke to the Pope for presuming to intermeddle with temporal affairs beyond his jurisdiction.^u

Under these conflicting circumstances, Boniface issued his second Manifesto. Never was promulgated by the Papal court a Bull at once so inflexibly imperious, yet so bland; so disguising the haughtiness, the arrogance of a master, under the smooth and gentle language of a parent; so manifestly anxious to conciliate, yet so almost contemptuously offensive. Crimination, exposition, menace, flattery, explanation bordering on apology, almost on concession, display the Pope as the proudest of mankind, yet for a moment conscious that he is addressing a monarch as proud as himself; determined to assert to the uttermost his immeasurable superiority, and yet modifying, tempering his demands: as the head of the Guelfs, reluctant to alienate the protector of the Guelfic interest. And he is still the head of the great Sacerdotal caste, determined to maintain that caste in its inviolable sanctity and power, and to yield up no letter of the pretensions of his haughtiest ancestors. All the acts of Kings, as moral acts, were under the immediate, indefeasible jurisdiction of the Pope. “The Church, by the ineffable love of her spouse, Christ, has received the dowry of many precious gifts, especially that great gift of liberty. Who shall presume against God and the Lord to infringe her liberty, and not be beaten down by the hammer of supreme power to dust and ashes? My son! turn not away thine ears from the voice of thy father; his parental language flows from the tenderness of his heart, though with some of the bitterness of past

The Bull.
Sept. 1296.

^u Compare Dupuy and Baillet.

injuries." The Pope throws the whole blame on the King's evil counsellors. "Let him not permit them to change the throne of his glory into a seat of pestilence." "The King's Ordinance to forbid foreigners all traffic in the land, is not less impolitic than unjust. His subjects are oppressed with intolerable burthens; already their alienated loyalty has begun to decay, it will soon be altogether estranged; it is a grievous loss for a King to forfeit the love of his subjects." The Pope will not believe that the general prohibition against all persons quitting the realm, or exporting money or goods, can be intended to apply to ecclesiastics; this would be worse than impolitic, it would be insane. "Neither thou nor any secular prince hast the power to do this: by the very prohibition is incurred a sentence of excommunication." The Pope reminds the King of the intense anxiety with which he has devoted long days and sleepless nights to his interests; how he has laboured to preserve peace, sent his Cardinals to mediate. "Is this the return for the inestimable favours shown by the Church to you and your ancestors?" From the appeal to Philip's gratitude he passes to an appeal to Philip's fears. "Lift up your eyes and look around: the powerful Kings of the Romans, of England, of Spain are in league against you. Is this a time to add the Holy See to your enemies? Let not your insolent counsellors drive you to this fatal precipice! Call to mind the goodness of the Holy See, which you may thus compel to abandon you without succour. Call to mind the canonisation of your ancestor, Louis, whose miracles the Holy See has examined with assiduous care. Instead of securing, like him, her love, deserve not her indignation. What is the cause of all this? Our Constitution in defence of ecclesiastical liberty? That Constitution

asserted only the principles maintained by Popes and Councils; it added the awful penalties of excommunication, because men are more affected by the dread of punishment than by the love of virtue. Nor did we by that Constitution precisely ordain that the Prelates and clergy were not to contribute to the necessities of the King: but we declared that this was not to be done without our special permission, bearing in mind the insupportable exactions sometimes wrung from ecclesiastics by the King's officers under his authority. Not only do all divine and human laws, even judgements, attest the abuse of such authority, but the authority itself is absolutely interdicted; and this we have intimated for the perpetual memory of the truth. If you object that such permission has been petitioned for from the Holy See, and the petition has not been granted," if the realm were in danger, urgent and admitted, the Pope pledges himself to permit not only the levying of taxes, "but the crosses of gold and silver, even the consecrated vessels and furniture of the churches should be sacrificed, before a kingdom, so dear to the Apostolic See, should be exposed to peril." "The Constitution did not absolutely prohibit the King from exercising his rights over ecclesiastics who held fiefs of the crown, according to the laws and usages of the realm; but for himself, Boniface was prepared to lay down all, even his life, in defence of the liberties and immunities of the Church against all usurpers whatsoever." He charged the whole guilt of the war on the King of France; it arose from his unjust occupation of Burgundy, an undoubted fief of the Empire, and of Gascony, the inheritance of Edward of England, as Duke of Guienne. On the evils of war he enlarged: peril to the souls of men, the slaughter, the bottomless gulf of expenditure, the

damage, arising from the usurpations suggested by his evil counsellors. Those wrongs against the Kings of the Romans and of England were sins, therefore, undoubtedly under the jurisdiction of the Pope;^x in such aggressions the Pope had full power of judgement. It was shameful for Philip to refuse the mediation, which had been accepted by the King of the Romans and the King of England. The Pope would not proceed at once to the last extremity; he would first attempt the ways of remonstrance and gentleness; and for this end he had sent the Bishop of Viviers to explain more fully his determination.^y

The King of France promulgated an answer, full, not too long, but in language well considered, and of singular force and strength. This document ^{Answer of the King.} showed the progress of the human mind, and manifestly divulged the new power, that of the civil lawyers, whose style and phrases appear throughout. It began with the bold historic assertion, not only of the superior antiquity of the temporal to the spiritual power in Europe; but that before there were ecclesiastics in the world the Kings of France had the supreme guardianship of the realm, with full authority to enact all such ordinances as might be for the public weal. "The King, therefore, had prohibited the exportation of arms, provisions, and other things which might be turned to the advantage of his enemies." But this prohibition was not absolute (he turned the Pope's evasions on the Pope), "it required for such exportation the special licence of the King. Such licence would not have been refused to ecclesiastics, if they gave assurance that what they exported was

^x "Dumque in eos super iis peccare te asserunt, de hoc iudicium ad Se'em eandem non est dubium pertinere."

^y The document in Dupuy, &c.

their own property, and could not be applied to the damage of the realm." The King glanced with covert sarcasm at the partiality of the Pope. "That other most dear son of the Church (the King of England) had been allowed to seize the goods of the clergy, to imprison the clergy, and yet no excommunication had been pronounced against him." The proclamation proceeded daringly to grapple with the vital question. It denied the right of the clergy to the exclusive appellation of "the Church." The laity were as much members of Christ's mystical body as the clergy. The clergy had no special liberty; this was an usurpation on the common rights of all the faithful. The liberty which Christ had obtained belonged to the layman as well as to the ecclesiastic. "Did Christ die and rise again for the clergy alone?" There were, indeed, peculiar liberties, according to the Statutes of the Roman Pontiffs, but these had been granted or permitted by the Roman Emperors. "Such liberties, so granted or permitted, cannot take away the rights of Kings to provide, with the advice of their Parliament, all things necessary for the defence of the realm, according to the eternal rule: Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. All alike, clerks and laymen, nobles and subjects, are bound to the common defence. Such charges are not to be called exactions, extortions, burthens. They are subsidies to the Sovereign for the general protection. The property of the Church in time of war is exposed to more than ordinary dangers. To refuse to contribute to the exigencies of the war, is to refuse due payment to your protectors."

"What wise and intelligent man is not in utter amazement when he hears the Vicar of Christ prohibiting and fulminating his anathema against contributions for the

defence of the realm, according to a fair equal rate, for the defence of the clergy themselves? They may give to stage-players; they have full and unbounded licence to lavish any expenditure, to the neglect of their churches, on their dress, their horses, their assemblies, their banquets, and all other secular pomps and pleasures. What sane men would forbid, under the sentence of anathema, that the clergy, crammed, fattened, swollen by the devotion of Princes, should assist the same Princes by aids and subsidies against the persecutions of their foes? Have they not the discernment to see that this inhibition, this refusal is little less than high treason, condemned by the laws of God and man? It is aiding and abetting the King's enemies, it is treachery to the defenders of the common weal. We, like our forefathers, have ever paid due reverence to God, to his Catholic Church, and his ministers, but we fear not the unjust and immeasurable threats of men." He proceeds to justify the war. "The King of England had refused allegiance for his fiefs held of the crown of France. Ample satisfaction, and fair terms of peace, had been offered to the King of the Romans." The county of Burgundy the King of France held by right of conquest in open war, after defiance and proclamation of hostilities by the King of the Romans himself. "We therefore ought no longer to be provoked by insults, but, as dutiful sons of the Church, to be looked upon with favour, and consoled in our dangers and distresses."*

The Pope thought it not prudent to contest these broad and bold principles of temporal supremacy; he was now involved in the internecine strife with the Co-

* Document in Dupuy.

lounas. An address in a milder tone, in which protestations of regard and esteem predominated over the few lingering words of menace, declared that a more harsh, strict, and rigorous meaning than he had designed had been attributed by the malignity and cunning of evil counsellors to the Papal Bull. The Cardinal Legates, however, were commanded to raise all monies due to the Pope; and if the King's officers should interfere with their transmission, they were without hesitation or delay to pronounce sentence of excommunication against those officers.^a The Pope found himself deserted in France by his natural allies. In the Gallican Church, either national pride triumphed over the hierarchical spirit, or the clergy feared the King more than the Pope. The Archbishop of Rheims, with nothing of the stubborn boldness of Becket, or even the passive courage of Robert of Winchelsea, sent a strong though humble address to the Pope, expressing profound gratitude for his care of the ecclesiastical liberties, but acknowledging their obligations, both as feudatories of the King and as subjects, and their duty, in self-defence, to contribute to the public service: they deprecated the Pope's proceedings as disturbing the peace which happily prevailed between the Church of France and the King and Parliament of France.^b

For once the haughty Boniface listened to the admonitions of prudence. The King of France, by suspending for a time the operations of his hostile ordinance, gave the Pope an opportunity of withdrawing with less loss of dignity from his dangerous position. Another Bull appeared. "The author," it

Prudence of
Boniface.

^a Dupuy, Feb. 3.

^b Dupuy, p. 26.

declared, "of every law is the sole interpreter of that law;" and the interpretation which it now pleased Pope Boniface to give to his famous Bull, virtually abrogated it as regarded the kingdom of France. The King had full right to command the service of all his feudatories, whether holding secular or ecclesiastical fiefs: aids, benevolences, or loans might be granted, provided there was no exaction, only a friendly and gentle requisition from the King's courts. If the realm was in danger, equal taxes might be assessed on all alike; it was left to the conscience of the King, if of full age, during the King's nonage to the prelates, princes, dukes, and counts of the realm, to decide when the state was in danger.*

The successes of Philip the Fair in negotiation as well as in war, no doubt, if they did not awe the Pope, showed the danger as well as the ^{The war.} 1297, 1298. impolicy of alienating the old true ally of the Pope-^{dom}, now rising to increased power and influence. For his dictatorial injunctions to make peace had been utterly disregarded by all parties; the truce, which he had ordered for two years, had not been observed for as many months.

It was a powerful league which had been organised by the lavish subsidies of England. It comprehended the King of the Romans, Guy Dampierre, Count of Flanders, who hoped to compel the King of France to release his daughter, the Count of Bar, the Duke of Brabant, the Counts of Hainault and Gueldres, the Bishops of Liège and Utrecht, the Archbishop of Cologne. The Counts of Auxerre, Montbelliard, and other nobles of that province engaged, on the receipt of

* Apud Dupuy, p. 39.

thirty thousand livres, to make a revolt in Burgundy. The more remote Counts of Savoy and Grandson were pledged to encourage and maintain this revolt. So utterly and almost contumeliously were the pacific views of the Pope disregarded in all quarters. But in the mean time Philip had won over the Duke of Bretagne from the English league. In all parts his subsidies counteracted those of England; subsidies on both sides largely drawn from the ecclesiastical revenues. He had entered Flanders. Charles of Valois had inflicted a severe defeat on the rebels, so the Flemings in the army of the Count Dampierre were called. The rich manufacturing cities, indignant at former attempts of their liege Lord, the Count of Flanders, to infringe their privileges, opened their gates to Philip as their Suzerain. The Count in vain attempted to retrace his steps; they would not trust him, and were at least indifferent to their change of masters.

Edward had at length disembarked to the relief of his overwhelmed ally.^d But the forces of the King of England were unequal to the contest. The war in defence of his foreign dominions had been unpopular in England. The English nobles, become more inflexibly insular in their feelings, had more than once refused to follow their monarch for the defence or reconquest of Gascony. In small numbers and with reluctance they had accompanied him to the Flemish shores. Edward's own military skill and vigour seemed to have deserted him: he was forced to abandon Bruges, which opened its gates to the conqueror. Ghent was hardly safe.^e

^d He embarked at Winchelsea, Aug. 22; landed at Sluys, 27, 1297. Rymer.

^e The war in the English and French historians; plainly and briefly in Rapin.

These unusual efforts had exhausted the resources of both kingdoms. The means of prosecuting the war could only be wrung by force from murmuring and refractory subjects, the clergy as well as the laity. There was a limit not only to the endurance, but to the possibility of raising new taxes, and that limit had been reached both in England and France.

At the close of the year the Kings consented to a short truce. News from England, during the suspension of arms, disconcerted the plans of ^{A.D. 1297.} Edward for the reorganisation in greater strength and activity of his wide-spread league. All Scotland was in revolt. Wallace, from a wild adventurer, at the head of a loose band of moss-troopers, had assumed, in a Parliament at Perth, the title of guardian of the realm and general of the armies of Scotland. Warenne, Earl of Surrey, Edward's Lieutenant, had been reduced to act on the defensive. The Scots were ravaging Cumberland and Westmoreland.

Boniface found these two haughty monarchs, who had so short a time before contemptuously spurned his mediation, one of them, if not imploring, making direct overtures in the most submissive terms for his interposition; the other accepting it with undisguised satisfaction. Edward despatched his ambassadors to Rome, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop of Durham, the Count of Savoy, Sir Otho Grandison, Sir Hugh de Vere (the Bishop of Winchester was then at Rome), to request the arbitration of his Holiness.^f The King of France was not averse to peace. He had gained fame, territory, power, and vengeance against some of his more dangerous and disaffected vassals. The Pope had al-

^f New Rymmer, p. 808. See the *Submissio Specialis*, p. 309.

ready, by abrogating or mitigating his obnoxious Bull as regarded France, by the solemn act of the canonisation of St. Louis, shown his disposition to return to the old Papal policy, close alliance with France. Philip acceded to the arbitration not of the Pope (for both monarchs endeavoured to save their honour and the independence of their realms, and to preclude a dangerous precedent), but of Boniface in his private character.^g Benedetto Gaetani was the appointed arbiter. This subtle distinction Boniface was wise enough to permit and to despise: the world saw the two great Kings at his feet, awaiting his award, and in that award the full virtual recognition of the Papal arbitration. The contested territories could be sequestered, as they were for a time, only into the hands of the Pope's officers, not those of Benedetto Gaetani.

The extraordinary despatch with which this important treaty was framed, the equity of its provisions, the unreserved, if on one side angry and reluctant, assent of the contending parties,^h could not but raise the general opinion of the Papal authority. Ere long the King of France had acquiesced in the decree.ⁱ The treaty seemed to aim at the establishment of lasting peace between the two rival powers by a double mar-

^g As regards France, this condition may appear the subtle and provident invention of the lawyers. They would not admit, even in terms, that superiority which the See of Rome grounded on precedents as feudal lord of England, Scotland, Sicily, Arragon, Hungary; nor even that more vague superiority over the King of Germany, as King of the Romans and claimant of the empire.

^h The agreement was signed at Rome, June 14, 1298. The instrument in

Rymer is dated June 27. The tone of the King of England is far more submissive than that of the King of France. Compare the two documents in Rymer. The nobles of Burgundy, the allies of Edward, Montbelliard, D'Arlay, Montfaucon, sent ambassadors to represent them in the treaty. The Count of Flanders and Edward's other continental allies acceded to the arbitration of Benedetto Gaetani.

ⁱ See p. 101.

riage between the houses, that of Edward himself with Margaret the sister, of the younger Edward with Isabella, daughter of the King of France.^k But so completely was the Pope inseparable from Benedetto Gaetani, that the penalty imposed, in case either monarch should not fulfil the terms of these marriage contracts, was an Interdict to be laid on their territories. Restitution was to be made on either side of all lands, vessels, merchandise, or goods, still subsisting; compensation according to the same arbitration for those destroyed or damaged during the war. Edward was to receive back, if not wholly, in great part, his fiefs in France, on condition of homage and fealty to his liege Lord; and the Pope became security against his future rebellion. In the mean time till the boundaries could be settled, and all questions of jurisdiction brought to issue, those territories were to be surrendered to the Pope's officers, to be held by the Pope until the final termination of all differences. The arbitration of Benedetto Gaetani was pronounced in full Synod at Rome in the presence of the Cardinals, the Apostolic Notaries, and all the functionaries of the Papal Court. According to the terms of the arbitration, the Bishop of Vicenza took possession in the Pope's name of the province of Guienne.

This was not the only quarrel in which the Pope was invited to take the part of arbiter. The insurgent Scots had recourse to the protection of the Papal See against the tyrannous usurpation of Edward. Their claim to this protection rested not on the general function and

^k The Pope annulled all the engagements, obligations, and oaths entered into by Edward to marry his son to the daughter of the Count of Flanders.—*Rymour*, p. 188.

duty of the Head of the Christian Church to interpose his good offices in defence of the oppressed, for the maintenance of justice, and the preservation of Christian peace. They appealed to the Pope as their acknowledged liege Lord. Scotland, they said, was a fief of the Church of Rome, and had a right to demand aid against the invader not only of their liberties, but of the Pope's rights. The origin of this claim is obscure, but it was not now heard for the first time. Nor did it seem to rest on the vague and general pretensions of the Pope to the sovereignty over all islands.^m

Already, before this appeal had been publicly received at Rome, Boniface, in the character which he assumed of Pacificator of Christendom, and on the strength of the treaty concluded under his arbitration between France and England, had admonished King Edward not to prosecute the war against the Scots. Edward took no notice of this admonition. His first campaign at the head of the knighthood of England had ended with the total defeat of Wallace, who became again a wandering and almost solitary adventurer. But though he could vanquish, the King of England could not keep possession of the poor territory; and at the close of the campaign most of his forces dispersed and returned to their English homes. A new government had been formed. William Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrew's, Robert Bruce, and John Comyn proclaimed themselves

^m Compare Lingard's note, vol. iii. c. 3, in which he clearly shows that it had been asserted on more than one occasion. In the MS., B. M., appears this singular ground for the title: "Præterea nosse potest Regia Celsi-

tudo, qualiter regnum ipsum per beati Andree Apostoli venerandas reliquias, non sine superni Dei dono, acquisitum et conversum extitit ad fidei Catholice unitatem."—Vol. xiv. p. 53, June 27, 1299.

a Regency in the name of John Baliol, who, though in an English prison, was still held to be the rightful sovereign. Edward's marriage with Margaret of France, the time necessary to reorganise his army, the refusal of the English barons to invade Scotland during the winter, gave the Regency so much leisure to recover their strength, that they ventured to lay siege to the castle of Stirling. But their main hope was in the intervention of the Pope; and the Pope appeared to take up their cause with a vigour, as it were, flushed by the recent submission of Edward. His Bull ^{June 27,} addressed to the King of England spoke almost ^{1299.} the words of the Ambassador of Scotland. It declared that the kingdom of Scotland had belonged in full right to the Church of Rome: that it neither was nor ever had been a fief of the King of England, or of his ancestors. It discussed and disdainfully threw aside all the pretensions of feudal suzerainty adduced by the King of England. It commanded him instantly to release the Bishop of Glasgow, the Bishop of Sodor, and other Scottish ecclesiastics whom he kept in prison; to surrender the castles, and still more the monasteries and religious houses, which he presumed to hold to their damage, in some places to their utter ruin, in the realm of Scotland; to send his Ambassadors within six months to Rome to receive the Pope's determination on all differences between himself and the kingdom of Scotland.

Edward was compelled for a time to dissemble his indignation at this imperious summons. The Bull, to ensure its service upon the King, had been committed to Winchelsea, Archbishop of Canterbury. The Primate was commanded, in virtue of his obedience to the Pope, without delay to present this mandate to the King, and

use all his authority to induce the King to immediate and unreserved compliance.ⁿ

At this time all civil and religious affairs were suspended; all thoughts swallowed up, by the great religious movement which, at the close of the century, began in Italy and rapidly drew all Western Christendom within its whirlpool, a vast peaceful Crusade, to Rome not to Jerusalem, by which the spiritual advantages of that remote and armed and perilous pilgrimage were to be attained at much less cost, exertion, and danger. To the calm and philosophic mind the termination of a centenary period in the history of man is an epoch which cannot be contemplated without awe and seriousness; in those ages awe and seriousness were inseparable from profound, if passionate and unreasoning religion. It is impossible to determine whether a skilful impulse from Rome and from the clergy first kindled this access of fervent devotion. At this period, when Christendom was either seized or inspired with this paroxysm of faith, Palestine was irrecoverably lost: the unbelievers were in undisturbed possession of the sepulchre of Christ. But the tombs of the Apostles, of Peter and of Paul, next to that of the Redeemer, the most sacred, and hallowed by their

ⁿ There is great difficulty about the dates in this affair. The bull and the letter to Winchelsea are dated June, 1299. The Parliament of Lincoln was summoned Sept. 27, 1300; met in 1301. Lingard supposes that the bull, which was only delivered by Winchelsea to the King in Aug. 1300, had been withheld by some *unaccountable* delay from reaching Winchelsea till towards June 1300. We might per-

haps suppose that the jubilee, in its preparations, and in the necessary arrangements, absorbed all the time of the Roman court, and altogether pre-occupying the public mind, superseded all other business. But, from the haughty tone and almost menace of the Papal letters to Winchelsea (MS., B. M.), there seems to have been some timid reluctance or delay on the part of the primate.

venerable and unquestioned reliques, were accessible to all the West. The plenary Indulgences, which had been so lavishly bestowed in the early period of the Crusades, and might, even in the decay of the Crusading passion, be obtained by the desperate and world-weary votary, were not now coveted with less ardour. Would the Church withhold on more easy terms those precious and consolatory privileges for which the world was content to pay by such prodigal oblations, and which were thus the source of inexhaustible power and wealth to the clergy? Christendom was now almost at peace; the Pope's treaty had been respected by France and England, and by their respective allies. Germany reposed under the doubtful supremacy of Albert of Austria. The north of Italy was in outward at least and unwonted peace: the industrious and flourishing republics, the commercial and maritime cities were overflowing with riches, and ready with their lavish tribute.

Already on the first of January of the great centenary year, even before, on the Nativity (1299), the Churches of Rome, it might seem, from a natural, spontaneous, unsuggested, and therefore heaven-inspired thought (the movement was the stronger because no one knew how and where it began), were thronged with thousands supplicating, almost imperiously demanding, what they had been taught or believed to be the customary Indulgences of the season. The most humbly-religious Pope might have rejoiced at that august spectacle of Christendom thus crowding to offer its homage on the tombs of the Apostles, acknowledging Rome as the religious centre of the world, and coming under the personal benediction of the Roman Pontiff. The venerable image of the successor of St. Peter, thus planted in the hearts

of so many, who would return home not passive slaves only but ardent assertors of the Papal supremacy, not subjects only but worshippers; the tribute lavished upon the altars—these might be but secondary considerations. Ambition, pride, and avarice might stand rebuked before nobler, more holy sentiments. Which predominated in the heart of Boniface VIII., shall history, written by human hand, presume to say? If both or either intruded on his serene contemplation of this triumph of the religious element in man, was it the more high and generous, or the more low and sordid? was it haughtiness or rapacity? Assuredly the sagacity of Boniface could not refuse to discern the immediate, and to foresee the remoter consequences of this ceremony: he could not close his eyes on the myriads at his feet: he could not refuse to hear the amount of the treasures which loaded the altars.

The court of Rome, in its solemn respect for precedent, affected to require the sanction of ancient usage for the institution of the Holy year. The Mosaic Law offered its Jubilee, the tradition of the secular games at Rome might lurk to this time, at least among the learned, very probably in the habits and customs of the people. The Church had never disdained, rather had avowed, the policy of turning to her own good ends the old Pagan usages. Grave inquiry was instituted. The Cardinal Stefaneschi, the poet-historian, was employed to search the archives: the College of Cardinals was duly consulted. At length the Pope himself ascended the pulpit in St. Peter's. The church was splendidly hung with rich tapestries; it was crowded with eager votaries. After his sermon the

The Bull. Pope unfolded the Bull, which proclaimed the welcome Indulgences, sealed with the pontifical seal. The Bull was immediately promulgated:

it asserted the ancient usage of Indulgences to all who should make pilgrimage to the tomb of the "Chief of the Apostles." The Pope, in his solicitude for the souls of men, by his plenary power, gave to all who during the year should visit once a day the Churches of the Apostles, the Romans for thirty days, strangers for fifteen, and should have repented and confessed, full absolution of all their sins.

All Europe was in a phrensy of religious zeal. Throughout the year the roads in the remotest parts of Germany, Hungary, Britain, ^{Pilgrims.} were crowded with pilgrims of all ages, of both sexes. A Savoyard above one hundred years old determined to see the tombs of the Apostles before he died. There were at times two hundred thousand strangers at Rome. During the year (no doubt the calculations were loose and vague) the city was visited by millions of pilgrims. At one time, so vast was the press both within and without the walls, that openings were broken for ingress and egress. Many people were trampled down, and perished by suffocation. The Papal authorities had taken the wisest and most effective measures against famine for such accumulating multitudes. It was a year of abundant harvest; the territories of Rome and Naples furnished large supplies. Lodgings were exorbitantly dear, forage scarce; but the ordinary food of man, bread, meat, wine, and fish, was sold in great plenty and at moderate prices. The oblations were beyond calculation. It is reported by an eye-witness that two priests stood with rakes in their hands sweeping the uncounted gold and silver from the altars. Nor was this tribute, like offerings or subsidies for Crusades, to be devoted to special uses, the accoutrements, provisions, freight of armies. It was entirely at the free and

irresponsible disposal of the Pope. Christendom of its own accord was heaping at the Pope's feet this extraordinary custom : ° and receiving back the gift of pardon and everlasting life.

But from this great act of amnesty to the whole of Christendom were sternly excluded the enemies of Boniface—the rebels, as they were proclaimed, against the See of Rome—Frederick of Arragon and the Sicilians, the Colonnas, and all who harboured them.

° Stefaneschi, Villani, *Istorie Fiorent.* viii. 36. Ventura. After all, this mode of collecting does not, with the explanation of the Cardinal-poet, necessarily imply a contribution so very enormous. The text of Stefaneschi is unfortunately imperfect. He seems to say that the usual annual offerings on the tombs of the Apostles amounted to 30,000 florins; this year to 50,000 more, chiefly in small coins of all countries. Many were too poor to make any offering. The Cardinal contrasts the conduct of these humble votaries with that of the kings, who, unlike the Three of old, so munificent at the feet of the infant Jesus, were parsimonious in their offerings to Jesus at the right hand of the Father. “ Instead of this,

they seize the tithes of the churches bestowed by their generous ancestors, whose glory becomes their shame.” Villani, himself a pilgrim (did the rich Florentines pay handsomely?), notes the vast wealth gained by the Romans as well as by the Church, according to his strong expression, almost all Christendom went. Villani drew his historic inspiration from his pilgrimage. His admiration of the great and ancient monuments of Rome, recorded by Virgil, Sallust, Lucan, Titus Livius, Valerius, and Orosius, led him, an unworthy disciple, to attempt to write history in their style. Villani is far from Livy, or even Sallust; but he might hold his own before Valerius and Orosius.

CHAPTER IX.

Boniface VIII. His Fall.

THIS centenary year, illustrated by the splendid festival of the Jubilee, and this homage and tribute paid by several millions of worshippers to the representative of St. Peter, was the zenith of the fame and power of Boniface VIII., perhaps of the Roman Pontificate. So far his immeasurable pretensions, if they had encountered resistance, had suffered no humiliating rebuke. Christendom might seem, by its submission, as if conspiring to intoxicate all his ruling passions, to tempt his ambition, to swell his pride, to glut his rapacity. The Colonnas, his redoubted enemies, were crushed; they were exiles in distant lands; it might seem superfluous hatred to confer on them the distinction of exclusion from the benefits of the Jubilee. Sicily, he might hope, would not long continue her unfilial rebellion. Roger Loria, now on the Angevine side, had gained one of his famous victories over the Arragonese fleet. Already Boniface had determined in his mind that great, though eventually fatal scheme by which Charles of Valois, who in the plains of Flanders had gained distinguished repute in arms, should descend the Alps as the soldier of the Pope, and terminate at once the obstinate war. Sicily reduced, Charles of Valois, married to the heiress of the Latin Emperor Baldwin, was to win back the imperial throne of Constantinople to the dominion of the West, and to its spiritual alle-

Boniface at
the height of
his power.

giance under the Roman See. Boniface had interposed to regulate the succession to the crown of Hungary: Hungary had received a king at his bidding.^a The King of the Romans, Albert of Austria, was under his ban as a rebel, and even as the murderer, so he was denounced, of his sovereign, Adolph of Nassau. Absolution for these crimes could only be given by the Pope himself, and Albert would doubtless purchase at any price that spiritual pardon without which his throne trembled under him. The two mighty Kings of France and England, who once spurned, had now been reduced to accept his mediation. He held, as arbiter, the province of Guienne. Scotland, to escape English rule, had declared herself a fief of the Apostolic See. Edward had not yet ventured to treat with scorn the strange demand of implicit submission, in all differences between himself and the Scots, to the Papal judgement. The embers of that fatal controversy between the King of France and Boniface, which were hereafter to blaze out into such ruinous conflagration, were smouldering unregarded, and to all seeming entirely extinguished. Philip, the brother of Charles of Valois, might appear the dearest and most obedient son of the Church.

But even at this time, in the depths and on the heights of the Christian world, influences were at work not only about to become fatal to the worldly grandeur of Boniface and to his life, but to his fame to the latest ages. Boniface was hated with a sincerity and intensity of hatred which, if it darkened, cannot be rejected as a witness against his vices, his overweening arrogance, his treachery, his avidity.

The Franciscans throughout Christendom, more espe-

^a Mailath, *Geschichte der Magyaren*, ii. p. 5, *et seqq.*

cially in Italy, had the strongest hold on the popular mind. Their brotherhood was vigorous enough not to be weakened by the great internal schism which had begun to manifest itself from their foundation.^b But to both the factions in this powerful order, up to near this time among the vehement and passionate teachers of the humblest submission to the Papacy, the present Pontiff was equally odious. In all lands the Franciscans were followed and embarrassed by the insoluble interminable question, the possession of property, a question hereafter to be even more fiercely agitated. How could the Franciscans not yield to the temptation of the wealth which, as formerly with other Orders, the devotion of mankind now cast at their feet? The inveterate feeling of the possibility of propitiating the Deity by munificent gifts, of atoning for a life of violence and guilt by the lavish donation or bequest, made it difficult for those who held dominion over men's minds as spiritual counsellors, to refuse to accept as stewards, to be the receivers, as it were, for God, of those oblations, ever more frequent and splendid according to the depth and energy of the religious impressions which they had awakened. From stewards to become owners; from dispensers or trustees, and sometimes vendors of lands or goods bequeathed to pious uses, in order to distribute the proceeds among the poor or on religious edifices, to be the lords, and so, as they might fondly delude themselves, the more prudent and economic managers of such estates, was but an easy and unperceived transition. Hence, if not from more sordid causes, in defiance of the vow of absolute poverty, the primal law of the society,

^b See back the succession of Generals, Elias, Crescentius, John of Parma, Bonaventura, vol. vi. p. 350.

the Franciscans now vied in wealth with the older and less rigorous orders.^c Mendicancy, their vital principle, had long ceased to be content with the scanty boon of hard fare and coarse clothing; it grasped at lands and the cost at least of splendid buildings. But the stern and inflexible statute of the order stood in their way; the Pope alone could annul that primary disqualification to hold lands and other property. To abrogate this inconvenient rule, to enlarge the narrow vow, had now become the aim of the most powerful, and, because most powerful, most wealthy Minorites. But Boniface was inexorable. On the Franciscans of England he practised a most unworthy fraud; and, bound together as the Order was throughout Christendom, such an act would produce its effect throughout the whole republic of the Minorites. The crafty avarice of the Pope was too much for the simple avarice of the Order. They offered to deposit forty thousand ducats with certain bankers, as the price of the Papal permission to hold lands. The Pope appeared to listen favourably till the money was in the bankers' hands. He then discovered that the concession was in direct opposition to the fundamental laws of the Order, and to the will of the seraphic Francis; but as they could not hold property, the property in the bankers' hands could not be theirs. He absolved the bankers from their obligation to repay the Franciscans, and seized for his proper use the unowned treasures. It was a bold and desperate measure, even in a Pope, a Pope with the power and authority of Boniface, to estrange the loyalty of the Minorites, dispersed, but in strict union, throughout the world, and

^c Westminster says that it was rumoured that the Statute of Mortmain was chiefly aimed at restraining the avidity of the Franciscans.—v. p. 495.

now in command not merely of the popular mind, but of the profoundest theology of the age.

But if the higher Franciscans might thus be disposed to taunt the rapacity of Boniface, which had baffled their own, and throughout the Order might prevail a brooding and unavowed hostility to the intractable Pontiff; it was worse among the lower Franciscans, who had begun to draw off into a separate and inimical community. These were already under dark suspicions of heresy, and of belief in prophecies (hereafter to be more fully shown^d), no less hostile to the whole hierarchical system than the tenets of the Albigensians, or of the followers of Peter Waldo. To them Boniface was, if not the Antichrist, hardly less an object of devout abhorrence. To the Fraticelli, Cœlestine was ever the model Pope. The Cœlestinians had either blended with the Fraticelli, or were bound to them by the closest sympathies. With them, Boniface was still an usurper who disgraced the throne which he had obtained through lawless craft and violence, by the maintenance of an iniquitous, unchristian system, a system implacably irreconcilable with Apostolic poverty, and therefore with Apostolic faith. The Fraticelli, or Cœlestinians, as has been seen, had their poet; and perhaps the rude rhymes of Jacopone da Todi, to the tunes and in the rhythm of much of the popular hymnology, sounded more powerfully in the ears of men, stirred with no less fire the hearts of his simpler hearers, than in later days the sublime *terzains* of Dante. Jacopone da Todi was a lawyer, of a gay and jovial life. His wife, of exquisite beauty and of noble

^d We must await the pontificate of John XXII. for the full development of their tenets.

birth, was deeply religious. During a solemn festival in the church, she fell on the pavement from a scaffold. Jacopone rushed to loosen her dress; the dying woman struggled with more than feminine modesty; she was found swathed in the coarsest sackcloth. Jacopone at once renounced the world, and became a Franciscan tertiary; in the rigour of his asceticism, in the sternness of his opinions, a true brother of the most extreme of the *Fratricelli*. We have heard Jacopone admonish Cœlestine: his rude verse was no less bold against Boniface.^e

Boniface pursued the *Fratricelli*, whose dangerous doctrines his well-informed sagacity could not but follow out to their inevitable conclusions,^f even if they had not yet announced that coming reign of the Holy Spirit which was to supersede and sweep away all the hierarchy. He could hardly be ignorant of their menacing prophecies. He cut off at once this rebellious branch from the body of the faithful, and denounced them as obstinate irreclaimable heretics.^g Jacopone, not without cause (he had been the secretary in that league of the *Colonnas* and the ecclesiastics of France), became an object of persecution; that persecution, as usual, only gave him the honour and increasing influence of a

^e A poem has disappeared from the later editions:—

“ O Papa Bonifazio
Molto hai giocato al mondo,
Penso che giocondo
Non te parria partire.”

This is genuine Jacopone. Two stanzas, alluding to the scene at Anagni, seem of a more doubtful hand.—Note to the German translation of *Ozanam on the Religious Poets of Italy*, by Dr. Julius, p. 188.

^f Compare Ferretus Vicentinus, end of second book, character of Boniface.

^g On the *Fratricelli*, Raynaldus, p. 240. In the bull of Boniface against them, he is extremely indignant at their apostacy. They averred “quod tempore interdicti melius quam alio tempore sit eisdem, et quod propter excommunicationem cibus non minus sapidus sit temporalis, ræ minus bene dormiunt propterea.”—p. 242.

martyr; his verses were hardly less bold, and were more endeared to the passions, and sunk deeper into the hearts of men.^h

A Pope of a Ghibelline family, an apostate, as he was justly or unjustly thought, who had carried Guelfism to an unprecedented height of arrogance, and enforced its triumph with remorseless severity, centred of course on himself the detestation of all true Ghibellines. He had trampled down, but not exterminated, the Colonnas; their dispersion, if less dangerous to his power, was more dangerous to his fame. Wherever they went they spread the most hateful stories of his pride, perfidy, cruelty, avarice, so that even now we cannot discriminate darkened truth from baseless calumny. The greedy ears of the Ghibellines throughout Italy, of his enemies throughout Christendom, drank in and gave further currency to these sinister and rankling antipathies.

But the measure by which Boniface hoped almost to exterminate Ghibellinism, by placing on the throne of Naples a powerful monarch, instead of the feeble representative of the old Angevine line, thus wresting Sicily for ever from the house of Arragon, and so putting an end to the war, was most disastrous to his peace and to his fame. The invitation of Charles of Valois to be the soldier, protector, ally of the Pope, ended in revolting half Italy, while it had not the slightest effect in mitigating the subsequent fatal collision with France. Had Charles of Valois never trampled on the liberties of Florence, Dante

^h There is to my ear a bitter and insulting tone in the two satires written from his prison, in which he seems to w^hpplicate, and at the same time to treat the Papal absolution as indifferent to one so full as he was of hatred of himself and love of Christ.—Satire xvii. xix.

might never have fallen off to Ghibellinism; he might have been silent of the fate of Boniface in hell. Hardly had Charles of Valois descended into Italy, when Boniface could not disguise to himself that he had introduced a master instead of a vassal. The haughty Frenchman paid as little respect, in his inordinate ambition, to the counsels, admonitions, remonstrances of the Pope, as to the liberties of the Italian people, or the laws of justice, humanity, or good faith. The summary of Charles of Valois' expedition into Italy, the expedition of the lieutenant and peacemaker of the Pope, was contained in that sarcastic sentence alluded to above, "He came to establish peace in Tuscany, and left war; he went to Sicily to wage war, and made a disgraceful peace." Through Charles of Valois the Pope became an object of execration in Florence, of mistrust and hatred throughout Italy; the anathematised Frederick obtained full possession of Sicily for his life, and as much longer as his descendants could hold it.¹ It were perhaps hard to determine which of the two brothers shook the power, and made the name of Boniface more odious to mankind, his friend and ally Charles of Valois, or his foe Philip the Fair.

The arrogant interposition of the Pope in the affairs of Scotland was rejected, not only by the King England. but by the English nation. The Parliament of Lincoln. met at Lincoln. There assembled one hundred and four of the greatest barons of the realm, among the first, Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and Bigod, Earl of Norfolk,^k whose bold opposition had compelled

¹ See before, p. 22.

^k It was Bigod who refused to attend the King as Earl Marshal to Flanders. "By the everlasting God,"

said Edward, "Sir Earl, you shall go or hang." "By the everlasting God," answered Bigod, "I will neither go nor hang."

the King to sign the two charters, with additional securities for the protection of the subject against the power of the Crown; they had joined with the Archbishop to resist the exactions of the King. The Universities sent their most distinguished doctors of civil law; the monasteries had been ordered to furnish all documents which could throw light on the controversy. The answer to the Pope's Bull, agreed on after some discussion, was signed by all the Nobles. It expressed the amazement of the Lords in Parliament at the unheard-of pretensions advanced in the Papal Bull, asserted the immemorial supremacy of the King of England over the King of Scotland in the times of the Britons and of the Saxons. Scotland had never paid feudal allegiance to the Church. The King of England is in no way accountable or amenable to the jurisdiction of the Pope for his rights over the kingdom of Scotland; he must not permit those rights to be called in question. It would be a disinheritance of the crown of England and of the royal dignity, a subversion of the state of England, if the King should appear by his proctors or ambassadors to plead on those rights in the Court of Rome; an infringement of the ancient liberties, customs, and laws of the realm, "to the maintenance of which we are bound by a solemn oath, and which by God's grace we will maintain to the utmost of our power, and with our whole strength. We neither permit, nor will we permit (we have neither the will nor the power to do so) our Lord the King, even if he should so design, to comply, or attempt compliance, with demands so unprecedented, so unlawful, so prejudicial, so unheard of. Wherefore we humbly and earnestly beseech your Holiness to leave our King, a true Catholic, and devotedly attached to the Church of Rome, in peaceful

and undisturbed possession of all his rights, liberties, customs, and laws." ^m

King Edward, however, to quiet the conscience of the Pope, not, as he distinctly declared, as submitting to his judgement, condescended to make a full and elaborate statement of his title to the homage of Scotland, in a document which seemed to presume on the ignorance or credulity of his Holiness as to the history of England and of the world, with boldness only equalled by the counter-statements of the Scottish Regency. It is a singular illustration of the state of human knowledge when poetry and history are one, when the mythic and historic have the same authority even as to grave legal claims, and questions affecting the destinies of nations.

The origin of the King of England's supremacy over Scotland mounts almost to immemorial antiquity. Brute, the Trojan, in the days of Eli and Samuel, conquered the island of Albion from the Giants. He divided it among his three sons, Lochrine, Albanact, and Camber. Albanact was slain in battle by a foreign invader, Humber. Lochrine avenged his death, slew the usurper, who was drowned in the river which took his name, and subjected the realm of Albanact (Scotland) to that of Britain. Of the two sons of Dunwallo, King of Britain, Belinus and Brennus, Belinus received the kingdom of Britain, Brennus that of Scotland, under his brother, according to the Trojan law of primogeniture. King Arthur bestowed the kingdom of Scotland on Angusil, who bore Arthur's sword before him in sign of fealty. So, throughout the Saxon race, almost every famous King, from Athelstan to Edward the Confessor, had either appointed Kings of

Claims of
England.

^m Rymer, dated Feb. 12, 1301.

Scotland or received homage from them. The Normans exercised the same supremacy, from William the Conqueror to King Edward's father, Henry III. The King dauntlessly relates acts of submission and fealty from all the Scottish Kings. He concludes this long and laboured manifesto with the assertion of his full, absolute, indefeasible title to the kingdom of Scotland, as well in right of property as of possession; and that he will neither do any act, nor give any security, which will in the least derogate from that right and that possession.

The Pope received this extraordinary statement with consummate solemnity. He handed it over to Baldred Basset, the Envoy of the Scottish Regency. In due time appeared the answer, which, with the same grave unsuspectingness, meets the King on his own ground. The Scots had their legend, which for this purpose becomes equally authentic history. They deny not Brute or his conquest; but they hold their independent descent from Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh, King of Egypt, who sojourned at Athens and subdued Ireland. Her sons conquered Scotland from the degenerate race of Brute. The Saxon supremacy, if there were such supremacy, is no precedent for Edward, a descendant of Norman kings. No act of homage was ever performed to them by any King of Scotland, but by William the Lion, and that for lands held within the kingdom of England. They assert the absolute jurisdiction of the court of Rome. Edward, did he not mistrust his cause, could not decline that just and infallible tribunal. Scotland is, and ever has been, an allodial fief, an inalienable possession of the Church of Rome. It was contained in the universal grant of Constantine the Emperor,

of all islands in the ocean to the successors of St. Peter.ⁿ

But these more remote controversies were now to be drowned in the din of that absorbing strife, on which Christendom gazed in silent amazement, the quarrel between the Pope and the King of France. Boniface must descend from his tranquil eminence, as dictator of peace, as arbiter between contending Kings, to a long furious altercation of royal Edicts and Papal Bulls, in which, if not all respect for the Roman See, at least for himself, was thrown aside; in which, if not his life, his power and his personal liberty were openly menaced; in which on his side he threatened to excommunicate, to depose by some powerful league the greatest monarch in Europe, and was himself summoned to appear before a General Council to answer for the most monstrous crimes. The strife closed with his seizure in his own palace, and in his hastened death.

As this strife with France became more violent, the King of England, whom each party would fear to offend, calmly pursued his plans of security and aggrandisement. The rights of the Roman See to the fief of Scotland quietly sunk into oblivion; the liberties of the oppressed Scots ceased to awaken the sympathies of their spiritual vindicator. The change in the views of the Pope was complete; his inactivity in the cause of the Scots grew into indirect support of the King of England. In an extant Bull he reproves the Archbishop of Glasgow and other Prelates of Scotland, for their obstinate maintenance of an unnatural rebellion: he treats them as acting unworthily of their

Quarrel with France.

The Pope and the King abandon their ally.

ⁿ Rymer. On the Scotch plea, compare Fordun, Scoti Chronicon.

holy calling, and threatens them with condign censure those very Prelates for whose imprisonment he had condemned the King of England.^o

Nor was Philip less disposed to abandon the Scottish insurgents to their fate. After obtaining for them the short truce of Angers, he no longer interposed in their behalf. There might almost seem a tacit understanding between the Kings. Edward, in like manner, forgot his faithful ally the Count of Flanders, who was confined in a French prison as a rebellious vassal. He did not insist on his liberation, it does not appear that he even remonstrated against this humiliating wrong.

The quarrel between Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair is one of the great epochs in the Papal history, the turning point after which, for a time at least, the Papacy sank with a swift and precipitate descent, and from which it never rose again to the same commanding height. This quarrel led rapidly, if not directly and immediately, to that debasing period which has been called the Babylonian captivity of the Popes in Avignon, during which they became not much more than the slaves of the Kings of France. It was the strife of the two proudest, hardest, and least conciliatory of men, in defence of the two most stubbornly irreconcilable principles which could be brought into collision, with everything to exasperate, nothing to avert, to break, or to mitigate the shock.

The causes which led more immediately to this disastrous discord seem petty and insignificant; but when two violent, ambitious, and unyielding men are opposed, each strenuous in the assertion of incompatible claims, small causes provoke and irritate the feud, more perhaps

than some one great object of contest. The clergy of France had many grievances, complained of many usurpations on the part of Philip, his family, and his officers, which were duly brought before the Papal court. The Bishop of Laon had been suspended from his spiritual functions by the Pope; he was cited to Rome. The King sequestered and took possession of the lands and goods as of a vacant See. John, Cardinal of S. Cecilia, had devised certain estates which he held in France for the endowment of a college for poor clerks in Paris. Philip, it is not known on what plea, seized the lands, and refused to restore them, though admonished by the Pope. Robert of Artois, the King's brother, claimed against the Bishop part of the city of Cambrai: he continued to hold it in defiance of the Papal censure. The Archbishop of Rheims complained that his estates, sequestered by the King for his own use during the vacancy of the See, had not been fully restored to the Archiepiscopate. The Archbishop of Narbonne was involved in two disputes, one with the Viscount of that city, who claimed to hold his castle in Narbonne of the King, not of the Archbishop, who had received, as was asserted on the other hand, the homage and fealty of his father. A Council was held at Beziers on the subject: and an appeal made to Paris. The second feud related to the district of Maguelone, which the officers of St. Louis had usurped from the See of Narbonne; but on an appeal to Clement IV., it had been ceded back to the Church. The officers of Philip were again in possession of Maguelone. On this subject came a strong, but not intemperate remonstrance from the Pope, yet in which might be heard the first faint murmurs of the brooding storm. The Pope naturally set before the King the example of his pious and sainted

grandsire Louis. That canonisation is always represented as an act of condescending favour, not as a right extorted by the unquestioned virtues and acknowledged miracles of St. Louis; and as binding the kingdom of France, especially his descendants on the throne, in an irredeemable debt of gratitude to the Holy See. "The Pope cannot overlook such aggressions as those of the King on the rights of the Archbishop of Narbonne without incurring the blame of dumb dogs, who dare not bark;" he warns the King against the false prophets with honeyed lips, the evil counsellors, the extent of whose fatal influence he already, no doubt, dimly foresaw, the lawyers, on whom the King depended in all his acts, whether for the maintenance of his own rights, or the usurpation of those of others.

As yet there was no open breach. No doubt the recollection of the former feud rankled in the hearts of both. The unmeasured pretensions of the Pope in the Bull which exempted the clergy altogether from taxation for the state had not been rescinded, only mitigated as regarded France. All these smaller vexatious acts of rapacity showed that the King was actuated by the same spirit, which would proceed to any extremity rather than yield this prerogative of his crown.

The dissatisfaction of Philip with the arbitration of Boniface between France and England; his indignation that the arbitrement, which had been referred to Benedetto Gaetani, not to Pope Boniface, had been published in the form of a Bull; the fury into which the King and the nobles were betrayed by the articles concerning the Count of Flanders, rest on no extant contemporary authority; yet are so particular and so characteristic that it is difficult to ascribe them to the invention of the

French historians.^p It is said that the Bull, which had been ostentatiously read before a great public assembly in the Vatican, was presented to the King of France by an English prelate, the Bishop of Durham, as Papal Legate for that purpose, as well as ambassador of England; that besides the articles of peace between France and England, it ordered the King to surrender to the Count of Flanders all the cities which he had taken during the war, to deliver up his daughter, who had been a prisoner in France during two years, and to allow the Count of Flanders to marry her according to his own choice;^q and also commanded Philip himself to take up the Cross for the Holy Land. The King could not restrain his wrath. Count Robert of Artois seized the insolent parchment: "Such dishonour shall never fall on the kingdom of France." He threw it into the fire.^r Some trembled, some highly lauded this contempt of the Pope.

^p The bull as published in Rymer contains no article relating to the Count of Flanders; it is entirely confined to the dispute between France and England, and the affairs of Gascony. That article, if there were such, must have been separate and distinct. The English ambassadors, according to another document (New Rymer), refused to enter into the negotiation without the consent of the Counts of Flanders and Bar. The two counts submitted, like the two kings, to the Papal arbitration.

^q I have quoted above the bull annulling the marriage contract of young Edward of England with this princess, p. 79.

^r Dupuy, Mezeray, and Velly relate all this without hesitation. Sismondi rejects it altogether. Dupuy refers to Villani, where there is not a word about it, and to the Flemish historian

Oudegherst, qui (l'Archevesque de Rains) "depuis les presente au Roy Philippe le Bel, en la presence de plusieurs Princes du Royaulme, et entre autres de Robert Conte d'Artoys, lequel s'apparchevant d'une inusitée melancholie et tristesse que ladicte sentence avoit causé au cœur d'iceluy, Roy Philippe, print lesdictes bulles des mains de l'Archevesque, lesquelles il deschira et jecta au feu, disant que tel deshonneur n'aviendroit jamais à un Roy de France. Dont aucuns des Assistans le louèrent grandement, les autres le blasmèrent." Oudegherst, p. 222. It is singular that there is the same obscurity about the demand made, it is said, by the Bishop of Pamiers for the liberation of the Count of Flanders—one of the causes which exasperated Philip most violently against that prelate.

It is quite certain that Philip took a step of more decided disdain and hostility to the Pope, in entering into an open alliance and connexion by marriage with the excommunicated Albert of Austria. The King of the Romans and the King of France met in great pomp between Toul and Vaucouleurs, on the confines of their kingdoms. Blanche, the sister of Philip, was solemnly espoused to Rodolph, son of Albert of Austria. This step implied more than mistrust, total disbelief in the promises held out by Pope Boniface to Charles of Valois, that not merely he should be placed, as the reward of his Italian conquests, on the throne of the Eastern Empire, but that the Pope would ensure his succession to the Empire of the West, held to be vacant by the death of Adolph of Nassau. These magnificent hopes the Pope had not the power, Philip manifestly believed that he had not the will, to accomplish.^s Albert of Austria was yet under the Papal ban as the murderer of his Sovereign. Boniface had exhorted the ecclesiastical electors to resist his usurpation, as he esteemed it, to the utmost. Neither the Archbishops of Mentz nor of Cologne were present at the meeting. Albert of Austria communicated this treaty of marriage with the royal house of France to the Pope; and no doubt hoped to advance at least the recognition of his title as King of the Romans. Boniface refused to admit the ambassadors of the vassal who had slain his lord, of a Prince who, without the Papal sanction, dared to assume the title of King of the Romans.^t

Rumours of more ostentatious contemptuousness were widely disseminated in Transalpine Christendom, and

^s *Historia Australis*, apud Freher, i. 417, sub ann. 1299. Leibnitz, *Cod. Diplom.* i. 25.

^t Raynald, sub ann. 1300.

among the Ghibellines of Northern Italy. Boniface had appeared in warlike attire, and declared that himself, the successor of St. Peter, was the only Cæsar. During the Jubilee he had displayed himself alternately in the splendid habiliments of the Pope and those of the Emperor, with the crown on his head, the sceptre in his hand, and the Imperial sandals on his feet; he had two swords borne before him, and thus openly assumed the full temporal as well as spiritual supremacy over mankind. These reports, whether grounded on some misunderstanding of acts or words, or on the general haughty demeanour of the Pope, whether gross exaggeration or absolute invention, were no doubt spread by the industrious vindictiveness of the Pontiff's enemies.^a It was no augury of peace that some of the Colonnas were openly received at the court of France: Stephen, the nephew of the two Cardinals (they remained at Genoa), Sciarra, a name afterwards more fatal to the Pope, redeemed by the liberality of the King from the corsairs who had taken him on the high seas. It is far from improbable that from the Colonnas and their partisans, not only such statements as these had their source or their blacker colouring, but even darker and more heinous charges. These were all seized by the lawyers, Peter Flotte and William of Nogaret. Italian revenge, brooding over cruel and unforgiven injuries, degradation, impoverishment, exile; Ghibelline hatred, with the discomfiture of ecclesiastical ambition in the Churchmen, would be little scrupulous as to the weapons which it would employ. Boniface, if not the victim of his overweening arrogance, may have been the victim of his own violence and implacability.

The Colonnas.

^a Of one thing only I am confident, that they are not later inventions.

The unfortunate, if not insulting, choice of his Legate at this peculiar crisis precipitated the rupture. Instead of one of the grave, smooth, distinguished, if inflexible, Cardinals of his own court, Boniface entrusted with this difficult mission a man turbulent, intriguing, odious to Philip; with notions of sacerdotal power as stern and unbending as his own; a subject of the King of France, yet in a part of the kingdom in which that subjection was recent and doubtful. Bernard Saisset had been Abbot of St. Antonine's in Pamiers, a city of Languedoc. The Counts of Foix had a joint jurisdiction with the Abbot over that city and over the domains of the convent. But the house of Foix during the Albigensian war had lost all its power; these rights passed first to Simon de Montfort, then to the King of France. But the King of France, Philip the Hardy, had rewarded Roger Bernard, Count of Foix, for his services in the war of Catalonia, with the grant of all his rights over Pamiers, except the absolute suzerainty. The Abbots resisted the grant, and refused all accommodation. The King commanded the Viscount of Bigorre, who held the castle, to put it into the hands of the Count of Foix. The Abbot appealed to Rome. Roger Bernard was excommunicated; his lands placed under interdict. The Pope erected the city of Pamiers into a Bishopric; Bernard Saisset became Bishop, and condescended to receive a large sum from the Count of Foix, with a fixed rent on the estates. The Count of Foix did homage at the feet of the Bishop.

Saisset
Bishop of
Pamiers,

A.D. 1295,
1296.

Such was the man chosen by Boniface as Legate to the proud and irascible Philip the Fair. There is no record of the special object of his mission or of his instructions. It is said that he held the loftiest and

most contemptuous language concerning the illimitable power of the Church over all temporal sovereigns; that his arrogant demeanour rendered his demands still more insulting; that he peremptorily insisted on the liberation of the Count of Flanders and his daughter. Philip, after the proclamation of his truce with England, had again sent a powerful army into Flanders: the Count was abandoned by the King of England, abandoned by his own subjects. Guy of Dampierre (we have before alluded to his fate) had been compelled to surrender with his family, and was now a prisoner in France. Philip had the most deep-rooted hatred of the Count of Flanders, as a rebellious vassal, and as one whom he had cruelly injured. Some passion as profound as this, or his most sensitive pride, must have been galled by the Bishop of Pamiers, or even Philip the Fair would hardly have been goaded to measures of such vindictive violence. Philip was surrounded by his great lawyers, his Chancellor Peter Flotte, his confidential advisers, Enguerrand de Marigny, William de Plasian, and William of Nogaret, honest counsellors as far as the advancement of the royal power, the independence of the temporal on the spiritual sovereignty, and the administration of justice by learned and able men, according to fixed principles of law, instead of the wild and uncertain judgements of the petty feudal lords, lay or ecclesiastic; dangerous counsellors, as servile instruments of royal encroachment, oppression, and exaction; everywhere straining the law, the old Roman law, in favour of the kingly prerogative, beyond its proper despotism. Philip, by their advice, determined to arraign the Papal Legate, as a subject guilty at least of spoken treason. He allowed the Bishop to depart, but Saisset was followed or preceded

by a commission sent to Toulouse, the Archdeacon of Angers and the Vidame of Amiens, to collect secret information as to his conduct and lan-^{May, 1301.} guage. So soon as the Legate Bishop arrived in his diocese, he found a formidable array of charges prepared against him. Twenty-four witnesses had been examined; the Counts of Foix and Comminges, the Bishop of Toulouse, Beziers, and Maguelone, the Abbot of St. Pepoul. He was accused of simony, of heresy, principally as regarded confession.* The Bishop would have fled at once to Rome; but this flight without the leave of the King or his metropolitan had incurred the forfeiture of his temporalities. He sent the Abbot of Mas d'Asil humbly to entreat permission to retire. But the King's commissioners were on the watch. The Vidame of Amiens stood by night at the gates of the Episcopal Palace, summoned the Bishop to appear before the King, searched all his chambers, set the royal seal on all his books, papers, money, plate, on his episcopal ornaments. It is even said that his domestics were put to the torture to obtain evidence against him. After some delay, the Prelate set out from Toulouse,^{July, 1301.} accompanied by the captain of the crossbowmen and his troop, the Seneschal of Toulouse, and two royal sergeants—ostensibly to do him honour; in fact, as a guard upon the prisoner.

The King was holding his Court-plenary, a Parliament of the whole realm at Senlis. The Bishop appeared before him, as he sat surrounded by^{Oct. 24.} the princes, prelates, knights, and ecclesiastics. Peter Flotte, the Keeper of the Seals, rose and arraigned the

* Dupuy, Preuves, p. 626. There may be read the depositions of the witnesses.

Bishop as having uttered many contemptuous and treasonable words against the King's Majesty. He offered to substantiate these grave charges by unexceptionable witnesses. Then Bishop Bernard was accused of having repeated a prediction of Saint Louis, that in the third generation, under a weak prince, the kingdom of France would pass for ever from his line into that of strangers; of having said that Philip was in every way unworthy of the crown; that he was not of the pure race of Charlemagne, but of a bastard branch; that he was no true King, but a handsome image, who thought of nothing but being looked upon with admiration by the world; that he deserved no name but that of issuer of base money;^y that his court was treacherous, corrupt, and unbelieving as himself; that he had grievously oppressed by tyranny and extortion all who spoke the language of Toulouse; that he had no authority over Pamiers, which was neither within the realm nor held of the kingdom of France. There were other charges of acts, not of words; secret overtures to England; attempts to alienate the loyalty of the Counts of Comminges, and to induce the province of Languedoc to revolt, and set up her old independent Counts.^z The Chancellor concluded by addressing the metropolitan, the Archbishop of Narbonne, summoning him in the King's name to seize and secure the person thus accused by the King of leze majesté; if the Archbishop refused, the King must take his own course. The Archbishop was in the utmost consternation and difficulty. He dared not absolutely refuse obedience to the King. The life of the Bishop was threatened by some of the more lawless of the court. He was with-

^y Faux monnayeur.

^z The charges are in Dupuy, p. 653, *et seqq.*

drawn, as if for protection; the King's guards slept in his chamber. The Archbishop remonstrated against this insult towards a spiritual person. The King demanded whether he would be answerable for the safe custody of the prisoner. The Archbishop was bound not only by awe, but by gratitude to the Pope. One of the causes of the quarrel between Boniface and the King was the zealous assertion of the Archbishop's rights to the Countship of Maguelone. He consulted the Archbishop of Auch and the other bishops. It was agreed that the Bishop of Senlis should make over for a certain time a portion of his territory to the Archbishop. Within that ceded territory the Bishop should be kept, but not in close custody; his own chamberlain alone was to sleep in his chamber, but the King might appoint a faithful knight to keep guard. He was to have his chaplains; permission to write to Rome, his letters being first examined; lest his diocese should suffer damage, his seal was to be locked up in a strong chest under two keys, of which he retained one.

King Philip could not commit this bold act of the seizure and imprisonment of a bishop, a Papal Nuncio, without communicating his proceedings to the Pope. This communication was made, either accompanied or followed by a solemn embassy. But if the Legate appointed by the Pope was the most obnoxious ecclesiastic whom he could have chosen, the chief ambassador designated by the King, who proceeded to Rome, and affronted the Pope by his dauntless language, was the Keeper of the Seals, Peter Flotte.^a If the King and

^a After careful examination of the evidence, I think there is no doubt of this mission of Peter Flotte. It cannot be pure invention. See Matt.

Westm. *in loc.* Walsingham. Spoc danus, sub ann. 1301. Raynald. *ibid.* Baillet, Demelés, p. 113, &c.

his counsellors had desired to show the malice and falsehood or gross exaggeration of the treasonable charges brought against the Bishop of Pamiers, they could not have done it more effectually than by the monstrous language which they accused him of having used against the Pope himself,—the Pope, whom he represented as Legate or Nuncio at the court of France, the object of his devout reverence as a High Churchman, to whom he had applied for protection, at whose feet he sought for refuge. The Bishop of Pamiers (so averred the King of France in a public despatch) was not only, according to the usual charges against all delinquent prelates, guilty of heresy, simony, and unbelief; of having declared the sacrament of penance a human invention, fornication not forbidden to the clergy: in accumulation of these offences, he had called Boniface the Supreme Pontiff, in the hearing of many credible witnesses, the devil incarnate; he had asserted “that the Pope had impiously canonised St. Louis, who was in hell.” “No wonder that this man had not hesitated to utter the foulest treasons against his temporal sovereign, when he had thus blasphemed against God and the Church.” “All this the inquisitors had gathered from the attestations of bishops, abbots, and religious men, as well as counts, knights, and burghers.” The King demanded the degradation and the condemnation of the Bishop by spiritual censures, and permission to make “a sacrifice to God by the hands of justice.” Peter Flotte is declared, even in the presence of the Pope, to have maintained his unawed intrepidity. To the Pope’s absolute assertion of his superiority over the secular power, the Chancellor replied with sarcastic significance, “Your power in temporal affairs is a power in word, that of the King my master in deed.”

Such negotiations, with such a negotiator, were not likely to lead to peace. Bull after Bull came forth; several of the earlier ones bore the same date. The first was addressed to the King. It declared in the strongest terms that the temporal sovereign had no authority whatever over the person of an ecclesiastic. "The Pope had heard with deep sorrow that the King of France had caused the Bishop of Pamiers to be brought before him (Boniface trusted not against his will),^b and had committed him to the custody of the Archbishop of Narbonne. The Pope exhorted, he commanded the King immediately to release the prelate, to permit him to proceed to Rome, and to restore all his goods and chattels. Unless he did this instantly, he would incur canonical censure for laying his profane and sacrilegious hands on a bishop." A second Bull commanded the Archbishop of Narbonne to consider the Bishop as under the special protection of the Pope; to send him, with all the documents produced upon the trial, to Rome; and to inhibit all further proceedings of the King. A third Bull annulled the special suspension, as regarded France, of the famous Papal statute that clerks should make no payments whatever to the laity;^c "the King was to learn that by his disobedient conduct he had forfeited all peculiar and distinctive favour from the Holy See." The fourth was even a stronger and more irrevocable act of hostility. This Bull was addressed to all the archbishops and prelates, to the cathedral chapters, and the doctors of the canon and the civil law. It cited them to appear in person, or by their repre-

Papal Bulls.
Dec. 3.

Dec. 4,
1302.

^b "Utinam non invitum."—Raynald. Ann. 1301, c. xxviii.

^c "Clericis Laicos."

sentatives, at Rome on the 1st November of the ensuing year, to take counsel concerning all the excesses, crimes, acts of insolence, injury, or exaction, committed by the King of France or his officers against the churches, the secular and regular clergy of his kingdom. This was to set himself at the head of a league or conspiracy of the whole clergy of France against their King, it was a levy in mass of the hierarchy in full revolt. The Pope had already condescendingly informed the King of his intention, and entreated him not to be disturbed by these proceedings, but to place full reliance on the equity and indulgence of the Supreme Pontiff.

So closed the first year of this century. Early in the following year was published, or at least The Lesser Bull. widely bruited abroad, a Bull bearing the Pope's signature, brief, sharp, sententious. It had none of that grave solemnity, that unctuous ostentation of pious and paternal tenderness, that prodigality of Scriptural and sacred allusion, which usually sheathed the severest admonitions of the Holy See. "Boniface the Pope to the King of France. We would have you to know that you are subordinate in temporals as in spirituals. The collation to benefices and prebends in no wise belongs to you: if you have any guardianship of vacant benefices, it is only to receive the fruits for the successors. Whatever collations you have made, we declare null; whatever have been carried into effect, we revoke. All who believe not this are guilty of heresy." The Pope, in his subsequent Bulls, openly accuses certain persons of having issued false writings in his name; he intimates, if he does not directly charge Peter Flotte as guilty of the fraud. That this is the document, or one of the documents, thus disclaimed,

there can be no doubt. Was it, then, a bold and groundless forgery, or a summary of the Pope's pretensions, stripped of all stately circumlocution, and presented in their odious and offensive plainness, with a view to enable the world, or at least France, to judge on the points at issue? It might seem absolutely incredible that the Chancellor of France should have the audacity to promulgate writings in the name of the Pope, altogether fictitious, which the Pope would instantly disown; if the monstrous charges adduced against the Bishop of Pamiers, and afterwards in open court against the Pope himself, did not display an utter contempt for truth, a confidence in the credulity of mankind, at least as inconceivable in later times. Our doubts of the sheer invention are rather as to the impolicy than the mendacity of the act. The answer in the name of the King of France (and this answer, undoubtedly authentic, proves irrefragably the publication and wide dissemination of the Lesser Bull of the Pope) with its ostentation not only of discourteous but of vulgar contempt, obtained the same publicity. "Philip, by the grace of God King of France, to Boniface, who assumes to be the Chief Pontiff, little or no greeting.^d Let your fatuity know, that in temporals we are subordinate to none. The collation to vacant benefices and prebends belongs to us by royal right; the fruits are ours. We will maintain all collations made and to be made by us, and their possessors. All who believe otherwise we hold to be fools and madmen."^e

^d "Salutem modicam aut nullam."

^e The weight of evidence that these two extraordinary documents were extant and published at the time seems to me irresistible. They were not

contested for 300 years; they are adduced by most of the writers of the time; they are to be found in the Gloss on the Decretals of Boniface, published 40 years after by John

The more full and acknowledged Bull might indeed be almost fairly reduced to the coarse and rude summary of the Lesser.^f It contained undeniably, under its veil of specious and moderate language, every one of those hardy and unmeasured doctrines. But the language is part of the spirit of such documents; the mitigating and explanatory phrase is not necessarily deceptive or hypocritical: though in truth each party was determined to misunderstand the other. Neither was prepared to follow out his doctrines to their legitimate conclusion; neither could acknowledge the impossibility of fixing the bounds of spiritual and of temporal authority. The Pope's notion of spiritual supremacy necessarily comprehended the whole range of human action: the King represented the Pope as claiming a feudal supremacy, as though he asserted the kingdom of France to be held of him. And this was the intelligible sovereignty which roused the indignation of feudal France, indignation justified by the actual claim of such sovereignty over other kingdoms. Each therefore stood on an impregnable theoretic ground; but each theory, when they attempted to carry it into practice, clashed with insurmountable difficulties.

The greater Bull, of which the authenticity is unques-

Andrew of Bologna. See all the very curious deliberation of Peter de Bosco on this very Bull, published in Dupuy, Preuves, p. 45. It is called in general the Lesser Bull.

^f Sismondi supposes that the Lesser Bull was framed by Peter Flotte, to be laid before the States-General, on account of the great length of the genuine Bull; that having so presented it, and seen its effect, he was unable and unwilling to withdraw it.

But of the answers of the three Orders, two are extant, and in a very different tone from the brief one ascribed to the King. It seems to me rather to have been intended as an appeal to popular feeling than to that of a regular assembly. Such substitution is hardly conceivable in an assembly at which all the prelates and great abbots of the kingdom were present. Nor does this notion account for the King's reply.

tioned, ran in these terms:—It began with the accustomed protestation of parental tenderness, which demanded more than filial obedience, obedience Bull.
"Ausculta
filii." to the Pope as to God. "Hearken, my most dear son, to the precepts of thy father; open the ears of thine heart to the instruction of thy master, the vicegerent of Him who is the one Master and Lord. Receive willingly, be careful to fulfil to the utmost, the admonitions of thy mother, the Church. Return to God with a contrite heart, from whom, by sloth or through evil counsels, thou hast departed, and devoutly conform to His decrees and ours." The Pope then shadows forth the plenary and tremendous power of Rome in the vague and awful words of the Old Testament. "See, I have this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out and to pull down, and to destroy and to overthrow, to build and to plant."^g This was no new Papal phrase; it had been used with the same boldness of misappropriation by the Gregories and Innocents of old. It might mean only spiritual censures; it was softened off in the next clause into such meaning.^h Yet it might also signify the annulling the subjects' oaths of allegiance, the overthrow by any means of the temporal throne, the transference of the crown from one head to another. This sentence, which in former times had been awful, was now presumptuous, offensive, odious. It was that which the King, at a later period, insisted most strenuously on erasing from the Bull. "Let no one persuade you that you are not subject to the Hierarch of the Celestial Hierarchy." The Bull proceeds to rebuke, in firm, but

^g Jeremiah i. 10.

^h "Ut gregem pascentes Dominicum . . . alligemus fracta, et reducimus subjecta, vinumque infundamus," &c.

neither absolutely ungentle nor discourteous terms, the oppressions of the King over his subjects (the most galling sentences were those which alluded to his tampering with the coin, "his acts as money-changer"), not only the oppressions of Ecclesiastics, but of Peers, Counts, Barons, the Universities, and the people, all of whom the Pope thus takes under his protection. The King's right to the collation of benefices he denies in the most peremptory terms; he brands his presumption in bringing ecclesiastics under the temporal jurisdiction, his levying taxes on the clergy who did not hold fiefs of the Crown, "although no layman has any power whatever over an ecclesiastic:" he censures especially the King's usurpations on the church of Lyons, a church beyond the limits of his realm, and independent of his authority; his abuse of the custody of vacant bishoprics. "The voice of the Pope was hoarse in remonstrating against these acts of iniquity, to which the King turned the ear of the deaf adder." Though the Pope would be justified in taking arms against the King, his bow and quiver (what bow and quiver he leaves in significant obscurity), he had determined to make this last appeal to Philip's conscience. He had summoned the clergy of France to Rome to take cognisance of all these things. He solemnly warned the King against the evil counsellors by whom he was environed; and concluded with the old and somewhat obsolete termination of all such addresses to Christian Kings, an admonition to consider the state of the Holy Land, the all-absorbing duty of recovering the sepulchre of Christ.

The King in all this grave, as it bore upon its face, paternal expostulation, saw only, or chose to see, or was permitted by his loyal counsellors, who by their servile

adulation of his passions absolutely ruled his mind, to see only the few plain and arrogant demands centered in the Lesser Bull, with the allusions to his oppressions and exactions, not less insulting from their truth. His conscience as a Christian was untouched by religious awe; his pride as a King provoked to fury. The Archdeacon of Narbonne, the bearer of the Papal Bull, was ignominiously refused admittance to the royal presence. In the midst of his court, more than ordinarily thronged with nobles, Philip solemnly declared that he would disinherit all his sons if they consented to hold the kingdom of France of any one but of God. Fifteen days after, the Bull of the Pope was publicly burned in Paris in the King's presence, and this act proclaimed throughout the city by the sound of the trumpet.¹ Paris knew no more of the ground of the quarrel, or of the Papal pretensions, than may have been communicated in the Lesser Bull; it heard in respectful silence, if not with acclamation, the King's defiance of the Pope, at which a century before it would have trembled and wailed, as inevitably to be followed by all the gloom, terror, spiritual privations of an Interdict.

All France seemed prepared to espouse the quarrel of the King. Philip, or Philip's counsellors, had such confidence in the state of the public mind, which themselves had so skilfully wrought up, as boldly to appeal to the whole nation. The States-General were summoned for the first time, not only the two orders, the Nobles and the Clergy, but the commonalty also, the burghers of the towns and cities, now rising into notice and wealth. The States-General met in the

Jan. 26,
1302.

States-
General.
April 10, 1302.

¹ Dupuy, p. 59.

church of Notre Dame at Paris. The Chancellor, Peter Flotte, submitted, and put his own construction on the several Bulls issued by the Pope on the 5th of December, which withdrew the privileges conceded by himself to the realm of France, summoned all the Bishops and Doctors of Theology and Law in France to Rome, as his subjects and spiritual vassals, and (this was the vital question) asserted that the King held the realm of France, not of God, but of the Pope. This feudal suzerainty, the only suzerainty the Nobles comprehended, and which was declared by the Chancellor to be claimed by the Pope, was hardly less odious to them than to the King. The clergy were embarrassed; some, no doubt, felt strongly the national pride of independence, though they owed unlimited allegiance to the Pope. They held, too, fiefs of the Crown; and the collation of benefices by the Crown secured them from that of which they were especially jealous, the intrusion of foreigners into the preferments which they esteemed their own right. There had been, from the days of Hincmar of Rheims at least, a vague notion of some special and distinctive liberties belonging to the Gallican Church. The Commons, or the Third Estate, would hardly have been summoned by Philip and his subtle advisers, if their support to the royal cause had not been sure. The pride of their new political importance, their recognition as part of the nation, if not their intelligence, would maintain their loyalty to the Crown, undisturbed by any superstitious veneration for the Hierarchy.

Each order drew up its separate address to the Papal Court; that of the ruder Nobles was in French, the clergy in Latin, to the Pope. These two are extant;

Address of
the Nobles to
the Cardinals;

the third, of the Commons, which would no doubt have been the most curious, is lost. The Nobles dwell on the long and immemorial and harmonious amity between the Church of Rome and the realm of France; that amity was disturbed by the extortionate and unbridled acts of him who now governed the Church. They, the Nobles and People of France, would never, under the worst extremities, endure the wicked and outrageous innovations of the Pope, his claim of the temporal subjection of the King and the kingdom to Rome, his summoning the prelates and ecclesiastical dignitaries of the realm for the redress of alleged grievances and oppressions before Boniface at Rome. "We, the people of France, neither desire nor will receive the redress of such grievances by his authority or his power, but only from that of our Lord the King." They vindicate the King's determination not to allow the wealth of the realm, especially arms, to be exported from France. They accuse the Pope of having usurped the collation of benefices, and of having bestowed them for money on unknown strangers. By this and his other exactions, the Church was so impoverished and discredited that the bishops could not find men of noble descent, of good birth, or of letters, to accept benefices. "These things, hateful to God and displeasing to good men, had never been seen, and were not expected to be seen, before the time of Antichrist." They call on the Cardinals to arrest the Pope in his dangerous courses, to chastise him for his excesses, that Christendom may return to peace, and good Christians be able to devote themselves to the recovery of the Holy Land. This letter was signed by Louis, Count of Evreux, the King's brother; by Robert, Count of Artois; by the Dukes of Burgundy, Bretagne, Lorraine; the Counts of Dreux, St. Pol, de la

Marche, Boulogne, Comminges, Albemarle, Forez, Eu, Nevres, Auxerre, Perigord, Joigny, Valentinois, Poitiers, Montbeliard, Sancerre, even by the Flemish Counts of Hainault and Luxemburg, the Lords of Couci and Beaujeu, the Viscount of Narbonne, and some others.^k

The address of the Prelates to the Pope was more respectful, if not, as usual, supplicatory. They too treat as dangerous novelties, now first expressed in the Papal Bulls, the assertion that the King holds his realm of the Pope, the right of the Pope to summon the subjects of the King, high ecclesiastics, to Rome, for the general redress of grievances, wrongs, and injuries committed by the King, his bailiffs or officers. They too urge the collation to benefices of persons unknown, strangers, and not above suspicion, who never reside on their benefices; the unpopularity and impoverishment of the Church; the constant drain on the wealth of the realm by direct exactions and perpetual appeals to Rome. The King had called on them and on the Barons of France to consult with him on the maintenance of the ancient liberties, honour, and state of the kingdom. The Barons had withdrawn, and determined to support the King. They too had retired, but had demanded longer delay, lest they should infringe on their obedience to the Pope. They had at length replied that they held themselves bound to the preservation of the person and of the authority of the King, the rights and liberties of the kingdom. But, as they were also under allegiance to the Pope, they had humbly craved permission to go to Rome to represent the whole case. To this the King and the Barons had answered by a stern refusal to permit them to quit the

Of the Clergy
to the Pope.

^k Preuves, p. 61, 62.

realm, on the penalty of the seizure and sequestration of all their lands and goods. "So great and imminent was the peril as to threaten an absolute dissolution of the Church and State; the clergy were so odious to the people that they avoided all intercourse with them; tongue could not tell the dangers to which they were exposed."¹

The Cardinals replied to the Dukes, Counts, and Barons of France with dignity and moderation. They assured the Nobles of their earnest Answer of the Cardinals. desire, and that of the Pope, to maintain the friendly relations between the Church of Rome and the kingdom of France. He was an enemy to the man (designating clearly, but not naming the Chancellor) who had sowed the tares of discord. The Pope had never written to the King claiming the *temporal* sovereignty. The Archdeacon of Narbonne, as himself deposes, had not advanced such claim. The whole argument, therefore, of the Chancellor was built on sand. They insisted on the right of the Pope to hold Councils, and to summon to such Councils all the Prelates of Christendom. In their turn they eluded the charge that this Council was to take cognisance of what were undeniably the temporal affairs of France. "If all the letters of the Pope had been laid before the Prelates and Barons, and their tenor explained by the Pope's Nuncio, they would have been found full of love and pious solicitude." They then dwell on the manifest favours of the Papal See to France. They deny that the Pope had appointed any foreign bishops, but to the sees of Bourges and of Arras.

¹ "Cum jam abhorreant laici et prorsus effugiant consortia clericorum, eos a suis omnino consiliis et allocutionibus abdicando . . . in grave periculum animarum et varia et diversa pericula."—Preuves, p. 70 *et seq.*

In all other cases he had nominated subjects of the realm, men known in the Court, familiar with the King, and of good repute.^m The answer of the Cardinals to the Mayors, Sheriffs, Jurors of the cities and towns, was in the same grave tone, denying the claim of temporal sovereignty, and alleging the same acts.

The Pope, in his answer to the Prelates and Clergy, Answer of the Pope to the Bishops. did not maintain the same decorous majesty. His wrath was excited by what he deemed the timorous apostasy of Churchmen from the cause of the Church. "Under the hypocritical veil of consolation, the beloved daughter, the Church of France, had heaped reproach on her spotless mother, the Church of Rome. The Prelates had stooped to be mendicants for the suffrages of the Parliament of Paris, and alleged the loss of their property, and the danger of their persons, if they should set out for Rome. That son of Belial, Peter Flotte, whose bodily sight was so feeble, who was stone-blind in soul, had been permitted, and others who thirsted for Christian blood had been permitted, to lead astray our dear son, Philip of France." "And to this ye listened, who ought to have poured scathing contempt upon them all. Ye did this from base timidity, from baser worldliness. But they labour in vain. He that sitteth in the north shall not long lift himself up against the Vicar of Christ Jesus, to whom there has not yet been a second: he shall fall with all his followers. Do not they who deny the subjection of the temporal to the spiritual power assert the two principles?"ⁿ This was a subtle blow. Manicheism was the most hated heresy to all who knew, and all who did not know, its meaning.

^m June 26. Preuves, p. 63.

ⁿ Preuves, p. 66.

At Rome, about the same time, was held a Consistory, in which the differences with France were submitted to solemn deliberation. Matthew Acqua June 25.
Consistory at
Rome. Sparta, the Franciscan, Cardinal of Porto, as representing the sense of the Cardinals, delivered a long address, half sermon and half speech. He took for his text, from the epistle of the day before, the Speech of
Cardinal of
Porto. Feast of St. John the Baptist, the passage of Jeremiah concerning the universal power to pluck up, root out, destroy, and plant. He applied it directly to John the Baptist, by clear inference to the Pope. He lamented the difference with the King of France, which had arisen from so light a cause; asserted perfect harmony to exist between the Pope and the Sacred College. He declared the real letter sent by the Pope to have been full of gentleness and love; the false letter had neither been sent nor authorised by the Pope. "Had not the King of France a confessor? Did he not receive absolution? It is as partaking of sin that the Pope takes cognisance of all temporal acts." He appeals to the famous similitude of the two luminaries, of which the temporal power was the lesser; but he draws a distinction between the temporal power of the Pope and his right to carry it into execution. "The Vicar of Christ has unbounded jurisdiction, for he is even to judge the quick and the dead; but he is not competent to the use, he is not the executive of the temporal power, for 'the Lord said, put up thy sword (the temporal sword) into its scabbard.'"

The Pope followed the Cardinal of Porto in a more strange line of argument. His text was, "Whom God has joined together, let no man put asunder." Speech of
the Pope. This sentence, applied, he says, by God to our first parents, applies also to the Church and the Kings

of France. On the first baptism of the King of France by S. Remigius, the Archbishop said, "Hold thee to the Church: so long as thou holdest to the Church, thou and thy kingdom shall prosper: so soon as thou departest from it, thou and thy kingdom shall perish. What gifts and blessings^o does not the King of France receive from the Church! even at the present day, by our grants and dispensations, forty thousand livres. 'Let no man put asunder.' Who is the man? The word *man* is sometimes used for God, Christ, the Holy Spirit, sometimes for the devil. Here it means that diabolical man, that Antichrist, blind in bodily eyesight, more blind of soul, Peter Flotte. The satellites of that Ahitophel are Robert Count of Artois and the Count St. Pol. It is he that falsified our letter; it is he that made us say to the King that he held his realm of us. For forty years we have been trained in the science of law; we know that there are two powers; how could such a folly enter our head? We say, as our brother the Cardinal of Porto has said, that in nothing would we usurp the royal power; but the King cannot deny that he is subject to us in regard to his sins." The Pope then enters on the collation to benefices, on which point he is prepared, of his free grace, to make large but special concessions to the King. After some expressions of regard, he reassumes the language of reproach and of menace. "But for us, the King would not have a foot in the stirrup. When the English, the Germans, all his more powerful vassals and neighbours, rose up against him in one league, to whom but to us did he owe his triumph? Our predecessors have deposed three Kings of France. These things are written in their annals as in ours; and this King, guilty

of so much more heinous offences, we could depose as we could discharge a groom,^p though we should do it with sorrow. As for the citation of Bishops, we could call the whole world to our presence, weak and aged as we are. If they come not at our command, let them know that they are hereby deprived and deposed."

From this Consistory emanated a second Bull, which deliberately and fully defined the powers assumed by the Pope. It asserted the eternal unity of the Catholic Church under St. Peter and his successors. Whosoever, as the Greeks, denied that subordination, denied that themselves were of Christ. "There are two swords, the spiritual and the temporal: our Lord said not of these two swords, 'it is too much, but 'it is enough.' Both are in the power of the Church: the one the spiritual, to be used *by* the Church, the other the material, *for* the Church; the former that of priests, the latter that of kings and soldiers, to be wielded at the command and by the sufferance of the priest.^q One sword must be under the other, the temporal under the spiritual. . . . The spiritual instituted the temporal power, and judges whether that power is well exercised." The eternal verse of Jeremiah is adduced. "If the temporal power errs, it is judged by the spiritual. To deny this, is to assert, with the heretical Manicheans, two co-equal principles. We therefore assert, define, and pronounce that it is necessary to salvation to believe that every human being is subject to the Pontiff of Rome."^r

^p "Nos deponeremus Regem, sicut unum garcionem." See the whole speech in Raynald. sub ann.

^q "Ad nutum et patientiam sacerdotis."

^r "Porro subesse Romano Pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, et diffinimus omnino esse de necessitate fidei." — Preuves, p. 54.

The insurrection in Flanders diverted the minds of men for some short time from this quarrel which appalled Christendom. The free and industrious Fleming manufacturing burghers found the rule of the King of France more intolerable than that of their former lords. Their victory at Courtrai, foretold by a comet, the most bloody and humiliating defeat which for years had been suffered by the arms of France, was not likely to soothe the haughty temper of Philip. The loftier Churchmen, in the death of Robert of Artois on that fatal field, saw the judgement of God on him, who was said to have trodden under foot the Pope's Bull of arbitration, whose seal was the first affixed to the remonstrance of the Nobles in the Parliament of Paris.^s Among those that fell was a more dire enemy of the Pope, the Chancellor Peter Flotte.

Hence, perhaps, in the mean time attempts had been made to obtain the mediation of some of the greater vassals of the Crown, the Dukes of Bretagne and of Burgundy. The Pope had intimated that they would be more fitting and acceptable ambassadors than the King's insolent legal counsellors. Those powerful and almost independent sovereigns had commissioned Hugh, a brother of the Order of Knights Templars, to express their earnest desire for the reconciliation of the King with the

Sept. 5. Pope. From Anagni the Cardinal of Porto wrote to the Duke of Bretagne, the Cardinals of San Pudenziana and S. Maria Nuova to the Duke of Burgundy, representing the insult offered to the Pope in

^s Continuat. Nangis, Bouquet, p. 585. Chroniques de St. Denys, p. 670. Villani (viii 55) antedates the battle March 21. He is especially indignant that the nobles of France were defeated by base artisans, "teserandoli e fulloni." This is curious in the mercantile Florentine.

publicly burning his Bull (an act which neither heretic, pagan, nor tyrant would have done), and the friendly and patient tone of the Pope's genuine letters. They explained the reason why the Pope could not write to one actually in a state of excommunication. They exhorted the princes to induce the King to humble himself before his spiritual father.

The Prelates of France had been summoned to appear in Rome at the beginning of November. It was to be seen how many would dare to defy Prelates who go to Rome. the resentment of the King, and resolutely obey their spiritual sovereign. There were only four Archbishops, thirty-five Bishops, six of the great Abbots. Of these by far the larger number were the Bishops of Bretagne, Burgundy, and Languedoc. The Archbishop of Tours headed eight of his Breton suffragans; the Archbishop of Auch fifteen Provençals, including the Bishop of Pamiers. The Archbishop of Bordeaux was a subject of the King of England, as Duke of Aquitaine. The Archbishop of Bourges was one of the Italians promoted by the Pope; with him went one or two of his suffragans. Philip, it might seem, knew from what quarters he might expect this defection. The Seneschal of Toulouse received orders to publish the royal prohibition to all Barons, Knights, Primate, Bishops, or Abbots against quitting the realm; or, if they should have quitted it, to command their instant return, on pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of all their temporal goods. These southern provinces he watched with peculiar jealousy, and, as if determined to shake the ecclesiastical Philip condemns the Inquisition. Oct. 21. dominion, he published an Edict,^t denouncing the

^t Ordonnances des Rois.

cruelties and tyranny of the Inquisition, and of Fulk of St. George, the head of that awful tribunal. This arraignment, while it appeared to strike at the abuses, condemned the Office itself. "Complaints have reached us from all quarters, from Prelates and Barons, that Brother Fulk, the Inquisitor of heretical offences, has encouraged those errors and crimes which it is his function to extirpate. Under the pretext of law he has violated all law; under the semblance of piety, committed acts of the grossest impiety and inhumanity; under the plea of defending the Catholic faith, done deeds at which the minds of men revolt with horror. There is no bound to his exactions, oppressions, and charges against our faithful subjects. In defiance of the canonical rules, he begins his processes by arrest and torture, by torture new and unheard of. Those whom, according to his caprice, he accuses of having denied Christ or attacked the foundations of the faith, he compels by these tortures to make false admissions of guilt; if he cannot compel their inflexible innocence to confess guilt, he suborns false witnesses against them."^a This was the Ordinance of the King who cruelly seized and tortured the Templars!

The winter passed in vain overtures for reconciliation. Each sought to strengthen himself by new alliances; Philip by concessions to his people, extorted partly by the unprosperous state of affairs in Flanders, and from the desire to make his personal quarrel with the Pope a national affair.* As the year advanced, Philip pressed the conclusion of the peace with England; it was ratified at Paris. Philip re-

^a Ordonnances des Rois, i. 340. Hist. de Languedoc. Preuves, No. 54, p. 118.

* Sismondi, Hist. des Français, ix. 104.

signed Aquitaine on the due performance of homage by England. The Pope suddenly forgot all the crimes and contumacy of Albert of Austria. The murderer of his predecessor, he, against whom May 20, 1303. Boniface himself had excited the ecclesiastical electors to rebellion, became a devout and prudent son, who had humbly submitted, not to the judgement, but to the clemency of his father, and had offered to prove himself innocent of the misdeed imputed to him, and to undergo such penance as should be imposed upon him by the Holy See. The Pope wrote to the Princes of the Empire, commanding them to render their allegiance to Albert; and it suited the present policy of Albert to obtain the Empire on any terms. At Nurem- July 17, 1303. berg he promulgated a golden Bull, sealed with the Imperial seal, in which he acknowledged, in terms as full as ever had been extorted from the most humiliated of his predecessors, that the Roman Empire had been granted to Charlemagne by the Apostolic See; that though the King of the Romans was chosen by certain temporal and ecclesiastical Electors, the temporal sword derived all its authority from the oath of allegiance to the Pope. The protection of the Church was the first and paramount duty of the Emperor. He swore to guard the Pope against any injury to life or limb; and though it was the customary phrase, yet it is curious that he swore also, as if the scene at Anagni might be foreseen distinctly, to guard from capture and imprisonment.⁷ He swore too that the Pope's enemies should be his enemies, of whatever rank or dignity, Kings or Emperors. The eagerness with which Albert of Austria detached himself from the alliance of

⁷ "Capi malâ captivitate." Compare Raynald. sub ann. 1303.

the King of France, though cemented by marriage, the profound humility of his language, was not calculated to diminish the haughty confidence of Boniface in the awe still inspired by the Papal power.² Boniface had the prudence to secure himself against the French interest in Italy: he consented at length to permit the King of Naples to rest content with the throne of that kingdom, and to acknowledge Frederick of Arragon as King of Trinacria. Charles of Valois had returned to France to assist his brother in the wars of Flanders.

Philip, on his side, was preparing certain popular acts, which were to be proclaimed at the same great assembly in the Louvre before which he had determined to appeal to his subjects against the encroachments of the Pope. Yet for a time he had been even more deeply wounded by his unavenged discomfiture by the Flemings, and he had not therefore altogether abandoned the thought of pacification with the Pope. It can hardly have been unauthorised by the King, that the Count of Alençon and the Bishop of Auxerre, one of the Prelates who had obeyed the citation to Rome, had held out hopes that the King was not averse to an amicable settlement. Accordingly John Le Moine, The Papal Legate at Paris. Cardinal of S. Marcellinus and S. Peter, a native of Picardy, appeared in the Court at Paris. But the mission of the Legate was not one of peace. Boniface must have miscalculated most grievously both the blow inflicted by the Flemings on the power of Philip, and the strength derived by himself from his Ghibelline alliance with the Emperor. The

² Velly, Coxe, and others write confidently of the offer of the French crown to Albert; with Sismondi, I can discover no trace of this in the contemporary documents.

Legate was instructed first to summon those Prelates, the King's partisans, who had not made their appearance at Rome, to obey the Pope without delay, and hasten to the feet of his Holiness, under the penalty of immediate deposition. These Prelates were the Archbishops of Sens and Narbonne, the Bishops of Soissons, Beauvais, and Meaux, with the Abbot of St. Denis. The Archbishop of Rouen, the Bishops of Paris, Amiens, Langres, Poitiers, and Bayeux had alleged their age and infirmity. The Pope condescended to admit their excuse. So too were excused the Italian Bishop of Arras, who was of such tried loyalty to the Pope (was he employed in keeping up the correspondence of which Boniface was accused with the revolted Flemings?), and the Bishop and Chapter of Laon, on account of some heavy charges which they had borne.

The Legate had twelve Articles which he was to offer to the King for his immediate and peremptory assent; articles of absolute and humiliating concession on his part, on that of the Pope of unyielding rigour, if not of insulting menace or more insulting clemency. Twelve
Articles. I. The revocation of the King's inhibitory Edict against the ecclesiastics who had gone to Rome in obedience to the Papal citation, full satisfaction to all who had undergone penalties, the abrogation of all processes instituted against them in the King's Courts. II. The Pope asserted his inherent right to collate to all benefices; no layman could collate without authority from the Apostolic See. III. The Pope had full right to send Legates to any part of Christendom. IV. The administration and distribution of all ecclesiastical property and revenue is in the Pope alone, not in any other person, ecclesiastic or lay. The Pope has power, without asking the assent of any one to, lay

on them any charge he may please. V. No King or Prince can seize the goods of any ecclesiastic, nor compel any ecclesiastic to appear in the King's Courts to answer to any personal action or for any property not held as a fief of the Crown. VI. The King was to give satisfaction for his contumelious act in burning the Papal Bull to which were appended the images of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul. VII. The King is not to abuse what is called the Regale, the custody and guardianship of vacant benefices. VIII. The spiritual sword (judicature) is to be restored to the Prelates and other ecclesiastics. IX. The King is no longer to blind himself to the iniquity of the debasement of the coin, and the damage thus wrought on the Prelates, Barons, and Clergy of the realm. X. The King is to call to mind the misdeeds and excesses charged upon him in our private letters by our notary.^a XI. The city of Lyons is entirely independent of the King of France. XII. The Pope, unless the King amended and corrected all these misdoings, would at once proceed against him spiritually and temporally.

The King answered each separate Article: and his answers seem to imply some apprehension that his power was shaken, some disinclination to proceed to extremities. He stooped to evasion, perhaps more than evasion. I. The King denied that the inhibition to his subjects to quit the realm was aimed at the Prelates summoned to Rome. It was a general precautionary inhibition to prevent the exportation of the riches and produce of the realm during the war and the revolt of his Flemish vassals. II. The King

^a Litera Clausa. James the notary was, I presume, the Archdeacon of Narbonne.

demanded no more, with regard to the collation of benefices, than had been enjoyed by St. Louis and his other royal predecessors. III. The King had no wish to prohibit the reception of the Papal Legates, unless suspected persons and on just grounds. IV. The King had no design to interfere with the administration of the property of the Church, except so far as was warranted by his rights and by ancient custom. V. and VIII. So as to the seizure of the goods of the Church. The King intends nothing beyond law and usage. He is fully prepared to give the Church the free use of the spiritual sword in all cases where the Church has competent jurisdiction. To the VIth Article, the burning of the Bull, the answer is most extraordinary. The King affects to suppose that the Pope alludes not to the Bull publicly burned at Paris with sound of trumpet, but to that of a Bull relating to the Chapter of Laon, burned on account of its invalidity. VII. The King denies the abuse of the Regale. IX. The debasement of the coin took place on account of the exigencies of the State. It was a prerogative exercised by all Kings of France, and the King was engaged in devising a remedy for the evil. XI. The King had interfered in the affairs of Lyons, on account of a dangerous feud between the Archbishop and the people. The Archbishop, he averred, owed to him an oath of fealty, which had been refused, nevertheless he was prepared to continue his good offices. XII. The King earnestly desired that the unity and peace which had so long subsisted between the kingdom of France and the Roman See should be restored: he was prepared to act by the counsel of the Dukes of Bretagne and Burgundy. To these the Pope himself had proposed to submit all their differences.

With these answers of the King the Pope declared

himself utterly dissatisfied. Some were in absolute defiance of truth, none consonant with justice.

April 13.

He would endure martyrdom rather than submit to such degrading conditions. But the same messengers which bore the Pope's instructions to the Cardinal of S. Marcellinus to appeal again to the King's Council were the bearers of another Brief. That Brief

The King
excommu-
nicated.

declared that Philip, King of France, notwithstanding his royal dignity, and notwithstanding any privilege or indulgence, had actually incurred the penalties of the general Excommunication published by the Pope; that he was excommunicate for having prohibited the Bishops of France from attending, according to the Pope's command, at Rome. All ecclesiastics, of whatever rank, even Bishops or Archbishops, who should presume to celebrate mass before the King, preach, administer any of the sacraments, or hear confession, were likewise excommunicate. This sentence was to be proclaimed in all convenient places within the realm. The King's confessor, Nicolas, a Friar Preacher, had

May.

orders to fix a peremptory term of three months for the King's submission, for his personal appearance at Rome, to be dealt with according to his deserts, and, if he were able, to prove his innocence.

But already, above a month before the date of these Briefs, the King had held his Parliament at the Louvre in Paris. The Prelates and Barons had been summoned to take counsel on affairs touching the welfare of the realm. Only two Archbishops, Sens and Narbonne, three Bishops, Meaux, Nevers, and Angers,^b obeyed the royal summons; but the Barons made up an imposing assemblage. Before this audi-

^b So writes Sismondi. It is Antessiodor in the document; but the Bishop of Auxerre was possibly still in Rome.

ence appeared William of Nogaret, one of the great lawyers, most eminent in the King's favour. Nogaret was born in the diocese of Toulouse, of a race whose blood had been shed by the Inquisition.^c The Nemesis of that awful persecution was about to wreak itself on the Papacy. Nogaret had become a most distinguished Professor of Civil Law and Judge of Beaucaire: he had been ennobled by Philip the Fair. It is dangerous to crush hereditary religion out of men's hearts. Law and the most profound devotion to the King had become the religion of Nogaret. He was a man without fear, without scruple; perhaps thought that he was only inflicting just retribution on the persecutors of his ancestors. According to the accustomed form, William of Nogaret began his address to the Assembly with a text of Scripture. "There were false prophets among the people, so among you are masters of lies."^d These are the words of Saint Peter, and in the chair of Saint Peter sits the master of lies, ill-named the doer of good (Boniface), but rather the doer of evil.^e Boniface (he went on) had usurped the Holy See; he had wedded the Roman Church, while her lawful husband, Coelestine, was alive; him he had compelled to an unlawful abdication by fraud and violence. Nogaret laid down, in strict legal phrase, four propositions:—I. That the Pope was not the true Pope. II. That he was a heretic. III. Was a notorious Simoniac: IV. A man weighed down with crimes—pride, iniquity, treachery, rapacity—an insupportable load and burthen to the Church. He appealed to a General Council: he declared it to be the office and function of the King of France to summon such Council. "Before that Council he was

^c Philip's edict against the Inquisition was probably suggested by Nogaret.

^d S. Peter, Epist. ii. 21

^e Maleficus.

prepared to appear and to substantiate all these charges." The public notaries made record of these accusations, advanced in the presence of the two Archbishops and the three Bishops, of many princes and nobles, whose names were recited in the decree of record.

Philip, to attach all orders of his subjects to the throne during this imminent crisis, and perhaps Ordinance of Reformation. to divert the minds of men from the daring blow, the arraignment of a Pope before a General Council, had prepared his great Ordinance for the reformation of the realm. The Ordinance was manifestly designed for the especial conciliation of the clergy. All churches and monasteries, all prelates and ecclesiastics, were to be held in the grace and favour of the King, as of his religious ancestors: their immunities and privileges were to be respected, as in the time of St. Louis: all good and ancient customs were to be maintained; all new and bad ones annulled. The right of the King to seize or confiscate the goods of the clergy was indeed asserted, but in guarded and temperate terms. The Regale was not to be abused, and (a curious illustration of the mode of life) the fishponds of the ecclesiastics were not to be drained during the time of vacancy. Ecclesiastics coming to the King's Court were to be immediately heard, that they might return to their sacred charge. No fees were to be received by the King's officers from ecclesiastics.^f

The Ordinance for the reformation of the realm was skilfully designed to cover the extension of the royal power by the extension of the royal jurisdiction: yet it professed to respect all separate jurisdictions of Prelates and Barons; it was content to supersede them without

^f Ordonnances des Rois de France, vol. i. sub anno.

violence. Two Parliaments were to be held yearly at Paris, two Exchequer Courts at Rouen, two Days at Troyes, one Parliament at Toulouse. No doubt Philip's jurists intended thus, without alarming the feudal Lords, quietly to draw within their own sphere almost the whole business of the realm. Their more profound science, the more authoritative power of executing their sentences, the greater regularity of their proceedings, would give to the King's Courts and to those of the Parliaments every advantage over that of the Bishop or of the Baron. As though the King were disposed to win the affections of every class of his people, there are in the Ordinance special instructions to the royal officers to execute their functions with moderation and gentleness.⁵ The Crown was absolutely compelled to the harsh and unwelcome duty of levying taxes by the disloyalty and rebellion of some of its subjects. Not only were the King's bailiffs and seneschals to be thus courteous and forbearing, even the serjeants were to be mild and soft-spoken.⁴

The Pope had either not heard, or disdained to regard, what he might yet esteem the impotent audacity of William of Nogaret, and the audience given to his unprecedented requisition by the Parliament held in the Louvre. In his letter, dated one month after, to the Cardinal of S. Marcellinus, in which he rejected the replies of Philip to his demands, there is no allusion to this glaring insult. But the King of France had early intimation of the contents of the Papal letters, which commanded the Cardinal of S. Marcellinus to declare

⁵ "C'est assavoir que vous devez être avisez de parler au peuple par douces paroles, et démonstrer les grans désobéissances, rebellions, et domages."—Ibid.

⁴ "Et vous avisez de mettre Serjens debonnaires et tractables pour faire vos exécutions, si que il n'aient cause de eux doloir."—Ordonnance.

him actually excommunicate.¹ The bearers of these letters were the Archdeacon of Coutances and Nicolas Benefracto, a servant of the Cardinal. It is said that, in the pride of being employed on such important services, they betrayed the secret of their despatches. "They bore that which would make the King tremble on his throne." Orders were given to the King's officers to arrest them: they were seized and thrown into prison at Troyes. Certain other priests boasted that they had been permitted to take copies of these Briefs, and were promulgating them in order to stir up the people to insurrection. The Cardinal protested, and imperiously demanded the delivery of the Briefs into his hands. The Edict confiscating the goods of the Bishops who had attended the Synod at Rome was renewed, if not put in execution. The Order which convoked again the States-General, to take counsel on the crimes and disabilities of his master the Pope, was fixed on the walls of the Monastery of St. Martin at Tours, where the Legate was lodged. All his movements were watched; he could neither receive a visit nor a single paper without the King's knowledge. He determined to return to Rome, mortified and humbled by the total failure of his mission, which he had been instructed to carry out with such imposing haughtiness. No doubt he had acted up to those instructions.

The States-General held their second meeting in the

¹ The succession of events, on which much depends, is by no means clear. Velly places the mission of Cardinal Le Moine, the articles offered by him, the elaborate answer of the King, after the Parliament in the Louvre, in which William of Nogaret appeared (March 12). The Pope's letter to the Cardinal expressing his dissatisfaction at

Philip's answers, as contained in the Cardinal's to Rome which he had then received, is dated April 13. The mission, the reception by Philip, the offer of the articles, the time for the deliberate reply, the communication of the result to Rome, the Pope's letter, could not possibly have been concluded in a month.

Louvre on the 13th of June. Louis Count of Evreux, Guy Count of St. Pol, John Count of Dreux, William of Plasian, Knight and Lord of Vezennoble (Peter Flotte, the Chancellor, had fallen at Courtrai, William of Nogaret was elsewhere), presented themselves before the Assembly, and declared that Christendom was in the utmost danger and misery through the misrule of Boniface; that a lawful Pope was necessary for her salvation; that Boniface was laden with crimes. William of Plasian swore upon the Gospels that these charges were true; that he was prepared to prove them before a General Council; that the King, as champion of the faith, was compelled to summon such Council. It was no less the duty of the Prelates and Nobles to concur in this measure. The Prelates observed that it was an affair of the gravest import, and required mature deliberation. The next day William of Plasian produced his charges, charges of the most monstrous heresy, infidelity, and, what was perhaps worse, wizardry, and dealing with evil spirits; charges against a Pope who for nearly nine years had exercised the full authority of St. Peter's successor; a man now in extreme old age, whose life and stern inflexible orthodoxy had been till now above question; who had been the chosen arbiter of Kings in their quarrels; who had been almost adored at the Jubilee by assenting Christendom; who was even at this time bestowing the Imperial crown, accepted by Albert of Austria with the humblest gratitude. These charges were advanced with a solemn appeal to the Holy Gospels, before the King and the nobility of France, before a great body of ecclesiastics, who, so far from repudiating them at once with indignant impatience, admitted them as the groundwork of a process to be submitted to a General Council of all

Second Parliament in the Louvre. June 13.

Christendom: this Council there seems no reasonable doubt was in the actual contemplation, and was deliberately determined on by Philip and his advisers. The articles of accusation cannot be judged without the examination of their startling, repulsive, even loathsome detail: they must be seen too in their strange confusion. The Pope neither believed the immortality nor the incorruptibility of the human soul, it perished with the body. He did not believe in eternal life; he had averred that it was no sin to indulge the body in all pleasures; he had publicly declared and preached that he had rather be a dog, an ass, or any brute beast, than a Frenchman; that no Frenchman had a soul which could deserve everlasting happiness: this he had taught to persons on their deathbeds. He did not believe in the Real Presence in the Eucharist. He was reputed (all these things were advanced as matters of public fame and scandal) to have averred that fornication and other obscene practices were no sin. He had often said that to depress the King of France and the French he would devote himself, the world, and the Church to ruin. "Perish the French, come what may." He had approved a book written by a physician, Arnold of Villeneuve, which had been condemned by the Bishop and the Masters of Theology in Paris as heretical. He had caused, to perpetuate his damnable memory, silver images of himself to be set up in the churches, to which the people were tempted to pay idolatrous worship. "He has a special familiar devil, whose counsels he follows in all things."* He is

* This afterwards grew into a minute detail of all the famous wizards and sorcerers from whom he had obtained many different familiar spirits with whom he dealt: one was in a ring which he always wore, but offered to the King of Naples, who rejected the gift with pious abhorrence.

a sortilege, and consults diviners and fortune-tellers. He has declared that Popes cannot commit simony, which declaration is heresy. He keeps a market by one Simon, an usurer, of ecclesiastical dignities and benefices. Contrary to Christ's charge to his Apostles, "My peace I leave with you," he has constantly stirred up and fomented discords and wars. On one occasion, when two parties had agreed to terms of peace, Boniface inhibited them and said, "If the Son of God or Peter the Apostle had descended upon earth and given such precept, I would have replied, 'I believe you not.'" Like certain heretics who assert themselves to be the only true Christians, he called all others, especially that most Christian people the French, Paterins. He was a notorious sodomite. He had caused the murder of many clerks in his own presence, and urged his officers to their bloody work, saying, "Strike home! strike home!" He had refused the Eucharist, as unnecessary, to a nobleman in prison in his last agony. He had compelled priests to reveal confessions. He did not observe the Fasts of the Church, not even Lent. He depresses and always has depressed the whole Order of Cardinals, the Black and the White Monks, the Franciscan and Preaching Friars: he calls them all hypocrites. He never utters a good word, but words of scorn, lying reproach, and detraction against every bishop, monk, or ecclesiastic. He has conceived an old and implacable hatred against the King of France, and owned that he would subvert Christianity if he might humble what he calls the pride of the French. He has granted the tenths of his realm to the King of England, on condition of his waging war on France; he has leagued with Frederick of Arragon against the French King of Naples; he has granted the Empire to Albert of Austria,

whom he had so long treated as unduly elected, as a traitor and as a murderer, with the avowed purpose of employing him to crush the pride of the French. The Holy Land is lost through his fault; he has diverted the subsidies raised for the Christians of the Holy Land to enrich his kindred. He is the fountain and ground of all simony; he has reduced all prelates and ecclesiastics to servitude, and loaded them with taxation; the wealth he has extorted from Christendom he has lavished on his own family, whom he has raised to the rank of counts and barons, and in building fortresses on the lands of Roman nobles, whom he has cruelly oppressed and driven into exile. He has dissolved many lawful marriages; he has promoted his nephew, a man of notoriously profligate life, to the Cardinalate, forced that nephew's wife to take a vow of chastity, and himself begotten upon her two bastard sons. He treated his holy predecessor Cœlestine with the utmost inhumanity, and caused his death. He has privately made away in prison with many others who denied his lawful election to the Papacy. To the public scandal he has allowed many nuns to return to a worldly life. He has also said that in a short time he would make all the French martyrs or apostates. Lastly, he seeks not the salvation, but the perdition of souls.^m

Each of these separate articles was declared to rest on public fame and notoriety, and so the accuser might seem in some degree to guard himself against personal responsibility for their truth. Still it is almost inconceivable how even such bold men, so fully possessed of the royal favour, could venture on some of these charges, so flagrantly false. The Colonnas, no doubt, whose

^m Compare for all this Dupuy, Preuves.

wrongs were not forgotten, some of whom will soon be discovered in active league with Philip's Jurists, had disseminated these rumours of the Pope's tyrannies and cruel misdeeds in Italy, not improbably the enormities charged on his private life. The coarse artifice (skill it cannot be called) with which the vanity of the French nation is constantly appealed to; the accumulation on one man of all the accusations which could be imagined as most odious to mankind; were not merely ominous of danger to Boniface himself, but signs of the declining awe of the Popedom beyond the walls of Rome, beyond the confines of Italy. William of Plasian solemnly protested that he was actuated by no hatred or passion; in the most formal manner he declared his adhesion to the appeal before made by William of Nogaret.

The King commanded his own appeal to be read. "We, Philip, King of France, having heard ^{King Philip's appeal.} the charges now alleged by William of Plasian, as heretofore by William of Nogaret, against Boniface, now presiding over the Roman Church; though we had rather cover the shame of our father with our garment, yet in the fervour of our Catholic faith, and our devotion to the Holy See, and to our Mother the Church, for which our ancestors have not hesitated to risk their lives, we cannot but assent to these requisitions: we will use our utmost power for the convocation of a General Council, in order to remove these scandals from the Church; and we call upon and entreat, in the bowels of mercy in Jesus Christ, all you archbishops, bishops, and prelates, to join us in promoting this General Council; and lest the aforesaid Boniface should utter sentences of excommunication or interdict, or any act of spiritual violence against us, our realm, our churches, our prelates, our barons, or our vassals, we

appeal to this Great Council, and to a legitimate Pope."

No Churchman uttered one word of remonstrance. It might have been difficult to treat with scorn, or repel with indignation, an arraignment made with such formal solemnity; accusations openly recognised by the King as grave and serious subjects of inquiry. The Jurists had taken care that all was conducted according to unexceptionable rules of procedure. The prelates veiled their weak compliance with the King's wishes, their assent to the unusual act of permitting a Pope to be arraigned as a criminal for the most hateful and loathsome offences and denounced before a General Council, under the specious plea of the necessity of investigation into such fearful scandals, and the pious hope that the innocence of Boniface would appear. To this assent were signed the names of five archbishops—Nicosia (in Cyprus), a Frenchman by birth, Rheims, Sens, Narbonne, Tours; of twenty-one bishops—Laon, Beauvais, Chalons-sur-Marne, Auxerre, Meaux, Nevers, Chartres, Orleans, Amiens, Terouanne, Senlis, Angers, Avranches, Coutances, Evreux, Lisieux, Seez, Clermont, Limoges, Puy, Macon (afterwards St. Omer, Boulogne, Ypres); eleven of the great abbots—Clugny, Premontre, Mar-moutier, Citeaux, St. Denis, Compiègne, St. Victor, St. Geneviève, St. Martin de Laon, Figeac, Beaulieu; the Visitors of the Orders of the Temple and of St. John.ⁿ

ⁿ Dupuy, Preuves. Baillet published a special appeal of the Archbishop of Narbonne containing ten charges against the Pope, in substance much the same with those of De Plasian, but darkening the charge of immorality into his having seduced two of his married nieces, by whom he had many children. "O patrem fecundum!" It is said that this appeal was made in the States-General at the Louvre. Baillet found it among the Brienne papers; but what proof is there of its authenticity? Baillet, Démelés, Additions des Preuves, p. 29.

The King was not content with this general suffrage of the States-General, nor even with the mutual guarantee entered into between himself, the ecclesiastics, and the barons of France, to stand by each other and co-operate in holding the General Council; in permitting no excommunication or interdict to be published within the realm, and to pay no regard to any mandate or Bull of the Pope. He appealed severally to all the ecclesiastical and monastic bodies of the realm. He obtained seven hundred acts of adhesion from bishops, chapters, conventual bodies, and the Orders of friars. Of the numerous houses of the Clugniacs, seven only refused, eleven sent evasive answers. All who had hitherto been the most ardent and servile partisans of the Popedom, the Preachers the Sons of St. Dominic, the Minorites the Sons of St. Francis, the Templars and Hospitallers, were for the King. The University of Paris gave in its unqualified concurrence to the royal demands. Philip sent his appeal into some of the neighbouring kingdoms. All these gave at least their tacit assent to the arraignment of the Pope before a General Council; some, no doubt, reconciled it to their conscience by doubts as to the validity of the election of Boniface, and his title to be considered a lawful Pope: all were careful that the appeal lay not merely to the Council, but to a future lawful Pope; all protested their fervent reverence and attachment to the Church, their loyalty to the See of Rome.

The Pope had retired, as usual, from the summer heats, perhaps not without mistrust of the Romans, to his native city, Anagni. There, in a public consistory, he purged himself by oath of the charge of heresy; the more scandalous accusations against his life and morals he disdained to notice. In

General adhesion of the kingdom.

Boniface at Anagni. Consistory. Aug. 16.

the Bull issued from that consistory, he declared that he had received intelligence of the proceedings of the King and the Barons in the Louvre, of their appeal to a General Council, to a future lawful Pope, of their proclamation that they would receive neither legate nor letter from him; and their renunciation of all obedience. "With what sincerity, with what charity, with what zeal, this conventicle had acted, might be understood, by all who value truth, from the blasphemies which they had poured forth against him, and the open reception of his deadly enemy, Stephen Colonna." "They have lyingly blasphemed us with lying blasphemies, charging us with heresy, and with other monstrous criminalities over which they have affected to weep. Who in all the world has heard that we have been suspected of the taint of heresy? Which of our race, who in all Campania, has been branded with such a name? We were sound Catholics when He received favours from us. Valentinian the Emperor humbled himself before the Bishop of Milan: the King of France is as much below the Emperor as we are above the Bishop of Milan. The state of the Church will be utterly subverted, the power of the Roman Pontiff annihilated, if such kings and princes, when the Roman Pontiff shall think it right to inflict correction upon them, shall presume to call him a heretic or of notoriously scandalous life, and so escape censure. This pernicious example must be cut up by the roots. Without us no General Council can be held. Henceforth no king, no prince, or other magnate of France shall dare, by the example of the King, to break out in words of blasphemy, and thus hope to elude due correction. Not to name the King of France deposed by Pope Zacharias, did Theodosius the Great, excommunicated by St

Ambrose, kindle into wrath? Did the glorious Lothair lift up his heel against Pope Nicolas? or Frederick against Innocent?" In proper time and place he, Boniface, would proceed to the extreme censure, unless full satisfaction should be offered, lest the blood of Philip should be required at his hands.^o

The stress laid upon the reception of Stephen Colonna shows that Boniface knew whence sprung much of the most desperate hostility to his fame and authority. He was peculiarly indignant at the presumption of the Archbishop of Nicosia, whom he had ordered, and again ordered in a separate Bull, to return to his diocese, and not to presume to meddle in the affairs of France. A third Bull, to punish the prelates who had been seduced into rebellion by the King, suspended in all the ecclesiastical corporations the right of election, declared all vacant benefices at the sole disposal of the Pope, annulled all elections made during this suspension, and until the King should have returned to his obedience. A fourth deprived the Universities of the right of teaching, of granting any degree in theology, canon or civil law. This privilege the Pope declared to be derived entirely from the Apostolic See, and to have been forfeited by their rebellious adhesion to the cause of the King.^p

Boniface seemed, as it were, to pause, to be gathering up his strength to launch the last crushing Excommunication. thunders upon the head of the contumacious King. The sentence of excommunication had been prepared; it had received the Papal Seal. It began with more than the usual solemnity and haughtiness. "We who sit on the high throne of St. Peter, the vicerent of Him to whom the Father said, 'Thou art my

^o The Bull in Dupuy and Raynaldus, sub ann.

^p Preuves. Raynaldus

Son, this day have I begotten thee,' 'Ask of me, I will give Thee the nations as Thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth as Thy possession: to bruise kings with a rod of iron, and to break them in pieces like a potter's vessel.' An awful admonition to kings! But the unlimited power of St. Peter has ever been exercised with serene lenity." The Bull then recapitulates all the chief causes of the quarrel: the prohibition of the bishops to attend the Papal summons to Rome; the missions of James de Normannis Archdeacon of Narbonne, and of the Cardinal of St. Marcellinus rejected with scorn (it is silent as to the burning of the Bull), the seizure and imprisonment of Nicolas de Benefracto, the bearer of the Papal letters; the entertainment of Stephen Colonna at the Court in Paris. The King of France was declared excommunicate; his subjects released from their allegiance, or rather peremptorily inhibited from paying him any acts of obedience; all the clergy were forbidden, under pain of perpetual disability, to hold preferment, from receiving benefices at his hands; all such appointments were void, all leagues were annulled, all oaths abrogated, "and this our Bull is ordered to be suspended in the porch of the Cathedral of Anagni." The 8th of September was the fatal day.^a

Boniface, infatuated by the sense of his unapproachable majesty, and of the sanctity of his office, had taken no precautions for the safeguard of his person. He could not but know that his two deadliest enemies, William of Nogaret, the most daring of Philip's legal counsellors, and Sciarra Colonna, the most fierce and desperate of the house which he had

William of
Nogaret and
Sciarra
Colonna.

^a Preuves, p. 182.

driven to desperation, had been for several months in Italy, on the Tuscan borders at no great distance from Rome. They were accompanied by Musciatto dei Francesi, in whose castle of Staggia, not far from Sienna, they had taken up their abode. They had unlimited power to draw on the Panizzi, the merchant bankers of the King of France at Florence. To the simple peasantry they held out that their mission was to reconcile the Pope with the King of France; others supposed that they were delegated to serve upon the Pope the citation to appear before the General Council. They bought with their gold many of the petty barons of Romagna. They hired to be at their command a band of the lawless soldiery who had been employed in the late wars. They had their emissaries in Anagni; some even of the Cardinals had not been inaccessible to their dark intrigues.

On a sudden, on the 7th September (the 8th was the day for the publication of the Bull), the peaceful streets of Anagni were disturbed. The Pope and the Cardinals, who were all assembled around him, were startled with the trampling of armed horse, and the terrible cry, which ran like wildfire through the city, "Death to Pope Boniface! Long live the King of France!" Sciarra Colonna, at the head of three hundred horsemen, the Barons of Cercano and Supino, and some others, the sons of Master Massio of Anagni, were marching in furious haste, with the banner of the King of France displayed. The ungrateful citizens of Anagni, forgetful of their pride in their holy compatriot, of the honour and advantage to their town from the splendour and wealth of the Papal residence, received them with rebellious and acclaiming shouts.

The bell of the city, indeed, had tolled at the first

alarm; the burghers had assembled; they had chosen their commander; but that commander, whom they ignorantly or treacherously chose, was Arnulf, a deadly enemy of the Pope. The banner of the Church was unfolded against the Pope by the captain of the people of Anagni.^r The first attack was on the palace of the Pope, on that of the Marquis Gaetani, his nephew, and those of three Cardinals, the special partisans of Boniface. The houses of the Pope and of his nephew made some resistance. The doors of those of the Cardinals were beaten down, the treasures ransacked and carried off; the Cardinals themselves fled from the backs of the houses through the common sewer. Then arrived, but not to the rescue, Arnulf, the Captain of the People; he had perhaps been suborned by Reginald of Supino. With him were the sons of Chiton, whose father was pining in the dungeons of Boniface.^s Instead of resisting, they joined the attack on the Palace of the Pope's nephew and his own. The Pope and his nephew implored a truce; it was granted for eight hours. This time the Pope employed in endeavouring to stir up the people to his defence: the people coldly answered that they were under the command of their Captain. The Pope demanded the terms of the conspirators. "If the Pope would save his life, let him instantly restore the Colonna Cardinals to their dignity, and reinstate the whole house in their honours and possessions; after this restoration the Pope must abdicate, and leave his body at the disposal of Sciarra." The Pope groaned in the depths of his heart. "The word is spoken." Again the assailants thundered at the gates of the palace;

^r Statement of William of Nogaret. Dupuy, p. 247. I see no reason to doubt this

^s The Chiton of Walsingham is probably the Massio of Villani.

still there was obstinate resistance. The principal church of Anagni, that of Santa Maria, protected the Pope's palace. Sciarra Colonna's lawless band set fire to the gates; the church was crowded with clergy and laity and traders who had brought their precious wares into the sacred building. They were plundered with such rapacity that not a man escaped with a farthing.

The Marquis found himself compelled to surrender, on the condition that his own life, those of his family and of his servants, should be spared. At these sad tidings the Pope wept bitterly. The Pope was alone; from the first the Cardinals, some from treachery, some from cowardice, had fled on all sides, even his most familiar friends: they had crept into the most ignoble hiding-places. The aged Pontiff alone lost not his self-command. He had declared himself ready to perish in his glorious cause; he determined to fall with dignity. "If I am betrayed like Christ, I am ready to die like Christ." He put on the stole of St. Peter, the imperial crown was on his head, the keys of St. Peter in one hand and the cross in the other: he took his seat on the Papal throne, and, like the Roman Senators of old, awaited the approach of the Gaul.^t

But the pride and cruelty of Boniface had raised and infixed deep in the hearts of men passions which acknowledged no awe of age, of intrepidity, or religious majesty. In William of Nogaret the blood of his Tolosan ancestors, in Colonna the wrongs, the degradation, the beggary, the exile of all his house, had extinguished every feeling but revenge. They insulted him with contumelious reproaches; they menaced his life. The Pope answered not a word. They insisted that he should at

^t Villani. *in loc.*

once abdicate the Papacy. "Behold my neck, behold my head," was the only reply. But fiercer words passed between the Pope and William of Nogaret. Nogaret threatened to drag him before the Council of Lyons, where he should be deposed from the Papacy. "Shall I suffer myself to be degraded and deposed by Paterins like thee, whose fathers were righteously burned as Paterins?" William turned fiery red, with shame thought the partisans of Boniface, more likely with wrath. Sciarra, it was said, would have slain him outright: he was prevented by some of his own followers even by Nogaret. "Wretched Pope, even at this distance the goodness of my Lord the King guards thy life."^u

He was placed under close custody, not one of his own attendants permitted to approach him. Worse indignities awaited him. He was set on a vicious horse, with his face to the tail, and so led through the town to his place of imprisonment. The palaces of the Pope and of his nephew were plundered; so vast was the wealth, that the annual revenues of all the kings in the world would not have been equal to the treasures found and carried off by Sciarra's freebooting soldiers. His very private chamber was ransacked; nothing left but bare walls.

At length the people of Anagni could no longer bear the insult and the sufferings heaped upon their illustrious and holy fellow-citizen. They rose in irresistible insurrection, drove out the soldiers by whom they had been overawed, now gorged with plunder, and doubtless not unwilling to withdraw. The Pope was rescued, and led out into the street, where the old man addressed a

^u Chroniques de St. Denys.

few words to the people: "Good men and women, ye see how mine enemies have come upon me, and plundered my goods, those of the Church and of the poor. Not a morsel of bread have I eaten, not a drop have I drunk since my capture. I am almost dead with hunger.* If any good woman will give me a piece of bread and a cup of wine, if she has no wine, a little water, I will absolve her, and any one who will give me their alms, from all their sins." The compassionate rabble burst into a cry, "Long life to the Pope!" They carried him back to his naked palace. They crowded, the women especially, with provisions, bread, meat, water, and wine. They could not find a single vessel: they poured a supply of water into a chest. The Pope proclaimed a general absolution to all except the plunderers of his palace. He even declared that he wished to be at peace with the Colonnas and all his enemies. This perhaps was to disguise his intention of retiring, as soon as he could, to Rome.†

The Romans had heard with indignation the sacrilegious attack on the person of the Supreme Pontiff. Four hundred horse under Matteo ^{Return to Rome.} and Gaetano Orsini were sent to conduct him to the city. He entered it almost in triumph; the populace welcomed him with every demonstration of joy. But the awe of his greatness was gone; the spell of his dominion over the minds of men was broken. His over-

* According to S. Antoninus, his assailants treated him with respect, and only kept him in safe custody.

† I have drawn this account from the various authorities, the historians Villani, Walsingham, the Chroniques de St. Denys, and others, with the declarations of Nogaret and his partisans,

according to my own view of the trustworthiness of the statements, and the probability of the incidents. The reference to each special authority would have been almost endless and perplexing. The reader may compare Drumann, whose conscientious German industry is more particular.—P. 128 *et seqq.*

weening haughtiness and domination had made him many enemies in the Sacred College, the gold of France had made him more. This general revolt is his severest condemnation. Among his first enemies was the Cardinal Napoleon Orsini. Orsini had followed the triumphal entrance of the Pope. Boniface, to show that he desired to reconcile himself with all, courteously invited him to his table. The Orsini coldly answered "that he must receive the Colonna Cardinals into his favour; he must not now disown what had been wrung from him by compulsion." "I will pardon them," said Boniface, "but the mercy of the Pope is not to be from compulsion." He found himself again a prisoner.

This last mortification crushed the bodily, if not the mental strength of the Pope. Among the Ghibellines terrible stories were bruited abroad of his death. In an access of fury, either from poison or wounded pride, he sat gnawing the top of his staff, and at length either beat out his own brains against the wall, or smothered himself (a strange notion!) with his own pillows.² More friendly, probably more trustworthy, accounts describe him as sadly but quietly breathing his last, surrounded by eight Cardinals, having confessed the faith and received the consoling offices of the Church. The Cardinal-Poet anticipates his mild sentence from the Divine Judge.³

The religious mind of Christendom was at once perplexed and horror-stricken by this act of sacrilegious

² Ferretus Vicentinus, apud Muratori, a fierce Ghibelline.

³ "Leto prostratus, anhelus
Procubuit, fassusque fidem, curamque
professus
Romanae Ecclesiae, Christo tunc redditur
almus
Spiritus, et sævi nescit jam iudicis iram."

Sed mitem placidumque patris, ceu credere fas est."

Apud Muratori, S. R. I.

See in Tosti's Life the account of the exhumation of Boniface. His body is said to have appeared, after 302 years, whole and with no marks of violence.

violence on the person of the Supreme Pontiff: it shocked some even of the sternest Ghibellines. Dante, who brands the pride, the avarice, the treachery of Boniface in his most terrible words, and has consigned him to the direst doom (though it is true that his alliance with the French, with Charles of Valois, by whom the poet had been driven into exile, was among the deepest causes of his hatred to Boniface), nevertheless expresses the almost universal feeling. Christendom "shuddered to behold the Fleur-de-lis enter into Anagni, and Christ again captive in his Vicar, the mockery, the gall and vinegar, the crucifixion between living robbers, the insolent and sacrilegious cruelty of the second Pilate." ^b

^b Purgatorio, xx. 89:—

"Veggio in Alagna entrar lo fior d' aliso,
E nel vicario suo Christo esser catto;
Veggiolo un'altra volta esser deriso,
Veggio rinnovellar l' aceto e l' fele,
E tra vivi ladroni essere anciso.
Veggio il nuovo Pilato si crudele,
Che ciò nol sazia."

Strange! to find poetry ascribed to Boniface VIII. and in that poetry (an address to the Virgin) these lines:—

"Vedea l' aceto ch' era col fiel misto
Dato a bere al dolce Jesu Cristo,
E un gran coltello il cor le trapassava."

The poem was found in a MS. in the Vatican by Amati; it was said in the MS. that it was legible in the 15th century on the walls of S. Paolo fuori delle mure. It was given by Amati to Perticari, who published it in his Essay in Monti's Proposta, p. 244.

CHAPTER X.

Benedict XI.

NEVER did the Church of Rome want a calmer, more sagacious, or a firmer head: never was a time in which the boldest intellect might stand appalled, or the profoundest piety shrink from the hopeless office of restoring peace between the temporal and the spiritual power. How could the Papacy maintain its ground with safety, or recede with dignity? There seemed this fearful alternative, either to continue the strife with the King of France, with the nation, with the clergy of France; with the King of France, who had not respected the sacred person of the Pope, against whose gold and against whose emissaries in Italy no Pope was secure: with the nation, now one with the King; with the clergy of France, who had acknowledged the right of bringing the Pope before a General Council, a Council not to be held in Rome or in Italy, but in Lyons, if not in the dominions, under the control, of the King of France; among whom it could not be unknown, that new and extreme doctrines had been propagated, unrebuked, and with general acceptance.^a Or, on the other

^a Two remarkable writings will be found in Goldastus, *De Monarchia*, ii., which endeavoured to define the limits of the temporal and spiritual powers, asserting the entire independence and superiority of the temporal sovereign in temporal things; one by Egidius, Archbishop of Bourges; one by John of Paris. There is an excellent summary of both in the posthumous volume of Neander's history, pp. 24-35.

hand, to disown the arrogance, the offensive language, the naked and unmeasured assertion of principles which the Pontificate was not prepared to abandon; to sacrifice the memory, to leave unreprieved, unpunished, the outrage on the person of Boniface. Were the Colonnas to be admitted to all the honours and privileges of the Cardinalate? the dreadful days at Anagni, the violence against Boniface, the plunder of the Papal treasures to be left (dire precedent!) in impunity? Were William of Nogaret, and Sciarra Colonna, and Reginald de Supino, and the other rebellious Barons to triumph in their unhallowed misdeeds, to revel in their impious plunder? Yet how to strike the accomplices and leave the author of the crime unscathed? Would the proud King of France abandon his loyal and devoted subjects to the Papal wrath?

Yet the Conclave,^b as though the rival factions had not time to array themselves in their natural hostility, or to provoke each other to mutual recriminations, in but a few days came, it should seem, to an unanimous suffrage. Benedict XI. Nicolas Boccasini, Bishop of Ostia, was raised to the throne of St. Peter. He was a man of humble race, born at Treviso, educated at Venice, of the Order of St. Dominic. He was of blameless morals and gentle manners. He had been employed to settle the affairs of Hungary during the contested succession for the crown: he had conducted himself with moderation and ability. He had been one of the Cardinals who adhered with unshaken fidelity to Boniface; he had witnessed, perhaps suffered in, the

^b According to Ciacconius there were eighteen Cardinals living at the time of the death of Boniface. See the list, not of course including the Colonnas. There were two Orsinis, two Gaetanis.

deplorable outrage at Anagni. He took the name of Benedict XI.

Benedict began his reign with consummate prudence, yet not without the lofty assertion of the Papal power. He issued a Bull to rebuke Frederick of Arragon, the King of Trinacria, for presuming to date the acts of his reign from the time at which he had assumed the crown of Sicily, not that of the treaty in which the Pope acknowledged his title. The Arragonese prince was reminded that he held the crown but for his life, that it then passed back to the Angevine line, the French house of Naples.^c

The only act which before the close of the year took cognisance of the affair of Anagni, was a Bull of excommunication not against the assailants of the Pope's person, but against the plunderers of the Papal treasures. The Archdeacon of Xaintonge was armed with full powers to persuade or to enforce their restitution. A fond hope! as if such treasures were likely to be either won or extorted from such hands. The rest of the year and the commencement of the next were occupied with remote negotiations—which, in however perilous state stood the Papacy, were never neglected by the Pope—the affairs of Norway and of the Byzantine Empire in the East.

Philip had no sooner heard of the death of Boniface and the accession of Benedict than he named
Feb. 25,
1304. his ambassadors to offer his congratulations, worded in the most flattering terms, on the elevation of Benedict. They were Berard, Lord of Marcueil, Peter de Belleperche a Canon of Chartres, a profound jurist, and, it might seem as a warning to the Pope that he

^c Bull in Raynaldus, sub ann.

was determined to retract nothing, William de Plasian But already Benedict, in his wisdom, had, un-^{His con-} compelled, out of his own generous will, made ^{cillatory} all the concessions to which he was disposed, or which ^{measures.} his dignity would endure. Already in Paris the King, the Prelates, the Barons, and people of France had been declared absolved from the excommunication under which they lay.^d During that excommunication the Pope could hold no intercourse with the King of the realm; he could receive no ambassadors from the Court.

The envoys of the King were received with civility. In the spring a succession of conciliatory ^{April 2,} edicts seemed framed in order to heal the ^{1304.} threatened breach between the Papacy and its ancient ally, the King of France. There was nothing to offend in a kind of pardonable ostentation of condescension, kept up by the Pope, a paternal superiority which he still maintained; the King of France was to be the pious Joash, to listen to the counsels of the High Priest, Jehoiada. The censures against the prelates for contumacy in not obeying the citation to Rome were rescinded; the right of giving instruction in the civil and canon law restored to the universities. Even the affairs of the Archbishop of Narbonne and the Bishop of Pamiers, the first causes of the dispute, were brought to an amicable conclusion. All the special privileges of the Kings of France in spiritual matters were given back in the amplest and most gracious manner. The tenths on the clergy were granted for two years on

^d This was granted "absente et non petente." — Benedict's letter in Dupuy, p. 207 This is confirmed by the continuator of Nangis. Compare Mansi's note in Raynaldus, ad ann. 1304. The Anagni excommunicator had not been promulgated.

account of the war in Flanders; the famous Bull "Clericis Laicos" was mitigated so as to deprive it of its injurious and offensive spirit. It permitted all voluntary subsidies, leaving the King and the clergy to determine what degree of compulsion was consistent with free-will offerings.

The Colonnas found a hearing with this calm and wise Pope. They had entreated the interference of the King of France in their cause; they asserted that the Pope had no power to degrade Cardinals; that they had been deposed, despoiled, banished by the mere arbitrary mandate of Boniface, without citation, without trial, without hearing: and this by a Pope of questionable legitimacy. Their restoration by Benedict is described by himself as an act of becoming mercy: he eludes all discussion on the justice of the sentence, or the conduct of his predecessor. But their rehabilitation was full and complete, with some slight limitations. The sentence of deposition from the Cardinalate, the privation of benefices, the disability to obtain the Papacy, the attainder of the family both in the male and female line, were absolutely revoked. The restitution of the confiscated property was reserved for future arrangement with the actual possessors. Palestrina alone was not to be rebuilt or fortified; it was to remain a devoted place, and not again to become the seat of a Bishop. Even the name of Sciarra Colonna appears in this act of clemency.^e William of Nogaret was the only Frenchman excepted from this comprehensive amnesty: even he was not inflexibly excluded from all hope of absolution. But the act of pardon for so heinous an offence as his

^e Raynald. sub ann. 1304.

was reserved for the special wisdom and mercy of the Pope himself. In another document † Sciarra Colonna is joined with William of Nogaret as the yet unforgiven offenders.

Peace might seem at hand. The King of France, with every one of the great causes of quarrel thus generously removed, with such sacrifices to his wounded pride, would resume his old position as the favourite son, the close ally, the loyal protector of the Papacy. If, with a fidelity unusual in kings, in kings like Philip, he should scruple to abandon his faithful instruments, men who had not shrunk from sacrilege, hardly from murder, in his cause, yet the Pope did not seem disposed to treat even them with immitigable severity. The Pope, though honour, justice, the sanctity of the person of the Pontiff, might require that some signal mark of retribution should separate from all other criminals William of Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna, perhaps too his own rebellious barons and the inhabitants of Anagni, who rose against Boniface; yet would hardly think it necessary to drive such desperate men to worse desperation. But the profound personal hatred of Philip the Fair to Boniface VIII., or his determination still further to humiliate that power which could presume to interfere with his hard despotism, was not satiated with the death; he would pursue the memory of Boniface, and so far justify his own cruel and insulting acts by obtaining from a General Council the solemn confirmation of those strange charges on which Boniface had been arraigned by Nogaret and De Plasian.

The King determines to persecute the memory of Boniface.

Another embassy from France appeared at Rome,

† Seen by Raynaldus. See *in loco*.

but not addressed to the Pope—Walter de Chatenay and Peter de Celle, with a notary, Peter de Piperno. According to their instructions, they visited singly and severally each of the Cardinals then resident in Rome. "The King of France," they said, "in the full Parliament of all his Prelates and Barons, from his zealous reverence for the Church and the throne of St. Peter, had determined that the Church should be ruled by a legitimate Pontiff, and not by one who so grossly abused his power as Boniface VIII. They had resolved to summon a General Council, in order that Boniface might prove his innocence (they had the effrontery to say, as they devoutly hoped!) of the accusations urged against him; and not only for that purpose, but for the good of Christendom, and (of course) for the war in the Holy Land."⁸ To each of the Cardinals was put the plain question whether he would concur in the convocation of this General Council, and promote it by his aid and countenance. Five made the cautious answer that they would deliberate with the Pope in his Consistory on this weighty matter. Five gave in their adhesion to the King of France. The same proceeding took place with six Cardinals at Viterbo. Of these four took the more prudent course; two gave their suffrage for the General Council.

Benedict XI. might think that he had carried concession far enough. He had shown his placability, he had now to show his firmness. The obstinacy of the King of France in persecuting the memory of Boniface, in pressing forward the General Council; the profound degradation of the Papacy, if a General Council should

⁸ April 8, 1304. The King could not have received the Papal edicts, but he must have known the mild disposition of Benedict.

be permitted to sit in judgement even on a dead Pope; the desecration of the Papal Holiness if any part of these foul charges should be even apparently proved; the injustice, the cowardliness of leaving the body of his predecessor to be thus torn in pieces by his rabid enemies; the well-grounded mistrust of a tribunal thus convoked, thus constituted, thus controlled; all these motives arrested the Pontiff in his conciliatory course, and unhappily disturbed the dispassionate dignity which he had hitherto maintained.

A Bull came forth against the actors in the tragedy of Anagni. Language seemed labouring to express the horror and detestation of the Pope at this "flagitious wickedness and wicked flagitiousness." Fifteen persons were named — William of Nogaret, Reginald de Supino and his son, the two sons of the man whom Boniface held in prison, Sciarra Colonna, the Anagnese who had aided them. It denounced their cruelty, their blasphemy against the Pope, their plunder of the sacred treasures. These acts had been done publicly, openly, notoriously, in the sight of Benedict himself—acts of capital treason, of rebellion, of sacrilege; crimes against the Julian law of public violence, the Cornelian against assassinations; acts of lawless imprisonment, plunder, robbery, crimes and felonies which struck men dumb with amazement. "Who is so cruel as to refrain from tears? who so hateful as to refuse compassion? What indolent and remiss judge will not rise up to punish? Who is safe, when in his native city no longer is security, his house is no longer his refuge? The Pontiff himself is thus dishonoured, and the Church thus brought into captivity with her Lord. O inexpiable guilt! O miserable Anagni, who hast endured such things! May the rair

June 7,
1304.

and the dew never fall upon thee! O most unhappy perpetrators of a crime, so adverse to the spirit of King David, who kept untouched the Lord's anointed though his foe, and avenged his death." The Bull declares excommunicate all the above-named, who in their proper persons were guilty of the crime at Anagni, and all who had aided and abetted them by succour, counsel, or favour. Philip himself could hardly stand beyond this sweeping anathema. The Pope cited these persons to appear before him on the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, there to receive their sentence. The citation was fixed on the gates of the cathedral of Perugia. The Bull^h was promulgated on the 7th of June; on the 27th of July Benedict was dead.

The Pope had retired to Perugia from Rome—perhaps to avoid the summer heats, but no doubt also for greater security than he could command in Rome, where the Colonnas were strong, and the French party powerful through their gold. There he meditated and aimed this blow, which, by appalling the more rancorous foes of Boniface, might scare them from preying on his remains, and thus reinvest the Papacy, which had condescended far below its wont, in awe and majesty. Many of the Cardinals had remonstrated against the departure of the Pope from Rome, which was almost by stealth; it was rumoured that he thought of fixing the Papal residence in one of the Lombard cities. They had refused to accompany him. But Perugia was not more safe than Rome. It is said that while the Pope was at dinner, a young female veiled and in the dress of a novice of St. Petronilla in Perugia, offered him in a silver basin some beautiful fresh figs, of which he was very fond, as from

^h The Bull in Raynaldus, sub ann.

the abbess of that convent. The Pope, not suspecting a gift from such a hand, ate them eagerly, and without having them previously tasted.¹ That he died of poison few in that age would venture to doubt. William of Nogaret, Sciarra Colonna, Musciatto de' Francesi, the Cardinal Napoleon Orsini, were each silently arraigned as guilty of this new crime. One Ghibelline writer, hostile to Benedict, names the King of France as having suborned the butler of the Pope to perpetrate this fearful deed. Yet the disorder was a dysentery, which lasted seven or eight days, not an unusual effect of the immoderate use of rich fruit. No one thought that a death so seasonable to one party, so unseasonable to another, could be in the course of nature.

Fifteen years afterwards a Franciscan friar of Toulouse, named Bernard, was accused at Carcassonne as concerned, by magic and other black arts, in the poisoning of Benedict XI. This was not his only crime. He was charged with having excited the populace against the rival Order of the Friar Preachers and the Inquisition, of having broken open the prisons of the Inquisition, and set free the prisoners: he was charged with magic and divination, and with believing in the visions of the Abbot Joachim. He was one of the fanatic Fraticelli, seemingly a man of great daring and energy. The Ecclesiastical Judges declared that they could find no proof, either from his own mouth or from other evidence, of his concern in the poisoning of Benedict. He was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in irons. The King's advocates impeached the sentence,

¹ "Le mangiava volentieri e senza farne fare saggio."—Villani. This simple sentence of wonder, that the Pope would eat anything untasted, is frightfully expressive. viii. c. 80.

renewed the charge of his being an accomplice in the poisoning of the Pope, and demanded that he should be delivered to the secular arm. The Pope (John XXII.) aggravated the severity of his sentence by prohibiting any mitigation of his penance; but spoke very generally of his enormous crimes.^k

^k See the very curious documents in Baluzius.—*Vitæ Papat Avinionen.* vol. ii, No. liii.

BOOK XII.

CONTEMPORARY CHRONOLOGY.

POPES.		EMPERORS.		KINGS OF FRANCE.		KINGS OF ENGLAND.		KINGS OF SCOTLAND.	
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
1905 Clement V.	1814	1298 Albert of Austria	1807			Edward I.	1807	1806 Robert I. (Bruce)	1329
<i>Vacancy.</i>		1803 <i>Vacant.</i>		Philip the Fair	1814	1807 Edward II.	1327		
		1804 Henry of Luxemburg	1813	1814 Louis de Hutin					
1816 John XXII.	1834	1814 Louis of Bavaria	1847	1815 John I.					
				1816 Philip the Long	1821				
						1827 Edward III.	1877		
		(Frederick of Austria.)		1821 Charles IV. the Fair	1828	<i>Archbishops of Canterbury.</i>		1829 David II.	
1834 Benedict XII.	1842			1828 Philip of Valois	1851	1294 Robert of Winchelsey	1313		
1842 Clement VI.	1852					1313 Walter Reynolds.			
		1847 Charles IV. of Luxemburg	1878	1851 John II.	1864	1327 Simon Mepham.			
1852 Innocent VI.	1862			1864 Charles IV.	1880	1333 John Stratford.			
1862 Urban V.	1870					1348 Thomas Bradwardine.			
1870 Gregory XI.	1878					1349 Simon Islip.			
						1386 Simon Langham.			
						1367 William Whittlesey.			
						1375 Simon Sudbury.		1370 Robert II.	

KINGS OF SPAIN.		KINGS OF PORTUGAL.		KINGS OF SWEDEN.		KINGS OF POLAND.		EASTERN EMPERORS.	
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
<i>Castile.</i>		Dionysius	1325	Berger II.	1328	1805 Ladislaus IV.		Andronicus Paleologus	1320
Ferdinand IV.	1812							1820 Andronicus II. Paleologus	1841
1812 Alfonso XII.	1850	1326 Alfonso IV.	1897	1826 Magnus III.		1833 Casimir the Great.			
1850 Peter the Cruel.				1864 Albert.				1841 John V. Paleologus.	
1869 Henry the Bastard		1887 Peter the Cruel	1867			1870 Louis of Hungary.			
		1867 Ferdinand I.							
<i>Aragon.</i>				KINGS OF DENMARK.					
James the Just	1897			Erick VIII.	1821				
1897 Alfonso IV.	1896			1821 Christopher	1838				
1896 Peter IV.	1880			1838 Waldemar.					

BOOK XII.

THE POPES IN AVIGNON.



CHAPTER I.

Clement V.

THE period in the Papal history has arrived which in the Italian writers is called the Babylonish captivity: it lasted more than seventy years.^a Rome is no longer the Metropolis of Christendom; the Pope is a French Prelate. The successor of St. Peter is not on St. Peter's throne; he is environed with none of the traditionary majesty or traditionary sanctity of the Eternal City; he has abandoned the holy bodies of the Apostles, the churches of the Apostles. It is perhaps the most marvellous part of its history, that the Papacy, having sunk so low, sank no lower; that it recovered its degradation; that, from a satellite, almost a slave, of the King of France, the Pontiff ever emerged again to be an independent potentate; and, although the great line of mediæval Popes, of Gregory, of Alexander III., and the Innocents, expired in Boniface VIII., that he could resume even his modified supremacy. There is no proof so strong of the vitality of the Papacy as that it could establish the law that wherever the Pope is, there is the throne of St. Peter; that he could cease to be Bishop of Rome in all but in name, and then take back again the abdicated Bishopric.

• From 1305 to 1376.

Never was revolution more sudden, more total, it might seem more enduring in its consequences. The close of the last century had seen Boniface VIII. advancing higher pretensions, if not wielding more actual power, than any former Pontiff; the acknowledged pacificator of the world, the arbiter between the Kings of France and England, claiming and exercising feudal as well as spiritual supremacy over many kingdoms, bestowing crowns as in Hungary, awarding the Empire; with millions of pilgrims at the Jubilee in Rome, still the centre of Christendom, paying him homage which bordered on adoration, and pouring the riches of the world at his feet. The first decade of the new century is not more than half passed; Pope Clement V. is a voluntary prisoner, but not the less a prisoner, in the realm, or almost within the precincts of France; struggling in vain to escape from the tyranny of his inexorable master, and to break or elude the fetters wound around him by his own solemn engagements. He is almost forced to condemn his predecessor for crimes of which he could hardly believe him guilty; to accept a niggardly, and perhaps never-fulfilled, penance from men almost murderers of a Pope; to sacrifice, on evidence which he himself manifestly mistrusted, one of the great military orders of Christendom to the hatred or avarice of Philip. The Pope, from Lord over the freedom of the world, had ceased to be a free agent.

The short Pontificate of Benedict XI. had exasperated, rather than allayed, the divisions in the Conclave.^b

^b There were now nineteen Cardinals, according to Ciacconius, exclusive of the Colonnas. One of the former Conclave had died. Pope Benedict had named two, the Cardinal of Prato (Ostia and Velletri), and an Englishman, Walter Winterburn of Salisbury.

The terrible fate of the two last Popes had not cooled down the eager competition for the perilous ^{Conclave.} dignity. The Cardinals assembled at Perugia. The two factions, the French and that of the partisans and kindred of Boniface VIII., were headed, the latter by Matteo Orsini and Francesco Gaetani, brother of the late Pope, the former by Napoleon Orsini and the Cardinal da Prato.^c The Colonna Cardinals had not yet been permitted to resume their place in the Conclave. The elder, James Colonna, had lived in seclusion, if not in concealment, at Perugia. He came forth from his hiding-place; he summoned his nephew, who had found an asylum at Padua, to his aid. They had an unlimited command of French money. But this money could hold, it could not turn, the balance between the two Orsini, each of whom aspired to be, or to create the Pope. The Conclave met, it separated, it met again; they wrangled, intrigued; each faction strove, but in vain, to win the preponderance by stubbornness or by artifice, by bribery in act or promise.^d Months wore away. At length the people of Perugia grew weary of the delay: they surrounded the Conclave; threatened to keep the Cardinals as prisoners; demanded with loud outcries a Pope; any hour they might proceed to worse violence: by one account they unroofed the house in which the Cardinals sat, and cut off their provisions.^e One day the Cardinal da Prato accosted Francesco Gaetani, "We are doing sore wrong: it is an evil and a scandal to Christendom to deprive it so long of its Chief Pastor." "It rests not with us,"

^c Ferretus Vicentinus, Murat. R. I. S. p. 1014.

suasio, quæquæ constat in donis $\frac{1}{2}$ spectata fiducia."—Ferret. Vicent.

^d "Ut multum valet aurea per-

^e Ibid. p. 4015.

replied Gaetani. "Will you accede to any reasonable scheme which may reconcile our differences?"

The Cardinal da Prato then proposed that ^{Compact.} one party should name three Ultramontane (Northern) Prelates, not of the Sacred College, on one of whom the adverse party should pledge itself to unite its suffrages. Gaetani consented, on condition that the Bonifacians should name the three Prelates. They were named; among the three the Archbishop of Bordeaux.

Bernard de Goth had been raised by Boniface VIII. from the small bishopric of Comminges to the archiepiscopal seat of Bordeaux. As a subject of the King of England, he owed only a more remote allegiance to his suzerain, the King of France.^f He was committed in some personal hostility with Charles of Valois. Throughout the strife between the Pope and the King he had been on the Pope's side. He had withdrawn in disguise from the Court in order to obey the Pope's summons to Rome: he was among the Prelates assembled in November at Rome. If there was any Transalpine Prelate whom the kindred and friends of Boniface might suppose secure to their party, from his inclinations, his gratitude, his animosities, his former conduct, it was Bernard de Goth. But the sagacious Cardinal da Prato knew the man; he knew the Gascon character. Forty days were to elapse before the election. In eleven days a courier was in Paris. In six ^{Interview of King and Archbishop.} days more the King and the Archbishop of Bordeaux, each with a few chosen attendants, met in a forest belonging to the Monastery of St. Jean d'Angely. The secrets of that interview are related, perhaps with

^f Yet it is said, "Licet in Anglicâ regione præsul esset, tamen Philippe gratissimus, quod a juventute familiaris extitisset."--Ferret. Vicent.

suspicious particularity. Yet the King, having achieved his purpose, was not likely to conceal his part in the treaty, especially from his secret counsellors, who had possibly some interest to divulge, none to conceal, the whole affair. The King began by requesting the reconciliation of the Archbishop with Charles of Valois. He then opened the great subject of the interview. He showed to the dazzled eyes of the Prelate the despatch of the Cardinal da Prato. "One word from me, and you are Pope." But the King insisted on six conditions:—I. His own full and complete reconciliation with the Church. II. The absolution of all persons whom he had employed in his strife with Boniface. III. The tenths for five years from the clergy of the realm. IV. The condemnation of the memory of Boniface. V. The reinvestment of the Colonnas in the rank and honours of the Cardinalate. The VIth and last was a profound secret, which he reserved for himself to claim when the time of its fulfilment should be come. That secret has never been fully revealed. Some have thought, and not without strong ground, that Philip already meditated the suppression of the Templars. The cautious King was not content with the acquiescence, or with the oath, of the Archbishop, an oath from which, as Pope, he might release himself. De Goth was solemnly sworn upon the Host: he gave up his brother and two nephews as hostages. Before

June 5,
1305.

thirty-five days had passed, the Cardinal da Prato had secret intelligence of the compact. They proceeded to the ballot; Bernard de Goth was unanimously chosen Pope. In the Cathedral of Bordeaux he took the name of Clement V.

The first ominous warning to the Italian Prelates was a summons to attend the coronation of the new Pope,

not at Rome or in Italy, but at Lyons. The Cardinal Matteo Orsini is said to have uttered a sad vaticination: "It will be long before we behold the face of another Pope."⁶ Clement began his slow progress towards Lyons at the end of August. He passed through Agen, Toulouse, Beziers, Montpellier, and Nismes. The monasteries which were compelled to lodge and entertain the Pope and all his retinue murmured at the pomp and luxury of his train: many of them were heavily impoverished by this enforced hospitality. At Montpellier he received the homage of the Kings of Majorca and Arragon: he confirmed the King of Arragon in the possession of the islands of Corsica and Sardinia, and received his oath of fealty. He Oct. 7. had invited to his coronation his two sovereigns, the Kings of France and England. The King of England alleged important affairs in Scotland as an excuse for not doing honour to his former vassal. The Kings of France and Majorca were present. On the Cardinal Matteo Orsini, Italian, Roman, to the heart, devolved the office of crowning the Gascon Pope, whose aversion to Italy he well knew. The Pope Nov. 14.
Coronation
at Lyons. rode in solemn state from the Church of St. Just in the royal castle of Lyons to the palace prepared for him. The King of France at first held his bridle, and then yielded the post of humble honour to his brothers, Charles of Valois, and Louis of Evreux, and to the Duke of Bretagne. The pomp was interrupted by a dire and ominous calamity. An old wall fell as they passed. The Pope was thrown from his horse, but escaped unhurt: his gorgeous crown rolled in the mire. The Duke of Bretagne, with eleven or

⁶ VI. Vit. Clement. apud Baluz.

twelve others, was killed: Charles of Valois seriously hurt.

Clement V. hastened to fulfil the first of his engagements to the King of France, perhaps designing by this ready zeal to avert, elude, or delay the accomplishment of those which were more difficult or more humiliating. The King of France had plenary absolution: he was received as again the favoured son and protector of the Church. To the King were granted the tenths on all the revenues of the Church of France for five years. The Colonnas were restored to their dignity; they resumed the state, dress, and symbols of the Cardinalate, and took their place in the Sacred College. A promotion of ten Cardinals showed what interest was hereafter to prevail in the Conclave. Among the ten were the Bishops of Toulouse and Beziers, the Archbishop (Elect) of Bordeaux and the nephew of the Pope, the King's Confessor Nicolas de Francavilla, the King's Chancellor Stephen, Archdeacon of Bruges. A French Pope was to be surrounded by a French Court.

Measure followed measure to propitiate the Pope's master. Of the two famous Bulls, that denominated "Clericis Laicos" was altogether abrogated, as having been the cause of grievous scandals, dangers, and inconveniences. The old decrees of the Lateran and other Councils concerning the taxation of the clergy were declared to be the law of the Church. As to the other, the "Unam Sanctam," the dearest beloved son Philip of France, for his loyal attachment to the Church of Rome, had deserved that the Pope should declare this statute to contain nothing to his prejudice; that he, his realm, and his people, were exactly in the same state, as regarded the See of Rome, as before the promulgation of that Bull.

The Pope
fulfils his
vows.

New car-
dinals.

But there were two articles of the compact, besides the secret one, yet unaccomplished, the complete absolution of all the King's agents in the quarrel with the Pope, and the condemnation of the memory of Boniface. The Pope writhed and struggled in vain in the folds of his deathly embarrassment. The King of France could not in honour, he was not disposed by temper to abandon the faithful executioners of his mandates: he might want them for other remorseless services. He could not retreat or let fall the accusations against the deceased Pope. Philip was compelled, like other persecutors, to go on in his persecution. This immitigable, seemingly vindictive, hostility to the fame of Boniface was his only justification. If those high crimes and misdemeanours of which the Pope had been arraigned, those heresies, immoralities, cruelties, enormities, were admitted to be groundless, or dropped as not thought worthy of proof, the seizure of Anagni became a barbarous, cowardly, and unnecessary outrage on a defenceless old man, an impious sacrilege: William of Nogaret and his accomplices were base and cruel assassins.

Already, before the death of Benedict, William of Nogaret had issued one strong protest against his condemnation. During the vacancy he ^{William of} _{Nogaret.} allowed no repose to the memory of Boniface, and justified himself against the terrible anathema of Benedict. He appeared before the official of his diocesan, the Bishop of Paris, and claimed absolution from a censure issued by the Pope under false information. He promulgated two memorials: in the first he adduced sixty heads of accusation against Boniface; in the second he protested at great length against the rash proceedings of Pope Benedict. The Bull of Benedict had cited him to appear at Rome on the Festival of

St. Peter and St. Paul. He excused his contumacy in not appearing: he was in France, the citation had not been served upon him; and also by reason of the death of the Pope, as well as on account of his powerful enemies in Italy. Nogaret entered into an elaborate account of his own intercourse with Pope Boniface. Five years before, he had been the King's ambassador to announce the treaty of Philip with Albert, King of the Romans. The Pope demanded Tuscany as the price of his consent to that alliance. It was then that William of Nogaret heard at Rome the vices and misdeeds of the Pope, of which he was afterwards arraigned, and had humbly implored the Pope to desist from his simonies and extortions. The Pope had demanded whether he spoke in his own name or in that of the King. Nogaret had replied, in his own, out of his great zeal for the Church. The Pope had roared with passion, like a madman, and had heaped on him menaces, insults, and blasphemies.^b

Nogaret treats the refusal of Boniface to appear before the Council when first summoned at Anagni as an act of contumacy; he therefore (Nogaret) was justified in using force towards a contumacious criminal. He asserts that he saved the life of Boniface when others would have killed him; that he tried to protect the treasure, of which he had not touched a penny; he had kept the Pope with a decent attendance, and supplied him with food and drink. Had he slain the wicked usurper he had been justified, as Phineas who pleased the Lord, as Abraham who slew the Kings, Moses the Egyptian, the Maccabees the enemies of God. Pope Benedict had complained of the loss of his treasure, he ought rather to have complained that so vast a treasure

^b Preuves, p. 252.

had been wrung by cruel exactions from the impoverished churches. He asserts that for all his acts he had received absolution from Boniface himself. For all these reasons he appealed to a General Council in the vacancy of the Pontificate, and demanded absolution from the unjust censures of the misinformed Pope Benedict.

William of Nogaret was necessary, as other men of his stamp, for meditated acts of the King, not less cruel or less daring than the surprisal at Anagni and the abasement of the Supreme Pontiff. The King of France, ever rapacious, yet ever necessitous, who must maintain his schemes, his ambition, his wars in Flanders, at lavish cost, but with hardly any certain income but that of the royal domains, had again taken to that coarse expedient of barbarous finance, the debasement of the coin. There were now two standards: in the higher the King and the Nobles exacted the payments of their subjects and vassals; the lower the subjects and vassals were obliged to receive as current money. Everywhere was secret or clamorous discontent, aggravated by famine;¹ discontent in Paris and Orleans rose to insurrection, which endangered the King's government, even his person, and was only put down by extreme measures of cruelty. The King was compelled to make concessions, to consent himself to be paid in the lower coin. But some time had elapsed since the usual financial resource in times of difficulty had been put in force. The Jews had had leisure to become again alluringly rich. William of Nogaret proceeded with his usual rapid resolution. In one day all the Jews were seized, their property confiscated to the Crown, the race expelled

King's distresses.

Jews plundered.

¹ During the winter 1304-5.

the realm. The clergy, in their zeal for the faith, and the hope that their own burthens might be lightened, approved this pious robbery, and rejoiced that France was delivered from the presence of this usurious and miscreant race. William of Nogaret had atoned for some at least of his sins.^k But even this was not his last service.

Pope Clement, in the mean time, hastened to return to Bordeaux. He passed by a different road, through Macon, Clugny, Nevers, Bourges, Limoges, again severely taxing by the honour of his entertainment all the great monasteries and chapters on his way. The Archbishop of Bourges was so reduced as to accept the

The Pope at
Bordeaux.

pittance of a Canon. At Bordeaux the Pope was in the dominions of England, and to Edward of England he showed himself even a more obsequious vassal than to the King of France. He could perhaps secure Edward's protection if too hardly pressed

by his inexorable master, the King of France.

England.

He gave to Edward plenary absolution from all his oaths to maintain the Charters (the Great Charter and the Charter of Forests) extorted from him, as was asserted, by his disloyal subjects.^m Afterwards, casting aside all the haughty pretensions of Pope Boniface, he excommunicated Robert Bruce, now engaged in his gallant strife for the crown of Scotland.ⁿ

But the Pope could not decline the commanding invitation of King Philip to an interview within the realm of France, at Poitiers. To that city he went, but soon repented of having placed himself so completely within the King's power. He attempted to

^k Ordonnances des Rois, i. 443, 447. Vita Clementis. Continuator. Nangis, p. 594. Raynald, sub ann. 1306, c. 29. ^m Rymer. ⁿ Ibid.

make an honourable retreat; he was retained with courteous force, and overwhelmed with specious honour and reverence.

A Congress of Princes might seem assembled to show their flattering respect to the Pontiff:—Philip, with his three sons, his brothers Charles of Valois and Louis Count of Evreux, Robert Count of Flanders, Charles King of Naples, the ambassadors of Edward King of England. Clement, by the prodigality of his concessions, endeavoured to avert the fatal question, the condemnation of Boniface. He was seized with a sudden ardour to place Charles of Valois on the throne of Constantinople, in right of his wife, Isabella of Courtenay. He declared himself the head of a new Crusade, addressed Bulls to all Christendom, in order to expel the feeble Andronicus from the throne, which must fall under the power of the Turks and Saracens, unless filled by a powerful Christian Emperor. He pronounced his anathema against Andronicus. He awarded the kingdom of Hungary to Charobert, grandson of the King of Naples. He took the first steps for the canonisation of Louis, the second son of Charles, who had died Archbishop of Toulouse in the odour of sanctity. He remitted the vast debt owed by the King of Naples to the Papal See, which amounted to 360,000 ounces of gold; a third was absolutely annulled, the rest assigned to the Crusade of Charles of Valois.^o

But the inflexible Philip was neither to be diverted nor dissuaded from exacting the full terms of his bond. He offered to prove forty-three articles of heresy against Boniface; he demanded that the body of the Pope should be disinterred and burned, the ignominious fate

^o Acta apud Baluzium, *xxv.*

of heretics, which he had undeservedly escaped during life. Even the French Cardinals saw and deprecated the fatal consequences of such a proceeding to the Church. All the acts of Boniface, his bulls, decrees, promotions, became questionable. The College of Cardinals was dissolved, at least the nomination of almost all became precarious. The title of Clement himself was doubtful. The effects of breaking the chain of traditional authority were incalculable, interminable. The Supplement to the Canon Law, the Sixth Book of Decretals, at once the most unanswerable proof of the orthodoxy of Boniface and the most full assertion of the rights of the Church, fell to the ground. The foundations of the Papal power were shaken to the base. By the wise advice of the Cardinal da Prato, Clement determined to dissemble and so gain time. Philip himself had demanded a General Council of all Christendom. A General Council alone of all Christendom could give Council of Vienne determined on. dignity and authority to a decree so weighty and unprecedented as the condemnation of a Pope. They only could investigate such judgement. In such an assembly the Prelates of the Christian world, French, English, Germans, Italians, Spaniards, might meet; and the Church, in her full liberty, and with irrefragable solemnity, decide the awful cause. He named the city of Vienne in Dauphiny as the seat of this Great Council. In the mean time he strove to conciliate the counsellors who ruled the mind of Philip. Absolution of De Nogaret. William of Nogaret and his accomplices received full absolution for all their acts in the seizure of Boniface and the plunder of the Papal treasures, on condition of certain penances to be assigned by some of the Cardinals. William of Nogaret was to take arms in the East against the Saracens, and

not to return without permission of the Holy See; but he was allowed five years' delay before he was called on to fulfil this penitential Crusade.^p

The Pope could breathe more freely: he had gained time, and time was inestimable. Who could know what it might bring forth? Even the stubborn hatred of Philip might be, if not mitigated, distracted to some other object. That object seemed to arise at once, great, of absorbing public interest, ministering excitement to all Philip's dominant passions, a religious object of the most surprising, unprecedented, almost appalling nature, and of the most dubious justice and policy, the abolition of the great Order of the Knights Templars. The secret of the last stipulation in the covenant between the King and the Pope remained with themselves; what it was, and whether it was really demanded, was not permitted to transpire. Was it this destruction of the Templars? No one knew: yet all had their conjecture. Or was it some yet remoter scheme, the elevation of his brother or himself to the Imperial throne? It was still a dark, profound, and so more stimulating mystery.

The famous Order of the Temple of Jerusalem had sprung, like all the other great religious institutions of the middle ages, from the humblest origin. Their ancestors were a small band of nine French Knights,^q engaged on a chivalrous adventure, sworn to an especial service, the protection of the Christian pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre through the

A.D. 1118.
The Order of
the Knights
Templars.

^p Raynaldus, sub ann. 1307, c. xi.
^q A.D. 1118. Hugo de Payens,
Godfrey de St. Omer, Raoul, Godfrey
Bisot, Pagans de Montdidier, Archem-

bold de St. Aman, Andrew, Gundomar,
Hugh Count of Provence.—Wilcke,
Geschichte des Tempelherren Ordens,
p. 9

dangerous passes between Jerusalem and the Jordan, that they might bathe, unmolested by the marauding Moslem, in the holy waters. The Templars had become, in almost every kingdom of the West, a powerful, wealthy, and formidable republic, governed by their own laws, animated by the closest corporate spirit, under the severest internal discipline and an all-pervading organisation; independent alike of the civil power and of the spiritual hierarchy. It was a half-military, half-monastic community. The three great monastic vows, implicit obedience to their superiors, chastity, the abandonment of all personal property, were the fundamental statutes of the Order: while, instead of the peaceful and secluded monastery, the contemplative, devotional, or studious life, their convents were strong castles, their life that of the camp or the battle-field, their occupation chivalrous exercises or adventures, war in preparation, or war in all its fierceness and activity. The nine brethren in arms were now fifteen thousand of the bravest, best-trained, most experienced soldiers in the world; armed, horsed, accoutered in the most perfect and splendid fashion of the times; isolated from all ties or interests with the rest of mankind; ready at the summons of the Grand Master to embark on any service; the one aim the power, aggrandisement, enrichment of the Order.

St. Bernard, in his devout enthusiasm, had beheld in the rise of the Templars a permanent and invincible Crusade. The Order (with its rival brotherhood, the Knights of the Hospital or of St. John) was in his view a perpetual sacred militia, which would conquer and maintain the sepulchre of the Lord, become the body-guard of the Christian Kings of Jerusalem, the standing army on the outposts of Christendom. His eloquent

address to the soldiers of the Temple^r was at once the law and the vivid expression of the dominant sentiments of his time; here, as in all things, his age spake in St. Bernard. From that time the devout admiration of Western Christendom in heaping the most splendid endowments of lands, castles, riches of all kinds, on the Knights of the Temple and of the Hospital, supposed that it was contributing in the most efficient manner to the Holy Wars. Successive Popes, the most renowned and wise, especially Innocent III., notwithstanding occasional signs of mistrust and jealousy of their augmenting power, had vied with each other in enlarging the privileges and raising the fame of the Knights of the Temple. Eugenius III., under the influence of St. Bernard, first issued a Bull in their favour; but their great Charter, which invested them in their most valuable rights and privileges,^s was issued A.D. 1172. by Alexander III. They had already ceased to be a lay community, and therefore under spiritual subjection to the clergy. The clergy had been admitted in considerable numbers into the Order, and so their own body administered within themselves all the rites and sacraments of religion. Innocent III. released the clergy in the Order of the Templars from their oath of fidelity and obedience to their Bishop; henceforth they owed allegiance to the Pope alone.^t Honorius III. prohibited all Bishops from excommunicating any Knight Templar,

^r Refer back to vol. iv. 394. Sermo ad Milites Templi, Opera, p. 830.

^s The Bull, *Omne datum optimum*. Compare Wilcke, p. 77. It is translated by Mr. Addison, the Knights Templars, p. 70.

Innocent III., Epist. i. 508, ii. 35, 84, 257, 259. To the Bishops, "Quatenus a capellanis ecclesiarum, quæ pleno jure jam dictis fratribus sunt concessæ, nec fidelitatem, nec obedientiam exigatis, quia Romane tantum Pontifici sunt subjecti."

or laying an interdict on their churches or houses. Gregory IX., Innocent IV., Alexander III., Clement IV. maintained their absolute exemption from episcopal authority. The Grand Master and the brotherhood of the Temple were subordinate only to the supreme head of Christendom. Gregory X. crowned their privileges with an exemption from all contributions to the Holy War, and from the tenths paid by the rest of Christendom for this sacred purpose. The pretence was that their whole lands and wealth were held on that tenure.^u

Nearly two hundred years^x had elapsed since the foundation of the Order, two hundred years of slow, imperceptible, but inevitable change. The Knights Templars fought in the Holy Land with consummate valour, discipline, activity, and zeal; but they fought for themselves, not for the common cause of Christianity. They were an independent army, owing no subordination to the King or Bishop of Jerusalem, or to any of the Sovereigns who placed themselves at the head of a Crusade. They supported or thwarted, according to their own views, the plans of campaigns, joined vigorously in the enterprise, or stood aloof in sullen disapprobation: they made or broke treaties. Thus formidable to the enemies of the faith, they were not less so to its champions. There was a constant rivalry with the Knights of St. John, not of generous emulation, but of power and even of sordid gain. During the expe-

^u "Cum vos ad hoc principaliter laboratis, ut vos pariter et omnia quæ habetis pro ipsius terræ sanctæ defensione, ac Christianæ fidei exponatis, vos eximere a præstatione hujusmodi (decimæ pro terrâ sanctâ) de benignitate Apostolicâ curaremus."—Compa

Wilcke, ii. p. 195.

^x 1118—1307. As early as the Crusade of the Emperor Conrad (1147), Conrad would have taken Damascus, "nisi avaritia, dolus et invidia Templariorum obstitisset."—Annal. Herbig. Pertz. xvi. p. 7.

dition of Frederick II. the Master of the Templars and the whole Order had espoused the cause of the Pope. To their stubborn opposition was attributed, no doubt with much justice, the failure or rather the imperfect success of that Crusade.

The character of the war in the East had also changed, unnoticed, unobserved. There was no longer the implacable mutual aversion, or rather abhorrence, with which the Christian met the Saracen, the Saracen the Christian; from which the Christian thought that by slaying the Saracen he was avenging the cause of his Redeemer, and washing off his own sins; the Saracen that in massacring the Christian, or trampling on the Christian dog, he was acting according to the first principles of his faith, and winning Paradise. This traditionary, almost inborn, antipathy had worn away by long intermingling, and given place to the courtesies and mutual respect of a more chivalrous warfare. The brave and generous Knight could not but admire bravery and generosity in his antagonist. The accidents of war led to more intimate acquaintance, acquaintance to hospitable even to social intercourse, social intercourse to a fairer estimation of the better qualities on both sides. The prisoner was not always reduced to a cruel and debasing servitude, or shut up in a squalid dungeon. He became the guest, the companion, of his high-minded captor. A character like that of Saladin, which his fiercest enemies could not behold without awe and admiring wonder, must have softened the detestation with which it was once the duty of the Christian to look on the Unbeliever. The lofty toleration of Frederick II. might offend the more zealous by its approximation to indifference, but was not altogether uncongenial to the dominant feeling. How far had that indifference, which was so hardly

reproached against Frederick, crept into the minds and hearts of Frederick's most deadly enemies? How far had Mohammedanism lost its odious and repulsive character to the Templars, and begun to appear not as a monstrous and wicked idolatry to be refuted only with the good sword, but as a sublime and hardly irrational Theism? How far had Oriental superstitions, belief in magic, in the power of amulets and talismans, divination, mystic signs and characters, dealings with genii or evil spirits, seized on the excited imaginations of those adventurous but rude warriors of the West, and mingled with that secret ceremonial which was designed to impress upon the initiated the inflexible discipline of the Order? How far were the Templars orientalised by their domiciliation in the East? Had their morals escaped the taint of Oriental licence? Vows of chastity were very different to men of hot blood, inflamed by the sun of the East, in the freedom of the camp or the marauding expedition, provoked by the sack and plunder of towns, the irruption into the luxurious harems of their foes; and to monks in close-watched seclusion, occupied every hour of the day and night with religious services, emaciated by the fast and scourge, and become, as it were, the shadows of men. If even Western devotees were so apt, as was ever the case, to degenerate into debauchery, the individual Templar at least would hardly maintain his austere and impeccable virtue. Those unnatural vices, which it offends Christian purity even to allude to, but which are looked upon if not with indulgence, at least without the same disgust in the East, were chiefly charged upon the Templars. Yet after all, it was the pride rather than the sensuality of the Order which was their characteristic and proverbial crime. Richard I., who must

have known them well in the East, bequeathed not his avarice, or his lust, but his pride, to the Knights of the Temple.

But the Templars were not a great colony of warriors transplanted and settled in the East as their permanent abode, having broken off all connexion with their native West. They were powerful feudal lords, lords of castles and domains and estates, a self-governed community in all the kingdoms of Europe. Hence their total expulsion, with the rest of the Christian establishments, from Palestine, left them not, as might have been expected, without home, without possessions, discharged, as it were, from their mission by its melancholy and ignominious failure. The loss of the Temple, the irretrievable loss, might seem to imply the dissolution of the defenders of the Temple: it might be thought to disband and disclaim them as useless and worn-out veterans. The bitter disappointment of the Christian world at that loss would attribute the shame, the guilt, to those whose especial duty it was, the very charter of their foundation, to protect it. That guilt was unanswerably shown by God's visible wrath. His abandonment of the tomb of his Blessed Son was a proof which could not be gainsaid, that the Christians, those especially designated for the glorious service, were unworthy of that honour. Any charge of wickedness so denounced, it might seem, by God himself, would find ready hearing.

Loss of
Palestine.

The Knights of the Hospital, more fortunate or more sagacious, had found an occupation for their arms, of which perhaps themselves did not appreciate the full importance, the conquest of Rhodes. Their establishment in that island became the bulwark, long the unconquerable outpost of Christen-

Conquest of
Rhodes by
Knights of
St. John.

dom in the East. The Templars, if they did not altogether stand aloof from that enterprise, disdained to act a secondary part, and to aid in subduing for their rivals that in which those rivals would claim exclusive dominion.⁷

Clement V., soon after his accession, had summoned the Grand Masters of the two Orders to Europe, under the pretext of consulting them on the affairs of the East, on succours to be afforded to the King of Armenia, and on plans which had been already formed for the union of the two Orders. It does not appear whether, either with a secret understanding with the King of France, or of his own accord, he as yet contemplated hostile measures against the Order. He declares himself, that while at Lyons he had heard reports unfavourable both to the faith and to the conduct of the Templars: but he had rejected with disdain all impeachment against an Order which had warred so valiantly and shed so much noble blood in defence of the Sepulchre of the Lord. His invitation was couched in the smoothest terms of religious adulation.⁸

Du Molay,^a Grand Master of the Order, manifestly altogether unsuspecting, obeyed the Papal invitation. The Grand Master of the Hospitalers alleged his engagement in the siege of Rhodes. But if Du Molay had designed to precipitate the fall of his Order, he could not have followed a more fatal course of policy. His return to Europe was not that of the head of an institution whose occupation and special

⁷ Raynald. sub ann. 1306.

⁸ "De quorum circumspectâ probitate, et probatâ circumspectione ac vulgatâ fidelitate fiduciam teneamus." So wrote Clement V. The

letter is in Raynaldus, date June 6, 1306.

^a See in Raynouard, *Monuments Historiques*, p. 15 *et seqq.*, the life and services of Du Molay.

function was in the East, and who held all they possessed on the tenure of war against the Moslemin. He might rather seem an independent Prince, intending to take up his permanent abode and live in dignity and wealth on their ample domains, or rather territories, in Europe. He might seem almost wantonly to alarm the jealous apprehensions, and stimulate the insatiable rapacity of Philip the Fair. He assembled around him in Cyprus a retinue of sixty, the most distinguished Knights of the Order, collected a great mass of treasure, and left the Marshal of the Order as Regent in that island. In this state, having landed in the south, and made his slow progress through France, he entered the capital, and proceeded to the mansion of the Order, in Paris as well as in London perhaps the most ^{Entry into Paris.} spacious, the strongest, and even most magnificent edifice in the city. The treasure which Du Molay brought was reported to amount to the enormous sum of one hundred and fifty thousand golden florins and a vast quantity of silver. The populace wondered at the long train of sumpter horses,^b as they moved through the narrow streets to the Temple citadel, which confronted the Louvre in its height and strength. Du Molay was received with ostentatious courtesy by the King. Everything flattered his pride and security; there was no sign, no omen of the danger which lowered around him.

Yet Du Molay, if of less generous and unsuspecting nature, should have known the character of Philip, and

^b Raynourard says, p. 17, "Outre l'immense trésor que l'Ordre conservait dans le palais du Temple à Paris, le chef apporta de l'Orient cent cin-
quante mille florins d'or, et une grande quantité de gros tournois d'argent, qui formaient la charge de douze chevaux sommes considérables pour le temps."

that every motive which actuated that unscrupulous King was concentrated in its utmost intensity against his Order. Philip's manifest policy was the submission of the whole realm to his despotic power; the elevation of the kingly authority above all feudal check, or ecclesiastical control. Would he endure an armed brotherhood, a brotherhood so completely organised, in itself more formidable than any army he could bring into the field, to occupy a fortress in his capital and other strongholds throughout the kingdom? It was no less his policy to establish an uniform taxation, a heavy and grinding taxation, on all classes, on the Church as on the laity. The Templars had stubbornly refused to pay the tenths which he had levied everywhere else almost without resistance.^c There were strong suspicions that during the strife with the King, Boniface had reckoned on the secret if not active support of the Templars, who, as highly favoured by the Pope, had almost always been high Papalists.^d If they had not held a congregation in defence of Boniface, such congregation might have been held.^e For this reason no doubt, if not for a darker one—some concern in the burning of his father—William of Nogaret hated the Templars with all the hatred which he had not exhausted on Pope Boniface.^f

^c They were exempt by the Papal privilege. These tenths were still in theory permitted by the Pope, as though for holy uses—the recovery of Palestine.

^d "In diebus suis admirabilis novitas et persecutio facta est super Ordinem Templariorum, quod processit ex invidiâ et cupiditate Philippi Francorum regis, qui odio Templariis ha-

bebat, eo quod ausi fuerant stare contra ipsum ex sententiâ excommunicationis, datâ per dictum Bonifacium contra dictum Regem."—*Chronic. Astens. Murator.* xi. p. 193.

^e One writer says, "Quia contra Regem congregationem fecerunt."

^f "Gulielmus de Nogaret, Regis Franciæ auctor fuit pro posse ruinæ ordinis Templariorum, eò quod patrem

Philip knew well not only the strength but the wealth of the Order. He knew their strength, for during the insurrections at Paris on account of the debasement of the coin, he had fled from his own insecure Louvre, and taken refuge in the Temple. From that impregnable fortress he had defied his rebellious subjects, and afterwards having gathered some troops, perhaps with the aid of the Templars themselves, suppressed the mutiny (which the Templars nevertheless were accused of having instigated), and had hanged the insurgents^a on the trees around the city. Philip knew too their wealth.^b From their treasures alone he had been able to borrow the dowry of his daughter Isabella, on her marriage with Prince Edward of England. Debtors love not their creditors. Du Molay is said to have made importunate and unwelcome demands for repayment.¹ Every race or community possessed of dangerous riches had in turn suffered the extortionate persecutions of Philip. Would his avarice, which had drained the Jews, the Lombards, and laid his sacrilegious hands on the Church, so tempted, respect the Templars, even if he had no excuse of religious zeal or regard for morals to justify his confiscation of their riches?

ejus tanquam hæreticum comburi fecerunt." This can hardly be literally true. But see further the striking speech of a Templar going to the stake, and (what cannot be true) the death of Nogaret.—Chron. Astens. ut supra.

^a Continuator Nangis apud Bouquet, p. 594.

^b Of their wealth :

" Li frère, il mestre au Temple
 Qu'ensient rempiti et ample
 D'or, d'argent et de richesse,
 Et qui ménoient tel noblesse . . .
 Tozjors achetoient sans vendre."
Chronique quoted by Raynouard, p. 7.

According to Paris, " Habent Templarii in Christianitate novem millia maneriorum."—p. 417.

¹ " Quia is magistrum ordinis exsum habuit, propter importunam pecuniæ exactionem, quam in nuptiis filiæ suæ Isabellæ ei mutuam dederat. Inhiabat præterea prædiis militum et possessionibus."—Thom. de la Moor, Vit. Edward II., quoted in note to Baluzius, Pap. Avionen., p. 589.

Du Molay, in his lofty security, proceeded to the great meeting at Poitiers, to pay his allegiance with the Princes and Sovereigns, and to give counsel to the Pope on the affairs of the East and those of the Military Orders. Du Molay's advice as to the future Crusade, however wise and well-grounded, might seem a death-blow to all hopes of success. There could be no reliance on the King of Armenia; to reconquer the Holy Land would demand the league and co-operation of all the Kings of Christendom. Their united forces, conveyed by the united fleets of Genoa, Venice, and other maritime cities, should land at Cyprus; and from Cyprus carry on a regular and aggressive war. The proposal for the fusion of the Knights of the Temple and of St. John, a scheme proposed by Gregory X. and by St. Louis, he coldly rejected as impracticable. "That which is new is not always the best. The Orders, in their separate corporations, had done great things; it was doubtful how, if united, they would act together. Both were spiritual as well as secular institutions: neither could, with safe conscience, give up the statutes to which they had sworn, to adopt those of the other. There would rise inextinguishable discord concerning their estates and possessions. The Templars were lavish of their wealth, the Hospitallers only intent on amassing wealth: on this head there must be endless strife. The Templars were in better fame, more richly endowed by the laity. The Templars would lose their popularity, or excite the envy of the Hospitallers. There would be eternal contests between the heads of the Orders, as to the conferring dignities and offices of trust. The united Order might be more strong and formidable, and yet many ancient establishments fall to the ground; and so the collective wealth

and power might be diminished rather than augmented.”^k

Yet even now that Du Molay was holding this almost supercilious language, the mine was under his feet, ready to burst and explode. Du Molay could not be absolutely ignorant of the sinister rumours which had long been spread abroad concerning the faith, the morals, the secret mysteries of his Order; he could not be ignorant that they had been repeatedly urged upon the Pope by the King himself, by his counsellors, by the Prior of the new convent in Poitiers.^m But he maintained, both he and the other Preceptors of the Order, the same haughty demeanour. They demanded again and again, and in the most urgent terms, rigid investigation, so that, if blameless, as they asserted, they might receive public absolution; if guilty, might suffer condemnation.ⁿ Content with this defiance of their enemies, Du Molay and the other Preceptors returned quietly to Paris.^o

There was a certain Squino di Florian, Prior of Montfalcon, in the county of Toulouse, who had been condemned, as a heretic and a man of evil life, to perpetual imprisonment in the dungeons of one of the royal castles. There he met one Roffo, a Flo-

^k See the Document in Baluzius, vol. ii. p. 174.

^m Letter of Clement to Philip, Baluzius, ii. p. 74. This letter is misdated by Baluzius. Wilcke has retained the error. The letter mentions the death of Edward I., which took place July 7, 1307. It was written when Clement was at or near Poitiers. The King had left the city.

ⁿ “Quia verò magister militiæ Templi ac multi præceptores, tam de regno tuo quam aliis ejusdem ordinis

cum eodem, audito, ut dixerunt, quid tam erga nos te quam erga aliquos alios dominos temporales super prædicto facto multipliciter eorum opinio gravabatur, a nobis, nedum semel, sed pluries cum magnâ instantiâ petierunt quod nos super illis eis falsò impositis, ut dicebant, vellemus inquirere veritatem, ac eos, si reperirentur, ut asserebant inculpabiles, absolvere, vel ipsos si reperirentur culpabiles, quod nullatenus credebant, condemnare vellemus.’ — *Ex Epist. ut supra.* ^o Raynouard, 7. 18.

rentine, an apostate Templar, perhaps some others: he contrived to communicate to the King's officers that he could reveal foul and monstrous secrets of the Order. He was admitted to the royal presence; and on his attestation the vague and terrible charges, which had been floating about as rumours, grew into distinct and awful articles of accusation.^p

Christendom heard with amazement and horror that Charges against the Order. this noble, proud, and austere Order, which had waged irreconcilable war with the Saracens, poured its best blood, like water, for two hundred years on the soil of Palestine, sworn to the severest chastity as to the most rigorous discipline, was charged and publicly charged by the King of France with the most deliberate infidelity, with the most revolting lust, with the most subtle treason to Christendom. The sum of these charges, as appeared from the examinations, was,—that at the secret initiation into the Order, each novice was compelled to deny Christ, and to spit upon the Cross; that obscene kisses were given and received by the candidate; that an idol, the head either of a cat, with two human faces, or that of one of the eleven thousand virgins, or of some other monstrous form, was the object of their secret worship; that they wore a cord which had acquired a magical or talismanic power by contact with this idol; that full licence was granted

^p Baluzii Vit. VI. Villani, viii. 92. This was the current history of the time. The historian expresses, too, the prevailing opinion out of France. "Ma più si dice, che fu per trarre di loro molta moneta, e per isdegno preso col maestro del tempio, e colla magione. Il Papa per levarsi da dosso il Re di Francia per la richiesta del

condennare Papa Bonifazio . . . per piacere al Re li assenti di ciò fare." Dupuy observes (*De la Condemnation des Templiers*, p. 8), that *all* the historians of the times agree in this. He refers to them. Compare also Note, p. 193, in Haveman, *Geschichte des Ausgangs des Tempelherren Ordens*. Stutgard, 1843.

for the indulgence of unnatural lusts; that parts of the canon of the mass were omitted in their churches; that the Grand Master and other great officers, even when not in holy orders, claimed the power of granting absolution; that they were in secret league with the Mohammedans, and had constantly betrayed the Christian cause, especially that of St. Louis at Mansura. These were the formal legal charges, of which the accusers offered to furnish proof, or to wring confession by torture from the criminals themselves. Popular credulity, terror, hatred, envy, either by the usual inventiveness of common rumour, or by the industrious malice of the King and his counsellors, darkened even these crimes into more appalling and loathsome acts. If a Templar refused to continue to his death in his wickedness, he was burned and his ashes given to be drunk by the younger Templars. A child begotten on a virgin was cooked and roasted, and the idol anointed with its fat.⁹

Philip did not await the tardy decision of the Pope. A slower process might have banded together this formidable body, thus driven to despair, ^{Arrest of the Templars.} in resistance if not in rebellion. On the 14th of September, the Feast of the Elevation of the Cross, sealed instructions were issued to all the seneschals and other high officers of the crown throughout the realm, to summon each a powerful armed force, on the night of the 12th of October: then and not before, under pain of death, to open those close instructions.^r The instruc-

⁹ See the eleven articles in the *Chronique de Saint Denys*, Bouquet, p. 686. Observe among the more heinous charges is one that they refused to pay taxes to the king. "Que eux renonnurent du Trésor du Roi a aucuns

avoir donné, qui au roi avoient fait contrariété, laquelle chose étoit moult damageable au Royaume."—Art. vi.

^r In Dupuy, i. p. 311. There is a copy of the orders addressed to the Vidame and the Bailiff of Amiens. It

tions ran, that according to secret counsels taken with the Holy Father the Pope, with his cognisance if not his sanction, the King gave command to arrest on one and the same day all the Knights Templars within the kingdom; to commit them to safe custody, and to set the royal seal on all their goods, to make a careful inventory thereof, and to retain them in the name of the King. Philip's officers were trained to execute these rapid and simultaneous movements for the apprehension and spoliation of some devoted class of his subjects. That which had succeeded so well with the defenceless Lombards and Jews, was executed with equal promptitude and precision against the warlike Templars. In one day (Friday, October 13th), at the dawn of one day, with no single act of resistance, with no single attempt at flight, as if not the slightest intimation of measures which had been a month in preparation had reached their ears; or as if, presuming on their innocence, numbers, or popularity, they had not deigned to take alarm: the whole Order, every one of these highborn and valiant warriors, found the houses of the Order surrounded by the King's soldiers, and was dragged forth to prison. The inventory of the whole property was made, and was in the King's power. In Paris, William of Nogaret and Reginald de Roje,

is dated Pontisera ("Pontoise"). But the fullest "instructions" are those from the archives of Nismes, published by Menard, "Histoire de Nismes," Preuves, p. 195. They begin with these flaming words: "Res amara, res flebilis, res quidem cogitatu horribilis, auditu terribilis, detestabilis crimine, execrabilis scelere, abominabilis opere, detestanda flagi-

tio, res penitus ymo ab omni humanitate seposita, dudum fide dignorum relacione multorum . . ." Those employed "saizare" must be well armed, "in manu forti ne possit per illos fratres et eorum familias resisti." Inquisition was to be made "particulariter et diversim omnimodo quo poterunt, etiam ubi faciendum viderint, *per tormenta*."—p. 197.

fit executioners of such a mandate, were intrusted with the arrest of the Grand Master and the Knights in Paris. Jacques du Molay but the day before had held the pall at the funeral of the King's sister.^a They were confined in separate dungeons. The royal officers took possession of the strong and stately mansion which had given refuge to the King. Everywhere throughout France there was the same suddenness, the same despatch, the same success. Every Templar in the realm was a prisoner.^c

The secrecy, the celerity, the punctuality with which those orders were executed throughout the realm, could not but excite, even had they Further proceedings. been employed on an affair of less moment, amazement and admiration bordering on terror. The Templars were wealthy, powerful, had connexions at once among the highest and the humblest families. They had been haughty, insolent, but many at least lavish in almsgiving. They partook of the sanctity which invested all religious bodies; they were or had been the defenders of the Sepulchre of Christ; they had fought, knelt, worshipped in the Holy Land. It was prudent, if not necessary, to crush at once all popular sympathy; to leave no doubt of the King's justice, or suspicion of his motives in seizing such rich and tempting endowments. The very day after the apprehension of the Knights, the Canons of Notre Dame and the Masters of the University of Paris were assembled in the Chapter-house of that church. The Chancellor William of

^a "Poêle," Baluz., Vit. I. Michelet, Hist. des Français, vol. iv. ch. iii.

^c Neither the names nor the numbers of the prisoners in other seneschalties are known. Sixty were

arrested at Beaucaire: forty-five of these incarcerated at Aigues Mortes, fifteen at Nismes. Thirty-three were committed to the royal castle of Alais.

Nogaret, the Provost of Paris, and others of the King's ministers, with William Imbert, the King's Confessor and Grand Inquisitor of the realm, to whose jurisdiction the whole affair was committed, made their appearance,

and arraigned the Order on five enormous charges.^u I. The denial of Christ and the insult to the Cross; II. The adoration of an idolatrous head; III. The kisses at their reception; IV. The omission of the words of consecration in the mass; V. Unnatural crimes. On the same day (Saturday) the theological faculty of Paris was summoned to give judgment whether the King could proceed against a religious Order on his own authority. They took time for their deliberation: their formal sentence was not promulgated till some months after; its substance was probably declared or anticipated. A temporal judge cannot pass sentence in case of heresy, unless summoned thereto by the Church, and where the heretics have been made over to the secular arm. But in case of necessity he may apprehend and imprison a heretic, with the intent to deliver him over to the Church.*

The next day (Sunday) the whole clergy and the people from all the parishes of the city were gathered together in the gardens of the royal palace. Sermons were delivered by the most popular preachers, the Friars; addresses were made to the multitude by the King's ministers, denouncing, blackening, aggravating the crimes of the Templars. No means were spared to allay any possible movement of interest

^u "Casus enormissimos." Baluzii | the best authority for the events in
Vit. I. The first of these Lives (of Cle- | Paris.
ment V.) was written by John, Canon | ^x Crevier, ii. p. 207. Wilcke, l. p.
of St. Victor in Paris, and therefore is | 284.

in their favour. Blow followed blow without pause or delay; every rebellious impulse of sympathy, every feeling of compunction, respect, gratitude, pity, must be crushed by terror out of the hearts of men.^y The Grand Inquisitor opened his Court, with the Chancellor, and as many of the King's ministers as were present. The apprehension of the Templars, in order to their safe custody, and with the intent to deliver them over to the Church, was assumed, or declared to be within the province of the temporal power. The final judgement was reserved for the Archbishops and Bishops: but the Head of the Inquisition, the Dominican William Imbert, thus lent the terrors of his presence to the King's commission.

The tribunal sat from day to day, endeavouring to extort confession from the one hundred and forty prisoners, who were separately examined. <sup>The tribu-
nal.</sup> These men, some brave and well-born, but mostly rude and illiterate soldiers, some humble servitors of the Order, were brought up from their dungeons without counsel, mutual communication, or legal advice, and submitted to every trial which subtlety or cruelty could invent, or which could work on the feebler or the firmer mind,—shame, terror, pain, the hope of impunity, of reward. Confession was bribed out of some by offers of indulgence, wrung from others by the dread of torture, by actual torture,—torture, with the various ways of which our hearts must be shocked, that we may judge more fairly on their effects. These were among the forms of procedure by torture in those times, without doubt mercilessly employed in the dungeons which

^y "Ne populus scandalizaretur de eorum tam subitanâ captione. Erant quippe potentissimi divitiis et honore."—Vit. I. p. 9

confined the Templars. The criminal was stripped, his hands tied behind him ; the cord which lashed his hands hung upon a pulley at some height above. At the sign of the judge he was hauled up with a frightful wrench, and then violently let fall to the ground. This was called in the common phrase, hoisting. It was the most usual, perhaps the mildest form of torture. After that the feet of the criminal were fixed in a kind of stocks, rubbed with oil, and fire applied to the soles. If he showed a disposition to confess, a board was driven between his feet and the fire ; if he gave no further hopes, it was withdrawn again. Then iron boots were fitted to the naked heels, and contracted either by wedges or in some other manner. Splinters of wood were driven up the nails into the finger-joints ; teeth were wrenched out ; heavy weights hung on the most sensitive parts of the body, even on the genitals. And these excruciating agonies were inflicted by the basest executioners, on proud men, suddenly degraded into criminals ; their spirits shattered either by the sudden withdrawal from the light of day, from the pride, pomp, it might be the luxury of life into foul, narrow, sunless dungeons ; or more slowly broken by long incarceration in these clammy, noisome holes : some almost starved. The effect upon their minds will appear hereafter from the horror and shuddering agony with which they are reverted to by the bravest Knights. If their hard frames, inured to endurance in adventure and war, might feel less acutely the bodily sufferings, their lofty and generous minds would be more sensitive to the shame and degradation. Knights were racked like the basest slaves ; and there was nothing to awaken, everything to repress, the pride of endurance ; no publicity, nothing of the stern consolation of defying, or bearing

bravely or contemptuously before the eyes of men the cruel agony. It was all secret, all in the depths of the gloomy dungeon, where human sympathy and human admiration could not find their way. And according to the rigour and the secrecy of the torture was the terrible temptation of the weak or fearful, of those whose patience gave way with the first wrench of the rack, to purchase impunity by acknowledging whatever the accuser might suggest: to despair of themselves, of the Order, whose doom might seem irretrievably, irrevocably sealed. Their very vices (and no doubt many had vices), the unmeasured haughtiness of most, the licentious self-indulgence of some, would aggravate the trial; utter prostration would follow overweening pride, softness, luxury.

Some accordingly admitted at once or slowly, and with bitter tears, a part or the whole of the charges; some as it seemed, touched with Confessions. repentance, some at the threats, at the sight of the instruments of torture; some not till after long actual suffering; some beguiled by bland promises; some subdued by starvation in prison. Many, however, persevered to the end in calm and steadfast denial, more retracted their confessions, and expired upon the rack.² The King himself, by one account, was present at the examination of the Grand Master: the awe of the royal presence wrought some to confession. But Philip with-

* "Factumque est ut eorum nonnulli sponte quædam præmissorum vel omnia lacrymabiliter sunt confessi. Alii quidem, ut videbatur, penitentiâ ducti, alii autem diversis tormentis quæstionati, vel comminatione vel eorum aspectu perterriti; alii blandis tracti promissionibus et illecti; alii carceris

inediâ cruciati vel coacti multipliciterque compulsi. . . . Multi tamen penitus omnia negaverunt, et plures qui confessi primò fuerunt ad negationem postea reversi sunt, in ea fortiter perseverantes, quorum nonnulli inter ipsa supplicia perierunt."—Continuat. Nangis.

drew, it should seem, when tortures were actually applied, under which, it is said, in the unintentional irony of the historian, some *willingly* confessed, though others died without confession. To those who confessed the King seemed disposed to hold out the possibility of mercy.^a

After some interval the University of Paris was summoned to the Temple to hear nothing less than the confession of the Grand Master himself. How Du Molay was wrought to confession, by what persuasion or what violence, remained among the secrets of his dungeon; it is equally uncertain what were the articles which he confessed. Some at this trial asserted that the accursed form of initiation had been unknown in the Order till within the last forty years. But this was not enough; they must be won or compelled, to more full acknowledgement. At a second session before the University the Master and the rest pleaded guilty, and in the name of the whole Order, to all the charges.^b The King's Almoner, the Treasurer of the Temple at Paris, made the same confession. But this confession of the Grand Master, however industriously bruited abroad, in whatever form it might seem fit to the enemies of the Order, though no doubt it had a powerful effect

^a "Magister militiae Templariorum cum multis militibus, et viris magnis sui Ordinis captus apud Parisios *coram Rege* productus fuisset. Tunc quidam ipsorum propter verecundiam veritatem de præmissis denegaverunt, et quidam alii ipsam sibi confessi fuerunt. Sed postea illi qui denegabant cum tormentis ipsam tunc *libenter* confitebantur, et aliqui ipsorum in tormentis sine confessione moriebantur,

vel comburebantur (the burning was later). Et tunc de confitentibus ultra (ultra?) veritatem ipse mitius se habebat."—Vit. VI. apud Baluz. p. 101.

^b They were not content to admit "quosdam articulorum." "Item in aliâ congregatione coram Universitate Magister et alii plures simpliciter sunt confessi, et Magister pro toto Ordine."—Vit. I. p. 10.

upon the weaker brethren who sought a precedent for their weakness, and with those who might think a cause abandoned by the Grand Master utterly desperate, by no means produced complete submission. Still a great number of the Knights repudiated the base example, disbelieved its authenticity, or excused it, as wrung from him by intolerable tortures; they sternly adhered to their denial. One brave old Knight in the South declared that "if the Grand Master had uttered such things, he had lied in his throat."

The interrogatory had done its work. The prisoners were carried back to their dungeons, some in the Temple, some in the Louvre, and in other prisons. The Grand Master with the three Preceptors of the Order were transferred to the royal castle of Corbeil; the Treasurers to Moret. In these prisons many died of hunger, of remorse, and anguish of mind; some hung themselves in despair.^c

With no less awful despatch proceeded the interrogatories in other parts of France. Everywhere torture was prodigally used; everywhere was the same result, some free confessions, some retractations of confessions; some bold and inflexible denials of the whole; some equivocations, some submissions manifestly racked out of unwilling witnesses by imprisonment, exhaustion, and agony.

The Grand Inquisitor proceeded on a circuit to Bayeux: in the other northern cities he dele-
 gated his work usually to Dominican Friars. Thirteen were examined at Caen, seven of
 them had been previously interrogated at Pont de

Interrogato-
 ries in the
 Provinces.
 Oct. 28, 1307.

^c "Ubi fama referebat, plures mortuos fuisse inediâ, vel cordis tristitiâ vel ex desperatione suspendio periisse."—Vit. I.

l'Arche. Twelve made confession after torture, on the promise of absolution from the Church, and security against secular punishment. Ten others were examined at Pont de l'Arche. In the south, of seven at Cahors, two recanted their confession. At Clermont twenty-nine obstinately denied the charges, forty admitted their truth. Two German Templars, returning from Paris, were arrested at Chaumont, in Lorraine; they steadfastly denied the whole. In the seneschalty of Beaucaire and Nismes^d sixty-six Templars had been arrested by Edward de Maubrisson and William de St. Just, the Lieutenant of the Seneschal, Bertrand Jourdain de l'Isle. They had been committed to different prisons. Edward de Maubrisson held his first sitting at Aigues Mortes upon forty-five who were in the dungeons of that city. The King's Advocate, the King's Justice, and two other nobles were present, but no ecclesiastic either during this or any of the subsequent sessions. According to the precise instructions the following questions were put to the criminals, but cautiously and carefully,^e and at first only in general terms, in order to elicit free confession. Where it was necessary torture was to be applied. I. That on the reception the postulant was led into a sacristy behind the altar, commanded thrice to deny Christ, and to spit on the crucifix. Then, II. When he was unclothed, the Initiator kissed him on the navel, the spine, and the mouth. III. He was granted full licence for the indulgence of unnatural lusts. IV. Girt with a cord which had been drawn

^d In this seneschalty lay the great estate of William of Nogaret. There are several royal grants in the documents at the end of Ménard, *Histoire de Nismes*,

vol. i., which show that Nogaret was not sparingly rewarded, even by his parsimonious king, for his services

* "Caute et diligenter."

across the idol-head. In the provincial chapters an idol, a human head was worshipped. V. The clerical brethren were alone to be pressed on the omission of the words in the mass.

Eight servitors were first introduced. They confessed the whole of the first charges; they declared Nov. 8, 1307. that they had denied Christ in fear of imprisonment, even of death; but they had denied him with the lips, not the heart; they swore that they had never committed unnatural crimes; of the idol and the omission of the words in the mass they knew nothing. On the following day thirty-five more were examined, all servitors except one clerk and three Knights, Pons Seguin, Bertrand de Silva, Bertrand de Salgues. The same confession, word for word, the same reservation: the priest alone acknowledged that he had administered an unconsecrated Host, omitting the words of consecration; but in his heart he had never neglected to utter them. There is throughout the same determination to limit the confession to the narrowest bounds, to keep to the words of the charges, absolutely to exculpate themselves, and to criminate the Order, from which some might rejoice to be released, others think irrevocably doomed. They were all afterwards summoned, in the presence of two monks in the Dominican cloister at Nismes, to whom the Grand Inquisitor had given power to act for the Holy Office, to repeat their confession, and admonished within eight days still further to confess any heresies of which they might have been guilty. Maubrisson also passed to Nismes; fifteen servitors were interrogated; there were the same confessions, the same denials. At Carcassonne the Preceptor of the wealthy house of Villedieu, Casaignes, with four others, was examined before the

Bishop, Peter de Rochefort: they admitted all, even the idol.^f

The Pope was no less astounded than the rest of Christendom by this sudden and rapid measure, so opposite to the tardy and formal procedures of the Roman Court. It was a flagrant and insulting invasion of the Papal rights, the arrest of a whole religious Order, under the special and peculiar protection of the Pope, and the seizure of all their estates and goods, so far as yet appeared, for the royal use. It looked at first like a studied exclusion of all spiritual persons even from the interrogatory. Clement could not suppress his indignation: he broke out into angry expressions against the King; he issued a Bull, in which he declared it an unheard-of measure that the secular power should presume to judge religious persons; to the Pope alone belonged the jurisdiction over the Knights Templars. He deposed William Imbert from the office of Grand Inquisitor, as having presumptuously overstepped his powers. He sent two Legates, the Cardinal Berenger of Fredeol and Stephen of Suza, to demand the surrender of the prisoners and of their estates to the Pope. In a letter to the Archbishops of Rheims, Bourges and Tours, he declared that he had been utterly amazed at the arrest of the Templars, and the hasty proceedings of the Grand Inquisitor, who, though he lived in his immediate neighbourhood, had given him no intimation of the King's design. He had his own views on the subject; his mind could not be induced to believe the charges.^g

Conduct of
the Pope.

Poitiers.
Oct. 27.

^f The report, the fullest and most minute of all, as to the interrogatories at Nismes, is dated 1310. But it contains the earlier proceedings from the beginning of the prosecution out of the Authentic Acts. I have therefore dwelt upon it more at length.—Ménard, Hist. de Nismes, p. 449 Preuves, p. 195.

^g Dacherz. Spicilegium, x. 366.

But, when the first impulse of his wrath was over, the Pope felt his own impotence; he was in the toils, in the power, now imprudently within the dominions, of the relentless Philip; his resentment speedily cooled down. The great prelates of France arrayed themselves on the side of the King. The King held secret councils at Melun, and at other places, with the Princes and Bishops of the realm, meditating, it might be, strong measures against the Pope. Somewhat later, the Archbishop of Rheims announced to the King that himself, with his Suffragans and Chapter, had met at Senlis, and were prepared to aid the King in the prosecution of the Templars.^h

The King of France had laid down a wide scheme for the suppression of the Templars, not in his own dominions alone, but throughout Christendom. Abolished on account of their presumed irregularities in France, they could not be permitted, as involved in the same guilt, to subsist in the English dominions in France, in Provence, or even in England. Already, on the issuing the instructions for their arrest, Philip had despatched an ecclesiastic, Bernard Pelet, to his son-in-law, Edward II. of England, to inform him of their guilt and heresy, and to urge him to take the same measures for their apprehension. Edward and his Barons declared themselves utterly amazed at the demand.ⁱ Neither he nor his Prelates and Barons could at first credit the abominable and execrable charges; but before the end of the year, the Pope himself, as

^a "Ad vestram presenciam duximus destinandum (episcopum) ad assentientium secundum Deum et justitiam vestræ majestati."—Archives Admi-

nistrat. de Rheims, Collect. Documents Inédits, ii. 65.

ⁱ 22nd Sept., Edwardus Philippo.—Rymer, iii. ad ann. 1307.

if unwilling that Edward, as Philip had done, should take the affair into his own hands and proceed without Papal authority, hastened to issue a Bull, in which he commanded the King to arrest all the Templars in his dominions, and to sequester their lands and property. The Bull, however, seemed studiously to limit the guilt to individual members of the Order.^k The goods were to be retained for the service of the Holy Land, if the Order should be condemned, otherwise to be preserved for the Order. It referred to the confession of the Grand Master at Paris, that this abuse had crept in at the instigation of Satan, contrary to the Institutes of the Order. The Pope declares that one brother of the Order, a man of high birth and rank, had made full confession to himself of his crime; that in the kingdom of Cyprus a noble knight had made his abnegation of Christ at the command of the Grand Master in the presence of a hundred knights.

King Edward had hesitated. On the 4th December, as though under the influence of the Templars themselves, he wrote to the Kings of Portugal, Castile, Sicily, and Arragon. He expressed strong suspicion of Bernard Pelet, who had presumed to make some horrid and detestable accusations against the Order, and endeavoured by letters of certain persons, which he had produced (those of the King of France), but had procured, as Edward believed, by undue means, to induce the King to imprison all the brethren of the Temple in his dominions. He urged those Kings to avert their ears from the calumniators of the Order, to join him in pro-

^k "Quod *singuli* fratres dicti ordinis in sua professione . . . expressis verbis abnegat Jes. Christum. . . ." | See the Bull, "Pastoralis præeminentiæ solio."—Raynaldus sub ann. Nov. 22, Rymer.

tecting the Knights from the avarice and jealousy of their enemies.^m Still later, King Edward, in a letter to the Pope, asserts the pure faith and lofty morals of the Order, and speaks of the detractions and calumnies of a few persons jealous of their greatness, and convicted of ill will to the Order.ⁿ

The Papal Bull either appalled or convinced the King of England. Only five days after his letter (the Bull having arrived in the interim), ^{Arrest.} orders were issued to the sheriffs for the general arrest of the Templars throughout England. The persons of the Knights were to be treated with respect, the inventory of their names and effects returned ^{Dec. 20.} into the Exchequer at Westminster. The same instructions were sent to Wales, Ireland, and Scotland. On the 28th December the King informed the Pope that he would speedily carry his commands into execution. On the Wednesday after Epiphany the arrest took place with the same simultaneous promptitude as in France, and without resistance.

The King of Naples, as Count of Provence, followed exactly the plan of the King of France. He ^{King of Naples.} transmitted sealed instructions to all the officers of the Crown, which were to be opened on the 24th January. On the 25th all the Templars in Provence and Forcalquier were committed to the prisons of Aix and Pertuis; those of the counties of Nice, Grasse, St. Maurice, and the houses in Avignon and Arles, to the Castle of Meirargues.

Just at this juncture an appalling event took place,

^m "Aures vestras a perversorum detractionibus, qui, ut credimus, non zelo — Redyng. Dec. 4, Rymer sub ann.
 rectitudinis sed cupiditatis et invidiæ | ⁿ Rymer, Dec. 10.

which in some degree distracted the attention of Christendom from the rapidly unfolding tragedy of the Templars, and had perhaps no inconsiderable though remote influence on their doom. The Emperor Albert was murdered at Königstein by his own nephew, John, in the full view of their ancestral house.^o The King of France was known to aspire to the imperial crown, if not for himself, for his brother Charles of Valois. He instantly despatched ambassadors to secure the support of the Pope for Charles of Valois—Charles, the old enemy of Clement, to whom he had been reconciled only on compulsion. It is even asserted that he demanded this as the last, the secret stipulation, sworn to by the Pope when he sold himself to the King for the tiara.^p But the accumulation of

Death of the Emperor.

Charles of Valois seeks the Empire.

^o Coxe has told coldly the terrible vengeance of the Empress Agnes. She witnessed the execution of sixty-three of the retainers of the Lord of Balm, the accomplice of John of Hapsburg. "Now," she said, as the blood flowed, "I bathe in honey dew." She founded the magnificent convent of Königstein, of which fine ruins remain. Christianity still finds a voice in the wildest and worst times. The rebuke of the hermit to the vengeful Empress must be heard: "God is not served by shedding innocent blood, and by building convents from the plunder of families, but by confession and forgiveness of injuries."—Compare Coxe's Austria, ch. vi.

^p "Rex autem Franciæ Philippus, auditâ vacatione imperii, cogitavit facile posse imperium redire ad Francos, ratione sextæ promissionis factæ sibi a Papâ, si operam daret ut papa crearetur, sicut factum est. Nam cum

explicasset jam eam, videlicet in delendo quicquid gestum fuit per Bonifacium et memoriam ejus, ad quod Papa se difficultabat, et in posterum hoc offerebat agendum, arbitratus est Rex commutari facere quod fuerat postulatum ab eo in sibi utilius et honorabilius negotium, ut videlicet loco prædictæ petitionis hoc concederetur, ut Dominus Carolus Valisiensis, frater ejus eligeretur in Imperatorem. Quod satis æquum et exigibile videbatur, cum Bonifacius Papa hoc ei promississet, et ad hoc multa fecerat pro ecclesiâ. Sed et olim imperium fuerat apud Francos tempore Caroli magni, translatum a Græcis ad eos, sic possit transire de Teutonicis ad Francos."—S. Antonini Chronicon, iii. p. 276. This Chronicle is a compilation in the words of other writers, but shows what writers were held in best esteem, when the Archbishop of Florence (afterwards canonised) wrote during the next century.

crowns on the heads of the princes of France was not more formidable to the liberties of Europe than to the Pope, who must inevitably sink even into more ignoble vassalage. A Valois ruled in France and in Naples. A daughter of the King of France was on the throne of England: it might be hoped, or foreseen, that the young, beautiful, and ambitious bride might wean her feeble husband from the disgraceful thralldom of his minions, and govern him who could not govern himself. If Charles were Emperor, what power in Europe could then resist or control this omnipotent house of Valois?

Philip had already bought the vote and support of the Archbishop of Cologne; he anticipated the tame acquiescence of the Pope. Charles of Valois visited the Pope with the ostentation of respect, but at the head of six thousand men-at-arms.

But the sagacious Cardinal da Prato was at hand to keep alive the fears and to guide the actions of Clement. The Pope had no resource but profound dissimulation, or rather consummate falsehood. He wrote publicly to recommend Charles of Valois to the electors; his secret agents urged them to secure their own liberties and the independence of the Church by any other choice.⁴ The election dragged on for some months of doubt, vacillation, and intrigue. At length Henry of Luxemburg was named King of the Romans.⁵ Clement pretended to submit to the hard necessity of consenting to a choice in which six of the electors had concurred; he could no longer in decency assert the claims of Charles of Valois. Philip suppressed but did not the less brood over his disappointment and wrath.

⁴ "Sed omnipotens Deus (writes S. Antoninus) qui dissipat consilia principum . . . non permisit rem ipsam suum habere effectum, ne ecclesia regnet Franciæ subjiceretur."—Ibid.

⁵ At Fraukfort, Nov. 27, 1308

Thus all this time, if Clement had any lingering desire to show favour or justice to the Templars, or to maintain the Order, it had sunk into an object not only secondary to that which he thought his paramount duty and the chief interest of the Papacy, to avert the condemnation from the memory of Boniface; but also to that of rescuing the imperial crown from the grasp of France. To contest a third, a more doubtful issue with King Philip, was in his situation, and with his pliant character, with his fatal engagements, and his want of vigour and moral dignity, beyond his powers.

The King neglected no means to overawe the Pope. He had succeeded in making his quarrel with Parliament of Tours. Pope Boniface a national question. For the first time the Commons of France had been summoned formally and distinctly to the Parliament, which had given weight and dignity to the King's proceedings against Pope Boniface.^s The States-General, the burghers and citizens, as well as the nobles and prelates, the whole French nation, were now again summoned to a Parliament at Tours on May 1. Philip knew that by this time he had penetrated the whole realm with his hatred of the Templars. The Order had been long odious to the clergy, as interfering with their proceedings, and exercising spiritual functions at least within their own precincts. The Knights sat proudly aloof in their own fastnesses, and despised the jurisdiction of the Bishop or the Metropolitan. The excommunication, the interdict, which smote or silenced the clergy, had no effect within the walls of the Temple. Their bells tolled, their masses were chanted, when all the rest of the kingdom was in silence and sorrow; men

^s See above, p. 117.

fled to them to find the consolations forbidden elsewhere. Their ample and growing estates refused to pay tithe to the clergy; their exemption rested on Papal authority. It was one of the charges which in enormity seemed to be not less hateful than the most awful blasphemy or the foulest indulgences, that the great officers, the Grand Master, though not in orders, dared to pronounce the absolution. The Nobles were jealous of a privileged Order, and no doubt with the commonalty looked to some lightening of their own burthens from the confiscation, to which they would willingly give their suffrage, of the estates of the Templars; nor did these proud feudal lords like men prouder than themselves.^t Among the commonalty the dark rumours so industriously disseminated, the reports of full and revolting confessions, had now been long working; the popular mind was fully possessed with horror at these impious, execrable practices. At particular periods, free institutions are the most ready and obsequious instruments of tyranny: the popular Parliament of Philip the Fair sanctioned, by their acclamation, his worst iniquities;^u and the politic Philip, before this appeal to the people, knew well to what effect the popular voice would speak. The Parliament of Tours, with hardly a dissentient vote, declared the Templars worthy of death.^x The University of Paris gave the weight of their judgement as to the fulness and authenticity of the confessions; at the same time they reasserted the sole right of the Roman Court to pass the final sentence.

^t Eight of the nobility of Languedoc, at the Parliament of Tours, entrusted their powers to William of Nogaret.—*Hist. de Languedoc*, iv. 146.

^u "Intendebat enim Rex sapienter

agere. Et ideo volebat hominem cujuslibet conditionis regni sui habere iudicium vel assensum, ne possit in aliquo reprehendi."—*Vit. i. p. 12.*

^x *Vit. i. ibid.*

From Tours, the King, with his sons, brothers, and chief counsellors, proceeded at Whitsuntide to the Pope at Poitiers. He came armed with the Acts of the General Estates of the realm. They were laid before the Pope by William de Plasian. The Pope was summoned to proceed against the Order for confessed and notorious heresy.

This appeal to his tribunal seemed to awaken Clement to the consciousness of his strength. For the temporal power to assume the right, even now when the Pope was in the King's realm, of adjudging in causes of heresy, was too flagrant an invasion on the spiritual power. The fate of the Order too must depend on the Pope. The King might seize, imprison, interrogate, even put to the torture, individual Templars, his subjects; but the dissolution of the Order, founded under the Papal sanction, guaranteed by so many Papal Bulls, could not be commanded by any other authority. Clement entrenched himself behind the yet lingering awe, the yet unquestioned dignity of the Papal See. "The charges were heavy, but they had been pressed on with indecent haste, without consulting the successor of St. Peter; the Grand Inquisitor had exceeded his powers; the Pope demanded that all the prisoners should be made over to himself, the sole judge in such high matters." Long and sullen discussions took place between the Cardinals and the Counsellors of the King.^y

The King (the affair of the Empire was not settled, that was the secret of Clement's power) was unwilling to drive the Pope to extremities. He ordered copies of

^y "Fuitque ibi preactum negotium factis, allegationibus et rationibus, pro parte Papæ et responsionibus pro Rege, rationibusque et replicationibus multis utrinque coram cardinalibus cleroque et cæteris qui aderant *morosè* discussum."—Vit. i.

all the proceedings against the Knights, and the inventories of their goods, to be furnished to the Pontiff. This Clement took in good part. The custody of the estates and property of the Order had given a perilous advantage to the King. The Pope now issued a circular Bull to the Archbishops and Bishops of France to take upon themselves the administration of all the sequestered goods; and to them was to be consigned, to each within his own diocese, the final examination and judgement.² The Templars caught at the faint gleam of hope that the Church would assume the judgement; they were fondly possessed with a notion of the justice, the humanity of the Church. Some instantly recanted their confessions. The King broke out into a passion of wrath. He publicly proclaimed, that while he faithfully discharged the duties of a Christian king and a servant of the Lord, the lukewarm Vicegerent of Christ was tampering with heresy, and must answer before God for his guilt. The Pope took alarm. At length it was agreed that the custody both of the persons and the goods should remain with the King; that the Knights should be maintained in prison, where they were to lie, out of the revenues of their estates; that no personal punishment should be inflicted without the consent of the Pope; that the fate of the Order should be determined at the great Council of Vienne, summoned for October 10, 1310.^a Clement reserved for himself the

* Clemens Philippo.—Baluz. ii. 98. The date is erroneous; it should be July 3, 1308.

* “Tandem conventum est inter eos, quod Rex bona eorum omnia levaret, seu levari faceret fideliter per ministros, et servare ea usquequo Papa cum ipso Rege deliberasset quid regi

expediret, sed punitionem corporum non faceret; corpora tamen eorum servari faceret, sicut fecerat, et de proventibus domorum Templi sustentari usque ad concilium generale futurum: corpora autem ex tunc ponebat Papa in manu sua.” This left, as we shall see, all future public trial to the Church.—Vit. i. p. 13.

sentence on the Grand Master and other chief officers of the Temple.

Yet before Philip left Poitiers, seventy-two Templars were brought from different prisons (with the King and the King's Counsellors rested the selection): they were interrogated before the Pope and the Cardinals. All confessed the whole: they were remanded. In a few days after, their confessions were read to them in the vulgar tongue, in the Consistory; all adhered to their truth.

But the Grand Master and some of the principal preceptors of the Order—those of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Poitou—were now in confinement in the castle of Chinon. Some of them could not mount on horseback, some were so weak that they could not be conveyed to Poitiers:^b the torture and the dungeon had done their work. Three Cardinals (Berenger of S. Nireus and Achilleus, Stephen of S. Cyriac, Landolph of S. Angelo) were commissioned to go and receive their depositions. The Cardinals reported that all those Knights, in the presence of public notaries and other good men, had sworn on the Gospels, without compulsion or fear, to the denial of Christ, and the insult to the cross on initiation; some others to foul and horrible offences, not to be named. Du Molay had confessed the denial; he had empowered a servitor of the Order to make the rest of his confession.^c The Cardinals, having regard to their penitence, had pronounced the absolution of the Church, and recommended them to the royal mercy.^d

The Pope pretended that conviction had been forced upon him by these dreadful revelations. He now issued

^b "Sed quoniam quidam ex eis sic infirmabantur tunc temporis, quod equitare non poterant, nec ad nostram presenciam quoquomodo adduci,"—

The Pope's own words in the B-V "Faciens misericordiam" !!

^c See on p. 160. ^d Epistol. Cardinalium.—Baluz. ii, 121.

a Bull, addressed to all Christendom, in which he declared how slowly and with difficulty he had been compelled to believe the infamy, the apostasy of the noble and valiant Order. His beloved son, the King of France, not urged by avarice,^e for he had not intended to confiscate or appropriate to his own use the goods of the Templars (he that excuses sometimes accuses!), but actuated solely by zeal for the faith, had laid information before him which he could not but receive. One Knight of noble race, and of no light esteem (could this be Squino de Florian, the Prior of Montfalcon?), had deposed in secret, and upon his oath, to these things. It had now been confirmed by seventy-two, who had confessed the guilt of the Order to him; the Grand Master and the others to the Cardinals. Throughout the world therefore, he commanded, by this Apostolic Bull, that proceedings should be instituted against the Knights of the Temple, against the Preceptor of the Order in Germany. The result was to be transmitted, under seal, to the Pope. The secular arm might be called in to compel witnesses who were contemptuous of Church censures to bear their testimony.^f

Pope Clement, when this conference was over, hastened to leave his honourable imprisonment at Poitiers. He passed some months at Bordeaux, the Cardinals in the neighbourhood. After the winter he retired to Avignon, hereafter to be the residence of the Transalpine Popes.^g As he passed through Toulouse

^e Is it charity in the Pope to exculpate the king of avarice? "Non gippo avaritiæ, cum de bonis Templariorum nihil sibi vindicare vel appropriare intendat," or adroitness to clench his concession? See the secret compact about the custody of the goods.—

Dupuy, Condemnation, p. 107.

^f The Bull, "Faciens misericordiam," dated Aug. 12, 1308.

^g Baluz. ii. p. 134. He was at Narbonne, April 5, 1309, then at Montpellier and Nismes; he arrived at Avignon at the end of April.—Ménard, p. 456

he addressed a circular letter to the King of France, in which, having declared the unanswerable evidence of the heresy and the guilt of the Templars, he prohibited all men from aiding, counselling, or favouring, from harbouring or concealing, any member of the proscribed Order; he commanded all persons to seize, arrest, and commit them to safe custody. All this under the pain of severe spiritual censure. Yet there were many who stole away unperceived; and for concealment or from want submitted to the humblest functions of society, to plebeian services or illiberal arts. Many bore exile, degradation, indigence, with noble magnanimity—all asserting, wherever it was safe to assert it, as in the Ghibelline cities of Lombardy, the entire and irreproachable innocence of the Order.^h

As he passed through Nismes, the Pope issued his commission to Bertrand, Bishop of that city, to reinvestigate the guilt of the prisoners. Bertrand held one session; then, on account of his age and infirmity, devolved the office on William St. Lawrence Curé of Durfort. Durfort opened his court first at Nismes, afterwards at Alais. Thirty-two, a few Knights, others servitors, the same who had confessed before the royal commissioners—now that the milder and more impartial Church sat in judgement—now that their chains were

^h “Si qui autem ex Templariorum cœtu manumissi aut per fugam abstracti evadere potuerunt, projecto Religionis suæ habitu ministeriis plebeis ignoti, aut artibus illiberalibus se dederunt. Nonnulli autem ex clarissimis parentibus orti, dum transfugæ laboribus multis et periculis dudum expositi, vitæ tædium magnificis animorum nobilium conatibus

v. lipenderunt, ultro se gentibus edidere, adjuvantes se objecti criminis prorsus insontes.” Ferretus of Vicenza had before said (and in Lombardy the refugees would not fear to describe their sufferings) that many had died in prison, “tam diu vinculis retentos pædoris squallorisque rigidi angustia peremit.”—Apud Murator. R. I. S. ix. p. 1017.

struck off, and they felt their limbs free, and hoped that they should not return to their fetid prisons—almost with one voice disclaimed their confessions. One only, manifestly in a paroxysm of fright, and in the eager desire of obtaining absolution, recanted his recantation. Another, Drohet, had abandoned the Order; he confessed, but only from hearsay, and intreated not to be sent back to prison among men whose heresy he detested. A third appeared to the Court to have concerted his evidence, was remanded, made amends by a more ample confession, clearly from panic: he had heard of the cat-idol. The rest firmly, resolutely denied all.ⁱ

ⁱ The examination at Alais began June 19, 1310, ended July 14. St. Lawrence took as his assessors two canons of Nismes, three Dominicans, two Franciscans of Alais (Ménard, p. 260). Eight were brought from Nismes (of these were three knights), seventeen from Aigues Mortes, seven from the prisons in Alais. It should be added that the recanting witness, Bernard Arnold, swore that the prisoners had met to concert—when? and where?—“quod cotidie tenebant sua colloquia et suos tractatus super hiis; et sese ad invicem instruunt qualiter negent omnia, et dicant dictum ordinem bonum esse et sanctum.”—Preuves, p. 175.

CHAPTER II.

Process of the Templars.

THE affair of the Templars slumbered for some months, but it slumbered to awaken into terrible activity. A Papal Commission^a was now opened to inquire, not into the guilt of the several members of the Order, but of the Order itself. The Order was to be arraigned before the Council of Vienne, which was to decide on its reorganisation or its dissolution. This Commission therefore superseded all the ordinary jurisdictions either of the Bishop or of the Inquisition, and, in order to furnish irrefragable proof before the Council, summoned before it for re-examination all who had before made depositions in those Courts. Their confessions were put in as evidence, but they had the opportunity of recanting or disclaiming those confessions.^b

At the head of the Commission was Gilles d'Aiscelin, Archbishop of Narbonne, a man of learning, but no strength of character; the Bishop of Mende, who owed his advancement to King Philip; the Bishops of Bayeux and Limoges; the Archdeacons of Rouen (the Papal Notary), of Trent, and Maguelonne, and the Provost of Aix. The Provost excused himself from attendance. The Archbishop and the Bishop of Bayeux grew weary and withdrew themselves gradually, on various pretexts, from the sittings.

^a Aug. 1309. The Commission sat, with some intermission, to May, 1311

^b See Haveman, p. 227.

The Commission opened its Court in the Bishop's palace at Paris^c August 7th, 1309. The Bull issued by the Pope at Poitiers was read.^d Then, after other documents, a citation of the Order of Knights Templars, and all and every one of the Brethren of the said Order. This citation was addressed to the Archbishops of the nine Provinces, Sens, Rheims, Rouen, Tours, Lyons, Bourges, Bordeaux, Narbonne, and Auch, and to their suffragans. It was to be suspended on the doors of all cathedral and collegiate churches, public schools, and court-houses, the houses of the Templars, and the prisons where the Templars were confined. Sworn messengers were despatched to promulgate this citation in the provinces and dioceses. The Templars were to appear on the day after the Feast of St. Martin.

On that day not a Templar was seen. Whether the Bishops were reluctant to give orders, or the keepers of the prisons to obey orders; whether no means of transport had been provided, no one knew; or, what is far less likely, that the Templars themselves shrunk from this new interrogatory, hardly hoping that it would be conducted with more mildness, or dreading that it might command fresh tortures. On five successive days proclamation was made by the apparitor of the Official of Paris, summoning the Knights to answer for their Order. No voice replied. On the Tuesday inquiry was made into the

Nov. 12.
Commission
at Paris.
No Templars
appear.

^c The acts of this Commission are the most full, authentic, and curious documents in the history of the abolition of the Templars. They were published imperfectly, or rather a summary of them, by Moldenhauer, Hamburg, 1792. The complete and genuine proceedings have now ap-

peared in the original Latin, among the 'Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France,' under the care of M. Michelet. The second volume has recently been added. My citations, if not otherwise distinguished, refer to these volumes.

^d "Faciens misericordiam."

answers of the Bishops to the Court. Some were found to have published the citation, others to have neglected or disobeyed; from some had come no answers; to them letters were addressed of mild rebuke or exhortation. The Templars were to be informed that the investigation was not against individual members of the Order, but against the Order itself. No one was to be compelled to appear; but all who voluntarily undertook the defence of the Order had free liberty to go to Paris.^e

On the 22nd of November the Bishop of Paris appeared in Court. He declared that he had himself gone to the prison in which the Grand Master, Hugo de Peyraud the Visitor of the Order, and other Knights were confined; that he had caused the Apostolic letter to be read in Latin, and explained in the vulgar tongue; that the Knights had declared themselves ready to appear before the Court; some were willing to defend the Order. He had published the citation in the churches and other public places, and sent persons of trust to make known and to explain the citation to all the prisoners in the city and diocese of Paris. Orders were issued to Philip de Vohet, Provost of the church of Poitiers, and John de Jamville, doorkeeper to the King, who had the general custody of the prisoners, to bring before the Court, under a strong and trusty guard, the Master, the Visitor, and all who would undertake the defence. The Provost and De Jamville bowed and promised to obey. On the same day appeared a man in a secular habit, who called himself John de Melot, of

^e "Nec volumus quod contra fratres singulares dicti ordinis, et de hiis quæ ipsos tamquam singulares personas tanguant, non intendimus inquirere contra eos, sed duntaxat contra ordinem supra-

dictum juxta traditam nobis formam. Nec fuit nostræ intencionis, nec est, quod aliqui ex eis venire cogantur vel teneantur, sed solum ii qui voluntarie venire valeant pro premissis."—p. 25.

the diocese of Besançon. He was manifestly a simple and bewildered man, who had left the Order or who had been dismissed ten years before, and seemed under the influence of panic. "He knew no harm of the Order, did not come to defend it, was ready to do or to suffer whatever the Court might ordain; he prayed that they would furnish him with subsistence, for he was very poor." The Court saw that he was half-witted, and sent him to the Bishop of Paris to be taken care of.^f Six Knights then stood before the Court. Gerald de Caus was asked why he appeared. He replied, in obedience to the citation: he was prepared to answer any interrogatory. The Court answered, that they compelled no one to come before them, and asked whether he was ready to defend the Order. After many words he said that he was a simple soldier, without house, arms, or land: he had neither ability nor knowledge to defend the Order. So said the other five. Then appeared Hugo de Peyraud, Visitor of the Order, under the custody of the Provost of Poitiers and ^{Hugh de} ^{Peyraud.} John de Jamville. He came in consequence of the citation, made known by the Bishop of Paris, to answer any interrogatory. He came further to entreat the Pope and the King not to waste and dissipate the goods of the Temple, but religiously to devote them to their original use, the cause of the Holy Land. He had given his answers to the three Cardinals at Chinon, had been prepared to do the same before the Pope; he

^f "Et quia fuit visum eisdem dominis commissariis, ex aspectu et consideratione personæ suæ, actuum, gestuum, et loquelæ, quod erat valde simplex vel fatuus, et non bene compos mentis suæ, non processerunt

ulterius cum eodem."—p. 27. By some strange mistake of his own or of his authorities, Sismondi has attributed the speech and conduct of this poor crazy man to Du Molay.

could only say the same before the Commissioners. He too declined to undertake the defence, and was remanded to prison.*

After two days' adjournment, on Wednesday, November 26th, Du Molay, at his own request, was brought before the Court. He was asked whether he would defend the Order. "The Order was founded," he replied, "and endowed with its privileges by the Pope. He wondered that the Pope would proceed in such haste to the abolition of such an Order. The sentence hung over Frederick II. for thirty-two years. Himself was an unlearned man, unfit, without counsel, to defend the Temple; yet he was prepared to do it to the best of his ability. He should hold himself a base wretch, he would be justly held as a base wretch by others, if he defended not an Order from which he had received so much honour and advantage. Yet this was a hard task for one who had been thrown into prison by the King and by the Pope, and had but four deniers in the world to fee counsel. All he sought was that the truth might be known concerning the Order, not in France only, but before the kings, princes, prelates, and barons of the world. By the judgement of those kings, princes, prelates, and barons he would stand." The Court replied that he should deliberate well on his defence. The Master said, "he had but one attendant, a poor servitor of the Order: he was his cook." They

* The Court received private information that certain Templars had arrived in Paris, disguised in secular habits, and furnished with money to provide counsel and legal aid to defend the Order; they had been arrested by the king's officers; the Provost of the Châtelet was commanded to bring

them before the Court. It was a false alarm. One of them only had been a servitor for those monks; he was poor, and had come to Paris to seek a livelihood. They were gravely informed that if they designed to defend the Order, the Court was ready to hear them; they disclaimed such intention.

reminded him significantly of his confessions: they would have him to know that, in a case of heresy or faith, the course was direct and summary, without the noise and form of advocates and judicial procedure.

They then, without delay, read the Apostolic letters, and the confession which Du Molay was reported to have made before the three Cardinals. The Grand Master stood aghast; the gallant knight, the devout Christian, rose within him. Twice he signed himself with the sign of the cross. "If the Lords Commissioners were of other condition, he would answer them in another way." The Commissioners coldly replied "that they sat not there to accept wager of battle." Du Molay saw at once his error. "I meant not that, but would to God that the law observed by the Saracens and the Tartars, as to the forgers of false documents, were in use here! The Saracens and Tartars strike off the heads of such traitors, and cleave them to the middle." The Court only subjoined, "The Church passes sentence on heretics, and delivers over the obstinate to the secular arm."

William de Plasian, the subtlest of Philip's counsellors, was at hand. He led Du Molay aside: he protested that he loved him as a brother-soldier; he besought him with many words not to rush upon his ruin. Du Molay, confused, perplexed, feared that if he acted further without thought he might fall into some snare. He requested delay. He felt confidence (fatal confidence!) in De Plasian, for De Plasian was a knight!

The day after, Ponsard de Gisi, Preceptor of Payens, was brought up with Raoul de Gisi, Preceptor of Lagny Sec. Ponsard boldly declared him-
Nov. 27
self ready to undertake the defence of the Order. All the enormous charges against the Order were utterly,

absolutely false; false were all the confessions, extorted by terror and pain, from himself and other brethren before the Bishop of Paris. Those tortures had been applied by the sworn and deadly enemies and accusers of the Order, by the Prior of Montfalcon, and William Roberts, the monk.^h He put in a schedule:—"These are the traitors who have falsely and disloyally accused the religion of the Temple: William Roberts the monk, who had them put to the torture; Esquin de Florian of Beziers, Prior of Montfalcon; Bernard Pelet, Prior of Maso (Philip's Envoy to England); and Gervais Boysol, Knight of Gisors."ⁱ

Had Ponsard himself been tortured? He had been tortured before the Bishop of Paris three months ere he made confession. His hands had been tied behind him till the blood burst from his nails. He had stood thus in a pit for the space of an hour.^k He protested that in that state of agony he should confess or deny whatever they would. He was prepared to endure beheading, the stake, or the cauldron, for the honour of the Order; but these slow, excruciating torments he could not bear, besides the horrors of his two years' imprisonment. He was asked if he had anything to allege wherefore the Court should not proceed. He hoped that the cause would be decided by good men and true.^m The Provost

^h "Per vim et propter periculum et timorem, quia torquebantur a Florigerano de Biturres, priori Montfalconis, Gulielmo Roberto monacho, inimicis eorum." This is a new and terrible fact, that the accusers, even the Prior of Montfalcon, were the *torturers*!

ⁱ Moldenhauer says that they gave in a paper, "Ces sont les treytours, liquel ont proposé fauseté et debaute

contro leste de la Religion deu Temple, Guiliames Robers Moynes, qui les mitoyet a geinas; Esquins de Flexian de Biterris, en Priens de Montfaucon, Bernard Peleti Priens de Maso de Genoio, et Everannes de Boxxol, Echalier vengus a Gisors" (*sic*).—p. 33.

^k Leuge.

^m See also this in the Procès and in Moldenhauer, p. 35.

of Poitiers interposed; he produced a schedule of charges advanced by Ponsard himself against the Order. "Truth," answered Ponsard, "requires no concealment. I own that, in a fit of passion, on account of some contumelious words with the Treasurer of the Temple, I did draw up that schedule." Those charges, however, dark as were some of them, were totally unlike those now brought against the brotherhood. Before he left the Court Ponsard expressed his hope that the severity of his imprisonment might not be aggravated because he had undertaken the defence of the Order. The Court gave instructions to the Provost of Poitiers and De Jamville that he should not be more harshly treated.

On the Friday before the Feast of St. Andrew Du Molay appeared again. De Plasian had ^{Du Molay} alarmed, or persuaded or caressed him to a ^{again.} more calm and suppliant demeanour. He thanked the commissioners for their indulgence in granting delay. Asked if he would defend the Order, he said that "he was an unlettered and a poor man. The Pope had reserved for his own decision the judgement on himself and other heads of the Order. He prayed to be brought, as speedily as might be (for life was short), into the presence of the Pope." Asked whether he saw cause why the Court should not proceed, not against individual Knights, but against the Order, he replied, "None; but to disburthen his conscience, he must aver three things: I. That no religious edifices were adorned with so much splendour and beauty as the chapels of the Templars, nor the services performed with greater majesty, except in cathedral churches; II. That no Order was more munificent in almsgiving; III. That no Brotherhood and no Christians had confronted death more intrepidly, or shed their blood

more cheerfully for the cause of Christ." He especially referred to the rescue of the Count of Artois. The Court replied that these things profited not to salvation, where the groundwork of the faith was wanting. Du Molay professed his full belief in the Trinity, and in all the articles of the Catholic faith.

William of Nogaret came forward, and inquired whether it was not written in the Chronicles of St. Denys, that Saladin had publicly declared, on a certain defeat of the Templars, that it was "a judgement of God for their apostasy from their faith, and for their unnatural crimes." Du Molay was amazed; "he had never heard this in the East." He acknowledged that he and some young Knights, eager for war, had murmured against the Grand Master, William de Beaujeu, because he kept peace with the Sultan, peace which turned out to be a wise measure. He entreated to be allowed the mass and the divine offices, to have his chapel and his chaplain. He withdrew, never to leave his prison till some years after to be burned alive.

Up to this time none but the prisoners confined in Paris had been brought before the Commission. It was still found that the citations had been but partially served in the prisons of the other provinces. Letters Prisoners from the Provinces. were again written to the Archbishops and Bishops, enjoining them to send up all the Templars who would undertake the defence of the Order to Paris. The King issued instructions to the Bailiffs and Seneschals of the realm to provide horses and conveyances, and to furnish a strong and sufficient guard. This was the special office of the Provost of Poitiers, and John de Jamville, who had the general custody of the captives in the provinces of Sens, Rheims, and Rouen. The prisons of Orleans were crowded. They

were compelled to disgorge all their inmates. The appointed day was the morrow after the Purification. From that day till the end of March the prisoners came pouring in from all parts of the kingdom. Great numbers had died of torture, of famine, of shame and misery at their confinement in fetid and unwholesome dungeons, men accustomed to a free and active life. The survivors came, broken in spirit by torture, not perhaps sure that the Papal Commission would maintain its unusual humanity; most of them with the burthen of extorted confessions, which they knew would rise up against them. Perhaps some selection was made. Some, no doubt, the more obstinate, and the more than obstinate, those who had recanted their confessions, were kept carefully away. Yet even under these depressing, crushing circumstances their numbers, their mutual confidence in each other, the glad open air, the face of man, before whom they were now to bear themselves proudly, and—vague hope!—some reliance on the power, the justice, or the mercy of the Pope, into whose hands they might seem to have passed from that of the remorseless King, gave them courage. They heard with undisguised murmurs of indignation the charges now publicly made against the Order, against themselves: the blood boiled as of old; the soldier nerved himself in defiance of his foe.

The first interrogatory, to which all at the time collectively before the Courtⁿ were exposed, was whether

ⁿ See the detail—from Clermont 34, from Sens 6, from the Bishopric of Amiens 12, from that of Paris about 10, from Tours 7 or 8 (of the Touraine Templars, some would defend themselves, not the Order, some as far as themselves were concerned), from St. Martin des Champs in Paris 14, from Nismes 7, from Monlhery 8, from the Temple 34, from Aris in the diocese of Paris 19, from the Castle of Corbeil 38, from St. Denys 7, from Beauvais 10, from Chalons 9, from Tyers in the diocese of Sens 10

they would defend the Order. By far the larger number engaged with unhesitating intrepidity. There were some hundreds. Dreadful tales transpired of their prison-houses. Of those from St. Denys John de Baro had been three times tortured, and kept twelve weeks on bread and water. Of those from Tyers one declared that twenty-five of the Brethren had died in prison of torture and suffering: he asserted that if the Host were administered to them, God would work a miracle to show which spoke truth, those who confessed or those who denied. Of the twenty who arrived later from the province of Sens one, John of Cochiac, produced a letter from the Provost of Poitiers, addressed to Laurence de Brami, once commander in Apulia, and to other prisoners, urging them to deny to the Bishop of Orleans that they had been tampered with, and pressed to confess falsehoods: to act according to the advice of John Chiapini, "the beloved clerk;" and warning them that the Pope had ordered all who did not persevere in their confessions to be burned at once.^o The Provost, having examined the document with seeming care, said, that he did not believe that he had written such a letter, or that it was sealed with his seal: "a certain clerk sometimes kept his seal, but he had not urged the prisoners to speak anything but the truth." One of those from Toulouse had been so dreadfully tortured by fire, that some of the bones of his feet had dropped out; he produced them before the Court.

from Carcassonne 28. There came from the province of Sens 20 more; there came from Sammartine in the diocese of Maux 14; from Auxerre 4, from Crevecoeur 18, from Toulouse 3, from Poitiers 13, from Cressi 6,

from Moissiac 6, from Jamville (Orleans) 21, from Gisors 58, from Vernon 13, from Bourges diocese 14, from the archdiocese of Lyons 22.

^o Procès, p. 75.

These many hundred Knights, Clerks, and Servitors, a great majority at least of those before the Court, resolved, notwithstanding their former sufferings, to defend their Order. Some of their answers were striking from their emphatic boldness. "To death." "To the end." "To the peril of my soul." "I have never confessed, never will confess, those base calumnies." "Give us the sacrament on the oaths, and let God judge." "With my body and my soul." "Against all men, against all living, save the King and the Pope." "I have made some confession before the Pope, but I lied. I revoke all, and will stand to the defence of the Order." ^p Those who declined, ^q alleged different excuses, some would defend themselves, not the Order; some would not undertake the defence, unauthorised by the Grand Master; some were simple men, unversed in such proceedings; one with simplicity, which seemed like irony, "would not presume to litigate with the King and the Pope." Very few, indeed, with Gerhard de Lorinche, refused "because there were many bad points in the Order." Many entreated that they might be relieved from some of the hardships of their prisons.

^p Raynouard gives the names (p. 271), confirmed by the Procès.

^q There seems to have been less boldness and resolution among the great officers of the Order; perhaps they were old and more sorely tried. John de Tournon, the Treasurer of the Temple in Paris, refused to undertake their defence. William of Arteblay, the king's almoner, would not offer himself for that purpose. Godfrey de Gonaville, Preceptor of Poithou and Aquitaine, said that he was a pri-

soner, a rude unlettered man: before the King and the Pope, whom he held for good lords and just judges, he would speak what was right, but not before the Commissioners. The Commissioners pledged themselves for his full security and freedom of speech.—p. 100. "Nec deberet timere de aliquibus violentiis injuriis vel tormentis, quia non inferrent nec inferri permetterent, immo impedirent si inferri deberent."—p. 88. This is noteworthy.

that they might be admitted to the holy offices of the Church; some that they might resume the habit of the Order.

On the 25th of March the Knights, who had under-
Defenders
before the
Court. taken the defence, were assembled in the
 garden of the Archbishop's palace at Paris,
 to the number of five hundred and fifty-six; their
 names are extant in full.^r The Papal commission,
 and the articles exhibited against the Order, which
 had been drawn up, to the number of one hundred
 and twenty-seven, by the King and his counsellors,^s
 and which had before been read^t and explained in
 French to about ninety persons, were now read again
 in Latin at full length. They contained, in minute
 legal particularity, every charge which had been adduced
 before. As the Notary was proceeding to translate the
 charges, a general outcry arose that they did not need
 to hear, that they would not hear, such foul, false, and
 unutterable things in the vulgar tongue.

The Commissioners, in order to proceed with regu-
 larity, commanded the prisoners to select from among
 themselves six or eight or ten proctors to conduct the
 defence: they promised to these proctors full freedom
 of speech. After some deliberation Reginald de Pruin,
 Preceptor of the Temple in Orleans, and Peter of Bo-
 logna, Proctor of the Order in the Roman Court, both
 lettered men, dictated, in the name of the Knights pre-
 sent, this representation: "It appeared hard to them
 and to the rest of the Brethren that they had been
 deprived of the sacraments of the Church, stripped of
 their religious habit, despoiled of their goods, igno-

^r In the Procès; Moldenhauer has 556, Haveman says 544.

^s Raynouard, whom Haveman quotes v. 246.

^t March 14.

miniously imprisoned and put in chains. They were ill provided with all things: the bodies of those who had died in prison had been buried in unconsecrated ground: in the hour of death they had been denied the Sacrament. No one could act as a proctor without the consent of the Grand Master; they were illiterate and simple, they required therefore the aid and advice of learned Counsel. Many Knights of high character had not been permitted to undertake the defence: they named Reginald de Vossiniac and Matthew de Clichy as eminently qualified for that high function."

There was great difficulty in the choice of proctors and in their investiture with powers to act in defence of the Order. The public notaries went round the prisons in which the Templars were confined, to require their assent, if determined on the defence, to the nomination of proctors. The Knights had taken new courage from their short emancipation from their fetters, from the glimpse of the light of day. About seventy-seven in the Temple dungeons solemnly averred all the articles to be foul, irrational, detestable, horrid, false to the blackest falsehood, iniquitous, fabricated, invented by mendacious witnesses, base, infamous; that "the Temple" is and always was pure and blameless. If they were not permitted to appear in person at the General Council, they prayed that they might appear by some of their Brethren. They asserted all the confessions to be false, wrung from them by torture, or by the fear of torture, and therefore to be annulled and thrown aside; that these things were public, notorious, to be concealed by no subterfuge. Other prisoners put in other pleas of defence, as strong, some of them more convincing from their rashness and simplicity. A few bitterly complained of the miserable allowance for their main-

tenance: they had to pay two sous for knocking off their irons, when brought up for hearing, and ironing them again.^u

The mass of suffrages, though others were named, were for Peter of Bologna, Reginald de Pruin, priests; William de Chambonnet and Bertrand de Salleges, knights, as those in whom they had greatest confidence as proctors. Already on the 1st of April these four with Matthew de Clichy and Robert Vigier had given in a written paper, stating that without the approbation of the Grand Master they could not act. The Grand Master, the chief Preceptors of France, Guienne, Cyprus, and Normandy, and the other Brethren, must be withdrawn from the custody of the King's officers, and delivered to that of the Church, as it was notorious that they dared not, through fear, or through seduction and false promises, consent to the defence of the Order, and that false confessions would be adduced so long as the cause should last.^x They demanded everything requisite to defend the cause, especially the counsel of learned lawyers; full security for the proctors and their counsel: that the apostate Brethren, who had thrown off the habit of the Order, should be taken into the custody of the Church till it should be ascertained whether they had borne true or false witness,^y for it was well known that they had been corrupted by solicitations and bribes; that the priests who had heard the dying confessions of the Templars should be examined as to those confessions; that the accusers should

^u Procès, passim, at this period.

^x "Quia scimus predictos fratres non audere consentire defensionis ordinis, propter eorum metum et seductionem, et falsas promissiones, quia

quamdiu durabit causa, durabit et confessio falsa."—p. 127.

^y This was probably aimed especially at Squino de Florian and his colleagues.

appear before the Court, and be liable to the *Lex Talionis*.

On the 7th of April they appeared again with William de Montreal, Matthew de Cresson Essart, John de St. Leonard, and William de Grinsac. Peter of Bologna read the final determination of the Brethren: —“They could not, without leave from the Grand Master, appoint proctors, but they were content that the four, the two priests, Peter of Bologna and De Pruin, the two Knights, De Chambonnet and Salleges, should appear for the defence, produce all documents, allege all laws, and watch the whole proceedings in their behalf. They demanded that no confession, extorted by solicitation, reward, or fear, should be adduced to their prejudice; that all the false Brethren, who had thrown off the habit of the Order, should be kept in safe custody by the Church till found true or mendacious; that no layman should be present at the hearing, no one who might cause reasonable dread;” for the Brethren were in general so downcast in mind from terror, that it is less surprising that they should tell lies than speak truth, when they compare the tribulation, anguish, insults endured by those who speak truth, with the advantages, enjoyments, freedom of those who speak falsehood.² “It is amazing that those should be believed who are thus corrupted by personal advantage rather than the martyrs of Christ, who endure the worst afflictions:” “they aver that no Knight in all the world out of the realm of France has or would utter such lies: it is manifest therefore that

Protest of the Proctors.

² “Quia omnes fratres generaliter tanto terrore, et timore percussis, quod non est mirandum quodam modo de hiis qui mentiuntur, sed plus de hiis qui sustinent veritatem.”—p. 166, and in Moldenhauer.

they that do this in France are seduced by terror, influence, or bribery." ^a They assert distinctly, deliberately, without reserve, the holiness of the Order; their fidelity to their three solemn vows of chastity, obedience, poverty; their dedication to the service of Christ's Sepulchre; they avouch the utter mendacity of the articles exhibited against them. "Certain false Christians, or absolute heretics, moved by the zeal of covetousness, or the ardour of envy, have sought out some few apostates or renegades from the Order (diseased sheep cast out of the fold), and with them have invented and forged all the horrid crimes and wickednesses attributed to the Order. They have poisoned the ears of the Pope and of the King. The Pope and the King, thus misled by designing and crafty counsellors, have permitted their satellites to compel confessions by imprisonment, torture, the dread of death. Finally, they protested against the form of procedure, as directly contrary to law, an inquisition *ex officio*, because before their arrest they were not arraigned by public fame, because they are not now in a state of freedom and security, but at the mercy of those who are continually suggesting to the King that he should urge all who have confessed by words, messages, or letters not to retract their false depositions, extorted by fear; for if they retract them, they will be burned alive." ^b

William de Montreal presented another protest in Provençal French, somewhat different in terms, insisting on their undoubted privilege of being judged by the Pope and the King alone.

These protests had no greater effect than such pro-

^a "Quare dicta sunt in regno Franciæ, quia, qui dixerunt, corrupti timore prece vel pretio testificati sunt"!!!

^b P. 140.

tests usually have ; they were overruled by the Commissioners, who declared themselves determined to proceed.

On April 11th, on the eve of Palm Sunday, the witnesses, how chosen is unknown, were brought forward : oaths of remarkable solemnity were administered in the presence of the four advocates of the Order. The depositions of the first witnesses were loose and unsatisfactory, resting on rumour and suspicion. Raoul de Prael had some years before heard Gervais, Prior of the Temple at Laon, declare that the Templars had a great and terrible secret : he would have his head cut off rather than betray it. Nicolas Domizelli, Provost of the Monastery of Fassat, had heard his uncle, who entered the Order twenty-five years before, declare that the same Gervais had used the same language concerning the secret usages of the Order. He had himself wished to enter the Order, but, though he was very rich, Gervais had raised difficulties. Some of the Court adjourned to the deathbed of John de S. Benedict, Preceptor of Isle Bochart. John underwent, though said to be at the point of death, a long interrogatory. He confessed, as they reported, the denial of Christ and spitting on the Cross at his reception : of the idol, or of the other charges he knew nothing. Guiscard de Marsiac had heard of the obscene kisses. His relative, Hugh de Marchant, after he had entered the Order, had become profoundly melancholy ; he called himself a lost man, had a seal stamped " Hugh the Lost." Hugh, however, had died, after confession to a Friar Minor and having received the Holy Sacrament, in devotion and peace. Then came two servitors, under the suspicious character of renegades, having cast off the dress of the Order, John de Taillefer, and John de Hinquemet, an Englishman. They deposed to the

denial of Christ, the spitting on the Cross, the denial with their lips not their hearts (as almost every one did), the spitting near not on the Cross.

The Court adjourned for the Festival of Easter, and resumed its sittings on the Thursday in Easter week. The four defenders had become still more emboldened, perhaps by the meagre and inconclusive evidence. They put in a new protest against the proceedings, as hasty, violent, sudden, iniquitous, and without the forms of law. The Brethren had been led like sheep to the slaughter; they recounted again the imprisonments, the tortures, under which many had died, many were maimed for life, by which some had been compelled to make lying confessions. Further, letters had been shown to the Brethren, with the King's seal attached, promising them, if they would bear witness against the Order, safety of life and limb, ample provision for life, and assuring them at the same time that the Order was irrevocably doomed. They demanded a list of the witnesses, so that they might adduce evidence as to their credibility; that those who had given their depositions should be separated and kept apart from those who had not, so that there might be no collusion or mutual understanding; that the depositions should be kept secret; that every witness should be informed that he might speak the truth without fear, because his deposition would not be divulged till it had been laid before the Pope. They demanded that the laymen De Plasian, De Nogaret, and others should not be present in the spiritual court to overawe the judges; they demanded that those who had the custody of the Templars should be interrogated as to the testimony given concerning the Order by the dying in their last hours.

The examinations began again. Another servitor, Huguet de Buris, who, with a fourth, had shared the dungeon of Taillefer and John the Englishman, deposed much to the same effect. Gerard de Passages gave more extraordinary evidence. Seventeen years after his reception he had abandoned the Order for five years on account of the foul acts which had taken place at his reception. After the usual rigorous oaths had been administered, a crucifix of wood was produced: he was asked whether he believed that cross to be God. He replied that it was the image of the Crucified. It was answered, "this is but a piece of wood; God is in heaven." He was commanded to spit upon and trample on the Cross. He did this, not compelled, but from his vow of obedience. He kissed his Initiator on the spine of the back. Yet Gerard de Passages, though thus a renegade to the Order, had suffered, he avers, the most horrible tortures before the King's Bailiff at Macon, weights tied to the genitals and other limbs to compel him to a confession of the idol, of which he declared that he knew nothing. Godfrey de Thatan, the fourth of the servitors, "had been forced to the denial of Christ, on his reception, by the threat of being shut up in a place where he could see neither his hands nor his feet." Raymond de Vassiniac made an admission for the first time of one of the fouler charges, but denied the actual guilt of the Order. Baldwin de St. Just, Preceptor of Ponthieu, had been twice examined, twice put to the torture, at Amiens by the Friar Preachers, at Paris before the Bishop. The sharper tortures at Amiens had compelled him to confess more than the less intolerable tortures at Paris, or than he was disposed to avow before the Commissioners. "At his own reception had taken place

Examinations
resumed.

May 6.

the abnegation, the insult to the Cross, the licence to commit unnameable vices. But at the reception of four Brothers, one his own nephew, at which he had been present, nothing of the kind." The servitor James of Troyes was the most ready witness: he had left the Order four years before from love of a woman. Besides the usual admissions, he had heard, he could not say from whom, that a head was worshipped at the midnight Chapters. The Court itself mistrusted the ease, fluency, and contradictions of this witness.^c

Still during all these examinations new batches of Knights were brought in, almost all of them eager to undertake the defence of the Order. As yet, considering the means unscrupulously used to obtain evidence, the evidence had been scanty, suspicious, resting chiefly on low persons of doubtful fidelity to their vows. Hope, even something like triumph, might be rising in the hearts, faintly gleaming on the countenances of the Templars. The Court itself might seem somewhat shaken: the weighty protests, unanswered and unanswerable, could hardly be without some effect. Who could tell the turn affairs might take?

But now, at this crisis, terrible rumours began to spread that the Archbishop of Sens, in defiance and in contempt of the supreme Papal tribunal, was proceeding (as Metropolitan of Paris) against all who had retracted their confessions as relapsed heretics. These were the first fruits of the Archbishop's gratitude to the King for his promotion extorted from the reluctant Pope: he had not been a month enthroned!

^c "Predictus testis videbatur esse valde facilis et procox ad loquendum et in pluribus dictis suis non esse stabilis, sed quasi varians et vacillans."

Stephen, Archbishop of Sens, had died about the Easter of the preceding year. The Pope declared his determination himself to nominate the Metropolitan of this important See, of which the Bishop of Paris was a Suffragan. But the King requested, he demanded the See for Philip, the brother of his faithful minister, Enguerrand de Marigni, the author and ^{Philip de Marigni.} adviser of all his policy. Clement struggled with some resolution, but gave way at length; he acceded ungraciously, reluctantly, but still acceded.

At Easter Philip de Marigni received his pall. Almost his first act was to summon a Provincial Council to sit in judgement on the ^{A.D. 1310.} Templars who had retracted their confessions. The rapid deliberations of this Council were known to be drawing to a close. On Sunday the four de- ^{Appeal to the Commissioners.} fenders demanded a special audience of the Commissioners. They put in a strong protest against the acts of the Archbishop; they entreated the intervention of the Commissioners to arrest these iniquitous proceedings; they appealed to their authority, to their justice, to their mercy for their Brethren now on trial before another Court. The Archbishop of Narbonne withdrew under the pretext of hearing or celebrating mass. It was not till the evening that they obtained a cold reply. "The proceedings of the Archbishop related to different matters than those before the Court: the trial of relapsed heretics. The Commissioners had no authority to inhibit the Archbishop of Sens and his Suffragans: they would, however, deliberate further on the subject."

They had no time for deliberation. The next day De Marigni's Council closed its session. The Archbishop pronounced all who had retracted ^{Decision of the Council.} their confessions, and firmly adhered to their retracta-

tion, relapsed heretics. It was strange, stern logic: "You have confessed yourself to be guilty of heresy, on that confession you have received absolution. If you retract your confessions, the Church treats you not as reconciled sinners, but as relapsed heretics, and as heretics adjudges you to be burned." It was in vain urged that their heresy rested on their own confession; that confession withdrawn, there was no proof of their heresy. Those who persisted in their confession were set at liberty, declared reconciled to the Church, provided for by the King. Those who had made no confession, and refused to make one, were declared not reconciled to the Church, and ordered to be detained in prison, which might be perpetual. For the relapsed there was a darker destiny.

On May 12th fifty-four stakes, encircled with dry wood, were erected outside the Porte St. Antoine. Fifty-four Templars were led forth—men, some of noble birth, many in the full health and strength of manhood.^d The habits of their Order were rent from them; each was bound to the stake, with an executioner beside him. The herald proclaimed for the last time that those who would confess should be set at liberty. Kindred and friends thronged around weeping, beseeching, imploring them to submit to the King. Not one showed the least sign of weakness: they resolutely asserted the innocence of the Order, their own faith as Christians. The executioners slowly lit the wood, which began to scorch, to burn, to consume their extremities. The flames rose higher; and through the crackling might be heard the howlings of the dying men, their agonising prayers to Christ, to the Blessed Virgin, to

^d Raynouard (pp. 109-111) has recovered the names of most of the 54.

the Saints. Not one but died an unshrinking and resolute martyr to the guiltlessness of the Order. The people looked on in undisguised sympathy. "Their souls," says one chronicler, "incurred deeper damnation, for they misled the people into grievous error." Day after day went on the same sad spectacle. On the eve of the Ascension four were burned, among them the King's Almoner. One hundred and thirteen were burned in Paris alone, and not one apostate!

The examinations were going on, meantime, before the Papal Commission. The day when it was well known that the Archbishop was about to Examinations proceed. condemn the recreants to the flames, Humphry de Puy, a servitor, gave the most intrepid denial to the whole of the charges: he had been three times tortured, kept in a dungeon on bread and water for twenty-six weeks. He described his own reception as solemn, secret, and austere. He had heard rumours of such things as were said to have taken place; he did not believe one word of them. Throughout, his denial was plain, firm, unshaken. John Bertaldi was under examination when the tidings of the burnings at the Porte St. Antoine were made known. The Commissioners sent a tardy and feeble petition at least for delay, and to inform the Archbishop and the King's officers that the Templars had entered an appeal to the Council of Vienne. This was all!

The next day Aymeric de Villars le Duc appeared before the Commissioners, pale, bewildered; yet on his oath, and at peril of his soul, he imprecated upon himself, if he lied, instant death, and that he might be

* Chroniques de St. Denys. The best account is in Villani, viii. xcii, Zantfleet Chronicon, apud Martene, v. p. 159.

plunged body and soul, in sight of the Court, into hell. He smote his breast, lifted his hands in solemn appeal to the altar, knelt down, and averred all the crimes imputed to the Order utterly false: though he had been tortured by G. de Marillac and Hugo de Celle, the King's officers, to partial confession. He had seen the waggons in which the fifty-four had been led to be burned, he had heard that they had been burned. He doubted whether, if he should be burned, he would not through fear confess anything, and confess it on his oath, even if he were asked if he had slain the Lord. He entreated the Commissioners, he even entreated the notaries not to betray his secret lest he should be condemned to the same fate as his Brethren.

The Commissioners found the witnesses utterly paralysed with dread, and only earnest that their confessions or retractations of their confessions might not be revealed; above forty abandoned the defence in despair. So, after some unmeaning communications with the Archbishop of Sens, they determined to adjourn the Court for some months, till November 3rd.

In the mean time other Metropolitans and Bishops followed the summary and barbarous proceedings of Philip Marigni of Sens.^f The Archbishop of Rheims held a Council at Sénlis; nine Templars were burned: the Archbishop of Rouen at Pont de l'Arche; the number of victims is not known, but they were many.^g The Bishop of Carcassonne held his Council: John Cassantras, Commander in Carcassonne, with many others perished in the fire.^h Duke Thiebault of Lor-

^f Continuator Nangis.—Vit. Clement. VI.

^g Histoire des Archevêques de

Rouen, quoted by Raynouard, p. 120.

^h Hist. Eccles. de Carcassonne.—

Ibid.

raine, who had seized the goods of the Templars, ordered great numbers to execution. None retracted their retractation of their confession.ⁱ

On November 3rd the Commission resumed its sittings, but most of the Commissioners were weary or disgusted with their work. Three only were present. The Archbishop of Narbonne and the Bishop of Bayeux were elsewhere employed, it was alleged on the King's business. The Archdeacon of Maguelonne wrote from Montpellier to excuse himself on account of illness. The Bishop of Limoges withdrew: a letter to the King had been seen, disapproving the reopening of the Commission till the meeting of a Parliament summoned for the day of St. Vincent.^k They adjourned to the 17th of December.^m The Commission was then more full; the Archbishop of Narbonne and four others took their seats. Of the four proctors, the Knights William de Chambonnet and Bernard de Salleges alone appeared. Peter of Bologna and Reginald de Pruin, it was asserted, had renounced the defence. Peter de Bologna was heard of no more; he was reported to have broken prison. Reginald de Pruin, as having been degraded by the Archbishop, was deemed disqualified to act for the Order. Thus was the defence crippled. In vain the Knights, unlettered men, demanded counsel to assist them: they too abandoned the desperate office. The Court, released from their importunate presence, could proceed with greater despatch. Lest any new

ⁱ "Unum autem mirandum fuit, quod omnes et singuli sigillatim confessiones suas quas prius fecerant in iudicio, et jurati confessi fuerant dicere veritatem, penitus retractaverunt, dicentes se falso dixisse prius et se fuisse

mentitos, nullam super hac reddentes causam nisi vim vel metum tormentorum quod de se talia faterentur."—iv. Vit. Clement. p. 72.

^k Jan. 22.

^m By an error in the Document, Oct. 17.

hindrance should occur, at the suggestion of the Archbishop of Narbonne it was determined that the Commissioners might sit by deputy.

The Court sat from the 17th of December to the 26th of May. Not less, on the whole, than two hundred and thirty-one witnesses were heard. It cannot now be wondered if the confessions were more in accordance with the views of the King. The most intrepid of the Knights had died at the stake; every one who retracted his confession must make up his mind to be burned. On the other hand, the Order seemed irretrievably doomed: while confession might secure themselves, the most stubborn assertor of the blamelessness of the Order could not avert its dissolution. A few appeared in the habit of the Order, with the long beard: most had either thrown it off, or it had been taken from them, they appeared shaven. This was the case with all who had been absolved by the Church.

The confessions, upon strict examination, manifestly betray this predominant feeling of terror and despair. Some there were who nobly, obstinately denied the whole. Those who confessed, confessed as little as they could, enough to condemn the Order, yet not to inculcate, or to inculcate as little as possible, themselves. The confessions are constantly clashing and contradictory.ⁿ Men present at certain receptions assert things to have taken place, which others, also present, explicitly deny. The general conclusion was this. Many dwelt on the difficulties which were raised against their admission to the Order. They were admonished that they

ⁿ Raynouard has, with much ingenuity and truth, brought together the direct contradictions.—p. 157 *et seqq.*

must not expect to ride about in splendid attire on stately horses, and to live easy and luxurious lives; they had to submit to austere discipline, stern self-denial, almost intolerable privations and hardships. When they would wish to be beyond the sea, they would be thwarted in their wishes; when they would sleep, they would be forced to watch; when to eat, to fast. They were asked if they believed the Catholic faith of the Church of Rome; if they were in Holy Orders, married, under the vows of any other Brotherhood: whether they had given bribe or promise to any Knight Templar to obtain admission into the Order. "Ye ask a great thing," replied the Knight who admitted them to their request.

The first and public act of reception,^o all agreed, was most severe, solemn, impressive. The three Result of Confessions. great vows of obedience, chastity, abandonment of property, were administered with awful gravity. Then it was, according to the confession of most who confessed anything, that, after they had been clothed in the dress of the Order, they were led aside into some private chamber or chapel, and compelled, either in virtue of their vow of obedience, or in dread of some mysterious punishment, to deny Christ, to spit on the Cross. Yet, perhaps without exception, all swore that they had denied with their lips, not with their heart; that they spat, beside, above, below, not on the Cross.^p All declared that never after had any attempt been made to confirm them in apostasy from Christ:^q all

^o See the most full account of the reception by Gerard de Causse, p. 179 *et seqq.*

^p "Juxta non super."

^q Albert de Canellis, preceptor in

Sicily, and doorkeeper of Pope Benedict XI., was told, when he denied Christ, "that the Crucified was a false prophet; and that he must not believe or have hope or trust in him."—p. 425.

declared that they fully believed the whole creed of the Church; almost all that they believed all their Brethren to have perfect faith in Christ. There were some singular variations and explanations of the denial. One believed it to be a mere test of their absolute obedience; another a probation, as to whether they were of sufficient resolution to be sent to the Holy Land, where, in the power of the Mohammedans, they might be compelled to choose between death and the abnegation of their Redeemer:^r some that it was a mysterious allusion to the denial of S. Peter; some that it was an idle jest;^s some that it was treated lightly, "Go, fool, and confess." Many had confessed the crime, most usually to Minorite Friars, and, though their confession shocked the priest, they received, after some penance, full absolution. Most of those who acknowledged the abnegation of Christ, admitted the obscene kiss: some that it was but a brotherly kiss on the mouth; some had received, some had been compelled to bestow this sign of obedience: it was sometimes on the navel, sometimes between the shoulders, sometimes at the bottom of the spine, sometimes, very rarely, lower: it was sometimes on the naked person, more often through the clothes. Here stopped the admissions of great numbers; this they thought would suffice; the whole of the rest they denied. Others went further: some admitted the permission to

^r One had confessed it to a Friar Minor, "et dixit ei dictus frater quod ipse in articulo mortis et aliter audiverat confessiones multorum fratrum dicti ordinis, et nunquam intellexit prædicta, sed credebat quod hoc fecissent, ad *temptandum, si contingeret* eum capi ultra mare a Saracenis, an abnegaret Deum."—p. 405. Another

Friar-Preacher took the same view of the denials, and added, "Quia, si non negâsset, forsitan citius misissent eum ultra mare."—p. 525. Peter de Charrat said that after his abnegation, "Dictus Odo incepit subridere, quasi *dispiciendo* ipsum testem."

^s Truffias. It was done "truffatorie."

commit unnatural crimes, though in the charge on reception the sin was declared to be relentlessly punished by perpetual imprisonment; but all swore vehemently that they had never committed such crimes; had never been tempted or solicited to commit them; offences of this kind were very rare, and punished by expulsion from the Order. Some said that they were told it was better to sin so than with women to deter from that sin: some took it merely as an injunction hospitably to share their bed with a Brother: they wore their dress night and day, with a cord which bound it close.^t

Of the idol but few had heard; still fewer seen it. It was a cat; it was a human head with two faces; it was of stone or metal, with features The Idol. which might be discerned, or was utterly shapeless; it was the head of one of the eleven thousand virgins:^u no one idol could be produced, though every mansion of the Templars, and all their most secret treasures, were in the hands of their enemies, had been seized without warning or time for concealment, and searched with the most deliberate scrutiny. In the midst of the examinations came, in a Latin writing from Vercelli, from Antonio Siri, a notary, this wild story, followed by another not less extravagant. A renegade in Sicily had divulged the secret. A Lord of Sidon had loved a beautiful woman: he had never enjoyed her before her death. After her death he disinterred and abused her body. The fruit of this unholy and loathsome connexion was

^t Theobald of Tavernay added to his indignant denial of those crimes, "We had always money enough to purchase the favours of the most beautiful women."—p. 326.

^u William de Arreblay, the king's

almoner, before his apprehension, had believed it to be the head of one of these Virgins; since, from what he had heard in prison, suspected it was an idol, for it seemed to have two faces, was terrible to see, and had a silver beard!—p. 502.

a head ; and this head, a talisman of good fortune, was the idol of the Templars.*

Most of the interrogated seemed to think that they had satisfied all demands when they had made admissions on the first few questions : to the rest they gave a general denial, or pleaded total ignorance. There were some vague answers about secret midnight chapters, of absolution spoken by the Grand Master, but rarely, except in the absence of a priest, or it was conditional, and to be confirmed by a priest : very few knew anything of the omission of the words at the consecration of the host. But throughout they are the confessions of men under terror, some in an agony of dread, others from the remembrance or the fear of torture, or of worse than torture. John de Pollencourt at first protested again and again that he would adhere to his confession made before the Bishop of Amiens that he had denied Christ. The Commissioners saw that he was pale and shivering ; they exhorted him to speak the truth, for neither they nor the notaries would betray his secret. He then solemnly denied the whole and every particular ; averred that he had made his confession before the Inquisitors from fear of death ; that Giles de Boutongi, one of the former witnesses, had urged on him and many others in the prison of Montreuil that they would lose their lives if they did not assist in the dissolution of the Order by confessing the abnegation of Christ and the spitting on the cross.⁷ Three days after, the same John de Pollencourt entreats another hearing, not only retracts his retractation, but adds to his former confession, acknowledging the licence to commit nameless sins, but denies the worship of the idol-cat. John

* Pr. 545-6.

7 P. 368.

de Cormeli, Preceptor of Moissiac, at first seems to assert the perfect sanctity of the initiation. Being pressed as to anything unseemly having taken place, he hesitates, entreats to speak with the Commissioners in private. The Commissioners decline this, but, seeing him bewildered with the terror of torture (he had lost four teeth by torture at Paris), allow him to retire and deliberate. Some days after he appears again with a full confession.² John de Rumpfrey had confessed because he had been three times tortured. Robert Vigier denied all the charges; he had confessed on account of the violence of the tortures inflicted on him at Paris by the Bishop of Nevers:^a three of his brethren had died under the torture. Stephen de Domant was utterly bewildered; he confessed to the denial and the spitting on the cross. "Would he maintain this in the face of the Knight who had received him, and so give him the lie?" He would not.^b The Court saw that he was shattered by the tortures undergone two years before under the Bishop of Paris.

All these depositions, signed, sealed, attested, authenticated, were transmitted to the Pope.^c

^a P. 506. ^a P. 514. ^b P. 557.

^c M. Michelet writes thus in the Preface to the second volume of the *Procès des Templiers*, which, it must be admitted, contains on the whole a startling mass of confessions: "Il suffit de remarquer, que dans les interrogatoires que nous publions, les dénégations sont presque *toutes identiques*, comme si elles étaient dictées d'un formulaire convenu, qu'au contraire les aveux sont *tous différens*, variés de circonstances spéciales, souvent très naïves, qui leur donnent un

caractère particulier de vérité. Le contraire doit avoir lieu, si les aveux avoient été dictés ou arrachés par les tortures; ils seraient à peu près semblables, et la diversité se trouverait plutôt dans les dénégations." I confess that my impression of the fact is different, though I am unwilling to set my opinion on this point against that of the Editor of the Proceedings. But the fact itself, if true, strikes me just in the contrary way. The denegations were simple denials; the avowals, those of persons who had

It was not in France alone that the Templars were arrested, interrogated, in some kingdoms, and by the Pope's order, submitted to torture. In England, Edward II., after the example of his father-in-law, and in obedience to the Pope's repeated injunctions, and to his peremptory Bull, had seized with the same despatch, and cast into different prisons, all the Templars in England, Wales, and Ireland; Scotland had done the same. The English Templars were under custody in London, Lincoln, and York. From Lincoln, before the interrogatory, great part, but not all, were transferred to the Tower of London, to the care of John Cromwell, the Constable.^d The first proceeding was before Ralph Baldock, Bishop of London. On the 21st of October he opened the inquest on forty Knights, including the Grand Master, William de la More, in the chapter-house of the monastery of the Holy Trinity, in the presence of the Papal Commissioners, Deodate, Abbot of Lagny, and Sicard de St. Vaur, Canon of Narbonne, Auditor of the Pope.^e The questions were at first far more simple, far less elaborately drawn out than those urged in France.^f The chief points were

suffered or feared torture or death, who were bewildered, desperate of saving the Order, and spoke therefore whatever might please or propitiate the judges. Truth is usually plain, simple; falsehood, desultory, circumstantial, contradictory. In their confessions they were wildly bidding for their lives. Whatever you wish us to say, we will say it; a few words more or less matter not; or a few more assenting answers to questions which suggested those answers. 25 examined at Elne in Rousillon had not

been tortured; they denied calmly, consistently, the whole.—Tom. ii. p. 421.

^d “Ut commodius et efficacius procedi potest ad inquisitionem.”—Rymer, 1309.

^e Wilkins, *Concilia Magn. Britann.* ii. p. 334.

^f *Concil. Magn. Britann.* ii. 347. I shall be excused for giving the English examinations somewhat more at length. The trials were here at least *more fair*.

these:^g—Whether the chapters and the reception of knights were held in secret and by night; whether in those chapters were committed any offences against Christian morals or the faith of the Church; whether they knew that any individual brother had denied the Redeemer and worshipped idols; whether they themselves held heretical opinions on any of the sacraments. The examination was conducted with grave dignity. The warders of the prisons were commanded to keep the witnesses separate, under pain of the greater excommunication: to allow them no intercourse, to permit no one to have access to them. The first four witnesses, William Raven, Hugh of Tadcaster, Thomas Chamberleyn, Ralph of Barton, were interrogated according to the simpler formulary. They described each his reception, by whom, in whose presence it took place; denied calmly, distinctly, specifically, every one of the charges; declared that they believed them to be false, and had not the least suspicion of their truth. Ralph of Barton was a priest; he was recalled, and then first examined, under a more rigid form of oath, on each of the eighty-seven articles used in France, and sanctioned by the Pope. His answer was a plain positive denial in succession of every criminal charge. Forty-seven witnesses deposed fully to the same effect.^h From all these knights had been obtained not one syllable of confession.ⁱ It was

^g The charges were read to them in Latin, French, and English.

^h Thomas de Ludham, the thirty-first witness, said that he had been often urged to leave the Order; but had constantly refused, though he had quite enough to live upon had he done so.

ⁱ The forty-fourth, John of Stoke, Chaplain of the Order, was questioned as to the death of William Bachelor, a knight. It appears that Bachelor had been in the prison of the Templars eight weeks, had died, had been buried, not in the cemetery, but in the public way

determined to admit the testimony of witnesses not of the Order. Seventeen were examined, clergy, Nov. 20. public notaries, and others. Most of them knew nothing against the Templars; the utmost was a vague suspicion arising out of the secrecy with which they held their chapters. One man alone deposed to an overt act of guilt against a knight, Guy de Forest, who had been his enemy.

From January 29th to February 4th were hearings before the Bishops of London and Chichester, the Papal Commissioners, and some others, in St. Martin's Ludgate, and in other churches, on twenty-nine new articles. I. Whether they knew anything of the infidel and foul crimes charged in the Papal Bull. II. Whether the knights deposed under awe of the Great Preceptor or of the Order. III. Whether the form of reception was the same throughout the world, &c. Thirty-four witnesses, some before examined, persisted in the same absolute denial. On the 8th of June the Inquest dwelt solely on the absolution pronounced by the Grand Preceptor. William de la More deposed that when an offender was brought up before the chapter he was stripped of the dress of the Order, his back exposed, and the President struck three blows with scourges. He then said, "Brother, pray to God to remit thy sins." He turned to those present, "Brethren, pray to God that he remit our brother's sin, and repeat your Pater Noster." He swore that he had never used the form, "I absolve thee, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." This was the case with all offences, save

within the Temple, and not in the Order. It was intimated that Bachelor's offence was appropriating some dress of the Order. He had died ex-communicated by the rules of the Order of the goods of the Order.

those which could not be confessed without indecency. These he remitted as far as he might by the powers granted to him by God and the Pope.^k This was the universal practice of the Order. All the witnesses confirmed the testimony of William de la More. Interrogatories were also made at different times at June 1, 1310. Lincoln under the Papal Commission, and April 28. before the Archbishop at York with the two Papal Commissioners.^m All examined denied the whole as firmly and unanimously as at London.

The conclusions to which the chief Court arrived, after these Inquisitions, were in part a full and absolute acquittal of the Order; in part were based on a distorted and unjust view of the evidence; in part on evidence almost acknowledged to be unsatisfactory. The form of reception was declared to be the same throughout the world; of the criminality of that form, or of any of its particular usages, not one word. Certain articles were alleged to be proved: the absolution pronounced by the Grand Preceptor, and by certain lay knights in high office, and by the chapters; also that the reception was by night and secret; that they were sworn not to reveal the secret of their reception (proved by seven witnesses), were liable to be punished for such revelation (by three witnesses); that it was not lawful among themselves to discuss this secret (by three witnesses); that they were sworn to increase the wealth of the Order, by right or wrong;ⁿ by four witnesses that they were forbidden to confess except to priests of their own Order.^o

^k "Sed alia peccata, quæ non audent confiteri propter erubescenciam carnis vel timorem justitiæ ordinis, ipse ex potestate sibi concessâ a Deo et domino Papâ, remittit ei in quantum potest."—p. 357.

^m Thos. Stubbs, Act. Pontif. Eborac. apud Twysden, p. 1730; also Hemmingford.

ⁿ "Per fas vel per nefas."

^o Concil. p. 548.

The testimony of certain hostile witnesses was all this time kept separate; it was admitted that at the utmost even this was but presumptive against the Order. The Court seemed to have been ashamed of it, as well they might. In one place there is a strong intimation that the witnesses had contradicted and forsworn themselves.^p To what did it amount, and what manner of men were the witnesses?

An Irish Brother, Henry Tanet, had *heard*, that in the East one knight had apostatised to Islam: he had *heard* that the Preceptor of Mount Pelerin in Syria had received knights with the denial of Christ; the names of the knights he knew not. Certain knights of Cyprus (unnamed) were not sound in faith. A certain Templar had a brazen head which answered all questions. He never heard that any knight worshipped an idol, except an apostate to Mohammedanism! and the aforesaid Preceptor.

John of Nassingham had heard from others, who said that they had been told, that at a great banquet given by the Preceptor at York many brothers met in solemn festival to worship a calf.

John de Eure, knight (not of the Order), had invited William de la Fenne, Preceptor of Wesdall, to dinner. De la Fenne, after dinner, had produced a book, and given it to his wife to read, which book denied the virgin birth of the Saviour, and the Redemption: "Christ was crucified, not for man's sins, but for his own." De la Fenne had confessed this before the Inquest. Himself, being a layman, could not know the contents of the book.

^p "Suspicio (quæ loco testis 21 in MS. allegatur) probare videtur, quod omnes examinati in aliquo dejeraverunt, ut ex inspectione processuum apparet."

William de la Forde, Rector of Crofton, had heard from an Augustinian monk, now dead, that he had heard the confession of Patrick Rippon, of the Order, also dead, a confession of all the crimes charged against the Order. He had heard all this after the apprehension of the Templars at York.

Robert of Oteringham, a Franciscan, had heard a chaplain of the Order say to his brethren, "The devil will burn you," or some such words. He had seen a Templar with his face to the West, his hinder parts towards the altar. Twenty years before, at Wetherby, he had looked through a hole in the wall of a chapel where the Preceptor was said to be busy arranging the reliques brought from the Holy Land; he saw a very bright light. Next day he asked a Templar what Saint they worshipped; the Templar turned pale, and entreated him, as he valued his life, to speak no more of the matter.

John Wederal sent in a schedule, in which he testified in writing that he heard a Templar, one Robert Bayser, as he walked along a meadow, say, "Alas! alas! that ever I was born! I must deny Christ and hold to the devil!"

N. de Chinon, a Franciscan, had heard that a certain Templar had a son who looked through a wall and saw the knights compelling a professing knight to deny Christ; on his refusal they killed him. The boy was asked by his father whether he would be a Templar; the boy refused, saying what he had seen: on which his father killed him also.

Ferins Mareschal deposed that his grandfather entered the Order in full health and vigour, delighting in his hawks and hounds; in three days he was dead: the witness suspected that he would not consent to the wickednesses practised by the Order.

Adam de Heton deposed that when he was a boy it was a common cry among boys, "Beware of the kisses of the Templars."

William de Berney, an Augustinian, had heard that a certain Templar, he did not know his name, but believed that he was the Preceptor of Duxworthe (near Cambridge), had said that man after death had no more a living soul than a dog.

Roger, Rector of Godmersham, deposed that fifteen years before he had desired to enter the Order. Stephen Quenteril had warned him, "If you were my father, and might become Grand Master of the Order, I would not have you enter it. We have three vows, known only to God, the devil, and the brethren." What those vows were Stephen would not reveal.

William, Vicar of St. Clement in Sandwich, had heard fifteen years before, from a groom in his service, that the said groom had heard from another servant, that the said servant at Dinelee had hid himself under a seat in the great hall where the Templars held their midnight chapters. The President preached to the brethren how they might get richer. All the brethren deposited their girdles in a certain place: one of these girdles the servant found and carried to his master. The master struck him with his sword in the presence of the said groom. William was asked if the groom was living: he did not know.

Thomas Tulyet had heard from the Vicar of Sutton that he had heard a certain priest, who officiated among the Templars, had been inhibited from using the words of consecration in the mass.

John de Gertia, a Frenchman, had heard fourteen years before from a woman named Cacocaca, who lived near some elms in a street in a suburb of London, lead-

ing to St. Giles, that Exvalet, Preceptor of London, had told this woman that a servant of certain Templars had concealed himself in their chapter-house at Dinelee.^a The Knights present had retired to a house adjacent (how the witness saw them, appears not); there they opened a coffer, produced a black idol with shining eyes, performing certain disgusting ceremonies. One of them refused to do more (the conversation is given word for word), they threw him into a well, and then proceeded to commit all kinds of abominable excesses. He said that one Walter Savage, who belonged to Earl Warenne, had entered the Order, and after two years disappeared. Agnes Lovekote deposed to the same.

Brother John Wolby de Bust had heard from Brother John of Dingeston that he believed that the charges against the Templars were not without foundation; that he had heard say that the Court of Rome was not dealing in a straightforward manner, and wished to save the Grand Master. The said Brother averred that he knew the place in London where a gilded head was kept. There were two more in England, he knew not where.

Richard de Kocfield had heard from John of Barne that William Bachelor^r had said that he had lost his soul by entering into the Order; that there was one article in their profession which might not be revealed.

Gaspar (or Godfrey) de Nafferton, chaplain of Ryde, was in the service of the Templars, at the admission of William de Pocklington. The morning after his admission William looked very sad. A certain Brother Roger had promised Godfrey for two shillings to obtain his

^a See above.

^r The knight whose mysterious disappearance had been noticed before.

admission to see the ceremony. Roger broke his word, and, being reproached by Godfrey, said "he would not have done it for his tabard full of money." "If I had known that," said Godfrey, "I would have seen it through a hole in the wall." "You would inevitably have been put to death, or forced to take the habit of the Order." He also deposed to having seen a Brother copying the secret statutes.

John of Donyngton, a Franciscan, had conversed with a certain veteran who had left the Order. At the Court of Rome he had confessed to the great Penitentiary why he left the Order; that there were four principal idols in England; that William de la More, new Grand Preceptor, had introduced all these into England. De la More had a great roll in which were inscribed all these wicked observances. The same John of Donyngton had heard dark sayings from others, intimating that there were profound and terrible secrets in the Order.^s

Such was the mass of strange, loose, hearsay, antiquated evidence,^t much of which had passed through many mouths. This was all which as yet appeared against an Order, arrested and imprisoned by the King, acting under the Pope's Bull, an Order odious from jealousy of its wealth and power, and from its arrogance

* Wilcke asserts that Bishop Munter had discovered at Rome the Report of the Confessions of the English Templars, which was transmitted to the Pope. It is more full, he says, than that in the Concilia. I cannot see that Wilcke produces much new matter from this report. His summary is very inaccurate, leaving out everything which throws suspicion on almost every testimony.

^t Two Confessions made in France

were put in, in which Robert de St. Just and Godfrey de Gonaville had deposed to their reception in England, with all the more appalling and loathsome ceremonies. These confessions do not appear in the Procès (by Michelet). Their names occur more than once. Gonaville was chosen by some as a defender of the Order. He was present at many of the receptions, sworn to by the witnesses.

to the clergy and to the monastic communities; especially to the clergy as claiming exemption from their jurisdiction, and assuming some of their powers: an Order which possessed estates in every county (the instructions of the King to the sheriffs of the counties imply that they had property everywhere), at all events vast estates, of which there are ample descriptions. Against the Order torture was, if not generally and commonly applied, authorised at least by the distinct injunctions of the King and of the Pope."

At length, towards the end of May, three witnesses were found, men who had fled, and had been excommunicated as contumacious on account of their disobedience to the citation of the Court, men apparently of doubtful character. Stephen Staplebridge is described as a runaway apostate.* He had been apprehended by the King's officers at Salisbury, committed to Newgate, and thence brought up for examination before the Bishops of London and Chichester. Stephen,

Three witnesses.

▪ Was the torture employed against the Templars in England? It is asserted by Raynouard, p. 132. Haveman (p. 305) quotes these instructions, as in Dugdale (they are in the Concilia, ii. p. 314), "Et si per hujusmodi arctationes et separationes nihil aliud quam prius vellent confiteri, quod exhinc quæstionarentur, ita quod quæstiones illæ fiant absque mutilatione et debilitatione alicujus membri et sine violentâ sanguinis effusione." See also in Rymer, iii. p. 228, the royal order to those who had the Templars in custody, "Quod iidem Prælati et Inquisitores de ipsis Templariis et eorum comparibus, in QUÆSTIONIBUS et aliis ad hoc convenienti-

bus ordinent et faciant, quotiens voluerint, id quod eis, secundum Legem Ecclesiasticam, videbitur faciendum." Orders to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London, "Et corpora dictorum Templariorum in QUÆSTIONIBUS et ad hoc convenientibus ponere."—p. 232. Still there is not the heart-breaking evidence or bitter complaint of its actual application, as in France. The Pope gave positive orders to employ torture in Spain. "Ad habendam ab eis veritatis plenitudinem promptiorem tormentis et quæstionibus, si sponte confiteri noluerint, experiri procuratis."—Raynald. A. D. 1311, c. 54.

* "Apostata fugitivus."

being sworn, declared that there were two forms of reception, one good and lawful, one contrary to the faith: at his admission at Dinelee by Brian le Jay, late Grand Preceptor of England, he had been compelled to deny Christ, which he did with his lips, not his heart; to spit on the Cross—this he escaped by spitting on his own hands. Brian le Jay had afterwards intimated to him that Christ was not very God and very Man. He also averred that those who refused to deny Christ were made away with beyond sea: that William Bachelor had died in prison and in torment, but not for that cause. He made other important admissions: after his confession he threw himself on the ground, with tears, groans, and shrieks, imploring mercy.^y

Thomas Thoroldeby (called Tocci) was said to have been present at the reception of Staplebridge.^z On this point he somewhat prevaricated: all the rest he resolutely denied except that there was a suspicion against the Order on account of their secret chapter. He was asked why he had fled.^a “The Abbot of Lagny had threatened him that he would force him to confess before he was out of their hands.” Thoroldeby had been present when the confessions were made before the Pope; he had seen, therefore, the treatment of his Brethren in France. Four days after Thoroldeby was brought up again: what had taken place in the interval may be conjectured;^b he now made the most full and

^y This sounds as if he had been tortured, or feared to be.

^z They were examined first at St. Martin's in the Vintry; Thoroldeby, the second time, in St. Mary Overy, Southwark.

^a Walter Clifton, examined in Scotland, was asked whether any of the

victims had fled, “propter scandalum,” “ob timorem hujusmodi,”—he named Thomas Tocci as one who had fled.—p. 384.

^b Haveman says, “unstreitig geföhlert.” It looks most suspicious.—p. 315.

ample confession. He had been received fourteen or fifteen years before by Guy Forest. Adam Champmesle and three others had stood over him with drawn swords, and compelled him to deny Christ. Guy taught him to believe only in the Great God. He had heard Brian le Jay say a hundred times that Christ was not very God and very Man. Brian le Jay had said to him that the least hair in a Saracen's beard was worth more than his whole body.^c He told many other irreverent sayings of Le Jay: there seems to have been much ill-blood between them. He related some adventures in the Holy Land, from which he would imply treachery in the Order to the Christian cause. After his admission into the Order, John de Man had said to him, "Are you a Brother of the Order? If so, were you seated in the belfry of St. Paul's, you would not see more misery than will happen to you before you die."

John de Stoke, Chaplain of the Order, deposed to having been compelled to deny Christ.^d

On June 27th these three witnesses, Staplebridge, Thoroldeby, and Stoke, received public absolution, on the performance of certain penances, from Robert Winchelsea, Archbishop of Canterbury, and some of his suffragans. Many other Knights were in like manner absolved on their humble confession that they had been under evil report,^e and under suspicion of heresy. It

^c "Quod minimus pilus barbæ unius Saraceni, fuit majoris valoris quam totum corpus istius qui loquitur."—p. 386.

^d These are the only three witnesses against the Order who belonged to it, according to the Concilia. Wilcke asserts that in the Vatican Acts, seen by Bishop Munter, there were 17 witnesses to the denial of Christ, 16 to

the spitting on the Cross, 8 on disrespect to the Sacraments, 2 on the omission of the words of consecration. But he does not say whether these witnesses were of the Order, and his whole representation of the Confessions from the Concilia is that of a man who has made up his mind.—Wilcke, i. p. 328. ^e "Diffamati"

was hoped that the Great Preceptor of England, William de la More, would make his submission, and accept absolution on the same easy terms. But the high spirit of De la More revolted at the humiliation. To their earnest exhortation that he would own at least the usurpation of the power of absolution, and seek pardon of the Church, he replied that he had never been guilty of the imputed heresies, and would not abjure crimes which he had never committed. He was remanded to the prison. The general sentence against the English Templars was perpetual imprisonment in monasteries.^f They seem to have been followed by general respect.

In Scotland the Inquisition was conducted by the Scotland. Dec. 13, 1309. Bishop of St. Andrew's and John de Solerco, one of the Pope's clerks. The interrogatories of only two Knights appear: but many monks and clergy were examined, who seem to have been extremely jealous of what they branded as the lawless avarice and boundless wealth of the Templars.^g

In Ireland thirty Brothers of the Order were interrogated in the church of St. Patrick; one only, Ireland. a chaplain, admitted even suspicions against the Order. Other witnesses were then examined, chiefly Franciscans, who in Ireland seem to have been actuated by a bitter hatred of the Templars. All of them swore that they suspected and believed the guilt of the Order, but no one deposed to any fact, except

^f "Quod singuli in singulis monasteriis possessionatis detruderentur, pro perpetuâ penitentiâ peragendâ, qui pœtea in hujusmodi monasteriis bene per omnia se gerebant."—Thos. Walsingham.

^g A monk of Newbottle complains of their "conquestus injustos. Indifferenter sibi appropriare cupiunt, per fas et nefas, bona et prædia suorum vicinorum." Compare Addison, p. 486.

that in the celebration of the Mass certain Templars would not look up, but kept their eyes fixed on the ground. Some two or three discharged servants told all sorts of rumours against the Order, "that refractory Brethren were sewed up in sacks and cast into the sea." It was often said that whenever a Chapter was held, one of the number was always missing. Everything that the Grand Master ordered was obeyed throughout the world.^h

In Italy, wherever the influence of France and the authority of the Pope strongly predominated, confessions were obtained. In Naples, Charles ^{Italy.} of Anjou, Philip's cousin, had already arrested the whole Order, as in his dominions in Provence, Forcalquier, and Piedmont.ⁱ The house of Anjou had to wreak their long-hoarded vengeance on the Templars for the aid they had afforded to the Arragonese, Frederick of Sicily. The servitor Frank Ranyaris described an idol kept in a coffer, and shown to him by the Preceptor of Bari. Andrew, a servitor, had been compelled to deny Christ, and to other enormities; had seen an idol with three heads, which was worshipped as their God and their Redeemer: he it was who bestowed on them their boundless wealth. The Archbishop of Brindisi heard from two confessions of the denial of Christ. Six were heard in Arragonese Sicily, who made some admissions. Thirty-two in Messina resolutely denied all.^k

^h The report is in Wilkins, Concilia.

ⁱ The proceedings in Beaucaire, Alais, and Nismes, are, according to Wilcke, in the Vatican (see above). At Lucerne (?), a brother admitted in Spain boldly averred that the Pope

himself had avowed his belief that Jesus was not God, that he suffered not for the redemption of man, but from hatred of the Jews.—Wilcke, from MS., p. 337.

^k Wilcke, Haveman (?).

In the Papal States the examinations lasted from December, 1309, to July, 1310, at Viterbo, before the Bishop of Sutri. The worship of idols was acknowledged by several witnesses.^m At Florence, and before a Provincial Council held by the Archbishop of Pisa and the Bishop of Florence, some Knights admitted the guilt of the Order. But Reginald, Archbishop of Ravenna, had a commission of inquiry over Lombardy, the March of Ancona, Tuscany, and Dalmatia. At Ravenna the Dominicans proposed to apply torture: the majority of the Council rejected the proposition. Seven Templarsⁿ maintained the innocence of the Order; they were absolved; and in the Council the Churchmen declared that those who retracted confessions made under torture were to be held guiltless.^o The Archbishop of Ravenna and the Bishop of Rimini held an inquest at Cesena. Andrew of Sienna declared that he had heard that many Brothers had confessed from fear of torture. He knew nothing, had heard nothing of such things; had he known them, he would have left the Order, and denounced it to the Bishops and Inquisitors. "I had rather have been a beggar for my bread than remained with such men. I had rather died, for above all things is to be preferred the salvation of the soul." From Lombardy there are no reports.^p In the island of Cyprus an inquest was held:^q one hundred and ten

^m The particulars in Raynouard, p. 271.

ⁿ The names in Raynouard, p. 277.

^o "Communi sententiâ decretum est innocentes absolvi. . . . Intelligi innocentes debere qui, metu tormentorum, confessi fuissent, si deinde eam confessionem revocassent; aut revocare, hujusmodi tormentorum metu,

ne inferrentur nova, non fuissent ausi, dum tamen id constaret."—Harduin, Concil. 7, p. 1317. All this implies the general use of torture in Italy.

^p There were one or two unimportant inquiries at Bologna, Fano, &c.—Raynouard.

^q May and June, 1311.

witnesses were heard, seventy-five of the Order. They had at one time taken up arms to defend themselves, but laid them down in obedience to the law. All maintained the blamelessness of the Order with courage and dignity.

In Spain the acquittal of the Order in each of the kingdoms was solemn, general, complete.^r In Arragon, on the first alarm of an arrest of the Order, the Knights took to their mountain-fortresses, manned them, and seemed determined to stand on their defence. They soon submitted to the King and the laws. The Grand Inquisitor, D. Juan Lotger, a Dominican, conducted the interrogatories with stern severity; the torture was used. A Council was assembled at Tarra-gona, on which sat the Archbishop, Guillen da Rocca-berti, with his suffragans. The Templars were declared innocent; above all suspicion.^s "No one was to dare from that time to defame them." Other interrogatories took place in Medina del Campo, Medina Celi, and in Lisbon. The Council of Salamanca, presided over by the Archbishop of Santiago, the Bishop of Lisbon, and some other prelates, having made diligent investigation of the truth, declared the Templars of Castile, Leon, and Portugal free from all the charges imputed against them,^t reserving the final judgement for the Supreme Pontiff.

In Germany Peter Ashpalter, Archbishop of Mentz, summoned a Synod in obedience to the Pope's Bull issued to the Archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, Treves,

^r See Zurita Anales, Campomanes.

^s "Neque enim tam culpabiles inventi fuerunt, ac fama ferebat, quamvis tormentis adacti fuissent ad confessionem criminum."—Mansi, Concil. sub ann.

^t "Y si mandò, que nadie se astra- viasse a infamarlos por quanto en la averiguacion hecha por el concilio fue- ron hallados libros di toda mala sus- puesta."—Campomanes, Dissert. vii.

and Magdeburg. The Council was seated, the Primate and his brother prelates. Suddenly Hugh, Wild and Rheingraf, the Preceptor of the Order at Grumbach near Meissenheim, entered the hall with his Knights in full armour and in the habit of the Order. The Archbishop calmly demanded their business. In a loud clear voice Hugh replied, that he and his Brethren understood that the Council was assembled, under a commission from the Roman Pontiff, for the abolition of the Order; that enormous crimes and more than heathen wickednesses were charged against them; they had been condemned without legal hearing or conviction. "Wherefore before the Holy Fathers present he appealed to a future Pope and to his whole clergy; and entered his public protest that those who had been delivered up and burned had constantly denied those crimes, and on that denial had suffered tortures and death: that God had avouched their innocence by a wonderful miracle, their white mantles marked with the red-cross had been exposed to fire and would not burn."^a The Archbishop fearing lest a tumult should arise, accepted the protest, and dismissed them with courtesy. A year afterwards a Council at Mentz, having heard thirty-eight witnesses, declared the Order guiltless. A Council held by the Archbishop of Treves came to the same determination. Burchard, Archbishop of Magdeburg, a violent and unjust man, attempted to arrest the Templars of the North of Germany. He was compelled to release them. They defended the fortress of Beyer Naumbourg against the Archbishop. Public favour appears to have been on their side: no condemnation took place.

^a Serrarius, Res Moguntiacæ.—Mansi, vol. xxv. p. 297.

Christian history has few problems more perplexing, yet more characteristic of the age, than the guilt or innocence of the Templars. Two ^{The problem.} powerful interests have conspired in later times against them. The great legists of monarchical France, during a period of vast learning, thought it treason ^{The lawyers.} against the monarchy to suppose that, even in times so remote, an ancestor of Louis XIV. could have been guilty of such atrocious iniquity as the unjust condemnation of the Templars. The whole archives were entirely in the power of these legists. The documents were published with laborious erudition; but throughout, both in the affair of the Templars and in the strife with Boniface VIII., and in the prosecution of his memory, with a manifest, almost an avowed, bias towards the King of France. The honour, too, of the legal profession seemed involved in these questions. The distinguished ancestors of the great modern lawyers, the De Flottes, De Plasians, and the Nogarets, who raised the profession to be the predominant power in the state, and set it on equal terms with the hierarchy—the founders almost of the parliaments of France—must not suffer attainder, or be degraded into the servile counsellors of proceedings which violated every principle of law and of justice.

On the other hand the ecclesiastical writers, who esteem every reproach against the Pope as an ^{The ecclesi-} insult to, or a weakening of their religion, ^{astics.} would rescue Clement V. from the guilt of the unjust persecution, spoliation, abolition of an Order to which Christendom owed so deep a debt of honour and of gratitude. Papal infallibility, to those who hold it in its highest sense, or Papal impeccability, in which they would fondly array, as far as possible, each hallowed

successor of St. Peter, is endangered by the weakness, if not worse than weakness, of the Holy Father. But the calmer survey of the whole reign of Philip the Fair, of his character and that of his counsellors—of his measures and his necessities—of his unscrupulous ambition, avarice, fraud, violence—of the other precedents of his oppression—at least throws no improbability on the most discreditable version of this affair. Clement V., inextricably fettered by the compact through which he bought the tiara, still in the realm or within the power of Philip, with no religious, no moral strength in his personal character, had, as Pope, at least one, if not more than one object—the eluding or avoiding the condemnation of Pope Boniface, to which must be sacrificed every other right or claim to justice. The Papal authority was absolutely on the hazard; the condemnation of Boniface would crumble away its very base. A great Italian Pope might have beheld in the military Orders, now almost discharged from their functions in the East, a power which might immeasurably strengthen the See of Rome. They might become a feudal militia, of vast wealth and possessions, holding directly of himself, if skilfully managed, at his command, in every kingdom in Christendom. With this armed aristocracy, with the Friar Preachers to rule the middle or more intellectual classes, the Friar Minors to keep alive and govern the fanaticism of the lowest, what could limit or control his puissance? But a French Pope, a Pope in the position of Clement, had no such splendid visions of supremacy; what he held, he held almost on sufferance; he could maintain himself by dexterity and address alone, not by intrepid assertion of authority. Nor was it difficult to abuse himself into a belief or a supposed belief in the guilt of the Templars. He had but to accept without

too severe examination the evidence heaped before him; to authorise as he did—and in so doing he introduced nothing new, startling, or contrary to the usage of the Church—the terrible means, of which few doubted the justice, used to extort that evidence. The iniquity, the cruelty was all the King's; his only responsible act at last was in the mildest form the abolition of an Order which had ceased to fulfil the aim for which it was founded; and by taking this upon himself, he retained the power of quietly thwarting the avarice of the King, and preventing the escheat of all the possessions of the Order to the Crown.

Our history has shown the full value of the evidence against the Order. Beyond the confessions of the Templars themselves there was absolutely ^{Evidence.} nothing but the wildest, most vague, most incredible tales of superstition and hatred. In France alone, and where French influence prevailed, were confessions obtained. Elsewhere, in Spain, in Germany, parts of Italy, there was an absolute acquittal; in England, Scotland, and Ireland there appears no evidence which in the present day would commit a thief, or condemn him to transportation. In France these confessions were invariably, without exception, crushed out of men imprisoned, starved, disgraced, under the most relentless tortures, or under well-grounded apprehensions of torture, degradation, and misery, with, on the other hand, promises of absolution, freedom, pardon, royal favour. Yet on the instant that they struggle again into the light of day; on the first impulse of freedom and hope; no sooner do they see themselves for a moment out of the grasp of the remorseless King; under the judgement, it might be, of the less remorseless Church, than all these confessions are for the most part

retracted, retracted fully, unequivocally. This retraction was held so fatal to the cause of their enemies that all the bravest were burned and submitted to be burned rather than again admit their guilt. The only points on which there was any great extent or unanimity of confession were the ceremonies at the reception, the abnegation of Christ, the insult to the Cross, with the other profane or obscene circumstances. These were the points on which it was the manifest object of the prosecutors to extort confessions which were suggested by the hard, stern questions, the admission of which mostly satisfied the Court.

Admit to the utmost that the devout and passionate enthusiasm of the Templars had died away, that familiarity with other forms of belief in the East had deadened the fanatic zeal for Christ and his Sepulchre; that Oriental superstitions, the belief in magic, talismans, amulets, had crept into many minds; that in not a few the austere morals had yielded to the wild life, the fiery sun, the vices of the East; that the corporate spirit of the Order, its power, its wealth, its pride, had absorbed the religious spirit of the first Knights: yet there is something utterly inconceivable in the general, almost universal, requisition of a naked, ostentatious, offensive, insulting renunciation of the Christian faith, a renunciation following immediately on the most solemn vow; not after a long, slow initiation into the Order, not as the secret, esoteric doctrine of the chosen few, but on the threshold of the Order, on the very day of reception. It must be supposed, too, that this should not have transpired; that it should not have been indignantly rejected by many of noble birth and brave minds; or that all who did dare to reject it should have been secretly made away with, or overawed by the terror of

death, or the solemnity of their vow of obedience; that there should have been hardly any prudential attempts at concealment, full liberty of confession, actual confession, it should seem, to bishops, priests, and friars; and yet that it should not have got abroad, except perhaps in loose rumours, in suspicions, which may have been adroitly instilled into the popular mind: that nothing should have been made known till denounced by the two or three renegades produced by William of Nogaret.

The early confession of Du Molay, his retraction of his retraction, are facts no doubt embarrassing, yet at the same time very obscure. But the genuine chivalrous tone of the language in which he asserted that the confession had been tampered with, or worse; the care manifestly taken that his confession should not be made in the presence of the Pope, the means no doubt used, the terror of torture, or actual, degrading, agonising torture, to incapacitate him from appearing at Poitiers:—these and many other considerations greatly lighten or remove this difficulty. His death, hereafter to be told, which can hardly be attributed but to vengeance for his having arraigned, or fear lest he should with too great authority arraign the whole proceedings, with all the horrible circumstances of that death, confirms this view.

Du Molay was a man of brave and generous impulses, but not of firm and resolute character; he was unsuited for his post in such perilous times. That post required not only the most intrepid mind, but a mind which could calculate with sagacious discrimination the most prudent as well as the boldest course. On him rested the fame, the fate, of his Order; the freedom, the exemption from torture or from shame, of each single

brother, his companions in arms, his familiar friends. And this man was environed by the subtlest of foes. When he unexpectedly breaks out into a bold and appalling disclosure, De Plasian is at hand to soften by persuasion, to perplex with argument, to bow by cruel force. His generous nature may neither have comprehended the arts of his enemies, nor the full significance, the sense which might be drawn from his words. He may have been tempted to some admissions, in the hope not of saving himself but his Order; he may have thought by some sacrifice to appease the King or to propitiate the Pope. The secrets of his prison-house were never known. All he said was noted down and published, and reported to the Pope; all he refused to say (except that one speech before the Papal Commissioners) suppressed. He may have had a vague trust in the tardy justice of the Pope, when out of the King's power, and lulled himself with this precarious hope. Nor can we quite assume that he was not the victim of absolute and groundless forgery.

All contemporary history, and that history which is nearest the times, except for the most part
 Contempo-
 rary history. the French biographers of Pope Clement, denounce in plain unequivocal terms the avarice of Philip the Fair as the sole cause of the unrighteous condemnation of the Templars. Villani emphatically pronounces that the charges of heresy were advanced in order to seize their treasures, and from secret jealousy of the Grand Master. "The Pope abandoned the Order to the King of France, that he might avert, if possible, the condemnation of Boniface."* Zantfliet, Canon of

* "Mosso da avarizia si fece promettere dal Papa secretamente di disfare la detta Ordine de Tempieri . . . ma più si dice che fu per trarre di loro molta moneta, e per isdegno preso col maestro del tempio, e colla ma-

Liège, describes the noble martyrdom of the Templars, that of Du Molay from the report of an eye-witness: "had not their death tended to gratify his insatiate appetite for their wealth, their noble demeanour had triumphed over the perfidy of the avaricious King."^y The Cardinal Antonino of Florence, a Saint, though he adopts in fact almost the words of Villani, is even more plain and positive:—"The whole was forged by the avarice of the King, that he might despoil the Templars of their wealth."^z

Yet the avarice of Philip was baffled, at least as to the full harvest he hoped to reap. The absolute confiscation of all the estates of a religious Order bordered too nearly on invasion of the property of the Church; the lands and treasures were dedicated inalienably to pious uses, specially to the conquest of the Holy Land. The King had early been forced to consent to make over the custody of the lands to the Bishops of the dioceses; careful inventories too were to be made of all their goods, for which the King's officers were responsible. But of the moveables of which the King had taken possession, it may be doubted if much, or any part, was allowed to escape his iron grasp, or whether

gione. Il Papa per levarsi da dosso il Rè di Francia, per contentarlo per la richiesta di condannare Papa Bonifazio."—l. viii. c. 92.

† "Dicens eos tam perversâ animi fortitudine regis avari vicisse perfidiam, nisi moriendo illuc tetendissent, quo ejus appetitus inexplebilis cupiebat: quamquam non minor idcirco gloria fuerit, si recto præligentes judicio, inter tormenta maizerint deficere, quam adversus veritatem dixisse aut famam justè quæsitam turpissimi

sceleris confessione maculare." He describes Du Molay's death (see further on), "rege spectante," and adds, "qui hæc vidit scriptori testimonium præbuit."—Zantfliet. *Chronic. apud Martene. Zantfliet's Chronicle was continued to 1460.*—Collect. Nov. v. 5.

‡ "Totum tamen falsè conficturi ex avaritiâ, ut illi religiosi Templarii exspoliarentur bonis suis."—S. Antonin. *Archiep. Florent. Hist.* He wrote about A.D. 1450.

any account was ever given of the vast treasures accumulated in the vaults, in the chapels, in the armouries, in the storehouses of the Temple castles. The lands indeed, both in England and in France, were at length made over to the Hospitallers; yet, according to Villani,^a they were so burthened by the demands, dilapidations, and exactions of the King's officers, they had to purchase the surrender from the King and other princes at such vast cost of money, raised at such exorbitant interest, that the Order of St. John was poorer rather than richer from what seemed so splendid a grant. The Crown claimed enormous sums as due on the sequestration. Some years later Pope John XXII. complains that the King's officers seized the estates of the Hospitallers as an indemnity for claims which had arisen during the confiscation.^b

The dissolution of the Order was finally determined. "If," said the Pope, "it cannot be destroyed by the way of justice, let it be destroyed by the way of expediency, lest we offend our dear son the King of France."^c The Council of Vienne was to pronounce the solemn act of dissolution. Of the Templars the few who had been absolved, and had not retracted their confession, were permitted to enter into other orders, or to retire into monasteries. Many had thrown off the habit of the

^a "Ma convenneli loro ricogliere e ricomperare dal Rè di Francia e dalli altri principi è Signori con tanta quantità di moneta, che con gli interessi corsi poi, la magione dello Spedale fu e è in più povertà, che prima avendo solo il suo proprio." Villani is good authority in money matters.

^b Dupuy, Condemnation.

^c "Et sicut audivi ab uno, qui fuit

examinator causæ et testium, destructus fuit contra justitiam, et mihi lixit, quod ipse Clemens protulit hoc, 'Et si non per viam justitiæ potest destrui, destruat tamen per viam expediendiæ, ne scandalizetur charus filius noster Rex Franciæ.'"—Alberici de Rosate Bergomensis, *Dictionarium Juris*: Venetiis, 1579, folio; sub voce *Templarii*, quoted by Haveman, p.

Order, and in remote parts fell back to secular employments: many remained in prison. Du Molay and the three other heads of the Order were reserved in close custody for a terrible fate, hereafter to be told.^{d e}

^d Wilcke asserts (p. 342) that Moldenhauer's publication of the Proceedings against the Templars (now more accurately and fully edited by M. Michelet) was bought up by the Freemasons as injurious to the fame of the Templars. If this was so, the Freemasons committed an error: my doubts of their guilt are strongly confirmed by the Procès. Wilcke makes three regular gradations of initiation: I. The denial of Christ; II. The kisses; III. The worship of the Idol. This is contrary to all the evidence; the two first are always described as simultaneous. Wilcke has supposed that so long as the Order consisted only of knights, it was orthodox. The clerks introduced into the Order, chiefly Friar Minorites, brought in learning and the wild speculative opinions. But for this he alleges not the least proof.

^e A modern school of history, somewhat too prone to make or to imagine discoveries, has condemned the Templars upon other grounds. These fierce unlettered warriors have risen into Oriental mystics. Not merely has their intercourse with the East softened off their abhorrence of Mohammedanism, induced a more liberal tone of thought, or overlaid their Western superstitions with a layer of Oriental imagery—they have become Gnostic Theists, have adopted many of the old Gnostic charms, amulets, and allegorical idols. Under these influences they had framed a secret

body of statutes, communicated only to the initiate, who were slowly and after long probation admitted into the abstruser and more awful mysteries. Not only this, the very branch of the Gnostics has been indicated, that of the Ophitæ, of whom they are declared to be the legitimate Western descendants. If they have thus had precursors, neither have they wanted successors. The Templars are the ancestors (as Wilcke thought, the acknowledged ancestors) of the secret societies, which have subsisted by regular tradition down to modern times—the Freemasons, Illuminati, and many others. It is surprising on what loose, vague evidence rests the whole of this theory: on amulets, rings, images, of which there is no proof whatever that they belonged to the Templars, or if they did, that they were not accidentally picked up by individuals in the East; on casual expressions of worthless witnesses, e. g., Staplebridge the English renegade; on certain vessels, or bowls converted into vessels, used in an imaginary Fire-Baptism, deduced, without any regard to gaps of centuries in the tradition, from ancient heretics, and strangely mingled up with the Sangreal of mediæval romance. M. von Hammer has brought great Oriental erudition, but I must say, not much Western logic, to bear on the question; he has been thoroughly refuted, as I think, by M. Raynouard and others. Another

cognate ground is the discovery of certain symbols, and those symbols interpreted into obscene significations, on the churches of the Templars. But the same authorities show that these symbols were by no means peculiar to the Temple churches. No doubt among the monks there were foul imaginations, and in a coarse age architects—many of them monks—gratified those foul imaginations by such unseemly ornaments. But the argument assumes the connexion or identification of the architects with the secret guild of Freemasonry (in which guild I do not believe), and also of the Freemasons with the Templars, which is totally destitute of proof. It appears to me absolutely monstrous to conclude that when all the edifices, the churches, the mansions, the castles, the farms, the granaries of the Templars in France and England, in every country of Europe, came into the possession of their sworn enemies; when these symbols, in a state far more perfect, must have stared them in the face; when the lawyers were on the track for evidence; when vague rumours had set all their persecutors on the scent; when Philip and the Pope would have paid any price for a single idol, and not one could be produced: because in our own days, among the thousand misshapen and grotesque sculptures, gurgoyles, and corbels, here and there may be discerned or made out something like a black cat, or some other shape, said to have been those of Templar idols,—therefore the guilt of the Order, and their lineal descent from ancient heretics, should be assumed as history. Yet on such grounds the Orientalisation of the whole Order, not here and

there of a single renegade, has been drawn with complacent satisfaction. The great stress of all, however, is laid on the worship of Baphomet. The talismans, bowls, symbols, are even called Baphometric. Now, with M. Raynouard, I have not the least doubt that Baphomet is no more than a transformation of the name of Mahomet. Here is only one passage from the Provençal poetry. It is from a Poem by the Chevalier du Temple, quoted Hist. Littér. de la France, xix. p. 345 :

“Quar Dieux dorm, qui veillar solea,
E Bafomet obra de son poder,
E fai obra di Meicadeser.”

“God, who used to watch (during the Crusades), now slumbers, and Bafomet (Mahomet) works as he wills to complete the triumph of the Sultan.” I am not surprised to find fanciful writers like M. Michelet, who write for effect, and whose positiveness seems to me not seldom in the inverse ratio to the strength of his authorities, adopting such wild notions; but even the clear intellect of Mr. Hallam appears to me to attribute more weight than I should have expected to this theory.—Note to Middle Ages, vol. iii. p. 50. It appears to me, I confess, that so much learning was never wasted on a fantastic hypothesis as by M. von Hammer in his *Mysterium Baphometis Revelatum*. The statutes of the Order were published in 1840 by M. Maillard de Chambure. They contain nothing but what is pious and austere. This, as Mr. Hallam observes, is of course, and proves nothing. M. de Chambure says that it is acknowledged in Germany that M. von Hammer's theory is an idle chimera.

CHAPTER III.

Arraignment of Boniface. Council of Vienne.

IF, however, Pope Clement hoped to appease or to divert the immitigable hatred of Philip and his ministers from the persecution of the memory of Pope Boniface by the sacrifice of the Templars, or at least to gain precious time which might be pregnant with new events, he was doomed to disappointment. The hounds were not thrown off their track, not even arrested in their course, by that alluring quarry. That dispute was still going on simultaneously with the affair of the Templars. Philip, at every fresh hesitation of the Pope, broke out into more threatening indignation. Nogaret and the lawyers presented memorial on memorial, specifying with still greater distinctness and particularity the offences which they declared themselves ready to prove. They complained, not without justice, that the most material witnesses might be cut off by death; that every year of delay weakened their power of producing attestations to the validity of their charges.^a

Persecution
of the me-
mory of Pope
Boniface.

The hopes indeed held out to the King's avarice and revenge by the abandonment of the Templars—hopes, if not baffled, eluded—were more than counterbalanced by his failure in obtaining the Empire for Charles of Valois. An act of enmity sank deeper into the proud

^a All the documents are in Dupuy, *Preuves*, p. 367 *et seqq.*, with Baillet's smaller volume.

heart of Philip than an act of favour: the favour had been granted grudgingly, reluctantly, with difficulty, with reservation; the enmity had been subtle, perfidious, under the guise of friendship.

Pope Clement had now secured, as he might fondly suppose, his retreat in Avignon, in some degree beyond the King's power. In France he dared not stay; to Italy he could not and would not go. The King's messengers were in Avignon to remind him that he had pledged himself to hear and examine the witnesses against the memory of Boniface. Not the King's messengers alone. Reginald di Supino had been most deeply implicated in the affair of Anagni. He had assembled a great body of witnesses, as he averred, to undergo the expected examination before the Pope. Either the Pope himself, or the friends of Boniface, who had still great power, and seemed determined, from attachment to their kinsman or from reverence for the Popedom, to hazard all in his defence, dreaded this formidable levy of witnesses, whom Reginald di Supino would hardly have headed unless in arms. Supino had arrived within three leagues of Avignon when he received intelligence from the King's emissaries of an ambuscade of the partisans of Boniface, stronger than his own troop: he would not risk the attack, but retired to Nismes, and there, in the presence of the municipal authorities, entered a public protest against those who prevented him and his witnesses, by the fear of death, from approaching the presence of the Pope. The Pope himself was not distinctly charged with, but not acquitted of complicity in this deliberate plot to arrest the course of justice.^b

^b "Recesserunt propterea predicti, qui cum dicto domino Raynaldo venerant, ad propria redeuntes, mortis merito periculum formidantes."—Preuves, p. 289

Clement was in a strait: he was not in the dominions, but yet not absolutely safe from the power of Philip. Charles, King of Naples, Philip's kinsman, as Count of Provence, held the adjacent country. The King of France had demanded a Council to decide this grave question. The Council had been summoned and adjourned by Clement. But a Pope, though a dead Pope, arraigned before a Council, all the witnesses examined publicly, in open Court, to proclaim to Christendom the crimes imputed to Boniface! Where, if the Council should assume the power of condemning a dead Pope, would be the security of a living one? Clement wrote, not to Philip, but to Charles of Valois, representing the toils and anxieties which he was enduring, the laborious days and sleepless nights, in the investigation of the affair of Boniface. He entreated that the judgement might be left altogether to himself and the Church. He implored the intercession of Charles with the King, of Charles whom he had just thwarted in his aspiring views on the Empire.^c

But the King was not to be deterred by soft words. He wrote more peremptorily, more imperiously. "Some witnesses, men of the highest weight and above all exception, had already died in the Court of Rome and elsewhere: the Pope retarded the safe-conduct necessary for the appearance of other witnesses, who had been seized, tortured, put to death, by the partisans of Boniface." The Pope replied in a humble tone:—"Never was so weighty a process so far advanced in so short a time. Only one witness had died, and his deposition had been received on his deathbed. He denied the seizure, torture, death, of any witnesses. One of these

^c Preuves, p. 290. May 23, 1309.

very witnesses, a monk, it was confidently reported, was in France with William de Nogaret." He complained of certain letters forged in his name—a new proof of the daring extent to which at this time such forgeries were carried. In those letters the names of Cardinals, both of the King's party and on that of Boniface, had been audaciously inserted. These letters had been condemned and burned in the public consistory. The Pope turns to another affair. Philip, presuming on the servility of the Pope, had introduced a clause into the treaty with the Flemings, that if they broke the treaty they should be excommunicated, and not receive absolution without the consent of the King or his successors. The Pope replies, "that he cannot abdicate for himself or future Popes the full and sole power of granting absolution. If the King, as he asserts, can adduce any precedent for such clause, he would consent to that, or even a stronger one; but he has taken care that the Flemings are not apprised of his objection to the clause."^d

Clement was determined, as far as a mind like his Determination of Clement. was capable of determination, to reserve the inevitable judgement on the memory of Boniface to himself and his own Court, and not to recognise the dangerous tribunal of a Council, fatal to living as to dead pontiffs. He issued a Bull,^e summoning Philip King of France, his three sons, with the Counts of Evreux, St. Pol, and Dreux, and William de Plasian, according to their own petition, to prove their charges against Pope Boniface; to appear before him Feb. 2, 1310. in Avignon on the first court-day after the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin. The Bishop of

^d Preuves, p. 292. August 23, 1309.

^e Sept. 1309. Raynaldus sub ann. c. 4

Paris was ordered to serve this citation on the three Counts and on William de Plasian.^f

Philip seemed to be embarrassed by this measure. He shrunk or thought it beneath his dignity for himself or his sons to stand as public prosecutors before the Papal Court. Instead of the King appeared a haughty letter. “He had been compelled reluctantly to take cognisance of the usurpation and wicked life of Pope Boniface. Public fame, the representations of men of high esteem in the realm, nobles, prelates, doctors, had arraigned Boniface as a heretic, and an intruder into the fold of the Lord. A Parliament of his whole kingdom had demanded that, as the champion and defender of the faith, he should summon a General Council, before which men of the highest character declared themselves ready to prove these most appalling charges. William de Nogaret had been sent to summon Pope Boniface to appear before that Council. The Pope’s frantic resistance had led to acts of violence, not on the part of Nogaret, but of the Pope’s subjects, by whom he was universally hated. These charges had been renewed after the death of Boniface, before Benedict XI. and before the present Pope. The Pope, in other affairs, especially that of the Templars, had shown his regard for justice. All these things were to be finally determined at the approaching Council. But if the Pope, solicitous to avoid before the Council the odious intricacies of charges, examinations, investigations, in the affair of Boniface, desired to determine it by the plenitude of the Apostolic authority, he left it entirely to the judgement of the Pope, whether in the Council or elsewhere. He was

The King
will not
appear as
prosecutor.

^f Raynaldus ut supra. Oct. 18.

prepared to submit the whole to the disposition and ordinance of the Holy See." The King's sons, summoned in like manner to undertake the office of prosecutors, declined to appear in that somewhat humiliating character.*

William de Nogaret and William de Plasian remained the sole prosecutors in this great cause, and they entered upon it with a profound and accumulated hatred to Boniface and to his memory: De Plasian with the desperate resolution of a man so far committed in the strife that either Boniface must be condemned, or himself be held an impious, false accuser; Nogaret with the conviction that Boniface must be pronounced a monster of iniquity, or himself hardly less than a sacrilegious assassin. With both, the dignity and honour of their profession were engaged in a bold collision with the hierarchical power which had ruled the human mind for centuries; both had high, it might be conscientious, notions of the monarchical authority, its independence, its superiority to the sacerdotal; both were bound by an avowed and resolute servility, which almost rose to noble attachment, to their King and to France. The King of France, if any Sovereign, was to be exempt from Papal tyranny, and hatred to France was one of the worst crimes of Boniface. Both, unless Boniface was really the infidel, heretic, abandoned profligate, which they represented him, were guilty of using unscrupulously, of forging, suborning, a mass of evidence and a host of witnesses, of which they could not but know the larger part to be audaciously and absolutely false.

On the other side appeared the two nephews of Boni

* Preuves, p. 301.

face and from six to ten Italian doctors of law, chosen no doubt for their consummate science and ability; as canon lawyers confronting civil lawyers ^{Italians.} with professional rivalry, and prepared to maintain the most extravagant pretensions of the Decretals as the Statute Law of the Church. They could not but be fully aware how much the awe, the reverence, and the power of the Papacy depended on the decision; they were men, it might be, full of devout admiration even of the overweening haughtiness of Boniface; churchmen, in whom the intrepid maintenance of what were held to be Church principles more than compensated for all the lowlier and gentler virtues of the Gospel.^h It was a strange trial, the arraignment of a dead Pope, a Rhadamanthine judgement on him who was now before a higher tribunal.

On the 16th of March the Pope solemnly opened the Consistory at Avignon, in the palace belonging ^{The Consistory opened.} to the Dominicans, surrounded by his Cardinals and a great multitude of the clergy and laity. The Pope's Bull was read, in which, after great commendation of the faith and zeal of the King of France, and high testimony to the fame of Boniface, he declared that heresy was so execrable, so horrible an offence, that he could not permit such a charge to rest unexamined. The French lawyers were admitted as prosecutors.ⁱ The Italians protested against their admission.^k

^h "Gotius de Arimino utriusque juris, Baldredus Beyeth *Decretorum Doctores.*" Baldred, who took the lead in the defence, is described as Glascensis.

ⁱ Adam de Lombal, Clerk, and Peter de Galahaud, and Peter de Bleonasio,

the King's nuncios (nuntii), appeared with De Plasian and De Nogaret.

^k James of Modena offered himself to prove "quod prædicti opposentes ad opponendum contra dictum dominum Bonifacium admitti non debent."

On Friday (March 20th) the Court opened the session. The prosecutors put in a protest of immeasurable length, declaring that they did not appear in consequence of the Pope's citation of the King of France and his sons. That citation was informal, illegal, based on false grounds. They demanded that the witnesses who were old and sick should be first heard. They challenged certain Cardinals, the greater number (they would not name them publicly), as having a direct interest in the judgement, as attached by kindred or favour to Boniface, as notoriously hostile, as having entered into plots against William de Nogaret, as having prejudiced the mind of Benedict XI. against him. Nogaret, who always reverted to the affair of Anagni, asserted that act to have been the act of a true Catholic, one of devout, filial love, not of hatred, the charity of one who would bind a maniac or rouse a man in a lethargy.^m He had made common cause with the nobles of Anagni, all but those who plundered the Papal treasures.

On the 27th De Nogaret appeared again, and entered a protest against Baldred and the rest, as defenders of Pope Boniface, against eight Cardinals, by name, as promoted by Boniface: these men might not bear any part in the cause. Protest was met by protest: a long, wearisome, and subtle altercation ensued. Each tried to repel the other party from the Court. Nothing could be more captious than the arguments of the prosecutors, who took exception against any defence of Boniface. The Italians answered that no one could be brought into Court but by a lawful prosecutor, which Nogaret and

^m "Non fuit igitur odium sed caritas, non fuit injuria sed pietas, non proditio sed fidelitas, non sacrilegium sed sacri defensio, non parricidium sed filialis devotio ut (et?) fraternitas cum qui furiosum ligat vel lethargicum excitat."—p. 386.

De Plasian were not, being notorious enemies, assassins, defamers of the Pope. There was absolutely no cause before the Court. The crimination and recrimination dragged on their weary length. It was the object of De Nogaret to obtain absolution, at least under certain restrictions.ⁿ This personal affair began to occupy almost as prominent a part as the guilt of Boniface. Months passed in the gladiatorial strife of the lawyers.^o Every question was reopened—the legality of Cœlestine's abdication, the election of Boniface, the absolute power of the King of France. Vast erudition was displayed on both sides. Meantime the examination of the witnesses had gone on in secret before the Pope or his Commissioners. Of these examinations appear ^{Witnesses.} only the reports of twenty-three persons examined in April, of eleven examined before the two Cardinals, Berengario, Bishop of Tusculum, and Nicolas, of St. Eusebio, with Bernard Guido, the Grand Inquisitor of Toulouse. Some of the eleven were re-examinations of those who had made their depositions in April. In the latter case the witnesses were submitted to what was intended to be severe, but does not seem very skilful, cross-examination. On these attestations, if these were all, posterity is reduced to this perplexing alternative of belief:—Either there was a vast systematic subornation of perjury, which brought together before the Pope and the

ⁿ In the midst of these disputes arose a curious question, whether William de Nogaret was still under excommunication. It was argued that an excommunicated person, if merely saluted by the Pope, or if the Pope knowingly entered into conversation with him, was thereby absolved. The Pope disclaimed this

doctrine, and declared that he had never by such salutation or intercourse with De Nogaret intended to confer that precious privilege. This was to be the rule during his pontificate. He would not, however, issue a Decretal on the subject.—p. 409.

^o There is a leap from May 13 to Aug. 3.

Cardinals, monks, abbots, canons, men of dignified station, from various parts of Italy: and all these were possessed with a depth of hatred, ingrained into the hearts of men by the acts and demeanour of Boniface, and perhaps a religious horror of his treatment of Pope Coelestine, which seems to be rankling in the hearts of some; or with a furiousness of Ghibelline hostility, which would recoil from no mendacity, which would not only accept every rumour, but invent words, acts, circumstances, with the most minute particularity and with perpetual appeal to other witnesses present at the same transaction. Nor were these depositions wrung out, like those of the Templars, by torture; they were spontaneous, or, if not absolutely spontaneous, only summoned forth by secret suggestion, by undetected bribery, by untraceable influence: they had all the outward semblance of honest and conscientious zeal for justice.

On the other hand, not only must the Pope's guilt be assumed, but the Pope's utter, absolute, ostentatious defiance of all prudence, caution, dissimulation, decency. Not only was he a secret, hypocritical unbeliever, and that not in the mysteries of the faith, but in the first principles of all religion; he was a contemptuous, boastful scoffer, and this on the most public occasions, and on occasions where some respectful concealment would not only have been expedient, but of paramount necessity to his interest or his ambition. The aspirant to the Papacy, the most Papal Pope who ever lived, laughed openly to scorn the groundwork of that Christianity on which rested his title to honour, obedience, power, worship.

The most remarkable of all these depositions is that of seven witnesses in succession, an abbot, three canons,

two monks, and others, to a discussion concerning the law of Mohammed. This was in the year of the pontificate of Cœlestine, when, if his enemies are to be believed, Benedetto Gaetani was deeply involved in intrigues to procure the abdication of Cœlestine, and his own elevation to the Papacy. At this time, even if these intrigues were untrue, a man so sagacious and ambitious could not but have been looking forward to his own advancement. Yet at this very instant, it is asseverated, Gaetani, in the presence of at least ten or twelve persons, abbots, canons, monks, declared as his doctrine,^p that no law was divine, that all were the inventions of men, merely to keep the vulgar in awe by the terrors of eternal punishment. Every law, Christianity among the rest, contained truth and falsehood; falsehood, because it asserted that God was one and three, which it was fatuous to believe; falsehood, for it is said that a virgin had brought forth, which was impossible; falsehood, because it avouched that the Son of God had taken the nature of man, which was ridiculous; falsehood, because it averred that bread was transubstantiated into the body of Christ, which was untrue. "It is false, because it asserts a future life." "Let God do his worst with me in another life, from which no one has returned but to fantastic people, who say that they have seen and heard all kinds of strange things, even have heard angels singing. So I believe and so I hold, as doth every educated man. The vulgar hold otherwise. We must speak as the vulgar do; think and believe with the few." Another added to all this, that when the bell rang for the passing of the Host, the future Pope smiled and said, "You had better

. "Quasi per modum doctrinæ."

go and see after your own business, than after such folly.”^a Three of these witnesses were reheard at the second examination, minutely questioned as to the place of this discussion, the dress, attitude, words of Gaetani: they adhered, with but slight deviation from each other, to their deposition; whatever its worth, it was unshaken.^b These blasphemies, if we are to credit another witness, had been his notorious habit from his youth. The Prior of St. Giles at San Gemino, near Narni, had been at school with him at Todi: he was a dissolute youth, indulged in all carnal vices, in drink and play, blaspheming God and the Virgin. He had heard Boniface, when a Cardinal, disputing with certain masters from Paris about the Resurrection. Cardinal Gaetani maintained that neither soul nor body rose again.^c To this dispute a notary, Oddarelli of Acqua Sparta, gave the same testimony. The two witnesses declared that they had not come to Avignon for the purpose of giving this evidence; they had been required to appear before the Court by Bertrand de Roccanegata: they bore testimony neither from persuasion, nor for reward, neither from favour, fear, or hatred.

Two monks of St. Gregory at Rome had complained to the Pope of their Abbot, that he held the same loose and infidel doctrines, neither believed in the Resurrection, nor in the Sacraments of the Church; and denied that carnal sins were sins. They were dismissed contemptuously from the presence of Boniface. “Look at this froward race, that will not believe as their Abbot believes.”^d A monk of St. Paul fared no better with similar denunciations of his Abbot.^e

^a Trufas.

^b Witnesses vii. xiii.

^c Witnesses xvii. xviii.

^d Witnesses i. ii.

^e Witness iv.

Nicolo Pagano of Sermona, Primicerio of S. John Maggiore at Naples, deposed that Cœlestine, proposing to go from Sermona to Naples, sent Pagano's father Berard (the witness with him) to invite the Cardinal Gaetani to accompany him. Gaetani contemptuously refused. "Go ye with your Saint, I will be fooled no more." "If any man," said Berard, "ought to be canonised after death, it is Cœlestine." Gaetani replied, "Let God give me the good things of this life: for that which is to come I care not a bean; men have no more souls than beasts." Berard looked aghast. "How many have you ever seen rise again?" Gaetani seemed to delight in mocking (such, at least, was the testimony, intended, no doubt, to revolt to the utmost the public feeling against him) the Blessed Virgin. She is no more a virgin than my mother. I believe not in your "Mariola," "Mariola." He denied the presence of Christ in the Host. "It is mere paste."*

Yet even this most appalling improbability was surpassed by the report of another conversation attested by three witnesses, sons of knights of Lucca. The scene took place at the Jubilee, when millions of persons, in devout faith in the religion of Christ, in fear of Hell, or in hope of Paradise, were crowding from all parts of Europe, and offering incense to the majesty, the riches of the world to the avarice, of the Pope. Even then, without provocation, in mere wantonness of unbelief, he had derided all the truths of the Gospel. The ambassadors of two of the great cities of Italy—Lucca and Bologna—were standing before him. The death of a Campanian knight was announced. "He was a bad man," said the pious chaplain, "yet may Jesus Christ

* Witnesses xvi. xx. xxii.

receive his soul!" "Fool! to commend him to Christ: he could not help himself, how can he help others? he was no Son of God, but a wise man and a great hypocrite. The knight has had in this life all he will have. Paradise is a joyous life in this world; Hell a sad one." "Have we, then, nothing to do but to enjoy ourselves in this world? Is it no sin to lie with women?"—"No greater sin than to wash one's hands." "And this was said that all present might hear; not in jocoseness, but in serious mood." To this monstrous scene, in these words, three witnesses deposed on oath, and gave the names of the ambassadors—men, no doubt, of rank, and well known, to whom they might thus seem to appeal.⁷

The account of a conversation with the famous Roger de Loria was hardly less extraordinary. Of the two witnesses, one was a knight of Palermo, William, son of Peter de Calatagerona. Roger de Loria, having revolted from the house of Arragon, came to Rome to be reconciled to the Pope. Yet at that very time the Pope wantonly mocked and insulted the devout seaman, by laughing to scorn that faith which bowed him at his own feet. De Loria had sent the Pope an offering of rich Sicilian fruits and honey. "See," he said, "what a beautiful land I must have left, abounding in such fruits, and have exposed myself to so great dangers to visit you. Had I died on this holy journey, surely I had been saved." "It might be so, or it might not." "Father, I trust that, if at such a moment I had died, Christ would have had mercy on me." The Pope said, "Christ! he was not the Son of God: he was a man eating and drinking like ourselves: by his preaching he

⁷ Witnesses xii xiii.

drew many towards him, and died, but rose not again, neither will men rise again." "I," pursued the Pope, "am far mightier than Christ. I can raise up and enrich the lowly and poor; I can bestow kingdoms, and humble and beggar rich and powerful kings." In all the material parts of this conversation the two witnesses agreed: they were rigidly cross-examined as to the place, time, circumstances, persons present, the dress, attitude, gestures of the Pope; they were asked whether the Pope spoke in jest or earnest.*

The same or other witnesses deposed to as unblushing shamelessness regarding the foulest vices, as regarding these awful blasphemies—"What harm is there in simony? what harm in adultery, more than rubbing one's hands together?" This was his favourite phrase. Then were brought forward men formerly belonging to his household, to swear that they had brought women—one, first his wife, then his daughter—to his bed. Another bore witness that from his youth Boniface had been addicted to worse, to nameless vices—that he was notoriously so; one or two loathsome facts were avouched.

Besides all this, there were what in those days would perhaps be heard with still deeper horror—Charges of magic. magical rites and dealings with the powers of darkness. Many witnesses had heard that Benedetto Gaetani, that Pope Boniface, had a ring in which he kept an evil spirit. Brother Berard of Soriano had seen from a window the Cardinal Gaetani, in a garden below, draw a magic circle, and immolate a cock over a fire in an earthen pot. The blood and the flame mingled; a thick smoke arose. The Cardinal sat read-

* Witness x.

ing spells from a book, and conjuring up the devils. He then heard a terrible noise and wild voices, "Give us our share." Gaetani took up the cock and threw it over the wall—"Take your share." The Cardinal then left the garden, and shut himself alone in his most secret chamber, where throughout the night he was heard in deep and earnest conversation, and a voice, the same voice, was heard to answer. This witness deposed likewise to having seen Gaetani worshipping an idol, in which dwelt an evil spirit. This idol was given to him by the famous magician, Theodore of Bologna, and was worshipped as his God.^a

Such was the evidence, the whole evidence which Summary of evidence. appears (there may have been more) so revolting to the faith, so polluting to the morals, so repulsive to decency, that it cannot be plainly repeated, yet adduced against the successor of St. Peter, the Vicar of Christ. What crimes, even for defamation, to charge against a Pope! To all this the Pope and the Consistory were compelled to listen in sullen patience. If true—if with a shadow of truth—how monstrous the state of religion and morals! If absolutely and utterly untrue—if foul, false libels, bought by the gold of the King of France, suborned by the unrelenting hatred, and got up by the legal subtlety of De Nogaret and the rest—what humiliation to the Court of Rome to have heard, received, recorded such wicked aspersions, and to have left them unresented, unpunished! The glaring contradiction in the evidence, that Boniface was at once an atheist and a worshipper of idols, an open scoffer in public and a superstitious dealer in magic in private, is by no means the greatest improbability

^a Witness xvi.

Such things have been. The direct and total repugnance of such dauntless, wanton, unprovoked blasphemies, even with the vices charged against Boniface, his unmeasured ambition, consummate craft, indomitable pride, is still more astounding, more utterly bewildering to the belief. But whatever the secret disgust and indignation of Clement, it must be suppressed; however the Cardinals, the most attached to the memory of Boniface, might murmur and burn with wrath in their hearts, they must content themselves with just eluding, with narrowly averting, his condemnation.

Situation of Clement.

Philip himself, either from weariness, dissatisfaction with his own cause, caprice, or the diversion of his mind to other objects, consented to abandon the prosecution of the memory of Boniface, and to leave the judgement to the Pope. On this the gratitude of Clement knows no bounds; the adulation of his Bull on the occasion surpasses belief. Every act of Philip is justified; he is altogether acquitted of all hatred and injustice; his whole conduct is attributed to pious zeal. "The worthy head of that royal house, which had been ever devoted, had ever offered themselves and the realm for the maintenance of the Holy Mother Church of Rome, had been compelled by the reiterated representations of men of character and esteem," to investigate the reports unfavourable to the legitimate election, to the orthodox doctrine, and to the life of Pope Boniface. The King's full Parliament had urged him with irresistible unanimity to persist in this course. "We therefore, with our brethren the Cardinals, pronounce and decree that the aforesaid King, having acted, and still acting, at the frequent and repeated instance of these high and grave

Philip abandons the prosecution.

The Pope's Bull.

persons, has been and is exempt from all blame, has been incited by a true, sincere, and just zeal and fervour for the Catholic faith." It was thus acknowledged that there was a strong primary case against Boniface; the appeal to the Council was admitted; every act of violence justified, except the last assault at Anagni, as to which the Pope solemnly acquitted the King of all complicity. The condescension of the King, "the son of benediction and grace,"^b in at length thus tardily and ungraciously remitting the judgement to the Pope, is ascribed to divine inspiration.^c Nor were wanting more substantial marks of the Pope's gratitude. Every Bull prejudicial to the King, to the nobles, and the realm of France (not contained in the sixth book of Decretals), is absolutely cancelled and annulled, except the two called "Unam Sanctam" and "Rem non novam," and these are to be understood in the moderated sense assigned by the present Pontiff. All proceedings for forfeiture of privileges, suspension, excommunication, interdict, all deprivations or deposals against the King, his brothers, subjects, or kingdom; all proceedings against the accusers, prosecutors, arraigned in the cause; against the prelates, barons, and commons, on account of any accusation, denunciation, appeal, or petition for the convocation of a General Council; or for blasphemy, insult, injury by deed or word, against the said Boniface, even for his seizure, the assault on his house and person, the plunder of the treasure, or other acts at Anagni; for anything done in behalf of the King during his contest with Boniface; all such proceedings against the living or the

^b "Tanquam benedictionis et gratiæ filius."

^c "Nos itaque mansuetudinem regiam ac expertam in iis devotionis et

reverentiæ filialis gratitudinem quas . . . dicto Regi *divinitus credimus inspiratas.*"

dead, against persons of all ranks—cardinals, archbishops, bishops, emperors, or kings, whether instituted by Pope Boniface, or by his successor Benedict, are provisionally^d annulled, revoked, cancelled. “And if any aspersion, shame, or blame, shall have occurred to any one out of these denunciations, and charges against Boniface, whether during his life or after his death, or any prosecution be hereafter instituted on that account, these we absolutely abolish and declare null and void.”^e

In order that the memory of these things be utterly extinguished, the proceedings of every kind against France are, under pain of excommunication, to be erased within four months from the capitular books and registers of the Holy See.^f The archives of the Papacy are to retain no single procedure injurious to the King of France, or to those, whoever they may be, who are thus amply justified for all their most virulent persecution, for all their contumacious resistance, for the foulest charges, for charges of atheism, simony, whoredom, sodomy, witchcraft, heresy, against the deceased Pope.

Fifteen persons only are exempted from this sweeping amnesty, or more than amnesty; among them William de Nogaret, Reginald Supino and his son, the other insurgents of Anagni, and Sciarra Colonna. These Philip, no doubt by a secret understanding with the Pope, surrendered to the mockery of punishment which might or might not be enforced. The penance appointed to the rest does not appear; but even William de Nogaret obtained provisional absolution.^g

^d “Ex cautelâ.”

^e The Bull dated May, 1311.—Dupuy, Preuves.

^f In Raynaldus (sub ann.) is a full account of the Bulls and passages of Bulls entirely erased for the gratifica-

tion of King Philip from the Papal records; of course they were preserved by the pious care of the partisans of Boniface. See also Preuves, p. 606.

^g “Absolvimus ad cautelam.”

The Pope, solicitous for the welfare of his soul, and in regard to the pressing supplications of the King, imposed this penance. At the next general Crusade Nogaret should in person set out with arms and horses for the Holy Land, there to serve for life, unless his term of service should be shortened by the mercy of the Pope or his successor. In the meantime, till this general Crusade (never to come to pass), he was to make a pilgrimage to certain shrines and holy places, one at Boulogne-sur-Mer, one at St. James of Compostella.^h Such was the sentence on the assailant, almost the assassin, of a Pope; on the persecutor of his memory by the most odious accusations; if those accusations were false, the suborner of the most monstrous system of falsehood, calumny, and perjury. The Pope received one hundred thousand florins from the King's ambassador as a reward for his labours in this cause.ⁱ This Bull of Clement V.^k broke for ever the spell of the Pontifical autocracy. A King might appeal to a Council against a Pope, violate his personal sanctity, constitute himself the public prosecutor by himself or by his agents for heresy, for immorality, invent or accredit the most hateful and loathsome charges, all with impunity, all even without substantial censure.

The Council of Vienne met at length; the number of prelates is variously stated from three hundred to one hundred and forty.^m It is said that Bishops were present from Spain, Germany, Denmark, England, Scotland, Ireland, Italy. It

Oct. 15 to
Nov. 1, 1311.
Council of
Vienne.

^h Ptolemy of Lucca calls this "penitentia dura."

ⁱ Ptolem. Luc. apud Baluzium, p. 40. "Tunc ambasiatores Regis offerunt cameræ Domini Papæ centum millia florum quasi pro quadam recompensa-

tionem laborum circa dictam causam."

^k Dated May, 1311.

^m Villani gives the larger number, the continuator of Nangis the smaller. Has the French writer given only the French prelates?

assumed the dignity of an Œcumenic Council. The Pope proposed three questions: I. The dissolution of the Order of the Temple; II. The recovery of the Holy Land (the formal object of every later Council, but which had sunk into a form); III. The reformation of manners and of ecclesiastical discipline. The affair of the Templars was the first. It might seem that this whole inquiry had been sifted to the bottom. Yet had the Pope made further preparation for the strong measure determined upon. The orders to the King of Spain to apply tortures for the extortion of confession had been renewed.ⁿ The Templars were to be secure in no part of Christendom. The same terrible instructions had been sent to the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, to the Bishops of Negropont, Famagosta, and Nicosia.^o Two thousand depositions had been accumulated, perhaps now slumber in the Vatican. But unexpected difficulties arose. On a sudden nine Templars, who had lurked in safe concealment, perhaps in the valleys of the Jura or the Alps, appeared before the Council, and demanded to be heard in defence of the Order. The Pope was not present. No sooner had he heard of this daring act than he commanded the nine intrepid defenders of their Order to be seized and cast into prison. He wrote in all haste to the King to acquaint him with this untoward interruption.^p But embarrassments increased: the acts were read before

ⁿ "Ad eliciendam veritatem religioso fore tortori tradendos."—Letter of Clement to King of Spain, quoted by Raynouard, p. 166.

^o "Ad habendam ab eis veritatis plenitudinem promptiorem tormentis et quæstionibus, si sponte confiteri voluerint, experiri procuretis."—Apud

Raynald. 1311, c. liii.

^p The letter in Raynouard, p. 177. Raynouard is unfortunately seized with a fit of eloquence, and inserts a long speech which one of the Fathers of the Council *ought* to have spoken. The letter is dated Dec. 11.

the Fathers of the Council; all the foreign prelates except one Italian, all the French prelates except three, concurred in the justice of admitting the Order to a hearing and defence before the Council. These three were Peter of Courtenay, Archbishop of Rheims, who had burned the Templars at Senlis: Philip de Marigny of Sens, who had committed the fifty-four Knights to the flames in Paris; the Archbishop of Rouen, the successor of Bertrand de Troyes, who had presided at Pont de l'Arche.⁹ The Pope was obliged to prorogue the Council for a time. The winter wore away in private discussions.⁷ The awe of the King's presence was necessary to strengthen the Pope, and to intimidate the Council. The King had summoned an assembly of the realm at Lyons, now annexed to his kingdom. The avowed object was to secure the triumph of Jesus Christ in the Council.⁸ The Pope took courage; he summoned the prelates on whom he could depend to a secret consistory with the Cardinals. He announced that he had determined, by way of prudent provision,^t not of condemnation, to abolish the Order of Templars: he reserved to himself and to the Church the disposal of their persons and of their estates. On April 3 this act of dissolution was published in the full Council on the absolute and sole authority of the Pope. This famous Order was declared to be extinct; the proclamation was made in the presence

^{a.d.} 1312.

⁹ "In hâc sententiâ concordant omnes prælati Italiæ præter unum, Hispaniæ, Theutoniæ, Daniæ, Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ. Item Gallici, præter tres Metropolitanos, videlicet Remensem, Senonensem et Rothomagensem."—Ptolem. Luc. Vit. II. p.

43. Compare Walsingham. This was in the beginning of December.

^r Bernard Guido. Vit. III. Clement. Compare IV. et VI.

^s Hist. de Languedoc, xxix. c. 33. p. 152.

^t "Per provisiones"

of the King^u and his brother. We have already described the award of the estates to the Knights of St. John, the impoverishment of that Order^x by this splendid boon, or traffic,^y as it was called by the enemies of Clement.

Clement, perhaps, had rejoiced in secret at the opposition of the Council to the condemnation of the Templars. It aided him in extorting the price of the important concession from King Philip, the reservation to his own judgement of the sacred and perilous treasure of his predecessor's memory.

The Council, which had now resumed its sittings, was manifestly disinclined, not in this point alone, to submit to the absolute control of French influence. It asserted its independent dignity in the addresses to which it had listened on the reform of ecclesiastical abuses: it had shown a strong hierarchical spirit. No doubt beyond the sphere of Philip's power, beyond the pale of Ghibelline animosity, beyond that of the lower Franciscans, whose fanatical admiration of Coelestine had become implacable hatred to Boniface, the prosecution of the Pope's memory was odious. If it rested on any just grounds, it was an irreverent exposure of the nakedness of their common father; if groundless, a wanton and wicked sacrilege. When, therefore, three Cardinals, Richard of Sienna, master of the civil law, John of Namur, as eminent in theology, and Gentili, the most consummate decretalist, appeared in the Council to defend the orthodoxy and

Defenders of
Boniface
before the
Council.

^u "Cui negotium erat cordi."

^x "Unde depauperata est mansio hospitalis, quæ se existimabat inde pulenta fieri."—S. Antoninus; see *bove*.

^y "Papa vero statim bona Templi infinito thesauro Fratribus vendidit hospitalis S. Joannis."—Hocsemius, *Gest. Pontific. Leoden.*

holy life of Pope Boniface; when two Catalan Knights threw down their gauntlets, and declared themselves ready to maintain his innocence by wager of battle: Clement interposed not, as in the case of the Templars, any adjournment. He regarded not the confusion of the King and his partisans. The King was therefore obliged to submit to this absolute acquittal, either by positive decree; or, in default of the appearance of any accuser, of any opponent against the theologians or the knights, to accept an edict that no harm or prejudice should accrue to himself or his successors for the part which they had been compelled by duty and by zeal to take against Pope Boniface.²

The Council of Vienne had thus acquiesced in the determination of the first object for which it Acts of the Council of Vienne. had been summoned, the suppression of the Templars. The assembly listened with decent outward sympathy to the old wearisome account of the captivity of the Holy Land, and the progress of the Mohammedan arms in the East. But the crusading fire was burnt out; there was hardly a flash or gleam of enthusiasm.

² The vindication of the fame of Boniface by the Council of Vienne is disputed. F. Pagi, arguing from the fact that the affair was not included in the summons, or among the three subjects proposed for the consideration of the Council, that it was not brought before them. Raynaldus relies on the passage of Villani, on which he accumulates much irrelevant matter, without strengthening his cause. The statement in the text appears to me to reconcile all difficulties. It was, throughout, the policy of the Pope to keep this dangerous business entirely

in his own hands; this he had extorted with great dexterity and at great sacrifice from the King. Till he knew that he could trust the Council, he had no thought of permitting the Council to interfere (it was an unsafe precedent); but when sure of its temper, he was glad to take the Prelates' judgement in confirmation of his own: he thus at the same time maintained his own sole and superior right of judgement, and backed it, against the King, with the authority of the Council.

It seemed, however, disposed to enter with greater earnestness on the reformation of manners and discipline, and the suppression of certain dangerous dissidents from that discipline. On the former subject the Fathers heard with respectful favour two remarkable addresses. The first was from the Bishop of Mende, one of the assessors at the examination of the Templars; and this address raises the character of that prelate so highly, that his testimony on their condemnation is perhaps the most unfavourable evidence on record against them. The other came from a prelate of great gravity, learning, and piety, whose name has not survived. These addresses, however, which led to no immediate result, may come before us in a general view of the Christianity of this great epoch, the culmination of the Papal power under Boniface VIII., its rapid decline under the Popes at Avignon. So, too, the condemnation of that singular sect or offset of the Franciscans, the Fraticelli, will form part of the history of that body, which perhaps did more than any other sects in preparation of the Lollards, of Wycliffe, perhaps of the great Reformation, in the minds of the people throughout Christendom, as the disseminators of doctrines essentially vitally, anti-Paul.

CHAPTER IV.

Henry of Luxemburg. Italy.

POPE CLEMENT—at the cost of much of the Papal dignity; at the cost of Christian mercy, even if the Templars, tortured and burned at the stake, were guilty; at the cost of truth and justice if they were innocent—had baffled the King of France, and had averted the fatal blow, the condemnation of Pope Boniface. Even of the spoils of the Templars he had rescued a large part, the whole landed property, out of the hands of the rapacious King; he had enriched himself, his death will hereafter show to what enormous amount. But the subtle Gascon had done greater service to Christendom by thwarting the views of the French monarch upon a predominance in the Western world, dangerous to her liberties and welfare. Never was Europe in greater peril of falling, if not under one sovereignty, under the dominion, and that the most tyrannical dominion, of one house. Philip was king indeed in France: in many of his worst acts of oppression the nation, the commonalty itself, had backed the King. Even the Church, so long as he plundered and trampled on others, was on his side. The greater Metropolitan Sees were filled with his creatures. Princes of the house of France sat on the thrones of Naples and Hungary. The feeble Edward II. of England was his son-in-law. The Empire, if obtained by Charles of Valois, had involved not merely the suprema

rule in Germany, but the mastery in Italy Clement would not have dared to refuse the imperial crown, and under such an Emperor where was the independence of the Italian cities? The Papal territory would have been held at his mercy.

The election of Henry of Luxemburg had redeemed Christendom from this danger. This election had been managed with unrivalled skill by ^{Henry of Luxemburg.} Peter Ashpalter, Archbishop of Mentz.^a This remarkable man (an unusual case) was not of noble birth; he had been bred a physician; it was said that he had rendered the Pope great service by advice concerning his health, and had thus acquired a strong influence over his mind. Archbishop Peter first contrived the elevation of Henry's brother to the Electoral See of Treves. Two of the lay electors, out of jealousy to- ^{Nov. 27,} ^{1308.} wards the other competitors for the crown, were won over. Henry of Luxemburg was proclaimed at Frankfort. The new King of the Romans was at once a just, a religious, and a popular sovereign.^b He had put down the robbers, and exercised rigid but impartial justice in his own small territory. At the same time he was the most distinguished in arms. At the tournament no knight in Europe could unhorse Henry of Luxemburg. Soon after his elevation his indigent house was enriched and strengthened by the marriage of his son with the heiress of Bohemia.

The Pope had taken no ostensible part in the election. When Henry of Luxemburg sent an embassy

^a This is well told by Schmidt—*Geschichte der Deutschen*, vii. c. 4.

^b "Justus et religiosus et in armis strenuus fuit." Hocsemius, apud Cha-

peauville, *Hist. Pontif. Leoden*. See the description of his person in Albert Mussat. i. 13. .

of nobles and great prelates to demand the imperial crown, Clement had no pretext, he had indeed no disposition, to refuse that which was in the common order of things. Philip might brood in secret over this politic attempt of the Pope after emancipation, yet had no right to take umbrage.

In a solemn diet at Spires Henry, King of the
Diet at Spires. Aug. 21, 1309. Romans, declared, amid universal acclamation, his resolution to descend into Italy to assert the imperial rights, and to receive the Cæsarean crown at Rome. Clement had never lost sight of the affairs of Italy: he was still Lord of Romagna, and drew his revenues from the Papal territory. But he had no Italian prepossessions. The Bishop of Rome had probably determined never to set his foot in that unruly city. His court was a court of French Cardinals, increased at each successive promotion. He had indeed interfered to save Pistoia from the cruel hands of Guelfic Florence; but Florence had treated his threatened anathema with scorn. Bologna, struck with interdict by the angry Legate for aiding Florence, had made indeed submission, but not till she had forced the Legate to an ignominious flight to save his life. Clement had maintained a violent contest with Venice for Ferrara. Venice had struck a vigorous blow by the seizure of Ferrara, and the contemptuous refusal to acknowledge the asserted rights of the Pope in that city. The Venetians scorned the interdict thundered against their whole territory by the Pope. Clement found a foe against whom he dared put forth all the terrors of his spiritual power. He prohibited all religious rites in Venice, declared the Doge and magistrates infamous, commanded all ecclesiastics to quit the territory except a few to baptise infants, and to administer extreme

The Pope's policy.

unction to the dying. If they persisted in their contumacy, he declared the Doge Gradenigo degraded from his high office, and all estates of Venetians confiscate; kings were summoned to take up arms against them till they should restore the rights of the Church. The Venetians condescended to send an ambassador; but as to the restoration of Ferrara, they made no sign of concession. But Venice was vulnerable through her wealth; the Pope struck a blow at her vital part. She had factories, vast stores of rich merchandise in every great haven, in every distant land. The Pope issued a brief, summoning all kings, all rulers, all cities to plunder the forfeited merchandise of Venice, and to reduce the Venetians to slavery. The Pope's admonitions to peace, his warnings to kings and nations to abstain from unchristian injury to each other, had long lost their power. But a Papal licence or rather exhortation to plunder, to plunder peaceful and defenceless factories, was too tempting an act of obedience. Everywhere their merchandise was seized, their factories pillaged, their traders outraged.^c Venice quailed; yet it needed the utmost activity in the warlike Legate, the Cardinal Pelagru, at the head of troops from all quarters, to reconquer Ferrara. He slew six thousand men.

On a sudden Clement totally changed the immemorial policy of the Popes. He did not throw off, but he quietly let fall, the French alliance: he was in close league with the Emperor:^d the Pope became a Ghibelline. If the Papal and Imperial banners were not un-

^c "Quâ de re data pluribus provinciis ac Regibus imperia."—Raynaldus sub ann., with authorities.

Luxemburg, July 26, 1309. Also the Treaty dated at Lausanne September 11, 1310.—*Monumenta Germaniæ*,

^d See Clement's letter to Henry of iv. 501.

folded together, the Papal Legate was by the side of the Emperor. The refractory cities were menaced with the concurrent ban of the Empire and the excommunication of the Church.

Henry, rather more than a year after the Diet at Henry in Italy. Spires, descended upon Italy, but with no considerable German force,^e to achieve that in which had been discomfited the Othos, Henrys, and Fredericks. Guelfs and Ghibellines watched his movements with unquiet jealousy. He assumed a lofty superiority to all factious views.^f The cities Turin, Asti, Vercelli, Novara, opened their gates.^g Henry reinstated the exiled Guelfs in Ghibelline, the Ghibellines in Guelfic, cities. He approached Milan. Guido della Torre, the head of the ruling Guelfic faction, had sent a message to the King at Spires, "he would lead him with a falcon on his wrist, as on a pleasure-party, through all Lombardy." Guido was now irresolute. The Archbishop of Milan, the nephew of Guido, but his mortal enemy, entreated the King's good offices for the release of three of his kindred, imprisoned by Della Torre. King Henry issued his orders; Guido refused to obey. Yet Milan did not close her gates on the King. Guido occupied the palace of the commonalty; he would not dismiss his armed guard of one thousand men. Besides this, he had at his command in one street ten thousand men,

^e Ferretus Vicentinus gives 5000 Germans.

^f "Cujusquam cum subjectis pacationis impatiens, Gibelenge Guelfevae partium mentionem abhorrens, cuncta absolute amplectens imperio."—Alb. Mussat. i. 13.

^g See *Iter Italicum* by Henry; favourite counsellor. The Bishop of Bathronto gives a lively account of all his march, especially of the Bishop's own personal adventures. It has been reprinted (after Reuber and Muratori) by Boehmer.—*Fontes Rer. German.* i. 69

not, he averred, against the King, but against his enemy, the Archbishop. Henry lodged in the Archbishop's palace, and there kept his Christmas. On the day after, peace was sworn between Guido della Torre, his nephew the Archbishop, and Matteo Visconti: they exchanged the kiss of peace.^b On the Epiphany Henry was crowned with the Iron Crown of Italy, not at Monza, but in the Ambrosian Church at Milan; the people wept tears of joy. Guido gave up the palace of the commonalty to the King. All the cities of Lombardy were present by their Syndics; all took the oath of allegiance except Genoa and Venice, who nevertheless acknowledged the supremacy of the King.¹ Henry calmly pursued his work of pacification. He placed Vicars in the cities from the Alps to Bologna, and forced them to admit the exiles. Como received the Guelfs, the Ghibellines entered Brescia. Mantua admitted the Ghibellines, Piacenza the Guelfs. Verona alone obstinately refused to receive Count Boniface and the Guelfs: her strong walls defied the Emperor. In Milan the leaders of the factions vied in their offerings to Henry. William di Posterla proposed a vote of fifty thousand florins, but added a donative to the Empress. Guido della Torre outbid his rival: "We are a great and wealthy city; one hundred thousand is not too much for so noble a sovereign." The Germans were alienated from the parsimonious Visconti; Guido, they averred, was the Emperor's friend; but it was shrewdly suspected that the crafty leader foresaw that Milan,

Jan. 6,
1311.

^b "Amicabilius, utinam fideliter osculati."—Iter. Ital.

¹ "They said many things to excuse themselves from swearing" (writes the Bishop of Buthronto), "which I do not

recollect, excepting that they (the Venetians) are a quintessence, and will belong neither to the Church nor to the Emperor, nor to the sea nor to the land."—Iter Italicum, p. 893.

when the tax came to be levied, would rise to shake off the burthen. The Emperor, to secure the city in his absence, demanded that fifty of the great nobles and leaders, chosen half from the Guelfs, half from the Ghibellines, should accompany him to Rome to do honour to his coronation. The Guelfs were to name twenty-five Ghibellines, the Ghibellines twenty-five Guelfs. But this mode of election failed; neither Guido nor Visconti would quit the city. Guido alleged

Feb. 12. ill health; the King's physician declared the excuse false. But the assessment of this vast

sum, though the Germans were astonished at the ease with which much had been paid, inflamed the people.

Insurrection in Milan. Frays broke out between the Germans and the Milanese; proclamations were issued, forbidding the Italians to bear arms. On a sudden a cry was heard, "Death to the Germans! Peace between the Lord Guido and the Lord Matteo!" Visconti was seized, carried before the King, and dismissed unharmed. The Germans rushed to arms; they were joined by Visconti's faction; much slaughter, much plunder ensued.^k Guido della Torre fled; his palace fortress was surprised and ransacked: great stores of military weapons were found, arrows tipped with Greek fire, and balists.

No sooner was Milan heard to be in insurrection, than Crema, Cremona, Lodi, Brescia, rose. The first were speedily subdued; Cremona severely punished.

May 19, 1311. Siege of Brescia. Brescia alone stood an obstinate siege. The Emperor's brother Waleran fell in the trenches: many Germans were hanged upon the walls.

^k "Multi mortui et vulnerati, si justè, Deus scit." So writes the pious Bishop, who had apprehended and, as he says, saved the life of, Visconti.

The new alliance between the Emperor and the Pope was here ostentatiously proclaimed. Two of the cardinals appointed to crown the Emperor, the Bishops of St. Sabina and of Ostia, appeared under the walls of Brescia. The gates flew open: they passed the streets amid acclamations—"Long live our Mother the Church; long live the Pope and the Holy Cardinals." The Cardinal of Ostia addressed the commonalty in a lofty harangue. He sternly reprovèd them for not having received that blessed son of the Church, Henry King of the Romans, who came in the name of the Lord: "They were in insurrection against the ordinance of Almighty God, against the monitions of the Pope: they must look for no better fate than befell Sodom and Gomorrah." The Captain of the people answered in their name—"They were ready to obey the Pope and a lawful Emperor. Henry was no emperor, but a spoiler, who expelled the Guelfs from the cities, and gave them up to the tyranny of the Ghibellines; he was reviving the schism of the Emperor Frederick." The Cardinals withdrew for a time in ignominious silence. Brescia still held out: Henry urged the Cardinals to issue a sentence of excommunication. "For excommunication," was the reply, "the Italians care nothing. How have the Florentines treated that of the Cardinal of Ostia, the Bolognese that of Cardinal Napoleon, those of Milan that of the Lord Pelagius?"^m Famine at length reduced the obstinate town. They consented to the mediation of the Cardinals, and Henry entered Brescia. The want of money led him to compound for the treason

^m Albert Mussato apud Muratori, R. I. S. I have endeavoured to reconcile this account with the *Iter Itali-* cum. I understand the same fact to be alluded to, page 900: "*Domini Cardinales de pace laboraverunt.*"

by a mulct of 70,000 florins. Henry's poverty compelled him to other acts, ignominious, even treacherous, as it seemed to his most loyal counsellors.²

Henry advanced to Genoa: the city submitted in the amplest manner. But no sooner had the
 Sept. 18-21. Emperor left Lombardy than a new Guelfic league sprung up behind him. Throughout Italy, the Guelfs, more Papalist than the Pope, disclaimed the Emperor, though under the escort of cardinal legates. At Genoa, died his Queen, Margarita. To Genoa came ambassadors from the head of the Guelfs, Robert King of Naples. Negotiations were commenced for a marriage between the houses of Luxemburg and Naples; but Robert demanded the office of Senator of Rome, and before terms could be concluded, news arrived that John, brother of King Robert, was in Rome with an armed force. Henry moved to Ghibelline Pisa; he was welcomed with joy. In the mean time Guelfic Florence not merely would not admit Pandulph Savelli, the Pope's Notary, and the Bishop of Buthronto, Henry's ambassadors; they threatened to seize them, as loaded with gold to bribe the Ghibellines to insurrection. The ambassadors had many wild adventures in the Apennines, were plundered, in peril of captivity. Some Tuscan cities, more Tuscan lords, swore allegiance to the Emperor, whether from loyalty or hatred of Florence. The ambassadors arrived before Rome.³ The

² "I protested, but protested in vain" (writes the Bishop of Buthronto), "against five acts of my master. To the doubtful Philip of Savoy he granted, for a loan of 25,000 florins, the lordship over Pavia, Vercelli, Novara: to Matteo Visconti, for 50,000, that of Milan: to Guiberto di Corre-

gio, the Guelfic tyrant of Parma, for an unknown sum, that of Reggio: to Can di Verona, who obstinately refused to admit a single Guelf, that of Verona: to Passerino, that of Mantua." —*Iter Italicum*, p. 93.

³ This is the most curious part of the *Iter Italicum*.

city was occupied by John of Naples. He was strong enough to maintain himself in the city, not strong enough to keep down the Imperialists. There was parley, delay, exchange of demands. John insisted on fortifying the Ponte Molle. To the demand, among others, of co-operation in reconciling the rival houses of Orsini and Colonna, he sternly answered, "The Colonnas are my enemies; with them I will have neither truce nor treaty." He at length hurled defiance against the Emperor.

Henry himself set out from Pisa, and advanced towards Rome at the head of two thousand horse. Henry advances on Rome. With King Robert of Naples it was neither peace nor war. Prince John still held the Ponte Molle. On the appearance of King Henry he was summoned to withdraw his troops. He withdrew, he said, "for his own ends—not at the Emperor's command." The Germans charged over the bridge; a tower still manned by Neapolitans hurled down missiles; it was with difficulty stormed. The Pope's Emperor, with the Cardinals commissioned by the Pope to crown him, entered Rome: he occupied, with the Ghibellines, the city on one side of the Tiber; the Capitol was forced to submit. Beyond the Tiber were John of Naples and the Guelfic Orsini. Neither had strength to dispossess the other. But St. Peter's was in the power of the enemy. The magnificent ceremonial, which Pope Clement had drawn out at great length for the coronation of Henry, could not take place. He must submit to receive June 29, 1312. the crown with humbler pomp in the Church of St. John Lateran. The inglorious coronation took place on the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul.

The heats of Rome compelled the Emperor to retire to Tivoli. A year of war ensued: Florence placed

herself at the head of the anti-Imperialist League.

July 20.

Henry, having made a vain attempt to surprise Florence, retired to Pisa. There he pronounced the ban of the Empire against Florence and the contumacious cities; and against Robert of Naples,

Feb. 12,
1313.

whom he declared, as a rebellious vassal, deposed from his throne. The ban of the Empire had no more terror than the excommunication of the Pope. Henry awaited forces from Germany to open again the campaign: his magnanimous character struck even his adversaries. "He was a man," writes the Guelf Villani, "never depressed by adversity, never in prosperity elated with pride, or intoxicated with joy."

But the end of his career drew on. He had now advanced at the head of an army which his enemies dared not meet in the field, towards Sienna. He rode still, seemingly in full vigour and activity. But the fatal air of Rome had smitten his strength. A carbuncle had formed under his knee; injudicious remedies inflamed his vitiated blood. He died at Buonconvento

Aug. 24,
1313.

in the midst of his awe-struck army, on the Festival of St. Bartholomew. Rumours of foul practice, of course, spread abroad: a Dominican monk was said to have administered poison in the Sacrament, which he received with profound devotion. His body was carried in sad state, and splendidly interred at Pisa.

So closed that empire, in which, if the more factious and vulgar Ghibellines beheld their restoration to their native city, their triumph, their revenge, their sole administration of public affairs, the noble Ghibellinism of Dante^p foresaw the establishment of a great universal

^p Read first Dante's rapturous letter (in Italian) to the princes and people of Italy before the descent of Henry of Luxemburg (the Latin original is lost), Fraticelli's edition, Oper. Min. iii. p. 219. "Non riluce in maravigliosa

monarchy necessary to the peace and civilisation of mankind. The ideal sovereign of Dante's famous treatise on Monarchy was Henry of Luxemburg. Neither Dante nor his time can be understood but through this treatise. The attempt of the Pope to raise himself to a great Pontifical monarchy had manifestly, ignominiously failed: the Ghibelline is neither amazed nor distressed at this event. It is now the turn of the Imperialist to unfold his noble vision. "An universal monarchy is absolutely necessary for the welfare of the world;" and this is part of his singular reasoning—"Peace" (says the weary exile, the man worn out in cruel strife, the wanderer from city to city, each of those cities more fiercely torn by faction than the last), "universal peace is the first blessing of mankind. The angels sang not riches or pleasures, but peace on earth: peace the Lord bequeathed to his disciples. For peace One must rule. Mankind is most like God when at unity, for God is One; therefore under a monarchy. Where there is parity there must be strife; where strife, judgement; the judge must be a third party intervening with supreme authority." Without monarchy can be no justice, nor even liberty; for Dante's⁹ monarch is no arbitrary despot, but a constitutional sovereign; he is the Roman law impersonated in the Emperor; a monarch who should leave all the nations, all the free Italian cities, in possession of their rights and old municipal institutions.

Dante de
Monarchia.

effette Iddio avere predestinato il Romano principe?" The Pope is now on the Imperial side, and Dante is conciliatory even to an Avignonese Pope. Nor omit, secondly, the furious letter to Henry himself, almost reproaching him with leaving wicked Florence unchastised.—Ibid. p. 230.

⁹ "Et humanum genus, potissimum liberum, optime se habet."

But to this monarchy of the world the Roman people has an inherent, indefeasible right. The Saviour was born when the world was at peace under the Roman sway.^r Dante seizes and applies the texts, which foreshow the peaceful dominion of Christianity, to the Empire of old Rome. Rome assumed that empire of right, not of usurpation. The Romans were the noblest of people by their descent from Æneas, the noblest of men. The rise of the Republic was one continual miracle: the Ancile, the repulse of the Gauls, Clelia, all were miracles in the highest sense.^s That holy, pious, and glorious people sacrificed its own advantage to the common good. It ruled the world by its beneficence. All that the most ardent Christian could assert of the best of the Saints, Dante attributes to the older Romans. The great examples of human virtue are Cincinnatus, Fabricius, Camillus, Decius, Cato. The Roman people are by nature predestined to rule: he cites the irrefragable authority of Virgil.^t There are two arguments which strangely mingle with these. Rome had won the empire of the world by wager of battle. God, in the great ordeal, had adjudged the triumph to Rome: he had awarded to her the prize, universal, indefeasible monarchy.^u Still further, "Our Lord condescended to be put to death under Pilate, the vicegerent of Tiberius Cæsar; by that he acknowledged the

^r "Quare fremuerunt gentes, reges adversantur Domino suo et uncto sub Romano Principe."

^s "Quod etiam pro Romano Imperio perficiendo, miranda Deus per-tenderet, illustrium authorum testimonio comprobatur." The authors are Livy and Lucan.

^t "Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento."

^u "Nullum dubium est quin prævalentia in athletis pro imperio mundi certantibus, Dei iudicium est sequuta. Romanus populus cunctis athletizantibus pro imperio mundi prævaluit."—p. 100. "Quod per duellum acquiratur jure acquiritur."

lawfulness of the jurisdiction, therefore the jurisdiction is of God." * But while all this argument of Dante shows the irresistible magic power still possessed over the imagination by the mere name of Rome, how strongly does it illustrate not only the coming days of Rienzi, but the strength, too, which the Papal power had derived from this indelible awe, this unquestioning admission that the world owed allegiance to Rome! Dante proceeds to prove that the monarchy, the Roman monarchy, is held directly of God, not of any Vicar or minister of God. He sweeps away with contemptuous hand all the later Decretals. He admits the Holy Scripture, the first Councils, the early Doctors, and S. Augustine. He spurns the favourite texts of the sun and moon as typifying the Papacy and the Empire, the worship of the Magi, the two swords, the donation of Constantine. He asserts Christ to be the only Rock of the Church. The examples of authority assumed by Popes over Emperors, he confronts with precedents of authority used by Emperors over Popes. Dante denies not, he believes with the fervour of a devout Catholic, the co-ordinate supremacy of the Church and the Empire, of the Pope and the temporal monarch; but like all the Ghibellines, like the Fraticelli among the lower orders, like many other true believers, almost worshippers of the successor of St. Peter, he would absolutely, rigidly, entirely confine him to his spiritual functions; with this life the Pontiff had no concern, eternal life was in his power and arbitration alone. †

* We find even the startling sentence, "Si Romanum Imperium de jure non fuit, peccatum adeo in Christo non fuit punitum."

† This is the key to Dante's Impe-

rialism and Papalism. Hence in the lowest pit of hell, the two traitors to Cæsar are on either side of the traitor to Christ. "Bruto, Iscariote, e Casio." Hence both his fierce Ghibellin-

Italy, at the death of Henry of Luxemburg, fell back into her old anarchy. Clement, it is true, laid claim to the Empire during the vacancy, but it was an idle and despised boast.² The Transalpine Clement was succeeded by other Transalpine Popes; but the confederacy between the Pope and the Emperor broke up for ever at the death of Henry.

denunciations of the avarice and pride of Boniface, and his indignation at the violation of the sanctity of Christ's Vicar at Anagni. Throughout, the imperial authority is the first necessity of Italy—

“ Ah! gente, ch'è dovresti esser devota,
E lasciar seder Cesar nella sella,
Se bene intendi ciò ch'è Dio ti nota.”
Purgat. vi. 91.

This is followed by the magnificent apostrophe to Albert of Austria, whose guilt in neglecting Italy is not only

avenged on his own posterity, but on his successor, Henry of Luxemburg,—

“ Vieni a veder la tua Roma, che piagne
Vedova, e sola, e di è notte chiama,
Cesare mio, perchè non m'accompagne.”

—Compare Foscolo, *Discorso*, p. 223.

² “ Nos tam ex superioritate quam ad imperium non est dubium nos habere, quam ex potestate, in quâ, vacante Imperio, Imperatori succedimus.”

—Clement. Pastoral. Muratori, *Ann.* sub *ann.* 1314.

CHAPTER V.

The End of Du Molay, of Pope Clement, of King Philip.

THE end of Clement himself and of Clement's master, the King of France, drew near. The Pope had been compelled to make still larger concessions to the King. Philip's annexation of the Imperial city, Lyons, and the extinction of the rights or claims of the Archbishop to an independent jurisdiction, were vainly encountered by remonstrance. From this time Lyons became a city of the kingdom of France.

But the Pope and the King must be preceded into the realm of darkness and to the judgement seat of heaven by other victims. The tragedy of the Templars had not yet drawn to its close. The four great dignitaries of the Order, the Grand Master Du Molay, Guy the Commander of Normandy, son of the Dauphin of Auvergne, the Commander of Aquitaine Godfrey de Gonaville, the great Visitor of France Hugues de Peraud, were still pining in the royal dungeons. It was necessary to determine on their fate. The King and the Pope were now equally interested in burying the affair for ever in silence and oblivion. So long as these men lived, uncondemned, undoomed, the Order was not extinct. A commission was named; the Cardinal Archbishop of Albi, with two other Cardinals, two monks, the Cistercian Arnold Novelli, and Arnold de Fargis, nephew of Pope Clement, the Dominican Nicolas de Freveauville, akin to the house of Marigny, formerly the

King's confessor. With these the Archbishop of Sens sat in judgement, on the Knights' own former confessions. The Grand Master and the rest were found guilty, and were to be sentenced to perpetual imprisonment.^a

A scaffold was erected before the porch of Notre Dame. On one side appeared the two Cardinals; on the other the four noble prisoners, in chains, Prisoners brought up for sentence. under the custody of the Provost of Paris. Six years of dreary imprisonment had passed over their heads; of their valiant brethren the most valiant had been burned alive; the recreants had purchased their lives by confession: the Pope in a full Council had condemned and dissolved the Order. If a human mind, a mind like that of Du Molay, not the most stubborn, could be broken by suffering and humiliation, it must have yielded to this long and crushing imprisonment. The Cardinal-Archbishop of Albi ascended a raised platform: he read the confessions of the Knights, the proceedings of the Court; he enlarged on the criminality of the Order, on the holy justice of the Pope, and the devout, self-sacrificing zeal of the King; he was proceeding to the final, the fatal sentence. At that instant the Grand Master advanced; his gesture implored silence: judges and people gazed in awe-struck apprehension. In a calm, clear voice Du Molay spake: Speech of Du Molay. "Before heaven and earth, on the verge of death, where the least falsehood bears like an intolerable weight upon the soul, I protest that we have richly deserved death, not on account of any heresy or sin of which ourselves or our Order have been guilty, but because we have yielded, to save our lives, to the

^a "Muro et carceri perpetuo retrudendi."—Continuat. Nangis.

seductive words of the Pope and of the King: and so by our confessions brought shame and ruin on our blameless, holy, and orthodox brotherhood."

The Cardinals stood confounded; the people could not suppress their profound sympathy. The assembly was hastily broken up; the Provost was commanded to conduct the prisoners back to their dungeons. "To-morrow we will hold further counsel."

But on the moment that the King heard these things, without a day's delay, without the least consultation with the ecclesiastical authorities, he Death of Du Molay. ordered them to death as relapsed heretics. In the island on the Seine, where now stands the statue of Henry IV., between the King's garden on one side and the convent of the Augustinian monks on the other, the two pyres were raised (two out of the four had shrunk back into their ignoble confession). It was the hour of vespers when these two aged and noble men were led out to be burned: they were tied each to the stake. The flames kindled dully and heavily; the wood, hastily piled up, was green or wet; or, in cruel mercy, the tardiness was designed that the victims might have time, while the fire was still curling round their extremities, to recant their bold recantation. But there was no sign, no word of weakness. Du Molay implored that the image of the Mother of God might be held up before him,^b and his hands unchained, that he might clasp them in prayer. Both, as the smoke rose to their lips, as the fire crept up to the vital parts, continued solemnly to aver the innocence, the Catholic faith of

^b " Et je vous prie
Que de vers la visage Marie,
Dont notre Seigneur Christ fust nez,
Mon visage vous me tornez."
Godfrey de Paris.

the Order. The King himself sat and beheld,^c it might seem without remorse, this hideous spectacle; the words of Du Molay might have reached his ears. But the people looked on with far other feelings. Stupor kindled into admiration; the execution was a martyrdom; friars gathered up their ashes and bones and carried them away, hardly by stealth, to consecrated ground; they became holy reliques.^d The two who wanted courage to die pined away their miserable life in prison.

The wonder and the pity of the times which immediately followed, arrayed Du Molay not only Du Molay a prophet. in the robes of the martyr, but gave him the terrible language of a prophet. "Clement, iniquitous and cruel judge, I summon thee within forty days to meet me before the throne of the Most High."^e According to some accounts this fearful sentence included the King, by whom, if uttered, it might have been heard. The earliest allusion to this awful speech does not contain that striking particularity, which, if part of it, would be fatal to its credibility, the precise date of Clement's death. It was not till the year after that Clement and King Philip passed to their account. The poetic relation of Godfrey of Paris^f simply states that

^c "Ambo rege spectante," Zantifiet. He adds that he had this from an eye-witness — "qui hæc vidit scriptori testimonium præbuit." The Canon of Liège is said to have been born towards the end of the fourteenth century. Could he have conversed with an eye-witness of this scene on March 11, 1313? But many of these chronicles are those of the convent rather than of the individual monks. This was continued to 1462. See above.

^d Villani (S. Antoninus as usual

copies Villani), "E nota che la notte appresso che 'l detto maestro e 'l compagno furono martorizzati, per frati religiosi le loro corpora e ossa come reliquie sante furono raccolte e portate via in sacri luogi."

^e Ferretus Vicentinus.

^f "S'en vendra en brief temps meschie
Sur celz qui nouz dampnent a tort
Dieu en vengera nostre mort,
Seignors, dit il, sachiez sans tère,
Que tous celz qui nous sont con
trère
Per nous en uront a soupir."

Godfrey de Paris

Du Molay declared that God would revenge their death on their unrighteous judges. The rapid fate of these two men during the next year might naturally so appal the popular imagination, as to approximate more closely the prophecy and its accomplishment. At all events it betrayed the deep and general feeling of the cruel wrong inflicted on the Order; while the unlamented death of the Pope, the disastrous close of Philip's reign, and the disgraceful crimes which attainted the honour of his family, seemed as declarations of Heaven as to the innocence of their noble victims.⁵

The health of Clement V. had been failing for some time. From his Court, which he held at Carpentras, he set out in hopes to gain strength from his native air at Bordeaux. He had hardly crossed the Rhône when he was seized with mortal sickness at Roquemaure. The Papal treasure was seized by his followers, especially his nephew; his remains were treated with such utter neglect that the torches set fire to the catafalque under which he lay, not in state. His body, covered only with a single sheet, all that his rapacious retinue had left to shroud their forgotten master, was half burned (not, like those of the Templars, his living body) before alarm was raised. His ashes were borne back to Carpentras and solemnly interred.^b

Clement left behind him evil fame. He died shamefully rich. To his nephew (nepotism had begun to

⁵ Besides other evidence, a singular document but recently brought to light establishes the date of the execution of Du Molay, March 11, 1313. The Abbot and Convent of St. Germain aux Près claimed jurisdiction over the island where the execution took place.

They complained of the execution as an infringement on their rights. The Parliament of Paris decided in their favour.—Les Olim, published by M. Beugnot, Documents Inédits, t. ii. p. 599.

^b Franciscus Pepinus in Chronico.

prevail in its baneful influence) he bequeathed not less than 300,000 golden florins, under the pretext of succour to the Holy Land. He had died still more wealthy, but that his wealth was drained by more disgraceful prodigality. It was generally believed that the beautiful Brunisand de Foix, Countess of Talleyrand Perigord, was the Pope's mistress: to her he was boundlessly lavish, and her influence was irresistible even in ecclesiastical matters. Rumour ran that her petitions to the lustful Pontiff were placed upon her otherwise unveiled bosom. Italian hatred of a Transalpine Pope, Guelfic hatred of a Ghibelline Pope, may have lent too greedy ear to these disreputable reports; but the large mass of authorities is against the Pope; in his favour hardly more than suspicious silence.¹

Yet was it the ambition of Clement to be one of the ecclesiastical legislators of Christendom. He had hoped that his new book of Decretals would have been enrolled during his life with those of his predecessors. It was published on the 12th of March, but the death of Clement took place before it had assumed its authority.

From Boniface VIII. to Clement V. was indeed a precipitous fall. After this time subtle policy rather than conscious power became the ruling influence of the Papedom. The Popes had ceased absolutely to command, but they had not ceased to a great extent to govern. Nor in these new arts of government was Clement without considerable skill and address. Notwithstanding his abandonment of Rome, his dangerous neighbourhood to the King of France, his general subserviency to his hard master, his doubtful, at least, if not utterly

¹ Villani, ix. 58. The Guelfic Villani. "Contra cujus pudicitiam fama laboravit."—Albert Mussat, p. 606. Hist. Languedoc, xxix. 35, 138.

disreputable personal character, his looseness and his rapacity, he had succeeded in saving the fame of his predecessor, in averting the fatal blow to the Popedom of which it had been impossible to conceive the consequences—he had prevented the condemnation of a Pope as a notorious heretic and a man of criminal life—his disinterment, on which Philip at one time insisted, and the public burning of his body. Clement succeeded by calm, stubborn determination, by watching his time, and wisely calculating the amount of sacrifice which would content the resentful and vengeful King. His other great service to Christendom was the preservation of Europe from the absolute domination of France. If indeed Henry of Luxemburg had established the imperial dominion in Italy in the absence of the Pope, it is difficult to speculate on the results. Clement himself took alarm : he yielded promptly to the demands of the King of France, and inhibited the war waged against Philip's kinsman, King Robert of Naples, as against a vassal of the Church. He looked with distrust on Henry's league with the anti-papal house of Arragon, with Frederick of Sicily. The Pope might have been constrained ere long to become again a Guelf.

Philip the Fair survived Pope Clement only a few months.^k Philip, at forty-six, was an old and worn-out man. Though he had raised the royal power to such unprecedented height ; though he had laid the foundation of free institutions, not to be developed to maturity ; though successful in most of his wars ; though he had curbed, at least, the rebellious Flemings, and added provinces to his realm, above all the great city of Lyons ; though in close alliance, by marriage, with

^k Clement died April 20, Philip Nov. 29, 1314.

England; though he had crushed the Templars, and obtained much wealth from his share of the spoil; though the Church of France was filled in its highest sees by his creatures; though the Pope was under his tutelage, most of the Cardinals his subjects: yet the last years of his reign were years of difficulty, disaster, and ignominy. His financial embarrassments, notwithstanding his financial iniquities, grew worse and worse. The spoils of the Templars were soon dissipated. His tampering with the coin of the kingdom became more reckless, more directly opposed to all true economy, more burthensome and hateful to his subjects, less lucrative to the Crown.^m The Lombards, the Jews, had been again admitted into the realm, again to be plundered, again expelled. The magnificent festival at Paris, where he received the King of England with unexampled splendour, consummated his bankruptcy.

But upon his house there had fallen what wounded the haughty, chivalrous, and feudal feelings of the times more than did the violation of high Christian morals. The wives of his three sons, the handsomest men of their day, were at the same time accused of adultery, and with men of low birth. The paramours of Margu rite and of Blanche, daughters of Otho IV. and the wives of Louis and Charles, the elder and younger sons of Philip, were two Norman gentlemen, Philip and Walter de Launoi. Confession, true or false, was wrung from these men by torture; but confession only made their doom more dreadful. They were mutilated, flayed alive, hung up by the most sensitive parts to die a lingering death.ⁿ Many persons,

* Compare Sismondi.

ⁿ Contin. Nangis, p. 68. Chroniq. de St. Denys, p. 146.

men and women, of high and low rank, were tortured to admit criminal connivance in the crimes of the princesses: some were sewed up in sacks and thrown into the river, some burned alive, some hanged. The atrocity of the punishments shows how deeply the disgrace sank into the heart of the King, himself too cold and severe to indulge such weaknesses. Margu rite and Blanche were shaven and shut up in Ch teau-Gaillard. Margu rite was afterwards strangled, that her husband might marry again: Blanche divorced on the plea of parentage. Her splendid dowry alone saved the life, if not the honour, of Jane of Burgundy, the wife of the second son, Philip of Poitiers. She had brought him the sovereignty of Franche Comt , which he would forfeit by her death or divorce. Jane was shut up; no paramour was produced: the Parliament of Paris declared her guiltless, and Philip received her again to all the dignity of her station.

In this attainder to the honour of the royal house of France some beheld the vengeance of Heaven for the sacrilegious outrage at Anagni; others for the iniquitous persecution of the Templars.*

Philip had fallen into great languor, yet was able to amuse himself with hunting. A wild boar ran under the legs of his horse, and overthrew him. He was carried to Fontainebleau, and died with all outward demonstrations of piety. The persecutor of Popes, the persecutor of the great religious Order of Knighthood, had always shown the most submissive reverence for the offices of the Church; he had been

Death of
Philip.

* "Forse per lo peccato commesso | profettiz , e forse per quello, che
per loro padre, nella presura di Papa | adoper  ne' Templieri, come e detto
Bonifazio, come il Vescovo d' Ansiona | addietro."—G. Villani, ix. 6

most rigid in the proscription of heresy or of suspected heresy. The fires had received one more victim, Margu rite de la Porette, who had written a book of too ardent piety on the love of God.^p Philip died, giving the sagest advice to his sons of moderation, mercy, devotion to the Church; lessons which he seemed to lull himself to a quiet security that he had ever fulfilled to the utmost.^q

It is singular, even in these dark times, to see Christianity still strong at her extremities, still making conquests of Heathenism. The Order of the Knights Templars had come to a disastrous and ignominious end. The Knights of St. John or of the Hospital, now that the Holy Land was irrecoverably lost, had planted themselves in Rhodes, as a strong outpost and bulwark of Christendom, which they held for some centuries against the Turco-Mohammedan power; and, when it fell, almost buried themselves in its ruins. At the same time, less observed, less envied, less famous, the Teutonic Order was winning to itself from heathendom (more after the example of Charlemagne than of Christ's Apostles) a kingdom, of which the Order was for a time to be the Sovereign, and which hereafter, conjoined with one of the great German Principalities, was to become an important state, the kingdom of Prussia.

^p Continuat. Nangis. Sismondi, Hist. des Franais, ix, p. 286.

^q After the death of Philip's Queen, unless belied one of the most lustful of women, Guichard Bishop of Troyes was arrested on suspicion of having poisoned her. He was tried before the Archbishop of Sens and the Bishops

of Orleans and Auxerre. The proofs failed, but the Bishop was kept in prison. Nor, though another man accused himself of the crime, was the Bishop reinstated in his see.—Contin. Nangis, p. 61. Compare Michelet, Hist. des Franais, vol. iv, c. 5.

The Orders of the Temple and of St. John owed, the former their foundation, the latter their power and wealth, to noble Knights. They were military and aristocratic brotherhoods, which hardly deigned to receive, at least in their higher places, any but those of gentle birth. The first founders of the Teutonic Order were honest, decent, and charitable burghers of Lubeck and Bremen. After the disasters which followed the death of Frederick Barbarossa, when the army was wasting away with disease and famine before Acre, these merchants from the remote shores of the Baltic ran up the sails of their ships into tents to receive the sick and starving. They were joined by the brethren of a German Hospital, which had been before founded in Jerusalem, and had been permitted by the contemptuous compassion of Saladin to remain for some time in the city. Duke Frederick of Swabia saw the advantage of a German Order, both to maintain the German interests and to relieve the necessities of German pilgrims. Their first house was in Acre.†

But it was not till the Mastership of Herman of Salza that the Teutonic Order emerged into distinction. That remarkable man has been seen adhering in unshaken fidelity to the fortunes of the Emperor Frederick II.;‡ and Frederick no doubt more highly honoured the Teutonic Order because it was commanded by Herman of Salza, and more highly esteemed Herman of Salza as Master of an Order which alone in Palestine did not thwart, oppose, insult the German Emperor. It is the noblest testimony to the wisdom, unimpeached virtue, honour, and religion of Herman of Salza, that the suc

† Compare Voigt, *Geschichte Preussens*, and authorities.

‡ See vol. vi. p. 269.

cessive Popes, Honorius III., Gregory IX., Innocent IV., who agreed with Frederick in nothing else, with whom attachment to Frederick was enmity and treason to the Church or absolute impiety, nevertheless vied with the Emperor in the honour and respect paid to the Master Herman, and in grants and privileges to his Teutonic Knights.

The Order, now entirely withdrawn, as become useless, from the Holy Land, had found a new sphere for their crusading valour: the subjugation and conversion of the heathen nations to the south-east and the east of the Baltic.[†] Theirs was a complete Mohammedan invasion, the Gospel or the sword. The avowed object was the subjugation, the extermination if they would not be subjugated, of the Prussian, Lithuanian, Esthonian, and other kindred or conterminous tribes, because they were infidels. They had refused to listen to the pacific preachers of the Gospel, and pacific preachers had not been wanting. Martyrs to the faith had fallen on the dreary sands of Prussia, in the forests and morasses of Livonia and Esthonia.

The Pope and the Emperor concurred in this alone—in their right to grant away all lands, it might be kingdoms, won from unbelievers. The charter of Frederick II. runs in a tone of as haughty supremacy as those of Honorius, Gregory, or Innocent IV.[‡]

[†] Pomerania had been converted in a more Christian manner in the twelfth century, chiefly by the exertions of Bishop Otho of Bamberg, whose romantic life, with that of his convert, Prince Mitzlav, has been well wrought by my nephew, the Rev. R. Milman, into a Romance (I wish it had been History, or even Legend). I trust this

note is pardonable nepotism. See also Mone, *Nordische Heidenthum*, or Schroeck, xxv. p. 221, &c., for a more historical view.

[‡] “Auctoritatem eidem magistro concedimus, terram Prussiae cum viribus domus, et totis conatibus invadendi, concedentes et confirmantes eidem magistro, successoribus ejus, et domu.

These tribes had each their religion, the dearer to them as the charter of their liberty. It was wild, no doubt superstitious and sanguinary.^x They are said to have immolated human victims.^y They burned slaves, like other valuables, on the graves of their departed great men.

For very many years the remorseless war went on. The Prussians rose and rose again in revolt; but the inexhaustible Order pursued its stern course. It became the perpetual German Crusade. Wherever there was a martial and restless noble, who found no adventure, or no enemy, in his immediate neighbourhood; wherever the indulgences and rewards of this religious act, the fighting for the Cross, were wanted, without the toil, peril, and cost of a journey to the Holy Land, of the old but now decried, now unpopular Crusade; whoever desired more promptly and easily to wash off his sins in the blood of the unbeliever, rushed into the Order, and either enrolled himself as a Knight, or served for a time under the banner. There is hardly a princely or a noble house in Germany which did not furnish some of its illustrious names to the roll of Teutonic Knights.

So at length, by their own good swords, and what

sue in perpetuum, tam prædictam terram quam a præscripto duce recipiat ut promisit, et quamcunque aliam dabit. Necnon terram, quam in partibus Prussie, Deo favente, conquirit, velut *vetus et* debitum jus Imperii, in montibus, planicie, fluminibus, nemoribus et in mari, ut eam liberam sine omni servitio et exactione teneant et immunem. Et nulli respondere proinde teneantur.”—Grant of Frederick II.,

Voigt, Geschichte Preussens, iii. p. 440.

^x Compare Mone, i. 79.

^y A burgher of Magdeburg was burned as a sacrifice to their gods by the Nantangian Prussians. The lot had fallen on him. A Nantangian chief begged him off, as having enjoyed his hospitality. Twice again he threw, still the lot was against him. He was immolated.—Voigt, iii. 206.

they no doubt deemed a more irrefragable title, the grants of Popes and Emperors, the Order became Sovereigns; a singular sovereignty, which descended, not by hereditary succession, but by the incorporation of new Knights into the Order. The whole land became the absolute property of the Order, to be granted out but to Christians only: apostasy forfeited all title to land.

Their subjects were of two classes: I. The old Prussians converted to Christianity after the conquest. Baptism was the only way to become a freeman, a man. The conquered unbeliever who remained an unbeliever, was the slave, the property of his master, as much as his horse or hound. The three ranks which subsisted among the Prussians, as in most of the Teutonic and kindred tribes, remained under Christianity and the sovereignty of the Order. The great landowners, the owners of castles held immediately of the Order: their estates had descended from heathen times. These were, 1, the Withings; 2, the lower vassals; and 3, those which answered to the Leudes and Lita of the Germans, retained their rank and place in the social scale. All were bound to obey the call to war, to watch and ward; to aid in building and fortifying the castles and strongholds of the Order.

II. The German immigrants or colonists. These were all equally under the feudal sovereignty of the Order. The cities and towns were all German. The Prussian seems to have disdained or to have had no inclination to the burgher life. There were also German villages, each under its Schultheiss, and with its own proper government.

Thus was Christendom pushing forward its borders. These new provinces were still added to the dominion

of Latin Christianity. The Pope grants, the Teutonic Order hold their realm on the conjoint authority of the successors of Cæsar and of St. Peter. As a religious Order, they are the unreluctant vassals of the Pope; as Teutons, owe some undefined subordination to the Emperor.*

* Voigt is a sufficient and trustworthy authority for this rapid sketch. The Order has its own historians, but neither is their style nor their subject attractive.

CHAPTER VI.

Pope John XXII.

CLEMENT V. had expired near Carpentras, a city about fifteen miles from Avignon, near the foot of Mont Ventoux. At Carpentras the Conclave assembled, according to later usage, in the city near the place where the Pope had died, to elect a successor to the Gascon Pontiff. Of twenty-three Cardinals six only were Italians. With them the primary object was the restoration of the Papacy to Rome. The most sober might tremble lest the Papal authority should hardly endure the continued if not perpetual avulsion of the Popedom from its proper seat. Would Christendom stand in awe of a Pope only holding the Bishopric of Rome as a remote appanage to the Pontificate, only nominally seated on the actual throne of St. Peter, in a cathedral unennobled, unhallowed by any of the ancient or sacred traditions of the Cæsarean, the Pontifical city? Would it endure a Pope setting a flagrant example of non-residence to the whole ecclesiastical order; no longer an independent sovereign in the capital of the Christian world, amid the patrimony claimed as the gift of Constantine and Charlemagne, but lurking in an obscure city, in a narrow territory, and that territory not his own? Avignon was in Provence, which Charles of Anjou had obtained in right of his wife. The land had descended to his son Charles II. of Naples; on the death of Charles, to the ruling sovereign, Robert of

Naples.^a The Neapolitan Angevine house had still maintained the community of interests with the parent monarchy; and this territory of Provence, Avignon itself, was environed nearly on all sides by the realm of France, that realm whose king, not yet dead, had persecuted a Pope to death, persecuted him after death.

The Italian, but more especially the Roman, Cardinals contemplated with passionate distress Rome deserted by her spiritual sovereign, and ^{The Italian Cardinals.} deprived of the pomp, wealth, business of the Papal Court. The head and representative of this party was the Cardinal Napoleon, of the great Roman house of the Orsini. A letter addressed by him to the King of France shows this Italian feeling, the hatred and contempt towards the memory of Clement V. He bitterly deplores, and expresses his deep contrition at his own weakness, and that of the other Cardinals at Perugia, in yielding to the election of Clement. The Church under his rule had gone headlong to ruin. Rome was a desert; the throne of St. Peter, even that of Christ himself, broken up; the patrimony of St. Peter held rather than governed, by robbers; Italy neglected and abandoned to strife and insurrection; not only cathedral churches, the meanest prebends, had run to waste.^b Of twenty-four Cardinals created by Pope Clement not one was sufficient for the high office.^c The Italian Cardinals had been treated by him with contemptuous

^a See, further on, the purchase of Avignon from Queen Joanna of Naples by Clement VI.

^b "Quasi nulla remansit Cathedralis Ecclesia, vel alicujus ponderis præbendula, quæ non sit potius perditioni quam provisioni exposita."—Baluz. Collect. Act. No. XI.III. p. 289.

^c Such seems the sense of the (corrupt?) passage.—"De XXIV. Cardinalibus quos in Ecclesiâ posuit nullus in Ecclesiâ est repertus, quæ cum aliquando credita fuit, sufficiens (tes?) habere personas, sed per eum fuit hoc." The twenty-four, I presume, include all Clement's promotions, some dead.

disrespect, never summoned but to hear some humiliating or heart-breaking communication. The Pope had more than meditated, he had determined, the utter ruin of the Church, the removal of the Papacy to some obscure corner of Gascony: "When I," said the Orsini, "and the Italian Cardinals voted for the elevation of Pope Clement, it was not to remove the Holy See from Rome, and to leave desolate the sanctuary of the Apostles."

The Italians, conscious of their weakness, were dis-
 posed to an honourable compromise. They
 The Gascons, put forward William Cardinal of Palestrina, a Frenchman by birth, and of high character. But in the French faction there was still an inner faction, that of the Gascons. Clement had crowded his own kindred and countrymen into the Conclave.^d Against them the French acted with the Italians. The contest within the Conclave was fierce, and seemed interminable. Provisions began to fail in Carpentras. The strife spread from the Cardinals within to their partisans without. The Gascons rose, attacked the houses of the Italian Cardinals, and plundered the traders and merchants from the South. A fierce troop of knights and a host of rabble approached and thundered at the gates of the Conclave "Death to the Italian Cardinals!" A fire broke
 Conclave out during the attack and pillage of the houses,
 flies. which threatened the hall of Conclave. The Cardinals burst through the back wall, crept ignobly through the hole, fled and dispersed on all sides.^e

^d "Guasconi ch' erano gran parte del collegio voleano la elezione in loro, e li Cardinali Italiani e Franceschi e Provenzali non acconsentivano; si erano stati gastigati del Papa Guascone."—Villani, ix. 79.

^e Bernard Guido apud Baluzium.

Epist. Encyc. Cardinal. Italarum de incendio urbis Carpenteratensis apud Baluz. No. XLII. Raynald. sub ann. 1314. The Continuator of Nangis attributes the fire to a nephew of Clement V. See also the Constitution of John XXII against the robbers and incendiaries.

For two years and above three months the Papal See was vacant.^f Impatient Christendom began to murmur. The King of France, Louis le Hutin, was called upon to interpose both by the general voice and by his own interests. The office devolved on his brother Philip, Count of Ponthieu. By him the reluctant Cardinals were brought partly by force, partly inveigled, to Lyons. The pious fraud of Philip was highly admired. He solemnly promised that they ^{Conclave at Lyons.} should not be imprisoned in the Conclave, but have free leave to depart wherever they would. Philip was suddenly summoned to Paris by the death of the King of France, but he left the Conclave under strict and severe guard.

At length they came to a determination. James, Cardinal of Porto, was proclaimed Pope, and assumed the name of John XXII. ^{John XXII.} John was of small, as some describe him, of deformed stature. He was born in Cahors, of the humblest parentage, his father a cobbler. This, if true, was anything but dishonourable to the Pope, still less to the Church. During an age when all without was stern and inflexible aristocracy, all functions and dignities held by feudal inheritance, in the Church alone a man of extraordinary talents could rise to eminence; and this was the second cobbler's son who had sat on the throne of St. Peter.^g The cobbler's son asserted and was believed by most to have a right to decide conflicting claims to the Imperial Crown, and aspired to make an Emperor of his own.^h

^f 2 years, 3 months, 17 days.—Bernard Guido.

^g See Life of Urban IV., vol. iv. p. 413.

^h Baluzius produces a passage from

Albertinus to make out John XXII. of knightly or noble birth. The controversy may be seen in Baluzius and in a note to Raynaldus sub ann.

James of Cahors had followed in his youth the fortunes of an uncle, who had a small trading capital, to Naples. He settled in that brilliant and pleasant city. He was encouraged in the earnest desire of study by a Franciscan friar, but refused to enter the Order. The poor scholar was recommended to the instructor of the King's children. Though in a menial office, he manifested such surprising aptitude both for civil and canon law, that he was permitted to attend the lectures of the teachers. The royal favour shone upon him. He was employed in the kingdom of Naples, in Rome, and in other parts of the world; took orders, received preferment, was appointed by Boniface VIII. Bishop of Frejus, in the Provençal dominions of the King of Naples. But he preferred to dwell on the sunny shores of Naples; perhaps under the immediate sight of the King. While he was on a mission to Clement V. the great see of Avignon fell vacant. To the astonishment of the King of Naples it was conferred on the obscure Bishop of Frejus. The Pope explained that the promotion was made on account of strong recommendatory letters from the King himself. The letters had been written, and the royal seal affixed, without the King's knowledge. But the consummate science of the Bishop of Avignon in both branches of the law won the confidence and favour of the Pope. He was created Cardinal for his invaluable services, especially at the Council of Vienne in the two great causes—the condemnation of the Templars, and the prosecution of the memory of Boniface. All Europe watched the Conclave of Lyons. Robert of Naples thought of his former subject, the companion of his studies. A Pope attached to Naples would aid him in the reconquest of Sicily, and in his strife as head of the Guelfs in Italy against Pisa and the Lombard

tyrants. The influence, the gold of Naples overcame the scruples of the stubborn Italians; Napoleon Orsini yielded; the cobbler's son of Cahors was supreme Pontiff.¹ It is said that he made a promise never to mount horse or mule till he should set out on his return to Italy.^k He kept his vow; after his coronation at Lyons, he dropped down the Rhône Oct. 2, 1316. in a boat to Avignon, and there fixed the seat of his Pontificate.

This establishment in Avignon declared that John XXII. was to be a French not an Italian Pontiff, the successor of Clement V., not of John at Avignon. the long line of his Roman ancestors. His first promotion of Cardinals, followed by two others, Promotion of Cardinals. at different periods of his Pontificate, spoke plainly to Christendom the same resolute purpose. His choice might seem even more narrow than that of his predecessor, not merely confined to French, or even to Gascon prelates, but to men connected by birth or office with his native town of Cahors. The College would be almost a Cahorsin Conclave. Of the first eight, one was his own nephew, three from the diocese of Cahors, one French bishop the Chancellor of the King of France, one Gascon, only one Roman an Orsini. Of the next seven, one was from the city, three from the diocese of Cahors (of these one was Archbishop of Salerno, one Archbishop of Aix); the three others were French or Provençals. At a third promotion of ten Cardinals, six

¹ This circumstantial account of the life of John XXII. in Ferretus Vicentinus (Muratori, R. I. S. ix. 1166) bears strong marks of veracity. By another account, the Election was by compromise. The Cardinals agreed to elect the Pope named by the Cardinal

of Porto: he named himself.—See note of Mansi on Raynaldus. Villani in loc. cit. Compare also the close of encyclic letter addressed to Robert of Naples.

^k Ptolem. Luc. apud Baluz. p. 198 note, p. 793.

were French prelates; three Romans, one Archbishop of Naples, one an Orsini, one a Colonna; one Spaniard, Bishop of Carthage.^m The Bishop alone of his native city of Cahors, as will soon appear, met with a different fate from the terrible justice or vengeance of the Pope.

The relation of John XXII. to the throne of France was greatly changed from that of his predecessor. There was no Philip the Fair to extort from the reluctant Pope, as the price of his advancement, the lavish gratification of his pride, avarice, or revenge: no powerful King, backed by a fierce nobility, and a people proud of their dawning freedom. A rapid succession of feeble sovereigns held in turn the sceptre of France, and then sank into obscurity. The house of Philip was paying condign retribution in its speedy and mysterious extinction. Divine Providence might have looked with indifference (so Christendom was taught, and Christendom was prone enough, to think) on all his extortions, cruelties, and iniquities to his subjects, on even his barbarities; but nothing less than the shame of his sons, each the husband of an adulteress, and the utter failure of his line, could atone for his impious hostility to the fame, person, and memory of Boniface. Louis le Hutin (the disorderly) had died during the Conclave at Lyons, after a reign of less than two years.ⁿ He had caused his first wife, accused of violating his bed, to be strangled or smothered; and had married Clementine of Hungary, niece of the King of Naples. He died leaving her pregnant. The death of her son soon after his birth,^o

^m The promotions. Dec. 17, 1316, Dec. 20, 1320, Dec. 16, 1328. — Bernard Guado, pp. 134, 138, 140.

ⁿ From Nov. 24, 1314, to June 5, 1316.

^o Born Nov. 15, 1316, died five days after.

left the throne to the second son of Philip the Fair, Philip the Long. The accession of Philip (though his brother left a daughter) asserted the authority and established for ever the precedent of what was called the Salic Law, which excluded females from the succession to the throne of France.^p

The Pope in all the briefs addressed with great frequency to the King, divulged his knowledge of the weakness of the crown. His language ^{The Pope's brief.} is that of protecting and condescending interest, but of a superior in age and learning, as in dignity. He first rebukes the King's habit of talking in church on subjects of business or amusement. He reproves the national disrespect for Sunday; on that day the courts of law were open, and it was irreverently chosen as a special day for shaving the head and trimming the beard. He assumed full authority on all subjects which might be brought under ecclesiastical discipline. Of his sole authority he separated eight new suffragan bishoprics, Montauban, Lombes, St. Papoul, Rieux, Lavaur, Mirepoix, Saint Pons, and Alais, from the great Archbishopric of Toulouse. He did the same with the Archbishopric of Narbonne. His power and his reputation for learning caused his mandates for the reformation of the Universities of Paris, Orleans, and Toulouse to be received with respectful submission. His chief censure is directed against the scholastic theology, which had in some of its distinguished and subtile writers begun to show dangerous signs of insubordination to the Church of Rome. William of Ockham was deeply concerned in the rebellious movement of part, it might at one time seem of the whole, of the Franciscan body: he had pub-

^p Sismouidi, *Hist. des Français*, ix. p. 352.

lished the powerful treatise in defence of the Imperial against the Papal power.

But the profound learning of John XXII., though reputed to embrace not only theology, but both branches of the law, the canon and civil, was but the melancholy ignorance of his age. He gave the sanction of the Papal authority and of his own name to the belief, to the vulgar belief, in sorcery and magic. He sadly showed the sincerity of his own credulity, as well as his relentless disposition, by the terrible penalties exacted upon wild accusations of such crimes. The old poetic magic of the Greeks and Romans, the making an image of wax which melted away before a slow fire, and with it the strength and life of the sorcerer's victim, was now most in vogue. Louis le Hutin was supposed to have perished through this damnable art: half-melted images of the King and of Charles of Valois had been disco-

Trials for
magic.

vered or produced; a magician and a witch were executed for the crime.^q Even the Pope's life was not secure either in its own sanctity, or by the virtue of a serpentine ring lent to John by Margaret Countess of Foix. The Pope had pledged all his goods, moveable and immoveable, for the safe restoration of this invaluable talisman; he had pronounced an anathema against all who should withhold it from its rightful owner. A dark conspiracy was formed, or supposed to be formed, in which many of the Cardinals were involved, against the life of the Pope.^r Whether they were jealous of his elevation, or resented his establishment of the See at Avignon, appears not; but the Cardinals made their peace. The full vengeance of the Pope fell on a victim of the next rank, not only guilty,

^q Sismondi, ix. 358.

^r Raynaldus sub ann. 1317, c. lii.

it was averred, of meditating this impious deed, but of compassing it by diabolic arts. Gerold, Bishop of the Pope's native city, Cahors, had been highly honoured and trusted by Clement V. On this charge of capital treason, he was now degraded, stripped of his episcopal attire, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment. But the wrath of the Pope was not satiated. He was actually flayed alive and torn asunder by four horses.^s There is a judicial proceeding against another Bishop (of Aix) for professing and practising magical arts at Bologna. A fierce and merciless Inquisition was set up; tortures, executions multiplied; many suffered for the manufacture of the fatal waxen images, a physician and several clerks. The Pope issued an edict of terrible condemnation, thereby asserting the reality of countless forms of sorcery, diabolic arts, dealing with evil spirits, shutting familiar devils in looking-glasses, circlets, and rings.^t How much human blood has been shed by human folly!

But if the unrelenting Pope thus commanded the sacrifice of so many pretenders, if indeed they were really pretenders, to secret dealing with supernatural agencies, it was no imaginary danger to the Papal power which threatened it from another quarter. During the papacy of John XXII., that fanatic movement towards religious freedom which arose in the Mendicant Orders broke out, not only into secret murmurs against the wealth and tyranny of the Church, but proclaimed doctrines absolutely subversive of the whole sacerdotal system, and entered into perilous alliance with every attempt to restore the Ghibelline and Imperial interest in Italy. The Church itself—the most

^s Bernard Guido, 488, 680. Raynaldus, 1317, liv. Gallia Christiana, i p. 138.

^t Raynaldus, *ibid.*

zealous, obedient, Papal part of the Church—gave birth to these new sectaries, who professed never to have left it, and to be themselves the Church within the Church.

The great schism of the Franciscan Order has already
 Schism. been traced in its commencement; and in the rise and consequences of that inevitable question, the possession of property. We have seen the worldly successor of the unworldly St. Francis, Elias, ruling, and repelled from the Order; the succession of alternately mild and severe generals till the time of John of Parma. We have seen the vacillating policy of the Popes, unwilling to estrange, unable to reconcile the irreconcilable tenets of these antagonists, who had sworn to the same rule, honoured the same Founder, called themselves by the same name, professed to live the same life. The mitigation of the rule by Gregory IX., and what seemed the happy evasion of Innocent IV., were equally repudiated by the more severe. Innocent would relieve them from the treason to the principles of their Master, and at the same time attach them more closely to the Papal See, by declaring all their property, houses, domains, church furniture, to be vested in the Pope. The usufruct only was granted by him to the brethren. The Spirituals disclaimed the worldly equivocation. The famous constitution of Nicolas III. reawakened, encouraged, seemed at least to invest with the Papal sanction, their austerest zeal. However indulgent some of its provisions, its assertion of their tenets was almost beyond their hopes. The total abdication of property was true meritorious holiness.^a Christ, as an example of perfection, was abso-

^a “Abdicatio proprietatis hujusmodi omnium rerum non tam in speciali quam etiam in communi propter Deum meritoria est, et sancta, quam et Christus viam perfectionis ostendens, verbo docuit, et exempli

lutely, entirely a Franciscan Mendicant. The use of a scrip or purse was only a tender condescension to human infirmity.^x

So grew this silent but widening schism. The Spiritualists did not secede from the community, but from intercourse with their weak brethren. The more rich, luxurious, learned, became the higher Franciscans; the more rigid, sullen, and disdainful became the lowest. While the church in Assisi was rising over the ashes of St. Francis in unprecedented splendour, adorned with all the gorgeousness of young art, the Spiritualists denounced all this magnificence as of this world; the more imposing the services, the more sternly they retreated among the peaks and forests of the Apennines, to enjoy undisturbed the pride and luxury of beggary. The lofty and spacious convents were their abomination;^y they housed themselves in huts and caves; there was not a single change in dress, in provision for food, in worship, in study, which they did not denounce as a sin—as an act of Apostasy.^z Wherever the

The Fraticelli, the Spiritualists.

firmavit. Nec his quisquam potest assistere.”—Nicolas III. Bulla Excit. &c.

^x “Egit namque Christus et docuit opera perfectionis; egit etiam infirma, sicut interdum in fugâ patet et loculis.”—Ibid. The adversaries of the Spiritualists objected that our Lord and his apostles had a purse. “Yes,” they rejoined, “but it was entrusted to Judas: if it had been for our example, it would have been given to St. Peter.”

^y The Devils held a chapter (it was revealed to a Brother) against the Order. Their object was to nullify the three vows. “La Pauvreté, en enduisant à faire des somptueux mo-

nastères et magnifiques couvents; la Chastité, alléchant les religieux à la familiarité et fréquentation des femmes; l’Obedience, en pourchassant l’appuy et la faveur des princes seculiers, et par dissensions domestiques.”—Chroniques, ii. xxxv.

^z The tenets of the Spirituals are summed up in a citation from an ancient Carta d’Appella in the possession of the author of a “Vita di S. Francesco; Foligno, 1824.” He calls it a Philippic or Verrine Oration. “Peccato la tonaca perchè ampliata e non vile nel prezzo è nel colore. Peccato l’ interior vesta, perchè non accordata se non nel caso di necessità.

Franciscans were, and they were everywhere, the Spiritualists were keeping up the strife, protesting, and putting to shame these recreant sons of the common father.

But the Spiritualists might have kept up this civil war within the Order; they might have denounced as sin the tunic, if too ample, or not coarse or dull enough in colour; the provision of corn in granaries; the possession of money for the purpose of exchange; the receiving of money for masses or funerals; the accepting bequests, though not in money; the building splendid convents, wearing the costly priestly dresses, and having gold and silver vessels for the altar; the partial bestowal of absolution on benefactors and partisans, from interest, not from merit; they might have stood aloof in perpetual bitter remonstrance against the pride, wealth, luxury, and the ambition to rule in courts, prevalent among their more famous brethren: all this was without peril to the Church or to the Pope. It was their revolutionary doctrine, superadded to and superseding that of the Church, which made them objects of terror and persecution.

Like all religious enthusiasts, the Spiritual Franciscans were lovers of prophecy. In their desert hermitages, in their barefoot wanderings over the face of

Peccato la cerca del grano, del vino e d'altri generi, ad il farne la provisione nelle cantine, e nelle granai infino a tutto l' anno. Peccato più d'averne in avanzo, è venderlo a cambiate per comprar robe per le tonace; così qualunque altra vendita di cera, di pennoni, di mortori, &c., sebbene remanesse il denaro presso el Sindaco. Peccato il ricever per mezza di questo il danaro per le Messe e Funerali, o spontaneamente offerta in limosine, o questuando da devoti per far festa

nelle chiese dell' ordine: e peccato il servirsene lo stesso de' legati, specialmente fissi col fondo, qualunque fosse il titolo ed ancorchè fossino pagabili in roba, e non in moneta. *Peccato le fabbriche de' Conventi, perchè grandi e spaziosi*, e paramenti sacri, perchè de seta con oro e argento, e per lo stesso motivo le altri utensili della chiesa. E peccato finalmente la assoluzione che si danno nel Sacramento della Penitenzia, a i Benefattori e amorevoli, perchè data per interesse e contra il merito."

the earth, amid the ravines of the Apennines, or the volcanic cliffs of Apulia, in their exile in foreign climes, in their pilgrimages, and no less in their triumphant elation when Popes seemed to acknowledge the severest rule of St. Francis to be Christian perfection, they brooded over strange revelations of the future, which were current under various names, either interpretations of the Apocalypse, or prophecies of a bolder tone. The Abbot Joachim, of Flora in the kingdom of Naples, lives as a Saint in the Calendar The Abbot Joachim. of Rome; but the Everlasting Gospel ascribed to the Abbot Joachim was to Christianity, especially the Christianity of the Latin Church, what Christianity had been to Judaism, at once its completion and abolition. The Abbot Joachim, indeed, was not only revered as a Saint, the whole Church invested him in the mantle of a prophet; the Churchmen themselves accepted as of divine revelation all his wild ravings or terrible denunciations which could be directed against her enemies. Frederick II. had been doomed to ruin in the vaticinations of the Abbot of Flora; but the Church discovered not, or refused to discover, what elsewhere, among the more daring enthusiasts, passed for the true, if concealed, doctrines of Joachim; the Everlasting Gospel. This either lurked undetected in his acknowledged writings, in the Concordance of the Old and New Testaments, and his Comment on Jeremiah; or at least for half a century it awoke neither the blind zeal of its believers, nor the indignant horror of the higher ranks of the Church. So long the Abbot Joachim was an orthodox, or unsuspected prophet.^a But the holy horror

^a The Abbot Joachim was born A.D. 1145, died A.D. 1202. Pope Honorius III. avouched his orthodoxy. The Acta Sanctorum (vol. vii.) and the Annals of the Cistercian Order contain the Life of Joachim, his austerities, his

broke out at once on the publication, at the close of this period, of the Introduction to the Everlasting Gospel. The Introduction placed what was called the "doctrine of Joachim" in a distinct and glaring light, perhaps first wrought it into a system.^b The Church stood aghast. The monks of the older Orders, the Dominicans, the more lax and the more learned Franciscans, the Clergy, the Universities, the Pope himself, joined in the alarm. We have heard, in Paris, the popular cry, the popular satire; we have heard the powerful voice of William of St. Amour seizing this all-dreaded writing, to crush both Orders of Mendicants, and expel them from the University.^c It was denounced at Rome: the Pope Alexander IV. commanded the instant and total destruction of the book. Excommunication was pronounced against all who should possess the book, unless it was brought in and burned within a stated time. No one would own the perilous authorship. It was ascribed by the more orthodox Franciscans to a Dominican, by the Dominicans more justly to a Franciscan. There is little doubt that it came either from John of Parma, or his school.

The proscription of the book but endeared it to its followers. The visions were only the more authentic,

preaching, his wonders. The heterodoxy on the Trinity imputed to him by the fourth Lateran Council was probably founded on misapprehension, at all events was fully recanted. The best and most full modern account of this remarkable man is in Hahn, *Geschichte der Ketzler im Mittelalter*, t. iii. p. 72 *et seqq.* Stuttgart, 1850. See on his writings authentic and unauthentic, p. 82.

^b According to Hahn, there was a gradual approximation to the Book, through unauthentic writings attributed to Abbot Joachim, in which he is made more and more furiously to denounce the abuses in the Church. This is the new Babylon.—p. 101.

^c Compare back, vol. vi. 353, and extracts from *Roran de la Rose* and *Rutebœuf*.

the greater the terror they excited. With the Spiritualists the heresy of John of Parma, and his concern with the prophecies, was among his chief titles to sanctity; on the other hand, skilfully detached from these opinions, he became, like Joachim himself, a canonised saint.^d The doctrine of the Introduction blended with and stimulated all the democracy of religion, which would bring down the pomp, pride, wealth of the hierarchy, and bow it before the not less proud poverty of the Franciscans. The enemies of the Order proclaimed it as the universal doctrine of the Friar Minors: they would hear no disclaimer. The Spirituals, the Fraticelli, chiefly the Tertiaries of the Order, disdained to disclaim, they rather openly avowed their belief, and scoffed at their more prudent or less faithful brethren. But the Everlasting Gospel, as announced in the Introduction, was the absolute abrogation of the Christian faith. There were to be three estates of man, three revelations of God. Judaism was that of the Father, Christianity that of the Son; that of the Holy Ghost was to come, was coming, was harbingered by irrefragable signs. At the commencement, and in the middle of the thirteenth century, its dawn was more and more anxiously awaited. All ecclesiastical, all political events were watched and interpreted as its preparation. Passages were probably interpolated in Joachim's real writings, announcing the two great new Orders, more especially St. Francis and his followers, as the Baptists of this new Gospel.^e The new Gospel was to throw into the shade the four anti-

^d Acta Sanctorum, March xix.

^e The Life of Christ by S. Bonaventura, by its close assimilation of S. Francis to the Saviour (singularly contrasted

as it is with the genuine Gospels, which it might seem intended to supersede among the Franciscans), appears almost designed to break this hostile collision.

quoted Evangelists. The Old Testament shone with the brightness of the stars, the New with that of the moon, the Everlasting Gospel with that of the sun.¹ The Old Testament was the outer Holy court, the New the Holy place, the Everlasting Gospel the Holy of Holies. No omens of the coming of the new kingdom of the Holy Ghost were so awful or so undeniable as the corruptions of the Church: and those corruptions were measured not by a lofty moral standard, but by their departure from the perfection, the poverty of St. Francis. The Pope, the hierarchy, fell of course. But who was to work the wonderful change? Whether the temporal sovereign, Frederick II., returned to earth, or a prince of the house of Arragon, Frederick of Sicily, varied with the circumstances of the times, and the greater activity and success of Ghibellinism. The more religious looked for an unworldly head, St. Francis himself, or some one in the spirit of St. Francis.

On minds in this state of expectant elation, came, at the close of the century, the sudden election of Cœlestine V. to the Popedom of Cœlestine V., one of themselves in lowliness and poverty, a new St. Francis, to the Spiritualists a true Spiritual. His followers were by no means all believers in the Everlasting Gospel, but doubtless many believers in the Everlasting Gospel were among his followers; and in him they looked for the dawn of the kingdom of the Holy Ghost. Many probably of both classes crowded into the Order sanctioned by the Pope; the Cœlestinians, who, though suppressed by Boniface VIII., still maintained their profound reve-

¹ "Autant che per sa grant valeur
soit de clarté soit de chaleur, -
Surmonte le Soleil la Lune,
Qui trop est plus trouble et trop brune."
Roman de la Rose. 12436.

rence for the one genuine Pope, were bound together in common brotherhood by their sympathy with Cœlestine and their hatred of Boniface: they became a wide if not strictly organised sect.

During the Papacy of Boniface, perhaps at the height of his feud with King Philip, arose another ^{John Peter Oliva, A.D. 1297.} prophet, or what was even more authoritative, an interpreter of Scriptural prophecy. John Peter Oliva sent forth among the severe and fiery Franciscans of Provence, his Comment on the Apocalypse, consentient with, or at least sounding to most ears like, the Everlasting Gospel.^g John Peter Oliva beheld, in the seven seals of that mysterious vision, seven states of the Church:—I. That of her foundation under the Apostles. II. The age of the Martyrs. III. The age of the exposition of the faith, and the confutation of insurgent heresies. IV. That of the Anchorites, who fled into the desert to subdue the flesh, enlightening the Church like the sun and the stars. V. That of the monastic communities, both secular and regular, some severe, some condescending to human infirmity, but holding temporal possessions. VI. The renovation of the true evangelic life, the overthrow of Antichrist, the final conversion of the Jews and Gentiles, the re-edification of the primitive Church. The VIIth was to come: it was to be on earth a wonderful and quiet pre-enjoyment of future glory, as though the heavenly Jerusalem had descended upon the earth; in the other life, the resurrection of the dead, the glorification of the saints, the consummation of all things.^h The sixth period had dawned, the antiquated Church was to be done away;

^g The opinions of John Peter Oliva are known by the report of an inquisitorial commission, on sixty articles, but the articles are cited in the works of Oliva's commentary.—Barluzii Miscell. i. ^h Article I.

Christ's law was to be re-enacted; his life and crucifixion to be repeated. St. Francis took the place of Christ; he was the Angel of the opening of the sixth seal; he was one with Christ—he was Christ again scourged, Christ again crucified—the image and the form of Christ.ⁱ He had the same ineffable sanctity; his glorious stigmata were the wounds of Christ.^k The rule of St. Francis was the true, proper evangelic rule, observed by Christ himself and by his Apostles.^m As Christ rose again, so should the perfect state of Franciscanism rise again. John Peter Oliva asserted the truth of the visions of Abbot Joachim, as interpreted in the famous Introduction; Oliva's exposition of the Apocalypse was but in another form the Everlasting Gospel. The Father in the Law had revealed himself in awe and terror; Christ as the Wisdom of God in the Gospel. In the third age the Holy Ghost was to be as a flame and furnace of divine love; there was to be a kind of revel of delights and spiritual joys, in which there was not only to be a simple intelligence, but a savour and palpable experience of the truth of the Son—of the power of the Father.ⁿ Both systems affixed the name

ⁱ “ In sexto statu rejectâ carnali Ecclesiâ et vetustate prioris sæculi renovabitur Christi lex et vita et crux. Propter quod in ejus initio Franciscus apparuit Christi plagis characterizatus, et Christo totus conrucifixus et configuratus.”—IX.

^k In its spirit and much of its language, Oliva anticipated the profane Liber Conformitatum.

^m “ Regulam Minorum per Beatum Franciscum editam esse verè et propriè illam Evangelicam quam Christus seipso servavit et Apostolis imposuit.”

S. Francis, like the Redeemer, had his twelve apostles.—A. XXII. XXXI.

ⁿ “ Ergo in tertio tempore (there were three *Times*, as in the Everlasting Gospel, though seven Periods) Spiritus Sanctus exhibebit se ut flammam et fornacem divini amoris . . . et ut tripudium spiritualium jubilationum et jucunditatum, per quam non solum simplici intelligentiâ, sed etiam gustativâ et palpativâ experientiâ videbitur omnis veritas Sapientiæ Verbi Dei Incarnati et potentiæ Dei Patris.”

of Babylon, the great harlot, the adulteress, to the dominant Church—to that which asserted itself to be the one true Church.^o Oliva swept away as corrupt, superfluous, obsolete, the whole sacerdotal polity—Pope, prelates, hierarchy. Their work was done, their doom sealed: these were old things passed away; new things, the one universal rule of St. Francis, was to be the faith of man. As Herod and Pilate had conspired against Christ, so the worldly, luxurious, simoniacal Church arrayed herself against St. Francis. In her drunkenness of wrath, the Church flamed out against spiritual men, but her days were counted, her destiny at hand.

These wild doctrines and wild prophecies mingled in other quarters with other obnoxious opinions, all equally hostile to the great sacerdotal monarchy of Rome, and to the ruling hierarchy. Of all these kindred heresiarchs the strangest in her doctrine and in her fate was Wilhelmina, a Bohemian. She appeared in Milan, and announced her Gospel, a profane and fantastic parody, centering upon herself the great tenet of the Fraticelli, the reign of the Holy Ghost. In her, the daughter, she averred, of Constance Queen of Bohemia, the Holy Ghost was incarnate. Her birth had its annunciation, but the angel Raphael took the place of the angel Gabriel. She was very God and very woman. She came to save Jews, Saracens, false Christians, as the Saviour the true Christians. Her human nature was to die as that of Christ had died. She was to rise again and ascend into heaven. As Christ had left his vicar upon earth, so Wilhelmina left the holy nun, Mayfreda. Mayfreda was to celebrate the mass at her sepulchre,

^o The Inquisitors drew this inference and justified it by these quotations:— ipse intelligit Ecclesiam Romanam. . . .
quæ non est meretrix sed virgo.”—
“ In toto isto Tractatu per Babylonem | civ. Conf. vii. xix.

to preach her gospel in the great church at Milan, afterwards at St. Peter's in Rome. She was to be a female Pope, with full papal power to baptise Jews, Saracens, unbelievers. The four Gospels were replaced by four Wilhelminian evangelists. She was to be seen by her disciples, as Christ after his resurrection. Plenary indulgence was to be granted to all who visited the convent of Chiaravalle, as to those who visited the tomb of our Lord: it was to become the great centre of pilgrimage. Her apostles were to have their Judas, and were to be delivered by him to the Inquisition. But the most strange of all was that Wilhelmina, whether her doctrines were kept secret to the initiate,^p lived unpersecuted, and died in peace and in the odour of sanctity. She was buried first in the church of St. Peter in Orto; her body was afterwards carried to the convent of Chiaravalle. Monks preached her funeral sermon; the Saint wrought miracles; lamps and wax candles burned in profuse splendour at her altar; she had three annual festivals; her Pope, Mayfreda, celebrated mass.

A.D. 1211 to
1301.

It was not till twenty years after that the orthodoxy of the Milanese clergy awoke in dismay and horror; the wonder-working bones of S. Wilhelmina were dug up and burned; Mayfreda and one Andrea Saramita expiated at the stake the long unregarded blasphemies of their mistress.^q

^p Had the assimilation of S. Francis to the Saviour taken off the startling profaneness of this?

^q Muratori, Ant. Ital. 70, from the original records. The author of the Annals of Colmar calls her an English-woman of extraordinary beauty.—Apud Boehmer, Fontes, i. p. 89. In the process there is no charge of unchastity. Corio, Storia di Milano, p.

159, gives the popular view in which the sect is accused of all the promiscuous licence which is the ordinary charge against all secret religions. In the same document, which embraces the process of Wilhelmina, is that of Stephen of Corcorezo, who was accused of favouring heretics, and as concerned in the murder of the Inquisitor, Petrus Martyr.

Nor was this wild woman the only heretic who cheated the unsuspecting wonder of the age into saint worship; there were others whose piety and virtues won that homage which was rudely stripped away from the heterodox. Pongiluppo of Ferrara had embraced Waldensian, or possibly Albigensian opinions: he was of the sect known in Bagnola, a Provençal town. He died at Ferrara; he was splendidly buried in the cathedral, and left such fame for holiness that the people crowded round his tomb; his miracles seemed so authentic that the Canons, the Bishop himself, Albert, a man esteemed almost a saint at Ferrara, solemnly heard the cause, and received the deposition of the witnesses. But the stern Dominican Inquisitors of Ferrara had a keener vision; the sainted Pongiluppo was condemned as an irreclaimable, a relapsed heretic; the Canons were reduced to an humiliating acknowledgment of their infatuation.^f

Of far higher, and therefore more odious name, was Dolcino of Novara, who became the fierce apostle of a new sect, of kindred tenets with the Fraticelli or spiritual Franciscans, with some leaven of the old doctrines of the Patarines (the Puritans) of Lombardy. His was not a community of meek and dreaming enthusiasts, or at the worst of stubborn and patient fanatics; they became a tribe, goaded by persecution to take up arms in their own defence, and only to be suppressed by arms. The patriarch and protomartyr of this sect was Gerard Sagarelli of Parma, then a stronghold of the Spiritualists.

^f Muratori adduces other instances of these fraudulent yet successful attempts at obtaining the honours of Saintship.—Ibid.

Gerard Sagarelli seemed to aspire to found a new Order more beggarly than the most beggarly of the Franciscans: he had much of the Fraticelli, but either of himself determined or was driven to form a separate community. Pope Innocent had at first rejected St. Francis as a simple half-crazy enthusiast, so the Franciscans drove Sagarelli from their doors as a lunatic idiot. As Francis aspired to the perfect imitation of the Saviour, so Sagarelli to that of the Apostles. He still haunted the inhospitable cloister and church of the Franciscans, which would not receive him as their inmate. A lamp burned day and night within the precincts, which cast its mysterious light on a picture and representation of the Apostles. Sagarelli sat gazing on the holy forms, and thought that the apostle rose within his soul. He determined to put on the dress in which the painter, according to his fancy or according to convention, had arrayed the holy twelve. His wild long hair flowed down his shoulders; his thick beard fell over his breast; he put rude sandals on his bare feet; he wore a tunic and a cloak clasped before, of the dullest white and of the coarsest sackcloth; he had a cord, like the Franciscans, round his waist. He had some small property, a house in Parma; he sold it, went out into the market-place with his money in a leathern purse, and, taking the seat on which the Podestà was accustomed to sit, flung it among the scrambling boys, to show his contempt and utter abandonment of the sordid dross. He was not content to be an apostle; he would surpass St. Francis himself in imitation of their Master, not of his death but of his infancy. He underwent circumcision; he laid himself in a cradle, was wrapped in swaddling-clothes, and, it is said, even received the breast from some wild female

believer.^s In Parma, Sagarelli, though for several years he prayed and preached repentance and beggary in the streets, had a very few followers: in the neighbourhood his loud shrill preaching had more success. At length at Faenza, he who had been beheld with contempt or compassion at Parma, became the head of an undisciplined yet organised sect. He found his way back, if not into the city, into the diocese of Parma.

The utmost aim of Sagarelli was the foundation of a new Mendicant brotherhood: for those who had taken the vow of poverty would not endure one poorer than themselves: his followers called themselves the Apostles, or the Apostolic Brethren, or the Perfect. They were but Spiritual Franciscans under a new name.

Obizzo Sanvitale, the Bishop of Parma, was of the Genoese house of Fieschi, nephew of Innocent IV.¹ This haughty and turbulent Prelate permitted not the Inquisitors to lord it in his city; the Inquisitors were the victims of popular insurrection. When in the act of burning some hapless heretics they were attacked, dispersed, driven from the city. Parma defied an interdict, and for a time refused to readmit the Inquisitors.

Sagarelli himself had now been preaching above

^s Read Mosheim's account of Sagarelli, *Geschichte des Apostel-Ordens*, in his two volumes of German Essays. This Essay is a model of the kind of Dissertation to which later inquirers have added little or nothing. Mosheim doubts, I hardly see why, this last extravagance.

¹ Obizzo Sanvitale was promoted by Alexander IV., the great patron of Franciscanism, A.D. 1257. In the Baptistry, which he began to build at Parma—“*mirabilis architecturæ,*

picturis non spernendis exornatus”—appeared in high honour the genuine likeness of S. Francis. Obizzo was a strong defender of ecclesiastical rights: he laid an interdict on the Prætor (the Podestà?) of Parma. He bore persecutions with a masculine spirit; and defended himself so well against his calumniators, that he was presented by Boniface VIII. (A.D. 1293) to the archiepiscopate of Ravenna. There he died, and was buried in the *Franciscan* convent.—Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, ii. p. 227

twenty years, either despised as a fanatic or dissembling his more obnoxious opinions. He was summoned before the Bishop, who, in compassion or disdain, not only spared his life, but allowed the beggar of beggars the crumbs from his lordly table. The sect of Sagarelli was no doubt among those unauthorised

A.D. 1280.

Orders against which Honorius IV. issued his Bull. Sagarelli was banished from Parma; he returned again, and was thrown into prison; some of his followers were burned. At length, under the Pontificate of Boniface VIII., in the year of jubilee, when Christendom was under its access of passionate devotion, the Inquisition, the Dominican Inquisition, resumed its full power in Parma. Sagarelli was seized; once he abjured, or seemed to abjure, but the remorseless Manfred, the Great Inquisitor, would not lose his prey. That abjuration surrendered him as a relapsed heretic to his irrevocable doom: he was condemned to the flames. By one wild account of this terrible scene, in the midst of the fire the voice of the heretic was heard, "Help, Asmodeus." At once the fire went out. Thrice it was rekindled, thrice at that powerful spell it smouldered into harmlessness. Nothing was to be done but to appeal to a more potent name. The Host was brought, the heretic again bound on the pile, again the flames blazed. "Help, Asmodeus," again cried Sagarelli. There was a wailing in the air: "One stronger than ourselves is here." The fire did its terrible work. Such things were believed in those days. No one shuddered with horror at the body of the merciful Saviour being employed on such fearful office."

▪ I owe this reference to Jacob ab Aquis, in the recently published *Monumenta Hist. Sabandiae* to Sign. Mariotti, Dolcino de Novara.

Dolcino, born at a village near Novara, either Prato or Tragantino, caught up the prophet's mantle ^{Dolcino of Novara.} at the fiery departure of Sagarelli. The new heresiarch was no humble follower: he had neither the prudence nor the timidity of the elder teacher to disguise or to dissemble his opinions. He was a man cast in an iron mould; not only with that eloquence which carries away a host of hearers with an outburst of passionate attachment and is gone, but that which sinks deep into the souls of men, and works a stern, enduring, death-defying fanaticism. He must have possessed wonderful powers of organisation, and, as appeared, by inspiration, extraordinary military skill. Obscurity and mystery, perhaps even in his own day, hung over the youth and early life of Dolcino. He was said to have sprung from a noble family, the Torielli; he was not improbably the son of a married Lombard priest. Either before or immediately after the death of Sagarelli, he was in the Tyrol, and in the diocese of Trent, where lurked no doubt many heirs of the doctrines of Arnold of Brescia: it might be too of the Waldensians and other antisacerdotalists. The stern Franciscan Bishop of Trent, BuonAccolti, drove him back to the southern side of the Alps. As the acknowledged head of the Apostolic Brethren, on the death of Sagarelli he was expelled from Milan, from Como, from Brescia, from Bergamo. According to one account he took refuge beyond the Adriatic Sea, among the wild forests of Dalmatia.*

But he was everywhere present by his doctrines. His

* Mosheim seems not to doubt the residence in Dalmatia. His reasoning is plausible; but on this point alone that severe writer yields, it appears to me, to conjecture.

epistles became the Gospel, his prophecies the Koran of the Order. Of his three epistles, which contained the chief part of his doctrines, two still survive. Like the Franciscan Spiritualists, the Apostles of Parma had their periods and eras in the history of mankind. There were four states of man:—I. That of the Patriarchs and Prophets, when not only marriage but polygamy was lawful for the propagation of the human race.⁷ II. That of Christ and his Apostles; who had taught that virginity was better than marriage, poverty than riches, to live without property better than to hold possessions. This period closed with St. Silvester. III. In the third, the evil and iron age, the love of the people began to wax cold towards God and their neighbour: the Church assumed wealth and temporal power. All Popes, from St. Silvester, had been prevaricators and deceivers, except Coelestine V. The rule of St. Benedict, the life of the monks, had been the saving goodness of that age. When the love of the monks as of the clergy grew cold, virtue and holiness had perished; all were evil, haughty, avaricious, unchaste. St. Francis and St. Dominic had surpassed the rule of St. Benedict and of the monks, yet this too was but for a time. The iron age was to come to a terrible end, which was to sweep away Pope, prelates, monks, friars. But, IV. Gerard of Parma began the fourth, the golden age—that of true Apostolic perfection. The Dolcinites too had their Apocalyptic interpretations. The Seven Angels were, of Ephesus, St. Benedict; of Pergamus, Pope Silvester; of Sardis,

⁷ Compare Mosheim's very ingenious reading of a passage in the epistle of Dolcino: "In quo statu laudabat bonum fuisse numerum *eum* (*uxorum* M.) causâ multiplicandi genus humanum."—Dissert., p. 246.

St. Francis; of Laodicea, St. Dominic; of Smyrna, Gerard of Parma; of Thyatira, Dolcino of Novara; of Philadelphia, the future great and holy Pope.

Against the ruling Popes they were more fearless and denunciatory. The Popedom was the great ^{Anti-Papal} harlot of the Revelation. In the latter days ^{tenets.} there were to be four Popes, the first and last good, the second and third bad. The first good Pope was Cœlestine V., whose memory they revered with the zeal of all the idolaters of poverty. The first of the bad was Boniface VIII. The third they did not name: no one could be at a loss for their meaning.^a As to the fourth, John XXII. had not ascended the throne before Dolcino and most of his partisans had perished; but it would have been impossible to have conceived (nor could the apostles, the successors of Dolcino, conceive) a Pontiff, except from his lowly birth, so opposite to the unworldly, humble, poverty-loving ideal of a Pontiff. According to them, no Pope could give absolution who was not holy as St. Peter; in poverty absolutely without property; in lowliness not exciting wars, persecuting no one, allowing every one to live in freedom of conscience.^a They were amenable to no Papal censure (from some lingering awe they left to the Pope the power of issuing decrees and appointing to dignities); but no Pope had authority to command them, by excommunication, to abandon the way of perfection, nor could they be summoned before the Inquisition for following after that same perfection.^b

^a Benedict XI. seems to have been passed over.

^a "Non fovendo guerras, nec aliquem persequendo, sed permittendo

vivere quemlibet in suâ libertate."—Additament., Hist. Dolcin. apud Muratori.

^b Hist. Dolcin. p. 435.

The Dolcinites had their strong but peculiar Ghibellinism. Their prophetic hopes rested on the Sicilian House of Arragon. Frederick of Arragon was to enter Rome on the Nativity, in the year 1335 (so positive and particular were they in their vaticinations), to become Emperor, to create nine Kings (or rather, according to the Apocalypse, ten), to put to death the Pope, his prelates, and the monks. The Church was to be reduced to her primitive Apostolic poverty. Dolcino was to be Pope, if then alive, for three years; and then came the Perfect Pope, by special outpouring of the Holy Ghost. It might be Dolcino himself holy as St. Peter, or Gerard of Parma restored to life. Then Antichrist was to come; the Perfect Pope was to be rapt for a time to Paradise with Enoch and Elias; after the fall of Antichrist he was to return and convert the whole world to the faith of Christ.

Dolcino and his followers first appear as an organised community in Gattinara and the Val Sesia in Piedmont. That beautiful region at the foot of the lower Alps, with green upland meadows, shaded by fine chestnut groves, and watered by the clear Sesia and the streams which fall into it, had been but recently possessed by the great Ghibelline family, the Blandrate. To this land believers in these popular tenets flocked from all quarters, from the Alpine valleys, from beyond the Alps. They proclaimed that all duties were to yield to the way of perfection: the bishop might quit his see, the priest his parish, the monk his cloister, the husband his wife, the wife her husband, to join the one true Church. Dolcino in one respect discarded, or (it is doubtful which) boasted himself superior in asceticism to the severity of most of the former sects. Each, like the apostle, had "a sister:" with that sister every one

A.D. 1304.
In the Val
di Sesia.

aspired to live in the most unblemished chastity. It is even said, but by their enemies, that they delighted to put that chastity to the most perilous trial. Dolcino had a sister like the rest, the beautiful Margarita, a Tyrolese maiden of a wealthy family, of whom he had become enamoured with profane or holy love, when beyond the Alps. By him she was asserted to be a model and miracle of perfect purity: his enemies of course gave out that she was his mistress.^c At the close of their dark destiny she was taunted as though she were pregnant. "If so," replied the confident followers of Dolcino, and Dolcino himself, "it must be by the Holy Ghost." All this, however, is belied by other and not less unfriendly authorities.^d But these peaceful sectaries (peaceful, at least, as far as overt acts, if hardly so in their all-levelling doctrines) could not be long left in peace. In all respects but in their denunciation against the hierarchy they were severely orthodox: they accepted the full creed of the Church, and only super-added that tenet. Already, soon after his accession, Clement V., at the solicitation of the clergy and the Guelfs of the neighbourhood, had issued his Bull for their total extirpation. Already there were menaces,

^c "Secum ducebat Amasiam, nomine Margaritam, quam dicebat se tenere more sororis in Christo, providè et honestè; et quia deprehensa fuit esse gravida, ipse et sui asseverant esse gravidam de Spiritu Sancto."—Additament., p. 459.

^d Mosheim justly observes that in the authentic documents there is no charge of licentiousness against the earlier or later apostles; neither in the bulls of Honorius IV. or Nicolas

IV., nor in any reports of the trials, more especially the very curious examination at a much later period of Peter of Lugo at Toulouse, in Limborch, Hist. Inquisitionis. "Allein die Gerichtsregister, so wohl zu Tholouse, als zu Vercelli sprechen sie von dieser Anklage los, weil sie ihnen keine Unreinigkeit, keine Uebertretung der Gesetze von der Zucht und Keuschheit vorwerfen."—P. 305.

signs, beginnings of persecution: the Inquisition was in movement. Almost at once the sect became an army. On a mountain called Balnera, or Valnera, in the upper part of the valley of the Sesia, they pitched their camp and built their town. Dolcino himself found hospitable reception with a faithful disciple, a rich landowner, Milano Sola. They gave out that God might be worshipped as well in the deep forest, on the snowy crag, as in the church.

The first attempt at hostility against them ended in shameful discomfiture. The Podestà of Varallo headed an attack: he was ignominiously defeated, taken, redeemed at a large ransom. Dolcino and his followers (they were now counted by thousands) were masters of the whole rich Val Sesia. But the thunderclouds were gathering. No sooner was the Papal Bull proclaimed than the Guelfic nobles met in arms: they took a solemn oath in the church of Scopa to exterminate these proscribed and excommunicated heretics. This formidable league wanted not a formidable captain. The Bishop Rainieri, of the noble and Guelfic family of the Avogadri, now ruled in Vercelli. He set himself at the head of the crusade. Dolcino's followers had become soldiers, Dolcino a general of more than common sagacity and promptitude. He made a bold march along the sharp mountain-ridge, and seized a strong position, the bare rock, still called Monte Calvo. The

despair of fanaticism is terrible. The conflicts

June 1.

became murderous on both sides. Thrice at least the forces of the Bishop suffered disgraceful defeat. The Bishop saw his whole diocese a desolate waste: even the churches were sacrilegiously despoiled, the images of the Madonnas were mutilated, the holy vessels carried off. They broke the bells and threw down the

oelfries.* But the stronger the position of Dolcino, the greater his weakness. How were thousands to find food on those bleak inhospitable crags? The aggression of their persecutors had made them warriors: it now made them robbers. Society had declared war against them: they declared war against society. Famine knows no laws: it makes laws of its own. They proclaimed their full right of plunder, for without plunder they could not live: all was to them just, except the desertion of their faith.^f Frightful tales are told of their cruelty in their last wild place of refuge; for they left in the mountain hold, on the bare rock, the weak and defenceless of their body; set off again with the same promptitude and intelligence, over mountain ridges and deep snows, and seized a still stronger height, Mount Zerbal, called after them Monte Gazzaro, above Triverio. Here for some months they defied all attack. The Bishop, grown wiser by perpetual discomfiture, was content to blockade all the passes. Starvation grew more intense; the women and the weakly, who had been left on Monte Calvo, found slowly their way to Mount Zerbal, and aggravated the distress. The women, if they did not join in the war, urged on the fierce irresistible sallies from their unapproachable mountain hold. They burst at one time on the town of Triverio, and thoroughly sacked it. It was on the prisoners in these expeditions that they wreaked their most merciless vengeance, or rather determined to turn them most relentlessly to their advantage. Gibbets were erected

* S. Mariotti well observes that their hostility to the bells and belfries is intelligible enough. They were rung as a tocsin to rouse the country in case of an attack by the Dolcinites.

“Item derobare, carcerare et quæcunque mala inferre *Christianis*, potius quam mori et destruere eorum fidem.”
—Additamenta.

upon the brow of the sheer precipice, on which the inhabitants from below might behold their husbands, brothers, and kindred suspended, and slowly yielding up their lives. It was made known that they might be ransomed for food, or what would purchase food.^g Redemption at such a price could not be permitted by the inflexible Bishop. Men hunted like wild beasts, became wild beasts; they were reduced to the scantiest, most loathsome food; they ate everything indiscriminately; it is said as an aggravation during Lent.^h They had passed the wild dreary winter on these steep, dismal, hungry peaks. They ate rats, hares, dogs, chopped grass, even more horrible food. Jerusalem or Numancia beheld not more frightful banquets than the mountain camp of Dolcino, yet would they not surrender their lives or their faith. Nor was their noble resistance obscure or without its fame. It is difficult not to discern some Ghibelline admiration, perhaps sympathy, in Dante's famous lines,ⁱ though Dante, placing the message to Dolcino, "that he provision well his mountain fortress," in the mouth of Mahomet, may seem as it were to disclaim all compassion for the heresiarch. "Unless Dolcino did this he might come before his time to his awful doom." Famine at length did its slow work. The Novarese, or rather the Vercellese, won at length his dear-bought

Capture of
Gazzaro.

^g "Clam multos alios viros suspendunt, videntibus uxoribus et parentibus, quia non volebant se redimere ex arbitrio prædictorum canum."—Hist. Dolcin. p. 437. The ransom of the Podestà of Varallo had been exacted in kind, that is, in means of subsistence.

^h The preceding Lent they had fasted like good churchmen. They had lived

on chopped hay, moistened with some kind of fat liquid.

ⁱ "Or di a frà Dolcin', dunque che s' armi,
Tu chè forse vedrai il Sole in breve,
S' egli non vuol qui tosto seguitarmi.
Si di vivanda, chè stretta di neve
Non rechi la vittoria al Noarese,
Ch' altrimenti acquistiar non saris lieve."

victory. The besieged were worn to thin, feeble, and ghostly shadows. Mount Zerbai was stormed. A thousand were massacred, drowned in their flight in the rivers, or burned. Of the prisoners not one would recant: all perished rather in the flames.^k

Three—Dolcino, Longino, and Margarita—were reserved for a more awful public execution. The Pope was consulted as to their doom. The answer was cold, decisive. "Let them be delivered to the secular arm." Vercelli was to behold the triumph of her Bishop and the vengeance wreaked on the rebels to the Church. A tall stake was raised on a high and conspicuous mound. Margarita was led forth. Notwithstanding her sufferings, exposure, famine, agony, incarceration, such, it is strangely said, was her beauty that men of rank offered her marriage if she would renounce her errors.^m She was yet heiress, too, of her great estate in the Tyrol. But whether it was earthly or heavenly love, whether the passionate attachment of the fond consort, or the holy and passionless resolution of the saint, the noble woman had nothing of woman's weakness; she endured unfaltering to the end; she endured the being consumed by a slow fire in the sight of Dolcino himself; his calm voice was heard beseeching, admonishing her, as she shivered in the flames, to be faithful to the close. Dolcino was as courageous under his own even more protracted and agonising trial. He

Maundy
Thursday.

Death of
Margarita.

^k "Atque ipsâ die plures quam mille ex ipsis, tum flammæ, tum flumini submersi, ut præfatur, tum gladiis et morti crudelissimæ dati sunt."—Hist. Dulcini.

^m "Illa vero imbuta doctrinâ ipsius nunquam deseruit mandata illius. Ideo

pertinacius in eo fuit firma, in hoc errore, consideratâ sexûs infirmitate. Nam cum mille nobiles quærerent eam in uxorem, tum propter pulchritudinem illius, tum propter ejus pecuniam magnam, nunquam potuit flecti."—Benvenuto. Imola. Muratori, S. R. I. x. 1122.

repelled all those who were sent to disturb his last hours with their polemic arguments. He and Longino were placed on a lofty waggon, in which were blazing pans of fire; men with hot pincers tore away their flesh by morsels, and cast them into the fire; then wrenched off their limbs. Once, and once only, as the most sensitive part of man was rent away, he betrayed his anguish by the convulsion of his face. At length, having been thus paraded through the land, both, Longino in Biella, Dolcino in Vercelli, were released from their long death.ⁿ

These terrible scenes took place under the rule and by the authority of Clement V. Had John been on the Papal throne he would have even more rudely clashed with the spiritual notion of an unworldly and a poor Pope. Clement V. had been accused of avarice. John XXII. was even more heavily charged with the same vice; and no Pope plunged more deeply into the political affairs of his time than John XXII. His acts were at once a bitter satire and reproach on his predecessor, and an audacious proclamation of his own

ⁿ The principal authority for this account is the Hist. Dulcini, in the ninth volume of Muratori, S. R. I., with the Additamenta, the author of which professes to have seen and to cite two of Dolcino's epistles. "But," he says, "they kept their doctrines secret, and held the right to deny them before the Inquisition." Dolcino, he avers, had abjured three times. Some circumstances are from Benvenuto da Imola's commentary on Dante.—Muratori, Ant. Ital. v. 6. This passage of my history was written before the publication of Sig. Mariotti's (?) "Dolcino and his

Times." Sig. Mariotti (it is not his real name) has the great advantage of perfect local knowledge of the whole scene of Dolcino's career (I had myself, before I thought much of Dolcino, travelled rapidly through part of the district). The work is one of great industry and accuracy, marred somewhat, to my judgement, by Italian prolixity, and some Italian passion. I am indebted to it for some corrections and additions. Sig. Mariotti has demolished, it seems to me, the religious romance of Professor Biagiolini, translated as history by Dr. Krone, "Dolcino und seine Zeit." Leipsic, 1844.

rapacity. In the fourth year of his Pontificate, John commenced a process which rent off the last veil from the enormous wealth of Clement, and showed at the same time that the new Pope was as keenly set on the accumulation of Papal treasures. Clement, before his death, had deposited a vast amount in money, in gold and silver vessels, robes, books, precious stones and other ornaments, with important instruments and muniments, in the Castle of Mouteil, in the Venaisin. The lord of the castle, the Viscount de Lomenie and Altaville, on Clement's death, seized, and, as it was said, appropriated all this treasure. Besides this he had received sums of money due to the deceased Pontiff. The Viscount was summoned to render an account. He and all persons in possession of any part of this property were to pay it into the hands of the Pope's treasurer, under pain of excommunication, and, as to the Viscount, of interdict on his territory. Those in the Court of Rome were to pay in twenty days, those in France in two months, those beyond the Alps in three. The demand against the Viscount was more specific. It amounted, in the whole, to 1,774,800 florins of gold. Of this 300,000 had been destined by Pope Clement to the recovery of the Holy Land; 320,000 to pious uses; 100,000 was a debt of the King of France; 160,000 due from the King of England. The Viscount was a dangerous man. No one ventured to serve the citation: it was fixed on the doors of the church at Avignon. The Viscount at length deigned or thought it prudent to appear before the Court. He acknowledged the trust of 300,000 florins: he was prepared to pay it when the crusade should begin. The baffled Pope, after much unseemly dispute, yielded to a compromise. The Viscount was to pay

150,000 : the other moiety was to remain in his hands, on condition that he or his heirs should furnish one thousand men-at-arms whenever the King of France, the King of England, the King of Castile, or the King of Sicily, or the elder son of either, should take the cross. The sum said to have been devoted to pious uses had dwindled to 200,000 florins. The Viscount declared that it had been already expended, chiefly by others : he was a simple knight, ignorant of money matters. The Pope was manifestly incredulous : he mistrusted the accounts ; and no doubt only acquiesced in the acquittal of the Viscount from despair of extorting restitution. He had but shown his own avarice and his weakness.^o

If the sect of Dolcino had been nearly extirpated before the accession of Pope John, the Spiritualists and the Fraticelli, the believers in the prophecies of the The Fraticelli. Abbot Joachim and John Peter Oliva, swarmed not only in Italy, but the latter especially, in the neighbourhood of the Papal Court of Avignon. These sordid and unseemly squabbles for money would not be lost upon them. All these men alike pertinaciously held that the sole perfection of Christianity was absolute poverty, without possession, personal or in common. They wore a peculiar dress, which offended by its strange uncouthness : they cast aside the loose long habit, appeared in short, tight, squalid garments, just sufficient to cover their nakedness.^p Even of their dress and of their food—as they immediately put it into their mouths—they had only the use : they declared the

^o Vit. apud Baluz.

^p “ Perfectionem evangelicorum Christi in quâdem monstruosâ deformitate, et nihil in futurum reservando

a viris evangelicæ professionis vitam ducentibus, esse confingunt.”—Baluz. Miscell. ii. 247.

birds of the air and the beasts of the field to be their examples. Granaries and cellars were a wicked mistrust of God's providence.

The age was too stern and serious to laugh to scorn, or to treat these crazy tenets with compassion; and they struck too rudely against the power and the interests of the hierarchy, against the Pope himself, for contemptuous indifference. With all this was moulded up a blind idolatry of St. Francis and of his rule—his rule, which was superior in its purity to the Four Gospels—and an absolute denial of the Papal authority to tamper with or relax that rule. “There were two Churches: ^a one carnal, overburdened with possessions, overflowing with wealth, polluted with wickedness, over which ruled the Roman Pontiff and the inferior Bishops: one spiritual, frugal, without uncleanness, admirable for its virtue, with poverty for its raiment; it contained only the Spirituals and their associates, and was ruled by men of spiritual life alone.” They had firm confidence in the near approach of the times foreshown by John Peter Oliva, when the Pope, the Cardinals, all Abbots and Prelates, should be abolished, perhaps put to the sword. Such doctrines were too sure of popularity, possibly among some of the higher orders, assuredly among the wretched serfs, the humbler and oppressed vassals, the peasantry, the artisans of the towns, the mass of the lower classes. Multitudes no doubt took refuge from want, degradation, tyranny, in free and self-righteous mendicancy.⁷ They were spreading everywhere (the followers of Dolcino appeared in Poland), and everywhere they spread they disseminated

General dissemination.

^a These are the words of the Bull of Pope John.—Raynald. sub ann. 1318.

⁷ See, too, the trial at Toulouse of De Lupo, referred to above.

their doctrines in new forms, each more and more formidable if not fatal to the hierarchy, Fraticellism, Beguinism, Lollardism. They first familiarised the common mind with the notion that Rome was the Babylon, the great harlot of the Apocalypse.

John XXII. was too sagacious not to foresee the peril ;
Alarm of Pope John. too arrogantly convinced, and too jealous, of his supreme spiritual authority not to resent ; too merciless not to extirpate by the most cruel means these slowly-working enemies. Soon after his accession Bull followed Bull equally damnatory. The Franciscan convents in Narbonne and in Beziers were in open revolt from their Order : on them the wrath of the Pope first burst. The Inquisition was committed to Michael di Cesena, still the faithful subject of the Pope, and to seven others.^s Twenty-five monks were convicted, and sentenced first to degradation, then to perpetual imprisonment. Some at least still defied the persecutor : they committed their defiance to writing. "They had not abandoned the holy Order of St. Francis, but the whited walls, its false brethren ; not its habit, but its robes ; not the faith, but the bark and husk of faith : not the Church, but the blind synagogue (this was their constant and most galling obloquy : the corrupt Church was to the perfect one as the Jewish Synagogue to that of Christ) ; they had not disclaimed their pastor, but a ravening wolf." For this apostasy, as it was declared, they were brought to the stake and burned at Marseilles.^t They were condemned for the heresy of denying the Papal authority. As yet there

* See the letter of John XXII., delegating the inquisitorial power to Michael di Cesena.—Baluzii Miscellanea. Another document contains the

sentence of the Inquisition, and to this is appended his signature.

^t See, for the frightful details, Vaissette, Hist. de Languedoc, tom. iv.

was no Papal censure of the strict spiritual interpretation of the Franciscan rule: it was the rather established by the Bull of Nicolas IV.

The Inquisition had begun its work: it continued under the ordinary Dominican administration, under which Franciscan heretics were not likely to find indulgence. In Narbonne, in Beziers, in Capestang, in Lodeve, in Lunel, in Pezenas, those deniers of the Papal authority, and so of the tenets of the Church (this was their declared crime), suffered, as one party thought, the just doom of their obstinate heresy; as they themselves declared, glorious martyrdom.^a They were mingled perhaps (persecution is not nice in its discrimination) with men of more odious views, the secret survivors of the old Albigensian or Waldensian tenets. Many of them were believed to be, some may have been really, infected with such opinions. But those that perished at the stake were but few out of the appalling numbers. The prisons of Narbonne and Carcassonne were crowded with those who were spared the last penalty. Among these was the Friar Deliciosus of Montpellier, a Franciscan, who had boldly withstood the Inquisition, and was immured for life in a dungeon. He it was who declared that if St. Peter and St. Paul should return to earth, the Inquisition would lay hands on them as damnable heretics. At Toulouse the public sermons of the Inquisition took place at intervals, and these sermons were rarely unaccompanied by proofs of their inefficacy. Men who would not be argued into belief must be burned. The corollary of a Christian sermon was a holocaust at the stake.

^a Mosheim had in his possession a martyrology of 113 Spiritual martyrs from 1318 to the Papacy of Innocent VI.

As yet the great question, the poverty of Christ and his Apostles, had not been awakened from its repose. The Bull of Nicolas IV. was still the law; but John XXII. was proud and confident in his theological learning, and not unwilling to plunge into the perilous controversy. The occasion was forced upon him, but he disdained to elude it: he seized on it without reluctance, perhaps with avidity. He was eager to crush at once a doctrine, the root and groundwork of these revolutionary prophecies of John Peter Oliva, which had recently been asserted, with intrepid courage, by an eloquent friar, Ubertino di Casale. Ubertino had not only been persecuted in Provence, he had been excommunicated, and driven out of Tuscany and Parma, where the Spirituals had set up a new General, Henry de Ceva, organised a new Order under provincials, custodes, and guardians, no doubt with the hope that from Sicily was even now to come forth the great king, the deliverer, the destroyer of the carnal and wealthy Church—he under whom was to open the fourth age, and to arise the poor, immaculate, Spiritual Pope.*

The Archbishop of Narbonne and the Grand In-

* "See the Bull *Gloriosam Ecclesiam*. "Tam detestabili turbæ præficientes magis idolum quam prælatum." This remarkable Bull recounts the five errors of the Spiritual Franciscans:—I. The assertion of the two churches, "unam carnalem, divitiis pressam, affluentem divitiis, sceleribus maculatam, cui Romanum Præsulem, cæterosque inferiores Prælatos dominari asserunt; aliam spiritualem, frugalitate mundam, vestitu decoram, paupertate succinctam" II. The as-

sertion that the acts and Sacraments of the clergy of the carnal church were invalid. III. The unlawfulness of oaths. IV. That the wickedness of the individual priest invalidated the Sacrament. V. That they alone fulfilled the Gospel of Christ. There is a useful collection of all the Bulls relating to this Inquisition at the end of N. Eymeric, *Directorum Inquisitorum*. See for this Bull (dated Avignon, 23rd Jan. 1316), p. 38.

quisitor, John de Beaune, were sitting in judgement on a Beghard. They summoned to their council all the clergy distinguished for their learning. One of the articles objected against the Beghard was his assertion of the absolute poverty of Christ and his Apostles. The Court were about to condemn the tenet, when Berenger de Talon, only a reader, but a man ^{Berenger de Talon.} of character, stood up and declared it sound, catholic, and orthodox. He would not be put down by clamour; he refused to retract; he cited the Bull of Pope Nicolas; he appealed to the Pope in Avignon. Berenger appeared before John XXII. and his Consistory of Cardinals, maintained his doctrine, was seized and put under arrest. But as yet the cautious Court proceeded no further than to suspend the anathema attached to the Bull of Pope Nicolas—the anathema against all who should reopen the discussion.^y

The Bull of Pope Nicolas was the great charter of Franciscanism. The whole Order was in commotion. A general Chapter was held at Perugia. The ^{Chapter of Perugia.} Chapter declared unanimously that they adhered to the determination of the Roman Church, and the Bull of Pope Nicolas, that to assert the absolute poverty of Christ, the perfect way, was not heretical, but sound, catholic, consonant to the faith. They appealed not only to the Papal Bull, but to a decree of the Council of Vienne. Michael di Cesena, the General of the Order, joined in the condemnation: he had signed the warrant making over the contumacious brethren to the secular arm at Marseilles; and now Michael di Cesena defied the Papal power, arrayed Pope against

^y See the Bull De Verborum Significatione. Walsingham says of the Statutes of Nicolas IV., “*quæ faciunt non solum superbire Minores, sed etiam insanire.*” —P. 53.

Pope, and asserted the obnoxious doctrine in the strongest terms. He stood not alone: the administrators of the Order in England, Upper Germany, Aquitaine, France, Castile, and six others, affixed their seal to the protest.²

The Pope kept no measures: he pronounced the Chapter of Perugia guilty of heresy; he issued a new Bull; he exposed the legal fiction, sanctioned by his predecessors, by which the property, the lordship of all the vast possessions of the Order, was in the See of Rome; he taunted them, not without bitterness, with the enormous wealth which they had obtained and actually enjoyed under this fallacy; he withdrew from them the privilege of holding, seeking, extorting, defending, or administering goods in the name of the Roman See. The perilous conclusion followed. It was at least menacingly hinted that the property was still in the original owners: whatever usufruct the Order might have was revocable. The Brother Bonagratia, the fierce opponent of Ubertino di Casale, who had defended the visions of John Peter Oliva, appealed against the Bull; he was thrown into prison.

The controversy raged without restraint. The Cardinals sent in elaborate judgements, most of them adverse to the Chapter of Perugia, some few with a milder condemnation, some almost approving their doctrines. The Dominicans, in the natural course of things, were strong on the opposite party; it was a glorious opportunity for the degradation of their rivals. Under their influence the University of Paris pronounced a prolix, almost an interminable, judgement against the Franciscans.

² Heynald. sub ann. 1322.

On the other hand, the most powerful dialectician of the age, William of Ockham, who had already laid at least the foundations of his great system of rationalistic philosophy, so adverse to the spirit of the age; and who was about, by severe argument, to assail and to shake the whole fabric of the Papal dominion, employed all his subtle skill in defence of the Spirituals. Michael di Cesena, by a strange syllogism, while he condescended to acknowledge the inferiority of St. Francis to the Redeemer, inferred his superiority to Christ, as Christ was understood and represented by the Church.^a St. Francis practised absolute voluntary poverty; if Christ did not, he, the type, was inferior to the Saint his antitype. It could not be heretical to assert that St. Francis did not surpass his Example; Christ therefore must have done all or more than St. Francis, and practised still more total poverty. He appealed to the Stigmata as the unanswerable evidence to their complete similitude. All the citations from the Gospels and the Acts, which showed that Christ and his Apostles had the scrip, the purse, the bag (held by Judas^b), the sword of Peter, Christ's raiment and undivided robe, were treated as condescensions to human infirmity.^c This language had been authorised by the Bull of Pope Nicolas; and on that distinct irrepealable authority they rested as on a rock. It was clear that the Pope must rescind the deliberate decree of his predecessor. Nor was John the

William of
Ockham.

Michael di
Cesena.

^a Raynald. sub ann. 1323.

^b See note above, p. 345.

^c "Sic Jesus Christus, cujus perfecta sunt opera, in suis actibus viam perfectionis exercuit, quod interdum imperfectorum infirmitatibus conde-

scendens, ut viam perfectionis extolleret, et imperfectorum infirmas semitas non damnaret." This passage refers to the "locutus" of Christ. So speaks the Bull "Excit." vi. Decret. lv. t. xii.

pontiff who would shrink from the strongest display of his authority. He published two more Bulls in succession. On the grounds of Sacred Scripture and of good sense his arguments were triumphant,^d but all his subtle ingenuity could not explain away or reconcile his conclusions with the older statute. Nothing remained but to declare his power of annulling the acts of his holy ancestor. That ancestor, by his Bull, had annulled those of Gregory IX., Innocent IV., and Alexander IV.^e All those who declared that Christ and his Apostles had no property, only the use of things necessary, were pronounced guilty of damnable heresy. The Franciscans retorted the charge, and publicly arraigned of heresy the Pope himself.

This strange strife, which, if any strife, might seem altogether of words, had a far deeper significance, and led to the gravest political and religious consequences. Very many of the Franciscans in Italy, who swayed at their will the popular mind, became fierce Ghibellines. They took part, as will appear, with Louis of Bavaria against the Pope. In their ranks was found the Antipope. The religious consequences, if not so immediately and fully traceable, were more extensive and lasting. The controversy commenced by forcing on a severe and intrepid examination of the grounds of the Papal power. The Pope finally triumphed, but the victory shook his throne to

^d Perfection ought to be content with the *use* of things necessary to life. The Pope argued that the use of things necessary, food and clothes, implied possession.

• “Si enim nobis non licuit contra constitutionem Nicolai IV. predeces-

soris nostri in quâ se fundant, præcipuè aliquid statuere commune, nec sibi licuit contra statuta Gregor., Innocent. et Alexand., prædictorum, statuere aut aliquid declarare.”—Estr. John. tit. xiv.

the centre. In 1328 Michael di Cesena appeared before the Pontiff at Avignon. He withstood him to the face, in his own words, as Paul did Peter. He was placed under arrest in the full Consistory. He fled to Pisa: there he made a formal appeal to a General Council, accused the Pope of twelve articles of heresy, published a book on the errors of the Pope, and addressed a full argument on those heresies to the Princes and Prelates of Germany.^f Among other bold assertions he laid down as incontestable, that a Pope who taught or determined anything contrary to the Catholic faith, by that act fell under a sentence of excommunication, condemnation, deprivation.^g He called the Pope James of Cahors, as though he were deposed. Among the articles against John was his assertion that Christ, immediately on his Conception, assumed universal temporal dominion; ^h and so the high question, the temporal power of the Pope, became a leading topic of the controversy. In a dialogue between one of the Fraticelli and a Catholic,ⁱ the Catholic urges all the countless texts about the dominion of Christ, and declares that they must comprehend temporal dominion. His title of King were but a mockery, if it were not over earthly Kings and over States, only over the souls of men. If the Popes did not hold of right temporal possessions, they were damned for holding them. He recounts the most famous of the Pontiffs: "Are these pious and holy men damned?" The Fraticelli urges the infinite

^f Tractatus contra errores Papæ apud Goldastum, ii. 1235 *et seqq.*

^g "Unde Papa contra doctrinam fidei Catholicæ docens, sive statuens, in sententiam excommunicationis, damnationis, privationis incidit ipso facto."

^h He quotes against this the hymn of S Ambrose—

"Non accipit mortalia,
Qui regna dat cœlestia."

ⁱ Apud Baluzium, *Miscellanea*, t. 2.

scandal of the wars and dissensions excited by the Prelates of the Church for worldly power. "It is marvellous that ye are willing in arms, and, in defence of temporalities, to slay men for whom Christ died on the Cross." "The Prelates," rejoins the Catholic, "intend not to slay men (far be it from them!), but to defend the faith against heretics, and their temporalities against tyrants." The Catholic quotes one of the late Papal edicts. "He (the Pope) alone promulgates law; he alone is absolved from all law. He sits alone in the chair of the blessed St. Peter, not as mere man, but as man and God. . . . His will is law; what he pleases has the force of law."^k

Such avowed principles are those rather of desperate defence than of calmly conscious power; yet to outward show John XXII. retained all his unshaken authority. He issued a Bull, commencing with, "Since that reprobate man, Michael di Cesena." Though the strength of the General of the Order was in Italy, yet even there the Prelates of the Order, who were by family, city connexions, or opinions, Guelf, adhered to the Pope. The Imperialists in Germany were with the rebellious General, but in France he was held as a heretic. The more sober and moderate of the Order assembled, deposed him, and chose Bertrand di Torre as the General of the Franciscans.

This spiritual democracy had more profound and enduring workings on the mind and heart of man than the fierce outbreak of social democracy which now, during the reign of Philip the Long, again

The Pas-
toureaux.

^k Extravagant, de Institut. "Ipse beati Petri cathedrâ, non tanquam solus edit legem, ipse solus a legibus purus homo sed tanquam Deus et ab-solutus. Ipse est solus sedens in homo."—P. 6J1.

desolated France. As in the days of St. Louis, an insurrection of the peasantry spread from the British Channel to the shores of the Mediterranean. The long unrelenting exactions of Philip the Fair, which had weighed so heavily on the higher orders—where there were middle classes, on them too—increasing in weight as they descended, crushed to the earth the cultivators of the soil. The peasantry were goaded to madness; their madness of course in that age took a religious turn. Again, at the persuasion of a degraded priest and a renegade monk, they declared that it was for them, and them only, to recover the sepulchre of Christ. So utterly hopeless was it that they should conquer a state of freedom, peace, plenty, happiness at home, that they were driven by force to this remote object. By a simultaneous movement they left everywhere their unploughed fields, their untended flocks and herds. At first they were unarmed, barefooted, with wallet and pilgrim's staff. They went two by two, preceded by a banner, and begged for food at the gates of abbeys and castles. As they went on and grew in numbers, they seized or forged wild weapons. They were joined by all the wandering ribalds, the outcasts of the law (no small force). Ere they reached Paris they were an army. They had begun to plunder for food. Everywhere, if the authorities had apprehended any of their followers, they broke the prisons. Some had been seized and committed to the gaols of Paris. They swarmed into the city, burst open the gaol of the Abbey of St. Martin des Champs, forced the stronger Châtelet, hurled the Provost headlong down the stairs, set free the prisoners, encamped and offered battle in the Pré aux Clercs and the Pré St. Germain to the King's troops. Few soldiers were ready to encounter

A.D. 1320.

them. They set off towards Aquitaine. Of their march to the south nothing is known; but in Languedoc they appeared on a sudden to the number of forty thousand.^a In Languedoc they found victims whom the government, the nobles, and the clergy would willingly have yielded to their pillage, if they could thus have glutted their fury. The Jews of the South of France, notwithstanding persecution, expulsion, were again in numbers and in perilous prosperity. On them burst the zeal of this wild crusade. Five hundred took refuge in the royal Castle of Verdun on the Garonne. The royal officers refused to defend them. The shepherds set fire to the lower stories of a lofty tower; the Jews slew each other, having thrown their children to the mercy of their assailants; the infants which escaped were baptised. Everywhere, even in the great cities, Auch, Toulouse, Castel Sarrasin, the Jews were left to be remorselessly massacred, their property pillaged. The Pope himself might behold from the walls of Avignon these wild bands; but in John XXII. there was nothing of St. Bernard. He launched his excommunication, not against the murderers of the inoffensive Jews, but against all who presumed to take the Cross without warrant of the Holy See. Even that same year he published violent Bulls against the poor persecuted Hebrews, and commanded the Bishops to destroy the source of their detestable blasphemies, to burn their Talmuds.^b The Pope summoned the Seneschal of Carcassonne to defend the shores of the Rhône opposite to Avignon: the Seneschal did more terrible service. As the shepherds crowded, on the notion of embarking for

^a Sismondi says that they were at Albi June 25, at Carcassonne June 29, A.D. 1320.

^b A.D. 1320.

the Holy Land, to Aigues Mortes, he cut off at once their advance and their retreat, and left them to perish of want, nakedness, and fever in the pestilential marshes. When they were weakened by their miseries he attacked and hung them without mercy.

The next year witnessed a more cruel persecution, that of the Lepers. There can be no more certain gauge of the wretchedness of the lowest ^{The Lepers.} classes of society than the prevalence of that foul malady, the offspring of meagre diet, miserable lodging and clothing, physical and moral degradation. The protection and care of this blighted race was among the most beautiful offices of the Church during the Middle Ages.^o Now in their hour of deeper wretchedness and sufferings, aggravated by the barbarous folly of man, the cold Church was silent, or rather, by her denunciations of witchcraft and hatred of the Jews, countenanced the strange accusations of which the ^{June 24,} poor Lepers were the victims. King Philip sat ^{1321.} in his Parliament at Poitiers. Public representations were made that all the fountains in Aquitaine had been poisoned, or were about to be poisoned, by the Lepers. Many had been burned; they had confessed their diabolic wickedness, which was to be practised throughout France and Germany. Everywhere they were seized; confessions were wrung from them. They revealed the plot; they revealed the authors of the plot; they were bribed by the Jews, they were bribed by the King of Grenada. The ingredients of the poison were named, a wild brewage of everything loathsome and awful; human urine, three kinds of herbs (which they could not describe), with these a consecrated Host reduced to

^o See vol. iv. p. 173, note.

powder. With another it was the head of a serpent, the feet of a toad, the hair of a woman steeped in some black and fetid mixture. Every leper, every one suspected of leprosy, was arrested throughout the realm. Some disputes arose about jurisdiction: they were cut short by a peremptory ordinance of the King to clear the land of the guilty and *superstitious* brood of lepers. They were ordered to be burned, and burned they were in many parts of France. A milder ordinance came too late, that only the guilty should be burned, that the females with child should be permitted to give birth to their miserable offspring. The innocent were shut up for life in lazarets.^p

The inexhaustible Jews furnished new holocausts. The rich alone in Paris were reserved to gorge the royal exchequer with their wealth. The King is said to have obtained from this sanguinary source of revenue the vast sum of 150,000 livres. The mercy of Charles the Fair afterwards allowed all who survived to quit the kingdom on paying a heavy ransom to the royal treasury.^q

^p Continuat. Nangis, p. 78. Histoire de Languedoc, iv. 79. Compare Sismondi ix. p. 394.

^q Centinator Nangis.

CHAPTER VII.

John XXII. Louis of Bavaria.

IF John XXII. by his avarice offended those who held absolute poverty to be the perfection of Christianity, he was in other respects as far from their conception of a true Pope—one who should be content with spiritual dominion, and withdraw altogether from secular affairs. His whole life was in contemptuous opposition to such doctrines. Of all the Pontiffs—Gregory VII., Innocent III., Boniface VIII.—no one was more deeply involved in temporal affairs, or employed his spiritual weapons, censures, excommunications, interdicts, more prodigally for political ends. His worldliness wanted the dignity of motive which might dazzle or bewilder the strong minds of his predecessors. If he did not advance new pretensions, he promulgated the old in the most naked and offensive form, so as to provoke a controversy, which, however silenced for a time, left its indelible influence on the mind of man. In his long strife with Louis of Bavaria, no great religious, ecclesiastical, or even Papal interests were concerned. It was no mortal struggle, as for the investitures, for the privileges, or immunities of the hierarchy. Louis of Bavaria was no Henry IV., whose profligate life might seem to justify the severe animosity of the Pope; no Barbarossa aiming at the servitude of Italy, and of the Pope himself, to the Empire; no Frederick II. enclosing the Pope between the territory of the Empire

Louis of
Bavaria.

and the Kingdom of Naples, and suspected at least and accused of designs not against the hierarchy alone, against the faith itself. Louis, for his age, was a virtuous and religious prince, who would have purchased the Pope's friendship by any concessions. Nor was he powerful enough to be formidable. Nothing but the implacable and unprovoked hostility of the Pope goaded him to his descent on Italy, his close alliance with the Ghibellines, his sympathy with the Spiritual Franciscans, his elevation of an Antipope.

If John XXII., as he was publicly accused,^a avowed the wicked and un-Christian doctrine that the animosities of Kings and Princes made a real Pope, a Pope, as he meant, the object of common dread; if on this principle civil war amongst the Princes of Germany was the peace and security of the Church of Rome: never did Pope reign at a more fortunate juncture. On his accession John found the Empire plunged into confusion as inextricable as the most politic or hostile Pontiff could desire. On the sudden death of Henry of Luxemburg a double election followed, of singular doubtfulness and intricacy of title. Of the seven Electors, Louis of Bavaria had three uncontested voices—old Peter Aschpalter, Archbishop of Mentz, who, as heretofore, exacted on behalf of his See an ample price for his suffrage;^b Baldwin of Treves, as solemnly pledged, and for the same kind of retaining fee; and the Marquis of Brandenburg. The fourth was King Louis of Bohemia. For Frederick, of the great

^a Ludovici IV. Appellatio apud Bazilium. Vit. Pap. Avenion. ii. p. 478.

^b See in Boehmer (Regesta) the repeated and prodigal grants to the Archbishop of Mentz, less lavish to

the Archbishop of Treves. On Jan. 10, 1315, he pledges Oppenheim, the town and castle, with other places, to Peter Aschpalter, not to the Archbishop. This is not a singular instance.

house of Austria, stood the Archbishop of Cologne; Rodolph, Elector Palatine, though brother of the Bavarian; and the Duke of Saxe Wittemberg. With these was Henry of Carinthia, who laid claim to the kingdom and suffrage of Bohemia. Besides this dispute about the Bohemian vote, the Prince of Saxe Lauenberg, on the side of Louis of Bavaria, contested the Saxon suffrage. For part of eight years^c Pope John had the satisfaction of hearing that the fertile fields of Germany were laid waste, her noble cities burned, the Rhine and her affluents running with the blood of Christian men. He might look on with complacency, admitting neither title, and awaiting the time when he would no longer dissemble his own designs. Even Clement V. had dreaded the union of the two realms of France and the Empire; he had dared secretly to baffle the plans of his tyrant Philip the Fair, to raise a prince of his house to the Imperial throne. Either from subservience, from gratitude, or from some haughty notion that a Pope in Avignon might rule the feeble princes who successively filled the throne of Philip the Fair, John determined to strive for the elevation of the King of France to the Empire. In Italy it was the deliberate policy of Pope John altogether to abrogate the Imperial claims of supremacy or dominion; but this was not conceived in the noble spirit of an Italian Pontiff, generously resolved, for the independence of Italy, to raise a powerful monarchy in the Peninsula, at the hazard of its obtaining control over the Pope himself. It was as a French Pontiff, ruling in Avignon, as the grateful vassal of his patron Robert of Naples, who had raised him to

^c From the accession of Louis of Bavaria, Oct. 20, 1314, to the battle of Muhldorf, Sept. 28, 1322. John, Pope, 1317.

the Papal throne, and continued to exercise unbounded influence over the mind of John, that the Pope plunged into the politics of Italy. The expedition of

Italian politics.

Henry of Luxemburg, and the voluntary exile of the Popes, had greatly strengthened the Ghibellines. At their head were the three most powerful of those subtle adventurers who had become Princes, the Visconti in Milan, Can della Scala in Verona, Castruccio in Lucca. Robert of Naples and the Republic of Florence headed the Guelfs. Immediately on his accession Pope John went through the idle form of issuing letters of peace, addressed to all the Princes and cities of Italy. But tempests subside not at the breath of Popes, and

John speedily forgot his own lessons. Matteo

A.D. 1317.

Visconti ruled as Imperial Vicar, not through that vain title, but by his own power in the north. He was Lord of Milan, Pavia, Piacenza, Novara, Alessandria, Tortona, Como, Lodi, Bergamo, and other territories.^d The Pope forbade him to bear the title of Imperial Vicar during the abeyance of the Empire. Visconti obeyed, and styled himself Lord of Milan. As yet there was no open hostility; but Genoa had expelled her Ghibelline citizens. The exiles returned at the head of a formidable Lombard force furnished by the Visconti. The city was besieged, reduced to extremity. The Genoese summoned Robert King of Naples to their aid; they made over to him the Seignory of the city; but the new Lord of Genoa could not repel the besieging army, which still pressed on its operations. On the 29th April, 1320, Robert of Naples set out to visit the Pope at Avignon. The fate of Italy was determined in their long and amicable conference. The King had

^d Muratori, *Annali d' Italia*, sub ann. 1320.

bestowed on John the Popedom, John would bestow on Robert the Kingdom of Italy. The Cardinal Bertrand de Poyet, as the enemies of the Pope and the Cardinal averred (and they were not men to want enemies), the natural son of the Pope, was sent as the Legate of the Roman See into Lombardy. The Pope, during the vacancy of the Empire (and the Empire, if he had his will, would be long vacant), claimed the administration of the Imperial realm.^e

In the next year King Robert was created, by the Pope's mandate, Vicar of Italy during the ^{Robert of} abeyance of the Empire. The Pope was pre- ^{Naples} ^{Vicar.} pared to maintain his Vicar, to crush the audacious Ghibellines, who had not withdrawn from the siege of Genoa, with all the arms, spiritual as well as temporal, within his power. The Inquisition was commanded to institute a process of heresy against Matteo Visconti and his sons, against Can Grande, against Passerino, Lord of Mantua, against the Marquis of Este, Lord of Ferrara, and all the other heads of the Ghibellines. The Princes protested their zealous orthodoxy; their sole crime was resistance to this new usurpation of the Pope.^f But the Pope relied not on his spiritual arms. France was ever ready to furnish gallant Knights and Barons on any adventure, especially where they might

^e "De jure est legendum quod vacante imperio . . . ejus jurisdictio, regimen et dispositio ad summum Pontificem devolvantur, cui in personâ B. Petri, cœlestis simul et terreni Imperii jura Deus ipse commisit."—Bull, dated 1317. Compare Planck, v, p. 118.

^f Good Muratori had before spoken of the immoderate influence of Robert of Naples over the Pope; he proceeds:

"Che i Re e Principi della terra facciano guerra, e una pension dura, ma inevitabile di questo misero mondo . . . Ma sempre sarà da desiderare chè il sacerdozio, istituito da Dio per bene dell' anime, e per seminar la pace, non entri ad adjutare, e fomentar le ambiziose voglie de' Principi terreni, e molto più guardi dall' ambizione ^{se} stesso."—Annal. sub ann. 1320.

adorn their brilliant arms with the Cross. Philip, the son of Charles of Valois, descended the Alps at the head of three thousand men-at-arms; the Guelfs flocked to his standard; he was joined by the Cardinal Legate. But the French Prince, encompassed by the wily Visconti with a large force, either won by his unexpected and politic courtesy, or, as the Guelfs bitterly declared, over-bribed, at all events glad to extricate himself from his perilous position, retreated beyond the Alps without striking a blow. Still, though Vercelli fell before the conquering Visconti, the Cardinal Legate maintained his haughty tone. He sent to command the Milanese to submit to the Vicar named by the Pope, King Robert of Naples: his messenger, a priest, was thrown into prison.

The next year more formidable preparations were made. A large army was levied and placed under the command of Raymond de Cardona, an experienced General. Frederick of Austria was invited to join the league: his brother Henry came down the Alps, on the German side, with a body of men.

The spiritual battle was waged with equal vigour.

Council of
Brogolio.

A Council was held at Brogolio, near Alexandria. Matteo Visconti was arraigned as a profane enemy of the Church, as the impious and cruel perpetrator of all crimes and sins, the ravaging depopulator of Lombardy.⁵ He had contumaciously prevented any one from passing his frontier with the Papal Bull of excommunication; he had resisted the Inquisition, and endeavoured to rescue a heretic female named Manfredi; he was a necromancer, invoked devils, and took their counsel; he denied the resurrection of the body;

⁵ Feb. 20, 1322. Concilium Brogoliense, apud Labbe, 1322.

for two years he had resisted the Papal monition. He was pronounced to be degraded, deprived of his military belt, incapacitated from holding any civil office, and condemned, with all his posterity, to everlasting infamy.^h The land was under an interdict; his estates, and those of all his partisans, declared confiscate; indulgences were freely offered to all who would join the crusade, as against a Saracen. Henry of Austria was received in Brescia with two thousand men-at-arms: the Pope had purchased this support by one hundred thousand golden florins. The Patriarch of Aquileia, at the head of four or five thousand men, did not fear to publish the Bull of excommunication.ⁱ But Henry of Austria found that it was not in the interest of a candidate for the Empire to war on the partisans of the Empire. Henry of Austria. "I come," he said to the Guelfic exiles from Bergamo, "not to crush but to raise those who keep their fealty to the Empire." He refused forty thousand florins for their reinstatement in Bergamo, and retired to Verona. There he was magnificently entertained, received sixty thousand florins from the Ghibelline league, and retired to Germany.

Matteo Visconti was only more assiduous, on account of his excommunication, in visiting churches, by such

^h "Publicò e confermò tutte le scomuniche e gl' interdetti contro la persona di Matteo Visconti, de' suoi figliuoli e fautori, e delle di lui città, col confisco de' beni, schiavitù delle persone come se si trattasse de' Saraceni. Furono ancora aperti tutti i tesori delle Indulgenze e del perdono de' peccati, a chi prendeva la Croce e l' armi contra di questi pœtesi Eretici. —Muratori, sub ann. 1322.

ⁱ Compare Muratori during the

years 1319, 1320, 1321, 1323, for the acts of this furious Patriarch, supported by the no less furious Legate, Bertrand de Poggetto (Poyet). Foscolo says, with justice, "Era prete omicida, venduto al Papa, e federato satellite di quel Cardinale di Poggetto il quale un anno o due dopo la morte di Dante andò a Ravenna a dissotterrare le sue ceneri."—Discorso sul Testò di Dante, pp. 20, 305.

acts of devotion making public profession of his Catholic faith; but he was seventy-two years old: he died broken down by the weight of affairs, and left his five sons and their descendants to maintain the power and glory of his house, who were to provoke, from more impartial posterity, a sentence of condemnation for far worse crimes than the heresy imputed to him by Pope John.

June 27.

The great battle of Muhldorf, between the rival claimants for the Empire, changed the aspect of affairs.^k Louis of Bavaria triumphed. His adversary, Frederick of Austria, was his prisoner. He communicated his success to the Pope.^m The Pope answered coldly, exhorting him to treat his illustrious captive with humanity, and offering his interposition, as if Louis had won no victory, and the award of the Empire rested with himself.

Louis could not doubt the implacable hostility of the Pope, at least his determination not to leave him in quiet and uncontested possession of the Empire. In self-defence he must seek new alliances. As Emperor now, by the judgement, he might suppose, of the God of battles, it was his duty to maintain the rights of the Empire, and those rights comprehended at least the cities of Lombardy. Robert of Naples aimed manifestly, if not undisguisedly, at the kingdom of Italy: it was rumoured that he had assumed the royal title. The Pope had proclaimed him Vicar of

June 13,
1323.

^k Compare the account of the battle in Boehmer, *Fontes Rerum Germ.* i. p. 161; and Joannes Victorinus, *ibid.* p. 393.

^m There is a strange story in the *Lib. de Duc. Bavarie* (apud Boehmer,

Fontes), that Louis, after the battle, sent letters of submission to the Pope, which were falsified by his Chancellor, Ulric of Augsburg, as those of Frederick II. had been by Peter de Vincã. — *Fontes*, i. 142.

the vacant Empire. The Cardinal Legate was in person combating at the head of the armies which were to subdue all Lombardy to the sway of the Vicar or King. Louis entered into engagements with his Ghibelline subjects. His ambassador, Count Bertholdt de Nyffen,ⁿ sent an admonition to the Cardinal Legate at Piacenza to commit no further hostilities on the territory of the Empire. The Cardinal replied that he held the territory in his master's name during the vacancy of the Empire; he was astonished that a Catholic prince like Louis of Bavaria should confederate with the heretical Viscontis. Eight hundred men-at-arms arrived at Milan; the city was saved from the besieging army of the Legate and the King of Naples.

The Pope resolved to crush the dangerous league growing up among the Ghibellines. On October 9, 1323, a year after the battle of Muhldorf, he instituted a process at Avignon against Louis of Bavaria. He arraigned Louis of presumption in assuming the title, and usurping the power of the King of the Romans, before the Pope had examined and given judgement on the contested election, especially in granting the Marquisate of Brandenburg to his own son. Louis was admonished to lay down all his power, to appear personally before the Court of Avignon within three months, there to receive the Papal sentence. All ecclesiastics, patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops, under pain of deprivation and forfeiture of all privileges and feuds which they held of the Church—all secular persons, under pain of excommunication and interdict—were forbidden to render further fealty or allegiance to Louis as King of the Romans; all oaths of

Pope institutes a process against Louis.

ⁿ Joannes Victorinus, p. 396.

fealty were annulled. Louis sent ambassadors to the Court of Avignon, not to contest the jurisdiction of the Pope, but to obtain a prolongation of the period assigned for his appearance. In his apology he took bolder ground. "For ten years he had been King of the Romans; and he declared the interposition now obtruded by the Pope to be an invasion of his rights. To the charge of alliance with the Viscontis he pleaded ignorance of their heretical tenets. He even ventured to retort insinuations of heresy against the Pope, as having sanctioned the betrayal of the secrets of the confessional by the Minorite friars. Finally he appealed to a General Council, at which he declared his intention to be present."^o

Yet once more he strove to soften the inexorable Pope. He had already revoked the title of Imperial Vicar borne by Galeazzo Visconti. His ambassadors presented an humble supplication to the Pope seated on his throne, for the extension of the time for his appearance at Avignon. The answer of John was even more insultingly imperious. "The Duke of Bavaria, contrary to the Pontifical decree, persisted in calling himself King of the Romans; not merely was he in league with the Viscontis, but had received the homage of the Marquis of Este, who had got possession of Ferrara. They too were heretics, as were all who opposed the Pope. Louis had presumptuously disturbed Robert King of Naples in his office of Vicar of Italy, conferred on him by the Pope."^p

Against the Visconti Pope John urged on his crusade: it was a religious war. The Cardinal Legate was defeated with great loss before Lodi. The Papal General,

• Dated Nuremberg, Oct. 1323.

• Raynaldus, Jan. 5, 1324.

Raymond de Cardona, was attacked and made prisoner near Vaprio: he was taken to Milan, but made his escape to Monza, afterwards to Avignon. Capture of the Papal General. According to one account, Galeazzo Visconti had connived at the flight of Cardona. The General declared at Avignon that it was vain to attempt the subjugation of the Visconti, but that Galeazzo was prepared to hold Milan for himself with fifteen hundred men-at-arms, subject to the Pope.^a John would have consented to this compact with the heretical Visconti, but he could not act without the consent of the King of Naples. Robert demanded that the Visconti should join with all their forces to expel the Emperor from Italy. The wily Visconti sought to be master himself, not to create a King in Italy. He broke off abruptly the secret negotiations, and applied himself to strengthen the fortifications and the castle of Milan.

The war was again a fierce crusade against heretical and contumacious enemies of the Pope and of religion. A new anathema was launched Excommunication of Galeazzo Visconti. against the Visconti, reciting at length all their heresies, in which, except their obstinate Ghibellinism, it is difficult to detect the heresy. It was asserted that the grandmother of Matteo Visconti and two other females of his house had been burned for that crime. Matteo, now dead, laboured under suspicion of having denied the resurrection of the body. Galeazzo was thought to be implicated in this hereditary guilt. The rest of the charges were more likely to be true: acts of atrocious tyranny, sacrileges perpetrated during war, which they had dared to wage against the Legate of the Pope.

Merugia, l. iii. c. 27. R. I. t. xii. Muratori, Ann. d' Italia, sub ann. 1324.

The Pope proceeded to the excommunication of Louis of Bavaria. Twice had he issued his process; the two months were passed; Louis had not appeared. On the 21st of March the sentence was promulgated with all its solemn formalities. Excommunication was not all: still severer penalties awaited him if he did not present himself in humility at the footstool of the Papal throne within three weeks. By this Bull all prelates and ecclesiastics were forbidden to render him allegiance as King of the Romans; all cities and commonalties and private persons, though pardoned for their contumacy up to the present time, were under ban for all future acts of fealty; all oaths were annulled. The Bull of excommunication was affixed to the cathedral doors of Avignon, and ordered to be published by the ecclesiastical Electors of Germany.^r

Pope John had yet but partially betrayed his ultimate purpose—no less than to depose Louis of Bavaria, and to transfer the Imperial crown to the King of France. Another son of Philip the Fair, Philip the Long, had died without male issue. Charles the Fair, the last of the unblest race, had sought, immediately on his accession, a divorce from his adulterous wife, Blanche of Bourbon.^s The canon law admitted not this cause for the dissolution of the sacrament, but it could be declared null by the arbitrary will of the Pope on the most distant consanguinity between the parties. Yet this marriage had taken place under a Papal dispensation; a new subterfuge must be sought: it was

^r Shroeck, p. 71. Oehlenschläger, sub ann.

^s It was reported that Blanche of Bourbon continued her licentious life

in her prison in Château-Gaillard. She was pregnant by her keeper, or by some one else.—Continuat. Nangis.

luckily found that Clement V., in his dispensation, had left unnoticed some still more remote spiritual relationship. Charles the Fair was empowered to marry again. His consort was the daughter of the Emperor Henry of Luxemburg. A Papal dispensation removed the objection of as close consanguinity as in the former case—a dispensation easily granted, for the connexion, if not suggested by the Pope, singularly agreed with his ambitious policy. It broke the Luxemburg party, the main support of Louis of Bavaria; it carried over the suffrage of the chivalrous but versatile John of Bohemia, son of the Emperor Henry, the brother of the Queen of France. John of Bohemia appeared with his uncle, the Archbishop of Treves, and took part in all the rejoicings at the coronation of his sister in ^{Pentecost,} 1323. Paris. His son was married, still more to rivet the bond of union, to a French princess; his younger son sent to be educated at the Court of France. Charles the Fair came to Toulouse to preside over the Floral Games: thence he proceeded to Avignon. The Pope, the King of France, King Robert of Naples, met to partition out the greater part of Christendom—to France the Empire, to Robert the Kingdom of Italy.

But the avowed determination to wrest the Empire from Germany roused a general opposition beyond the Rhine. Louis held a Diet, early ^{Germany.} in the spring, at Frankfort. The proclamation issued from this Diet was in a tone of high defiance.* It taunted John, “who called himself the XXII., as the

* The long document may be read in Baluzius, *Vitæ Pap. Aven.* i. p. 478, *et seqq.*; imperfectly in Raynaldus, sub ann. 1324 about April 24. Another protest, in Aventinus, *Annal.* Boic., and in Goldastus, dated at Ratisbon, Aug. (Christus Servator Dominus), is not authentic, according to Oehenschlager and Boehmer, *Regesta*, p. 42.

enemy of peace, and as deliberately inflaming war in the Empire for the aggrandisement of the Papacy." "He had been so blinded by his wickedness as to abuse one of the keys of St. Peter, binding where he should loose, loosening where he should bind. He had condemned as heretics many pious and blameless Catholics, whose only crime was their attachment to the Empire." "He will not remember that Constantine drew forth the Pope Silvester from a cave in which he lay hid, and in his generous prodigality bestowed all the liberty and honour possessed by the Church. In return, the successor of Silvester seeks by every means to destroy the holy Empire and her true vassals." The protest examined at great length all the proceedings of the Pope, his disputing the election of Louis at Frankfort by the majority of the Electors and the coronation of Louis at Aix-la-Chapelle; his absolution of the vassals of the Empire from their oaths, "a wicked procuration of perjury! the act not of a Vicar of Christ, but of a cruel and lawless tyrant!" It further denies the right of the Pope to assume the government of the Empire during a vacancy, as utterly without ground or precedent. Moreover, "the Pope had attacked Christ himself, his ever blessed Mother, and the Holy Apostles, by rejecting the evangelic doctrine of absolute poverty."^u

The last sentence divulged the quarter from which

^u "Non sufficit in Imperium . . . in ipsum Dominum Jesum Christum Regem Regum, et Dominum Dominorum, Principem Regum terræ, et ejus sanctissimam matrem, quæ ejusdem voti et status cum filio *in observantiâ paupertatis* vixit, et sanctum Apostolorum collegium ipsorum denigrando

vitam et actus insurgeret, et in doctrinam evangelicam de paupertate altissimâ . . . quod fundamentum non solum suâ malâ vitâ et a mundi contemptu alienâ conatur evertere et hæretico dogmate, et venenatâ doctrinâ," &c. &c.—P 494.

came forth this fearless manifesto. The Spiritual Franciscans were throughout Germany become the staunch allies of the Pope's enemy. Men of the profoundest learning began with intrepid diligence to examine the whole question of the Papal power—men who swayed the populace began to fill their ears with denunciations of Papal ambition, arrogance, wealth. The Dominicans, of course adverse to the Franciscans, tried in vain to stem the torrent; for all the higher clergy, the wealthier monks in Germany, were now united with the barefoot friars. The Pope had but two steadfast adherents, old enemies of Louis, the Bishops of Passau and Strasburg. No one treated the King of the Romans as under excommunication. The Canons of Freisingen refused to receive a Bishop, an adherent of the Pope. The Dominicans at Ratisbon and Landshut closed their churches; the people refused them all alms; they were compelled by hunger to resume their services. Many cities ignominiously expelled those prelates who would publish the Papal Bull. At Strasburg a priest who attempted to fix it on the doors of the cathedral was thrown into the Rhine. The Dominicans who refused to perform divine service were driven from the city.*

King Charles of France, trusting in the awe of the Papal excommunications and the ardent promises of the King of Bohemia, advanced in great state to Bar-sur-Aube, where he expected some of the Electors and a great body of the Princes of Germany to appear and lay the Imperial crown at his feet. Leopold of Austria came alone. The German Queen of France had died, in premature childbirth, at Issoudon,

July, 1324.

* Burgundi, Hist. Bavar. ii. 86.

on the return of the Court from Avignon.⁷ The connexion was dissolved which bound the King of Bohemia to the French interest: on the other side of the Rhine he had become again a German. He wrote to the Pope that he could not consent to despoil the German Princes of their noblest privilege, the election to the Empire. The ecclesiastical Electors stood aloof. Leopold was resolved at any price to revenge himself on Louis of Bavaria, and to rescue his brother Frederick from captivity.² The King of France advanced thirty thousand marks to enable him to keep up the war. At the same time the Pope issued a fourth process against Louis of Bavaria: he was cited to appear at Avignon in October. All ecclesiastics who had acknowledged the King were declared under suspension and excommunication; all laymen under interdict. The Archbishop of Magdeburg was commanded to publish the Bull.^a

On the other hand, at the wedding of Louis of Bavaria with the daughter of William of Holland at Cologne, John of Bohemia and the three ecclesiastical Electors had vouchsafed their presence. In a Diet at Ratisbon Louis laid before the States of the Empire his proclamation against the Pope, and his

Feb. 23, 1324.
Diet of Ratis-
bon.

⁷ She died April 1324. July 5, Charles married his cousin-german, the daughter of Louis, Count of Evreux. The Pope, in other cases so difficult, shocked the pious by permitting this marriage of cousins-german.

² See in Albert. Argent. (apud Urstisium) the dealings of Leopold with a famous necromancer, who promised to deliver Frederick from prison. The devil appeared to Frederick as a poor scholar, offering to transport him

away in a cloth. Frederick made the sign of the cross, the devil disappeared. Frederick entreated his guards to give him some reliques, and to pray that he should not be conjured out of captivity.—P. 123.

^a July 13. Villani, ix. 264. Martine, Anecdot. Oehlenschlager, Urkundenbuch, xlii. 106. Raynaldi (imperfect). The Pope condemns Louis as the fautor of those heretics, Milanc of Lombardy, Marsilio of Padua, John of Ghent

appeal to a General Council. Not one of the States refused its adherence; the Papal Bulls against the Emperor were rejected, those who dared to publish them banished. The Archbishop of Saltzburg was declared an enemy of the Empire.^b Even Leopold of Austria made advances towards reconciliation. He sent the imperial crown and jewels to Louis; he only urged the release of his brother from captivity.

Louis, infatuated by his success, refused these overtures. But the gold of France began to work. Leopold was soon at the head of a powerful Austrian and German force. Louis was obliged to break up the siege of Burgau and take to flight, with the loss of his camp, munitions, and treasures. The feeble German princes again looked towards France. A great meeting was held at Rhense near Coblentz. The Electors of Mentz and Cologne, with Leopold of Austria, met the ambassadors of the Pope and of Charles of France. The election of the King of France to the Empire was proposed, almost carried.^c Berthold of Bucheck, the commander of the Teutonic Order at Coblentz, rose. He appealed with great eloquence to the German pride. "Would they, to gratify the arbitrary passions of the Pope, inflict eternal disgrace on the German Empire, and elect a foreigner to the throne?" Some attempt was made to compromise the dispute by the election of the King of France only for his life; but the Germans were too keen-sighted and suspicious to fall into this snare.

Louis had learned wisdom. The only safe course was reconciliation with his rival; and Frederick of Austria had pined too long in prison not to accede to any terms

^b Aug. Boehmer seems to doubt the Diet of Ratisbon.

^c Albert Argent. Raynald, sub ann. Schmidt. Sismondi, p. 436

of release. Louis visited his captive at Trausnitz: the terms were easily arranged between parties so eager for a treaty. Frederick surrendered all right and title to the Empire; Leopold gave up all which his house had usurped from the Empire; he and his brothers were to swear eternal fealty to Louis, against every one, priest or layman, by name against him who called himself Pope. Certain counts and knights were to guarantee the treaty. Burgau and Reisenberg were to be surrendered to Bavaria; Stephen, son of Louis, was to marry Elizabeth, daughter of Frederick.

The Pope and the Austrian party were alike astounded by this sudden pacification. The Pope at once declared the treaty null and void. Leopold rushed to arms. But the highminded Frederick would not stoop to a breach of faith. He had but to utter his wish, and the Pope had absolved him from all his oaths. They were already declared null, as sworn to an excommunicated person, and therefore of no validity. The Pope forbade him to return to prison; ^d but he published letters declaring his surrender of his title to the Empire, admonished his brother to desist from hostilities, and endeavoured to reconcile the Pope with Louis. He had sworn to more than he could fulfil: he returned to Munich to offer himself again as a prisoner. There was a strife of generosity; the rivals became the closest friends, ate at the same table, slept in the same bed. ^e The Pope wrote to the King of France, expressing his utter astonishment at this strange and incredible German honesty. ^f

^d Bull "Ad nostrum." Raynald. sub ann. Oehlenschlager.

^e See the authorities in Schmidt, p. 265.

^f "Familiaritas et amicitia illorum ducum incredibilis."—Raynald. sub ann. Read Schiller's fine lines, *Deutsche Treue, Werke*, b. ix. p. 199.

The friends agreed to cancel the former treaty—a new one was made. Both, as one person, were to have equal right and title to the Empire, to be brothers, and each alike King of the Romans and administrator of the Empire. On every alternate day the names of Louis and of Frederick should take precedence in the instruments of state; no weighty affairs were to be determined but by common consent; the great fiefs to be granted, homage received, by both; if one set out for Italy, the other was to rule in Germany. There was to be one common Imperial Judge, one Secretary of State. The seat of government was to change every half or quarter of a year. There were to be two great seals; on that of Louis the name of Frederick, on that of Frederick the name of Louis stood first. The two Princes swore before their confessors to keep their oath: ten great vassals were the witnesses.

This singular treaty was kept secret; as it transpired, all parties, except the Austrian, broke out into dissatisfaction.⁵ The Electors declared it an invasion of their rights. The Pope condemned the impiety of Frederick in daring to enter into this intimate association with one under excommunication. Another plan was proposed, that Louis should rule in Italy, Frederick in Germany. This was more perilous to the Pontiff: he wrote to Charles of France to reprove him for his sluggishness and inactivity in the maintenance of his own interests.

The Austrian party under Leopold began to hope that as Louis was proscribed by the inexorable Death of Leopold of Austria. hatred of the Pope, his Holiness would be persuaded to acknowledge Frederick. The Archbishops of

⁵ Villani, ix. c. 34. Schmidt, p. 265.

Mentz and Cologne, and their brothers the Counts of Bucheck and Virneburg, repaired to Avignon. Duke Albert, the brother of Frederick and of Leopold, urged this conclusion. But the Pope was too deeply pledged by his passions and by his promises to Charles of France: the Austrians obtained only bland and unmeaning words. The death of Leopold of Austria, before the great Diet of the Empire, summoned to Spire, seemed at once to quench the strife. Frederick withdrew from the contest. Louis of Bavaria met the Diet as undisputed Emperor; he even ventured to communicate his determination to descend into Italy, his long-meditated plan of long-provoked vengeance against the Pope. There were some faint murmurs among the ecclesiastical Electors that he was still under the ban of excommunication. "That ban," rejoined Louis, "yourselves have taught me to despise: to the pious and learned Italians it is even more despicable."^h

Louis of Bavaria, now that Germany, if it acknowledged not, yet acquiesced in his kingly title, determined to assert his imperial rights in Italy. The implacable Pope compelled him to seek allies in all quarters, and to carry on the contest wherever he might hope for success. None of the great German feudatories obeyed the summons to attend him. They were bound by their fealty to appear at his coronation in Rome, but that coronation they might think remote and doubtful. The Prelates, the ecclesiastical

^h Trithemius, Chron. Hirsch. Boehmer observes, "Weder eine urkunde noch ein gleichzeitiger auf diese That-sache hindeuten." He therefore rejects the whole. But are not the "ur-

kunde" very imperfectly preserved, and the writers few and uncertain in their notice of events? It is of no great historic consequence. The leading facts are certain.

Electors, would hardly accompany one still under excommunication. An embassy to Avignon, demanding that orders should be given for his coronation, was dismissed with silent scorn. But the Ghibelline chieftains eagerly pressed his descent into Italy.¹ He appeared at a Diet of the great Lombard feudatories at Trent, with few troops and still more scanty munitions of war. He found around him three of the Vis-^{At Trent, Jan. Feb. 1327.}contis, Galeazzo, Marco, Luchino, the Marquises of Este, Rafaello and Obizzo, Passerino Lord of Mantua, Can della Scala Lord of Verona, Vicenza, Feltre, and Belluno. Della Scala had an escort of 600 horse, his body-guard against the Duke of Carinthia, with whom he was contesting Padua. There were ambassadors from Pisa, from the Genoese exiles, from Castruccio of Lucca, and the King of Sicily. All were prodigal in their vows of loyalty, and even prodigal in act.^k They offered 150,000 florins of gold. The tidings of this supply brought rapidly down considerable bands of German adventurers around the standard of Louis.

Louis relied not on arms alone, nor on the strength and fidelity of the Italian Ghibellines. A war ^{War of writings.} had long been waging; and now his dauntless and even fanatical champions were prepared to wage that religious war in public opinion to the last extremity. He was accompanied by Marsilio of Padua and by John of Jaudun.^m These men had already thrown down the gauntlet to the world in defence of the Imperial against the Papal supremacy.

Marsilio of Padua was neither ecclesiastic nor lawyer,

¹ Cortesius apud Muratori, R. I. S. xii. 839. Albertus Mussatus, Fontes, p. 172

^k "Multis gravis æris dispensis."—Albert Mussato.

^m In Champagne, sometimes erroneously called John of Ghent.

he was the King's physician; but in profound theological learning as in dialectic skill surpassed by few of his age. Three years before, Marsilio had published his famous work, 'The Defender of Peace.' The title itself was a quiet but severe sarcasm against the Pope; it arraigned him as the irreconcilable enemy of peace. This grave and argumentative work, if to us of inconceivable prolixity (though to that of William of Ockham it is light and rapid reading), advanced and maintained tenets which, if heard for centuries in Christendom, had been heard only from obscure and fanatic heretics, mostly mingled up with wild and obnoxious opinions, or, as in the strife with the Lawyers or concerning the memory of Boniface, with fierce personal charges.

The first book discusses, with great depth and dialectic subtlety, the origin and principles of government. In logic and in thought the author is manifestly a severe Aristotelian. The second establishes the origin, the principles, the limits of the sacerdotal power.² Marsilio takes his firm and resolute stand on the sacred Scriptures, or rather on the Gospel; he distinctly repudiates the dominant Old Testament interpretation of the New. The Gospel is the sole authoritative law of Christianity; the rule for the interpretation of those Scriptures rests not with any one priest or college of priests; it requires no less than the assent and sanction

² "Mosi legem Dens tradidit observandorum in statu vitæ præsentis, ad contentiones humanas dirimendas, præcepta talium specialiter continentem, et ad hoc proportionaliter se habentem humanæ legis quantum ad aliquam sui partem. Verum hujus-

modi præcepta in Evangelicâ lege non tradidit Christus, sed tradita vel tradenda supposuit in humanis legibus, quas observari et principantibus secundum eas omnem animam humanam obedire præcipit, in his saltem quod non adversaretur legi salutis."—P. 215.

of a General Council. These Scriptures gave no coercive power whatever, no secular jurisdiction to the Bishop of Rome, or to any other bishop or priest. The sacerdotal order was instituted to instruct the people in the truths of the Gospel and for the administration of the Sacraments. It is only by usage that the clergy are called the Church, by recent usage the Bishop of Rome and the Cardinals. The true Church is the whole assembly of the faithful. The word "spiritual" has in like manner been usurped by the priesthood; all Christians, as Christians, are spiritual. The third chapter states fairly and fully the scriptural grounds alleged for the sacerdotal and papal pretensions: they are submitted to calm but rigid examination.^o The question is not what power was possessed by Christ as God and man, but what he conferred on the apostles, what descended to their successors the bishops and presbyters; what he forbade them to assume; what is meant by the power of the keys. "God alone remits sins, the priest's power is only declaratory." The illustration is the case of the leper in the Gospels healed by Christ, declared healed by the priest.^p He admits what is required by the Sacrament of Penance, and some power of commuting the pains of purgatory (this, as well as transubstantiation, he distinctly asserts) for temporal penalties. But eternal damnation is by God alone, for God alone is above ignorance and partial affection, to which all priests, even the Pope, are subject. Crimes for which a man is to be excommunicated are not to be judged by a priest or college of priests, but by the whole body of

* Innocent's famous similitude of the sun and moon is, I think, alone omitted, no doubt in disdain.

^p He has another illustration. The

priest is the jailor, who has no judicial power, though he may open and shut the door of the prison.

the faithful.^a The clergy have no coercive power even over heretics, Jews or infidels. Judgement over them is by Christ alone, and in the other world. They are to be punished by the temporal power if they offend against human statutes.^r The immunities of the clergy from temporal jurisdiction are swept away as irreconcilable with the absolute supremacy of the State. If the clergy were entirely withdrawn from temporal authority, all would rush into the order, especially since Boniface VIII. extended the clerical privilege to those who had the simple tonsure. Poverty with contempt of the world was the perfection taught by Christ and his apostles, and therefore the indelible characteristic of all bishops and priests. Now the clergy accumulate vast wealth, bestow or bequeath it to their heirs, or lavish it on horses, servants, banquets, the vanity and voluptuousness of the world. Marsilio does not, with the rigour of Spiritual Franciscanism, insist on absolute mendicancy: sustenance the clergy might have, and no more; with that they should be content. Tithes are a direct usurpation. The Apostles were all equal; the Saviour is to be believed rather than old tradition, which invested St. Peter with coercive power over the other Apostles. Still more do the Decretals err, that the

^a "Universitas Fidelium," p. 208.

^r This is remarkable. "Quod si humanâ lege prohibitum fuerit, hæreticum aut aliter infidelem in regione manere, qui talis in ipsâ repertus fuerit, tanquam *legis humanæ transgressor* eâdem pœnâ vel supplicio huic transgressioni eâdem lege statutis, *in hoc sæculo*, debet arceri. Si vero hæreticum aut aliter infidelem commorari fidelibus eâdem provincia non

fuerit prohibitum humana lege, quemadmodum hæreticis et semini Judæorum seu humanis legibus permissum extitit etiam temporibus Christianorum populorum principum atque pontificum, dico cuipiam non licere hæreticum vel aliter infidelem quenquam judicare vel arcere pœna vel supplicio reali aut personali pro statu vitæ præsentis."—P. 217.

Bishop of Rome has authority over the temporalities, not only of the clergy, but of emperors and kings. The Bishop of Rome can in no sense be called the successor of St. Peter: first, because no apostle was appointed by the divine law over any peculiar people or land; secondly, because he was at Antioch before Rome. Paul, it is known, was at Rome two years. He, if any one, having taught the Romans, was Bishop of Rome: it cannot be shown from the Scriptures that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome, or that he was ever at Rome. It is incredible that if he were at Rome before St. Paul, he should not be mentioned either by St. Paul or by St. Luke in the Acts.^a Constantine the Great first emancipated the priesthood from the coercive authority of the temporal prince, and gave some of them dignity and power over other bishops and churches. But the Pope has no power to decree any article of faith as necessary to salvation.^b The Bull therefore of Boniface VIII. ("Unam Sanctam") was false and injurious to all mankind beyond all imaginable falsehood.^c A General Council alone could decide such questions, and General Councils could only be summoned by the civil sovereigns. The primacy of the Bishop of Rome was no more than this: that having consulted with the clergy on such or on other important matters, he might petition the sovereign to summon a General Council, preside, and with the full consent of the Council draw up and enact laws.

^a It is curious to find this argument so well put in the fourteenth century.

^b The author examines the famous saying ascribed to St. Augustine, "Ego vero non crederem Evangelio, nisi me Catholicæ Ecclesiæ commoveret auctoritas." He meant the

testimony of the Church (the collective body of Christians) that these writings really proceeded from Apostles and Evangelists.

^c "Cunctis civiliter viventibus præjudicialissimum omnium excogitabilem falsorum."—P. 258.

As to the coronation of the Emperor at Rome, and the confirmation of his election by the Pope, the first was a ceremony in which the Pope had no more power than the Archbishop of Rheims at the anointing of the Kings of France. The simplicity alone, not to say the pusillanimity, of certain Emperors had permitted the Bishops of Rome to transmute this innocent usage into an arbitrary right of ratifying the election; and so of making the choice of the seven Electors of as little value as that of the meanest of mankind.*

The third book briefly draws forty-one conclusions from the long argument. Among these were,—the Decretals of the Popes can inflict no temporal penalty unless ratified by the civil Sovereign; there is no power of dispensation in marriages; the temporal power may limit the number of the clergy as of churches; no canonisation can take place but by a General Council; a General Council may suspend or depose a Bishop of Rome.

The ‘Defender of Peace’ was but one of several writings in the same daring tone. There was a second by Marsilio of Padua on the Translation of the Empire. Another was ascribed, but erroneously, to John of Jaudun, on the nullity of the proceedings of Pope John against Louis of Bavaria. Above all the famous School-
William of Ockham. man, William of Ockham, composed two works (one in “ninety days”) of an enormous prolixity and of an intense subtlety, such as might, according to our notions, have palled on the dialectic passions of the most pugnacious university, or exhausted the patience of the most laborious monk in the most drowsy

* “Tantum enim septem transires aut lippi possent Romano Regi auctoritatem tribuere.”

cloister.⁷ But no doubt there were lighter and more inflammatory addresses poured in quick succession into the popular ear by the Spiritual Franciscans, and by all who envied, coveted, hated, or conscientiously believed the wealth of the clergy fatal to their holy office—by all who saw in the Pope a political despot or an Antichrist. At Trent, Louis of Bavaria and his fearless counsellors declared the Pope a heretic, exhibited sixteen articles against him, and spoke of him as James the Priest.

So set forth another German Emperor, unwarned, apparently ignorant of all former history, to run the same course as his predecessors—a triumphant passage through Italy, a jubilant reception in Rome, a splendid coronation, the creation of an Antipope; then dissatisfaction, treachery, revolt among his partisans, soon weary of the exactions wrung from them, but which were absolutely necessary to maintain the idle pageant; his German troops wasting away with their own excesses and the uncongenial climate, and cut off by war or fever; an ignominious retreat quickening into flight; the wonder of mankind sinking at once into contempt; the mockery and scoffing joy of his inexorable foes.

From Trent Louis of Bavaria, with six hundred German horse, passed by Bergamo, and arrived at Como; from thence, his forces gathering as he advanced, he entered Milan. At Pentecost he was crowned in the Church of St. Ambrose.

Louis in
Italy.
March 15.
March 18.
March 22.
May 17.
May 30.

The Archbishop of Milan was an exile. Three excommunicated Bishops (Federico di Maggi of Brescia, Guido Tarlati the turbulent Prelate of Arezzo, and

⁷ The two, the *Dialogus*, and the *Opus Nonaginta Dierum*, which comprehends the *Compendium Errorum* | Papæ, occupy nearly 1000 pages, printed in the very closest type, in *Goldasti Monarchia*, vol. ii. p. 313 to 1235.

Henry of Trent) set the Iron Crown on the head of the King of the Romans: his wife, Margarita, was crowned with a diadem of gold. Can della Scala was present with fifteen hundred horse, and most of the mighty Ghibelline chieftains. Galeazzo Visconti was confirmed as Imperial Vicar of Milan, Pavia, Lodi, Vercelli; but hardly two months had elapsed when Galeazzo was arrested, imprisoned, threatened with the loss of his head, if Monza was not surrendered. The commander of the castle hesitated, but was forced to yield. The cause of this quarrel is not quite certain. The needy Bavarian pressed for the full payment of the covenanted contribution. Galeazzo, it is said, haughtily replied that the Emperor must wait his time.² Galeazzo knew that Milan groaned under his exactions. Louis at once caught at popularity, and released himself from the burthen of gratitude, from the degrading position of being his vassal's vassal. The Visconti was therefore cast into prison,^a all his proud house were compelled to seek concealment; but it was a fatal blow to the party of Louis. The Ghibelline tyrants had hoped to rule under the name of the Emperor, not to be ruled by him.^b The Guelf secretly rejoiced: "God is slaying our enemies by our enemies."

Louis having extorted 200,000 florins from Milan and the other cities, advanced unopposed towards Tuscany. He was received with great pomp by Castruccio of Lucca, but imperialist Pisa closed her

Aug. 13.
At Lucca.
Sept. 6.

^a Villani. Morigia, Hist. Modoet. R. I. S. t. xxii.

^b "Interim Galeaz superbum atque insolentem, ac facere recusantem in altum profundum carcerem detrudi

nervoque pedes astringi fecit."—Albert Mussat.—P. 776.

^b "Animadversio hæc a Ludovico in Vice Comites facta tyrannis cæteris Lombardiæ ingentes terrores incussit."—Ib.

gates against the ally of her deadly enemy; nor till after she had suffered a long siege was Pisa compelled to her old obedience: she paid heavily for her brief disloyalty.^c This was the only resistance encountered by the Bavarian. The Pope meanwhile had launched in vain, and for a fifth time, his spiritual thunders. For his impious acts at Trent, Louis was declared to have forfeited all fiefs he held of the Church or of the Empire, especially the Dukedom of Bavaria. He was again cited to appear before the judgement-seat at Avignon, to receive due penalty for his sins; all Christians were enjoined to withhold every act of obedience from him as ruler.^d But no Guelfic chieftain, no State or city, stood forward to head the crusade commanded by the Pope. Florence remained aloof, though under the Duke of Calabria; the proceedings of the Pope against Louis of Bavaria were published by the Cardinal Orsini. Her only act was the burning, by the Inquisitor, of the astrologer, Cecco d'Ascoli, whose wild predictions were said to have foreshown the descent of the Bavarian and the aggrandisement of Castruccio. Cecco's book, according to the popular statement, ascribed all human events to the irresistible influence of the stars. The stars themselves were subject to the enchantments of malignant spirits. Christ came into the world under that fatal necessity, lived a coward life, and died his inevitable death. Under the same planetary force, Antichrist was to come in gorgeous apparel and great power.^e

At Pisa.
Nov. 1.

April 3,
1327.

^c "E bisognavagli però ch' ella e sua gente erano molto poveri."—Villani.

^d Apud Martene, p. 471.

^e Villani, cxxxix. Compare de Sade, *Vie de Pétrarque*, i. p. 48. He says

that there is in the Vatican a MS., "Profetie di Cecco d'Ascoli." I have examined, I will not say read, Cecco's poem, "L'Acerba," half astrology, half natural history, and must sub-

Rome had already sent a peremptory summons to the Pope to return and take up his residence in the sacred city. If he did not obey, they threatened to receive the King of Bavaria. A Court they would have: if not the Pope's, that of the Emperor. The Pope replied with unmeaning promises and solemn admonitions against an impious alliance with the persecutor of the Church.^f The Romans had no faith in his promises, and despised his counsels. Napoleon Orsini and Stephen Colonna, both in the interests of Robert of Naples, were driven from the city. Sciarra Colonna, a name fatal to Popes, was elected Captain of the people.

Sept. 23. A large Neapolitan force landed at Ostia, and broke into the Leonine city. The bell of the Capitol tolled, the city rose, the invaders were repelled with great slaughter.

From Pisa, where he had forced a contribution of 200,000 florins, 20,000 from the clergy, Louis of Bavaria made a winter march over the Maremma to Viterbo. His partisans (Sciarra Colonna, Jacopo Savelli, Tebaldo di St. Eustazio) were masters of the city. To soothe the people they sent ambassadors to demand certain terms. Louis ordered Castruccio Lord of Lucca, to reply. Castruccio signed to the trumpeters to sound the advance. "This is the answer of my Lord the Emperor." In five days Louis was

scribe to De Sade's verdict: "S'il n'étoit pas plus sorcier que poëte, comme il y a apparence, on lui fit grande injustice en le brûlant."—P. 50. There are, however, some curious passages in which he attacks Dante, not, as Pignotti (v. iii. p. 1) unfairly says, thinking himself a better poet,

but reprehending his philosophical doctrines—

"In ciò peccasti, fiorentin poeta,
Ponendo che gli ben della fortuna
Necessitate sieno con lor meta.

* * * * *
Fortuna non è altro che disposto
Cielo, che dispone cosa animata," &c.
—p. xxxv.; see also *ibid.*
Albert Mussato, p. 173.

within the city; there was no opposition; his advent was welcomed, it was said, like that of God.^s His march had been swelled by numbers: the city was crowded with swarms of the Spiritual Franciscans; with all who took part with their General, Michael di Cesena, against the Pope; with the Fraticelli; with the poorer clergy, who desired to reduce the rest to their own poverty, or who were honestly or hypocritically possessed with the fanaticism of mendicancy. The higher and wealthier, as well of the clergy as of the monastic Orders, and even the friars, withdrew in fear or disgust before this democratic inroad. The churches were closed, the convents deserted, hardly a bell tolled, the services were scantily performed by schismatic or excommunicated priests.

Yet the procession to the coronation of Louis of Bavaria was as magnificent as of old. The Emperor passed through squadrons of at least Coronation. Sunday, Jan. 17. five thousand horse; the city had decked itself in all its splendour; there was an imposing assemblage of the nobles on the way from S. Maria Maggiore to St. Peter's; but at the coronation the place of the Pope or of delegated Cardinals was ill supplied by the Bishop of Venetia and the Bishop of Aleria, known only as under excommunication. The Count of the Lateran Palace was wanting: Castruccio was invested with that dignity. Castruccio (clad in a crimson vest, embroidered in front with the words, "Tis he whom God wills," behind, "He will be whatever God wills") was afterwards created, amid loud popular applause, Senator and Impe-

^s "Populus Romanus ut Deo ab excelsis veniente, gavisus illum magnis alacritatibus, præconiorumque applausibus excepit."—Albert Mussato, S. R. I. p. 772.

rial Vicar of Rome. Three laws were promulgated: one for the maintenance of the Catholic faith, one on the revenues due to the clergy (a vain attempt to propitiate their favour), one in defence of widows and orphans.

Louis could not pause: he was but half avenged upon his implacable enemy. He was not even secure; so long as John was Pope, he was not Emperor; he was under the ban of excommunication. He had been driven to extremity; there was no extremity to which he must not proceed. He had not satisfied nor paid the price of their attachment to his Mendicant partisans. On the Place before St. Peter's Church was erected a

lofty stage. The Emperor ascended and took
April 18. his seat on a gorgeous throne: he wore the purple robes, the Imperial crown; in his right hand he bore the golden sceptre, in his left the golden apple. Around him were Prelates, Barons, and armed Knights; the populace filled the vast space. A brother of the Order of the Eremites advanced on the stage, and cried aloud, "Is there any Procurator who will defend the Priest James of Cahors, who calls himself Pope John XXII.?" Thrice he uttered the summons; no answer was made. A learned Abbot of Germany mounted the stage, and made a long sermon in eloquent Latin, on the text, "This is the day of good tidings." The topics were skilfully chosen to work upon the turbulent audience. "The holy Emperor beholding Rome, the head of the world and of the Christian faith, deprived both of her temporal and her spiritual throne, had left his own realm and his young children to restore her dignity. At Rome he had heard that James of Cahors, called Pope John, had determined to change the titles of the Cardinals, and transfer them also to Avignon;

that he had proclaimed a crusade against the Roman people: therefore the Syndics of the Roman clergy, and the representatives of the Roman people, had entreated him to proceed against the said James of Cahors as a heretic, and to provide the Church and people of Rome, as the Emperor Otho had done, with a holy and faithful Pastor." He recounted eight heresies of John. Among them, "he had been urged to war against the Saracens: he had replied, 'We have Saracens enough at home.'" He had said that Christ, "whose poverty was among his perfections, held property in common with his disciples." He had declared, contrary to the Gospel, which maintains the rights of Cæsar, and asserts the Pope's kingdom to be purely spiritual, that to him (the Pope) belongs all power, temporal as well as spiritual. For these crimes, therefore, of heresy and treason, the Emperor, by the new law, and by other laws, canon and civil, removed, deprived, and cashiered the same James of Cahors from his The Pope deposed. Papal office, leaving to any one who had temporal jurisdiction to execute upon him the penalties of heresy and treason. Henceforth no Prince, Baron, or commonalty was to own him as Pope, under pain of condemnation as fautor of his treason and heresy: half the penalty was to go to the Imperial treasury, half to the Roman people.^h He, Louis of Bavaria, promised in a few days to provide a good Pope and a good Pastor

^h According to the statement of Louis, still more atrocious charges were inserted into this sentence of deposition, by Udalric of Gueldres, the Emperor's secretary. Louis being a rude soldier, ignorant of Latin, knew nothing, as he afterwards declared to Benedict XII., of these things (Raynald. sub ann. 1336). Udalric did this out of secret enmity to the Emperor, to commit him more irretrievably with the Pope.—Mansi, note on Raynaldus, 1328, c. xxxvi.

for the great consolation of the people of Rome and of all Christians.ⁱ

But Rome was awed rather than won by this flattery to her pride. Only four days after, an ecclesiastic, James^k son of Stephen Colonna, appeared before the church of S. Marcellus, and in the presence of one thousand Romans read aloud and at full length the last and most terrible process of Pope John against Louis of Bavaria. He went on to declare that “no Syndicate, representing the clergy of Rome, had addressed Louis; that Syndicate, the priests of St. Peter’s, of St. John Lateran, of St. Maria Maggiore, with all the other dignified clergy and abbots, had left Rome for some months, lest they should be contaminated by the presence of persons under excommunication.” He continued uninterrupted his long harangue, and then deliberately nailed the Pope’s Brief on the doors of the Church of S. Marcellus. The news spread with a deep murmur through the city. Louis sent a troop to seize the daring ecclesiastic; he was gone, the populace had made no attempt to arrest him. He was afterwards rewarded by the Pope with a rich bishopric.

April 23.

The next day a law was published in the presence of the senators and people, that the Pope about to be named, and all future Popes, should be bound to reside, except for three months in the year, in Rome; that he should not depart, unless with the permission of the Roman people, above two days’ journey from the city. If summoned to return, and disobedient to the summons, he might be deposed and another chosen in his place.^m

ⁱ Apud Baluzium, ii. p. 523.

^k He was canon of the Lateran; afterwards the friend of Petrarch. See account of Petrarch’s visit to him

as Bishop of Lombes.—De Sade, i 161, &c.

^m The condemnation of John XXII. to death, and his capital sentence, are

On Ascension Day the people were again summoned to the Place before St. Peter's Church. Louis appeared in all his imperial attire, with many ^{May 12.} of the lower clergy, monks, and friars. He took his seat upon the throne: the designated Pope, Peter di Corvara, sat by his side under the baldachin. The friar Nicolas di Fabriano preached on the text, "And Peter, turning, said, the Angel of the Lord hath appeared and delivered me out of the hand of Herod." The Bavarian was the angel, Pope John was Herod. The Bishop of Venetia came forward, and three times demanded whether they would have the brother Peter for the Pope of Rome. There was a loud acclamation, whether from fear, from contagious excitement, from wonder at the daring of the Emperor, or from genuine joy that they had a humble and a Roman Pope.ⁿ The Bishop read the Decree. The Emperor rose, put on the finger of the friar the ring of St. Peter, arrayed him in the pall, and saluted him by the name of Nicolas V. With the Pope on his right hand he passed into the church, where Mass was celebrated with the utmost solemnity.

Peter di Corvara was born in the Abruzzi; he belonged to the extreme Franciscan faction; a man of ^{The Anti-} that rigid austerity that no charge could be ^{Pope.} brought against him by his enemies but hypocrisy. The

asserted by Raynaldus on unpublished authority. This account is received as authentic by Boehmer, who accepts all that is against Louis and in favour of Pope John. It is more likely a version of Mussato's story of his being burned in effigy by the people, rather than confirmed by it. As a grave judicial proceeding it is highly improbable.—Raynald. sub ann.

ⁿ The people, according to Albert Mussato, demanded the deposition of John, and the elevation of a new Pope, "novum proponendum Pontificem, qui . . . sacrosanctam ecclesiam Romanam . . . in suâ Româ regat . . . illum Joannem, qui trans montes sacræ Ecclesiæ illudit, anathematiset." —Fontes, p. 175.

one imputation was, that he had lived in wedlock five years before he put on the habit of S. Francis. He took the vows without his wife's consent. She had despised the beggarly monk; she claimed restitution of conjugal rights from the wealthy Pontiff.^o All this perhaps proves the fanatic sincerity of Peter, and the man that was thus put forward by a fanatic party (it is said when designated for the office he fled either from modesty or fear) must have been believed to be a fanatic. Nothing indeed but fanaticism would have given him courage to assume the perilous dignity.

The first act of Nicolas V. was to create seven Cardinals—two deposed bishops, Modena and Venetia, one deposed abbot of S. Ambrogio in Milan, Nicolas di Fabriano, two Roman popular leaders. Louis caused himself to be crowned again by his Supreme Pontiff.

But in Nicolas V. his party hoped, no doubt, to see the apostle of absolute poverty. They saw him and his Cardinals on stately steeds, the gift of the Emperor, with servants, even knights and squires: they heard that they indulged in splendid and costly banquets. The Pope bestowed ecclesiastical privileges and benefices with the lavish hand of his predecessors, it was believed at the time for payments in money.

The contest divided all Christendom. In the remotest parts were wandering friars who denounced the heresy of Pope John, asserted the cause of the Emperor and of his Antipope. In the University of Paris were men of profound thought who held the same views, and whom the ruling powers of the University were constrained to tolerate. The whole of

^o "Repetiit Pontificem locupletem, quem tot annos spreverat mendicum monachum."—Wading, l. vii. f. 77.

Europe seemed becoming Guelf or Ghibelline. Yet could no contest be more unequal; that it lasted, proves the vast and all-pervading influence of the Mendicants;^p for the whole strength of the Emperor and of the Anti-pope was in the religious movement of this small section, in the Roman populace and their Ghibelline leaders. The great Ghibelline princes were for themselves alone; if they maintained their domination over their subject cities, they cared neither for Emperor nor Pope. Against this were arrayed the ancient awe which adhered to the name of the Pope, the Pope himself elected and supported by all the Cardinals, the whole higher clergy, whose wealth hung on the issue, those among the lower clergy (and they were very many) who hated the intrusive Mendicants, the rival Order of the Dominicans, who now, however, were weakened by a schism in which the Pope had mingled, concerning the election and power of the General and Prefects of the Order. Besides these were Robert of Naples, for whom the Pope had hazarded so much, and all the Guelfs of Italy, among them most of the Roman nobles.

The tide which had so rapidly floated up Louis of Bavaria to the height of acknowledged Emperor and the creator of a new Pope, ebbed with still greater rapidity. He is accused of having wasted precious time and not advanced upon Naples to crush his defenceless rival.^q But Louis may have known the inefficient state of his own forces and of his own finances. Robert of Naples now took the aggressive: his fleet besieged

^p See a very striking passage of Albert Mussato, de Ludov. Bavar.; Muratori, x. p. 775; Fontes, p. 77.

^q "Ipse Casar segnīs tanto tempore tetit, otiosus in urbe, quod quasi

omnia expendebat." in one expedition he destroyed the castle in which Conradin was beheaded.—Albert. Argentin. p. 124.

Ostia; his troops lined the frontier and cut off the supplies on which Rome partly depended for subsistence. The Emperor's military movements were uncertain and desultory; when he did move, he was in danger of starvation. The Antipope, to be of any use, ought to have combined the adored sanctity of Cœlestine V. with the vigour and audacity of Boniface VIII. The Romans, always ready to pour forth shouting crowds into the tapestried streets to the coronation of an Emperor, or the inauguration of a Pope, had now had their pageant. Their pride had quaffed its draught: languor ever follows intoxication. They began to oscillate back to their old attachments or to indifference. The excesses of the German soldiers violated their houses, scarcity raised their markets. If the Pope might now, compulsorily, take pride in his poverty (and the loss of the wealth which flowed to Rome under former Pontiffs was not the least cause of the unpopularity of the Avignonese Popes), yet the Emperor's state, the Emperor's forces must be maintained. And how maintained, but by exactions intolerable, or which they would no longer tolerate? The acts of the new government were not such as would propitiate their enemies. Two men, in the absence of the Emperor, were burned for denying Peter of Corvara to be the lawful Pope.[†] A straw effigy of Pope John was publicly burned, a puerile vengeance which might be supposed significant of some darker menace.[‡]

On the 4th of August, not four months after his coronation, the Emperor turned his back on
Louis abandoned Rome. Rome, which he could no longer hold. On the following night came the Cardinal Berthold and Stephen

[†] Villani, c. lxxiv.

[‡] Mussato

Colonna on the 8th, Napoleon Orsini took possession of the city. The churches were reopened; all the privileges granted by the Emperor and the Antipope annulled; their scanty archives, all their Bulls and state papers, burned: the bodies of the German soldiers dug up out of their graves and cast into the Tiber. Sciarra Colonna and his adherents took flight, carrying away all the plunder which they could seize.

Louis of Bavaria retired to Viterbo; he was accompanied by the Pope, whose pontificate, by his own law, depended on his residence in Rome.

The Antipope
in Viterbo.
Oct. 1.

He is charged with having robbed the church of St. Fortunatus even of its lamps—the apostle of absolute poverty! Worse than this, he threatened all who should adhere to his adversary not merely with excommunication, but with the stake. He would employ against them the remedy of burning, and so of severing them from the body of the faithful.^t

Pope John, meantime, at Avignon, having exhausted his spiritual thunders, had recourse to means of defence seemingly more consistent with the successor of Christ's Apostles. He commanded intercessory supplications to be offered in all churches: at Avignon forms of prayer in the most earnest and solemn language were used, entreating God's blessing on the Church, his malediction on her contumacious enemies. His prayers might seem to be accepted. The more powerful of the Ghibelline chieftains came to a disastrous end. Passerino, the crafty tyrant of Mantua, was surprised by a conspiracy of the Gonzago, instigated by Can della Scala, and slain; his son was cast alive to perish in a tower, into which Passerino had thrown the victims of his own

^t "Aduotionis et præcisionis remedium."—Apud Raynaldum, c. lii.

vengeance. The excommunicated Bishop of Forli died by a terrible death; Galeazzo Visconti, so lately Lord of Milan and of seven other great cities, died in poverty, a mercenary soldier in the army of Castruccio. Castruccio himself, if, as is extremely doubtful, Louis could

Sept. 3. have depended on his fidelity (for Castruccio, Master of Pisa, was negotiating with Florence), seemingly his most powerful support, died of a fever."

Pisa, of which Castruccio had become Lord, and Sept. 21. which the Emperor scrupled not to wrest from Louis at Pisa. his sons (Castruccio's dying admonition to them had been to make haste and secure that city), became the head-quarters of Louis and his Antipope. Nicolas V. continued to issue his edicts anathematising the so-called Pope, inveighing against the deposed James of Cahors, against Robert of Naples and the Florentines. But the thunders of an acknowledged Pope made no deep impression on the Italians: those of so questionable a Pontiff were heard with utter apathy. The Ghibellines were already weary of an Emperor whose only Imperial power seemed to be to levy onerous taxes upon them, with none of gratifying their vengeance on the Guelfs. Gradually they fell off. The Marquises of Este made their peace with the Pope. Azzo, the son of Galeazzo Visconti, having purchased his release from the Court of the Emperor at the price of 60,000 florins,^x returned to Milan as Imperial Vicar; but before long the Visconti began to enter into secret correspondence with Avignon; they submitted to the humiliation of being absolved, on their penitence, from the crime of heresy, and of receiving back their dignity

^a Albert Mussato, in Ludov. Bavar. Villani, lxxxv.

^x 125,000. Villani, x. c. 117.

as a grant from the Pope.⁷ The Pope appointed John Visconti Cardinal and Legate in Lombardy.

The Emperor's own German troops, unpaid and unfed, broke away from the camp to live at free quarters wherever they could. The only allies who joined the Court at Pisa were Michael di Cesena, the contumacious General of the Franciscans, and his numerous followers. Pope John had attempted to propitiate this party by the wise measure of canonising Cœlestine V.; but the breach was irreparable between fanatics who held absolute poverty to be the perfection of Christianity, and a Pope whose coffers were already bursting with that mass of gold which on his death astonished the world.

The Emperor, summoned by the threatening state of affairs in Lombardy, broke up his Court at Pisa, and marched his army to Pavia, there to ^{Defection of Italy.} linger for some inglorious months. No sooner was he gone than Ghibelline Pisa rose in tumult, and expelled the pseudo-Pontiff with his officers from their city. They afterwards made a merit with Pope John that they would have seized and delivered him up, but from their fear of the Imperial garrison. A short time elapsed: they had courage to compel the garrison to abandon the city. They sent ambassadors to make their peace with the Pope. Most of the Lombard cities had either set or followed the example of defection. Rumours spread abroad of the death of Frederick of Austria, the friendly rival of the Bavarian for the Empire. Some more formidable claimant might obtain suffrages among those who still persisted in asserting the Empire to be vacant. Louis retired to Trent,

⁷ See in Raynaldus the form of absolution, 1328, c. lv. and lvi.

and for ever abandoned his short-lived kingdom of Italy.²

Death seemed to conspire with Fortune to remove the enemies of the Pope.^a Sciarra Colonna died; Silvester Galta, the Ghibelline tyrant of Viterbo, died; at length Can della Scala was cut off in his power and magnifi-

cence. A more wretched and humiliating fate awaited the Antipope. On the revolt of Pisa from the Imperial interests he had fled to a castle of Count Boniface, Doneratico, about thirty-five miles distant. The castle being threatened by the Florentines, he stole back, and lay hid in the Pisan palace of the same nobleman. Pope John addressed a letter to "his dear brother," the Count, urging him to surrender the child of hell, the pupil of malediction. Peter himself wrote supplicatory letters, throwing himself on the mercy of the Pope. The Count, with honour and courage, stipulated for the life and even for the absolution of the proscribed outlaw. The Archbishop of Pisa was commissioned to receive the recantation, the admission of all his atrocious crimes, and to remove the spiritual censures. In the Cathedral of Pisa,

Aug. 4. where he had sat in state as the successor of St. Peter, the Antipope now abjured his usurped Popedom, and condemned all his own heretical and impious acts. He was then placed on board a galley, and conveyed to Avignon. In every city in Provence through which he passed he was condemned to hear the public recital of all his iniquities. The day after his

Aug. 21. arrival at Avignon he was introduced into the full Consistory with a halter round his neck: he threw

^a He seems to have reached Trent | mer, Regesta.
by Dec. 24 (1329), before the actual | ^a Raynaldus, 1329, xix. Villani,
death of Frederick of Austria.—Boeh- | x. 139.

himself at the Pope's feet, imploring mercy, and execrating his own impiety. Nothing more was done on that day, for the clamour and the multitude, before which the awe-struck man stood mute. A fortnight after, to give time for a full and elaborate statement of all his offences, he appeared ^{Sept. 6.} again, and read his long self-abasing confession. No words were spared which could aggravate his guilt or deepen his humiliation. He forswore and condemned all the acts of the heretical and schismatic Louis of Bavaria, the heresies and errors of Michael di Cesena, the blasphemies of Marsilio of Padua and John of Jaudun. Pope John wept, and embraced as a father his prodigal son. Peter di Corvara was kept in honourable imprisonment in the Papal palace, closely watched and secluded from intercourse with the world, but allowed the use of books and all the services of the Church. He lived about three years and a half, and died a short time before his triumphant rival.^b

Louis of Bavaria, now in undisturbed possession of the Empire by the death of Frederick of Austria (the Pope had in vain sought a new antagonist among the German princes), weary of the strife, dispirited by his Italian discomfiture, still under excommunication, though the excommunication was altogether disregarded by the ecclesiastics as well as by the lay nobles of Germany, was prepared to obtain at any sacrifice the recognition of his title. Baldwin, Arch-^{Reconciliation proposed.} bishop of Treves, and the King of Bohemia, undertook the office of mediation. They proposed terms so humiliating as might have satisfied any one but a Pope like John XXII. Louis would renounce the Antipope, re-

^b Read the Confession of the Antipope, vol. ii.—Apud Baluzium, p. 745.

voke his appeal to a General Council, rescind all acts hostile to the Church, acknowledge the justice of his excommunication. The one concession was that he should remain Emperor. The Pope replied at length, and with contemptuous severity.* The books of Marsilio of Padua and John of Jaudun had made too deep a wound: it was still rankling in his heart. Nor these alone—Michael di Cesena, Bonagratia, William of Ockham, had fled to Germany: they had been received with respect. The Pope examines and scornfully rejects all the propositions:—"The Bavarian will renounce the Antipope after the Antipope has deposed himself, and sought the mercy of the Pope. He will revoke his appeal, but what right of appeal has an excommunicated heretic? He will rescind his acts, but what atonement will he make for those acts? He will acknowledge the justice of his excommunication, but what satisfaction does he offer?—what proof of penitence? By what title would he be Emperor?—his old one, which has been so often annulled by the Pope?—

July 31,
1330. by some new title?—he, an impious, sacrilegious, heretical tyrant?" The King of Bohemia is then exhorted to take immediate steps for the election of a lawful Emperor.

But Louis of Bavaria continued to bear the title and to exercise at least some of the functions of Emperor. Once indeed he proposed to abdicate in favour of his son, but the negotiation came to no end. The restless ambition of John of Bohemia was engaged in an adventurous expedition into Italy, where to the Guelfs he declared that his arms were sanctioned by the Pope—to the Ghibellines, that he came to re-establish the rights of the Empire.

* Martene, *Thesaurus*, ii. 800.

The Pope was more vigorous, if not more successful, in the suppression of the spiritual rebels against his power. The more turbulent and obstinate of the Franciscan Order were spread throughout Christendom, from England to Sicily. The Queen of Sicily was suspected of favouring their tenets. Wherever they were, John pursued them with his persecuting edicts. The Inquisition was instructed to search them out in their remotest sanctuaries; the clergy were directed to denounce them on every Sunday and on every festival.

On a sudden it was bruited abroad that the Pope himself had fallen into heresy on a totally different point. John XXII. was proud of his Heresy of the Pope. theologic learning; he had indulged, and in public, in perilous speculations; he had advanced the tenet, that till the day of Judgement the Saints did not enjoy the beatific vision of God. At his own Court some of the Cardinals opposed him with polemic vehemence. The more absolutely the question was beyond the boundary of human knowledge and revealed truth, the more positive and obstinate were the disputants. The enemies of the Pope—those who already held him to be a heretic on account of his rejection of absolute poverty—raised and propagated the cry with zealous activity. It was either his assertion, or an inference from his doctrines, that the Apostles, that John and Peter, even the Blessed Virgin herself, only contemplated the humanity of Christ, and beheld not his Godhead.^d

About the same time jealousies had begun to grow up between the Pope and the Court of France. A new race, that of Valois, was now on the throne. The Pope, while from his residence at Avignon he might appear the

^d Villani. That, no doubt, was the popular view of the doctrine.

vassal, in fact had become the master of his Sovereign. He ruled by a kind of ostentatious parental authority, by sympathy with all their superstitions, and by fostering their ambition, as soaring to the Imperial crown. Philip of Valois aspired to the character of a chivalrous monarch. He declared his determination to organise a vast crusade, first against the Moors in Spain: his aims extended to the conquest of Syria. But the days were past when men were content with the barren glory of combating for the Cross, when the high religious impulse was the inspiration of valour, the love of Christ with the hope of heaven the sole motive and the sole reward. Philip was no St. Louis. There was more worldly wisdom, more worldly interest, in his plan. He submitted certain propositions to the Pope as the terms on which he would condescend to engage in holy warfare for the Cross:—The absolute disposal of all the vast wealth in the Papal treasury, laid up, as always had been said, for this sacred purpose; the tenths of all Christendom for ten years; the appointment to all the benefices in his realm for three years; the re-erection of the kingdom of Arles in favour of his son; the kingdom of Italy for his brother, Charles Count of Alençon.^f The Pope and the Cardinals stood aghast at these demands. The avaricious Pope to surrender all his treasures!—A new kingdom to be formed which might incorporate Avignon within its limits! They returned a cold answer, with vague promises of spiritual and temporal aid when the King of France should embark on the crusade.

This menaced invasion of his treasury, and the design of creating a formidable kingdom at his gates, caused

^f Raynaldus, sub ann. 1352.

grave apprehensions to the Pope. He had no inclination to sink, like his predecessor, into a tame vassal of the King of France. He began, if not seriously to meditate, to threaten and to prepare, a retreat into Italy, not indeed to Rome. Rome's humble submission had not effaced the crimes of the coronation of the Bavarian, and the inauguration of the Antipope; and Rome was insecure from the raging feuds of the Orsinis and the Colonnas. The Cardinal Legate, Poyet, the reputed son or nephew of the Pope, after a succession of military adventures and political intrigues, was now master of Bologna. He was Count of Romagna, Marquis of the March of Ancona. He announced the gracious intention of the Pope to honour that city with his residence. He began to clear a vast space, to raze many houses of the citizens, in order to build a palace for the Pope's reception; but this palace had more the look of a strong citadel, to awe and keep in submission the turbulent Bolognese.

Meanwhile the King of France seemed still intent on the crusade. He had rapidly come down in his demands. He would be content with the grant of the tenths throughout his realm for six years. But the rest of Christendom was not to escape this sacred tax: the tenths were to be levied for the Pope during the same period. The King solemnly pledged himself to embark in three years for Syria; but he stipulated that if prevented by any impediment, the validity of his excuse was to be judged not by the Pope, but by two Prelates of France designated for that office.

Yet even the stir of preparation for the crusade, somewhat abated by menacing signs of war between France and England, was absorbed not only among the clergy, but among the laity also, by the dis-

Cardinal
Legate at
Bologna.

The Beatific
Vision.

cussions concerning the Beatific Vision, which rose again into engrossing importance. The tenet had become a passion with the Pope. He had given instructions to the Cardinals, Bishops, and all learned theologians, to examine it with the most reverent attention; but benefices and preferments were showered on those who inclined to his own opinions—the rest were rewarded with coldness and neglect. The Pope himself collected a chain of citations from the Scriptures and the Fathers, in which, without absolutely determining the question, he betrayed his own views with sufficient distinctness. Paris became the centre of these disputes. The Pope was eager to obtain the support of the University, in theology, as in all other branches of erudition, of the highest authority. The General of the Franciscans, Gerald Otho, a fellow-countryman of the Pope, and advanced by his favour to that high rank on the degradation of Michael di Cesena, was zealous to display his gratitude. He preached in public, denying the Beatific Vision till the day of Judgement. The University and the Dominicans, actuated by their hostility to the Franciscans, declared the authority of their own irrefragable Thomas Aquinas impeached. They broke out in indignant repudiation of such heretical conclusions. The King rushed into the contest: he declared that his realm should not be polluted with heresy; he threatened to burn the Franciscan as a Paterin; he uttered even a more opprobrious name; he declared that not even the Pope should disseminate such odious doctrines in France. "If the Saints behold not the Godhead, of what value was their intercession? Why address to them useless prayers?" The preacher fled in all haste; with equal haste came the watchful Michael di Cesena to Paris, to inflame and keep alive the ultra-Papal orthodoxy of King Philip.

The King of France and the King of Naples were estranged too by the doubtful conduct of the Pope towards the King of Bohemia. The double-minded Pontiff was protesting to the Florentines that he had given no sanction to, and disclaimed aloud all connexion with, the invasion of Italy by the Bohemian; but, as was well known, John of Bohemia was too useful an ally against Louis of Bavaria for the Pope to break with him; and the Cardinal Legate, Bernard de Poyet, was in close alliance with the Bohemian.^f

The Kings spoke the language of strong remonstrance; the greater part of the Cardinals admitted, with sorrow, the heterodoxy of the Pope. His adversaries, all over Christendom, denounced his grievous departure from holy truth. Bonagratia, the Franciscan, wrote to confute his awful errors. Even John XXII. began to quail: he took refuge in the cautious ambiguity with which he had promulgated his opinions. He sought only truth; he had not positively determined or defined this profound question.

The Pope alarmed.

But the time was now approaching, when, if a Pontiff so worldly and avaricious might be admitted among the Saints, he would know the solution of that unrevealed secret. John XXII. was now near ninety years old: the last year of his life was not the least busy and unquiet. The Greeks, through succours from the Pope and the King of Naples, had obtained some naval advantages over the Turks; but the Cardinal Legate, expelled from Bologna, either fled for refuge or was unwilling to be absent, if not from the deathbed of

A.D. 1334.

^f Compare the curious autobiographical account of this expedition by Charles, the son of John of Bohemia, afterwards the Emperor Charles IV.—Boehmer, Fontes, i. pp. 228, 270.

his parent, from the conclave which should elect his successor. Against Louis of Bavaria, though, in the hope of his surrender of the Empire to his brother, Pope John had taken a milder tone, he now resumed all his immitigable rigour: on the condition of the unqualified surrender of the Empire, and that alone, could Louis be admitted into the bosom of the Church. The Pope had continued to urge the suppression of the Fraticelli by the stake. But his theological hardihood forsook him.^g He published on his deathbed what his enemies called a lukewarm recantation,^h but a recantation which might have satisfied less jealous polemics. He had no intention to infringe on the decrees of the Church. All he had preached or disputed he humbly submitted to the judgement of the Church and of his successors.ⁱ

But if the doctrinal orthodoxy of John XXII. was thus rescued from obloquy, the discovery of the enormous treasures accumulated during his Pontificate must have shaken the faith even of those who repudiated the extreme views of Apostolic poverty. The brother of Villani the historian, a banker, was ordered to take the inventory. It amounted to eighteen millions of gold florins in specie, seven millions in plate and jewels. "The good man," observes the historian, "had forgotten that saying, 'Lay not up your treasures upon earth;' but perhaps I have said more than enough—perhaps he intended this wealth for the recovery of the Holy Land."^k This was beyond and above the lavish ex-

^g Raynald. sub ann.

^h "Tepidam recantationem."—Mino-
rita apud Eccard.

ⁱ Villani. This was dated Dec. 3.
He died Dec. 4.

^k "He loved our city," says Villani, "when we were obedient to the Legate; when not so, he was our enemy."

penditure on the Italian wars, the maintenance of his martial son or nephew, the Cardinal Legate, at the head of a great army, and his profuse provision for other relatives.^m One large source of his wealth was notorious to Christendom. Under the pretext of discouraging simony, he seized into his own power all the collegiate benefices throughout Christendom. Besides this, by the system of Papal reserves, he never confirmed the direct promotion of any Prelate; but by his skilful promotion of each Bishop to a richer bishopric or archbishopric, and so on to a patriarchate, as on each vacancy the annates or first fruits were paid, six or more fines would accrue to the treasury. Yet this Pope—though besides his rapacity, he was harsh, relentless, a cruel persecutor, and betrayed his joy not only at the discomfiture, but at the slaughter of his enemiesⁿ—

^m A large portion of this revenue rose from the system of reservations, carried to its height by John XXII. He began this early. “*Joannes XXII., Pontificatus sui anno primo reservavit suæ et Sedis Apostolicæ collationi, omnia beneficia ecclesiastica, quæ fuerunt et quocunque nomine censeantur, ubicunque ea vacare contigerit per acceptionem alterius beneficii, prætextu gratiæ ab eodem D. Papâ factæ vel faciendæ acceptata, mihi que Gualcelmo Vicecancellario suo præcepit . . . quod hæc redigerem in scripturam.*”—Baluz. Vit. P. Avin. i. p. 722. Those vacancies were extended to other cases. He amplified in the same manner the Papal provisions. “That all these graces would be sold, and that this was the object of their enactment, was as little a secret as the wealth they

brought into the Papal treasury.”—Eichhorn, *Deutsche Recht*, l. ii. p. 507. This is truly said. John, by a Bull under the specious pretext of annulling the execrable usage of pluralities (the Bull is entitled “*Execrabilis*”), commanded all pluralists to choose one, and one only, of their benefices (the Cardinals were excepted), and to surrender the rest, to which the Pope was to appoint, as reserves. “*Quæ omnia et singula beneficia vacatura, ut præmittitur, vel dimissa, nostræ et Sedis Apostolicæ dispositioni reservamus, inhibentes ne quis præter Romanum Pontificem . . . de hujusmodi beneficiis disponere præsumat.*”

ⁿ “*Rallegravasi oltre a modo d' uccisione e morte de' nemici.*”—Viliani, xi. 20.

had great fame for piety as well as learning, arose every night to pray and to study, and every morning attended Mass.^o

^o Boehmer, who warps everything to the advantage of the Pope, ends with this sentence: "Er war neunzig jahre alt, und hinterliess einen Schatz | von fünf und zwanzig Millionen gold gulden." Well might he repudiate the absolute poverty of Christ!

CHAPTER VIII

Benedict XII.

JOHN XXII. had contrived to crowd the Conclave with French Prelates. Twenty-four Cardinals met; the general suffrage was in favour of the brother of the Count of Comminges, Bishop of Porto, but the Cardinals insisted on a solemn promise that De Comminges would continue to rule in Avignon. "I had sooner," he said, "yield up the Cardinalate than accept the Popedom on such conditions." All fell off from the intractable Prelate. In the play of votes, now become usual in the Conclave, all happened at once to throw away their suffrages on one for whom no single vote would have been deliberately given.* To his own surprise, and to that of the College of Cardinals and of Christendom, the White Abbot, the Cistercian, James Fournier, found himself Pope. "You have chosen an ass," he said in humility or in irony. He took the name of Benedict XII.

Benedict XII. did himself injustice: he was a man of shrewdness and sagacity; he had been a great Pope if his courage had been equal to his prudence. His whole Pontificate was a tacit reproach on the turbulence, implacability, and avarice of his predecessor. His first act was to disperse the

* "Et ecce in electione . . . tot cardinalibus quasi insciis, sub altercatione electus extitit." "Ego M. nomino illum, qui si esse non poterit, nomino Blancum, quod repertum est a duobus partibus nominatum."—*l. bert. Argent. p. 125*

throng of greedy expectants around the Court at Avignon. He sent them back, each to his proper function. He declared against the practice of heaping benefices—held, according to the phrase, in commendam—on the favoured few: he retained that privilege for Cardinals alone. He discouraged the Papal reserves; would not create vacancies by a long ascending line of promotions. The clergy did not forgive him his speech, “that he had great difficulty in finding men worthy of advancement.” He even opened the coffers of his predecessor: he bestowed 100,000 florins on the Cardinals. He sought for theological peace. He withdrew to the picturesque sources of the Sorga, not yet famed in Petrarch’s exquisite poetry, to meditate and examine the arguments (he was a man of learning) on the Beatific Vision. He published a full and orthodox determination of the question, that the saints who do not pass through Purgatory immediately behold the Godhead. The heresy of John XXII. was thus at the least implied. He had some thought (he wanted courage to carry out his own better designs) of restoring the See of St. Peter to Italy; but Bologna would not yield up her turbulent independence, and was averse to his reception. Rome was still in a state of strife; and perhaps Robert of Naples did not wish to be overshadowed by the neighbourhood of the Pope.^b Benedict even made the first advance to reconciliation with Louis of Bavaria.

But Benedict XII. was under the hard yoke of the King of France. He soon abandoned all design of emancipation from that control. The magnificent palace

^b Letter written from the bridge over the Sorga to King Philip, July 31, 1335.—Raynald, sub ann.

which, out of the treasures of Pope John, he began to build, looked like a deliberate determination to fix the Holy See for ever on the shores of the Rhône. Avignon was to become the centre and capital of Christendom. The Cardinals began to erect and adorn their splendid and luxuriant villas beyond the Rhône. The amicable overtures to Louis of Bavaria were repressed by some irresistible constraint. The Emperor, weak, weary, worn out with strife, would have accepted the most abasing terms. His own excommunication, the interdict on the Empire, weighed him down. He was not without superstitious awe; his days were drawing on; he might die unabsolved.^c Where the interdict was not observed (in most cities of Germany), there was still some want of solemnity, something of embarrassment in the services of the Church; in a few cities, where the zealous monks or clergy endeavoured to maintain it, were heartburnings, strife, persecution. He would have submitted to swear fealty to the Pope in as ample terms as any former Emperor, and to annul all his acts against Pope John, all acts done as Emperor;^d he would revoke all proceedings and judgements of Henry of Luxemburg against Robert of Naples, all the grants and gifts which he had made at Rome; he would agree to accept no oath of fealty, recognition, or any advocacy, or grant any fief in Rome or in the territories of the Church. If he broke this treaty, the Pope had power to depose him from all his dignities, or to inflict heavier penalties, without citation or solemnity of law.^e He would submit

^c Schmidt, Geschichte, h. vii. l. 7, p. 324.

^d "Quæcunque alia titulo imperii dicta vel facta per nos existunt . . . ita ea omnia irrita et nulla pronunciamus." —Apud Raynaldum. 1336, c. xviii.

^e "Liberum sit Romano Pontifici ad alias penas procedere contra nos, privando etiam nos, si tibi videbitur, imperiali, regiâ et quâlibet aliâ dignitate, absque aliâ vocatione vel juria solemnitate."—Ibid.

to a second coronation in Rome, on a day appointed by the Pope, and quit the city the day after. The Pope was to be the absolute judge of the fulfilment of the treaty.

No sooner had the rumour of these negotiations spread abroad, than Benedict XII. was besieged with rude and vehement remonstrances. Ambassadors arrived at Avignon from the Kings of France and of Naples. The Kings of Bohemia and Hungary were known to support their protest. "Would the Pope," they publicly demanded, "maintain a notorious heretic? Let him take heed, lest he himself be implicated in the heresy." Benedict replied, "Would they destroy the Empire?" "Our sovereigns speak not against the Empire, but against a Prince who has done so much wrong to the Church." "Have we not done more wrong? If my predecessor had so willed, Louis would have come with a staff instead of a sceptre, and cast himself at their feet. He has acted under great provocation." "We could not," he subjoined, "have exacted harder terms, if Louis of Bavaria had been a prisoner in one of our dungeon towers.^f But Benedict could speak, he could not act, truth and justice: his words are a bitter satire on his own weakness. The King of France took summary measures of compulsion: he seized all the estates of the Cardinals, most of them
The King of France at Avignon. French Prelates, within his realm. The Cardinals besieged the Court; the King of France himself visited Avignon. He made a pompous journey, partly to survey the cities of his kingdom, partly from devotion for the recovery of his son, Prince John. He was accompanied by the Kings of Bohemia and Navarre:

^f Albert. Argentin. Chron., p. 126.

he was met by the King of Arragon. He took up his abode in the Villeneuve beyond the Rhone, in his own territory, where the Cardinals had their sumptuous palaces. The Pope, on Good Friday, preached so moving a sermon (disastrous news had arrived from the East) that the King renewed his vows of embarking on the crusade. The other Kings, numberless Dukes, Counts, and Knights, with four Cardinals, were seized with the same contagious impulse. Orders were actually sent to prepare the fleets in all the ports of the south of France; letters were written to the Kings of Hungary, Naples, Cyprus, and to the Venetians, to announce the determination.^g At Avignon the King of France charged Louis of Bavaria with entering into a league with the enemies of France: as though he himself had not occupied cities of the Empire under pretence of protecting them from the pollution of heresy, or as though a league with the enemies of France was an act of hostility to the Pope. And who were these enemies? The war with England had not begun. The obsequious Pope coldly dismissed the Imperial ambassadors.^h

But even success against his enemies raised not Louis of Bavaria from his stupor of religious terror. He had wreaked his vengeance on his most dangerous foe, the King of Bohemia; wrested from him Carinthia and the Tyrol by force of arms, and awarded them to the Austrian Princes. "You tell me," said the Pope, "that he is abandoned by all; but who has yet been able to deprive him of his crown?"ⁱ Still Louis, though repulsed, looked eagerly to Avignon; but so completely

^g Froissart, i. 60.

^h Letter of the Pope to Louis of Bavaria.—Apud Paynald.

ⁱ Albert. Argentin. f. 126, apud Urstisium.

did Philip rule the Cardinals, the Cardinals the Pope, that he took the desperate measure of proposing an alliance with the King of France. Philip could not but in courtesy consult the Pope; the Pope could only sanction an alliance with a Prince under excommunication when he had sought and obtained absolution. Perhaps he thought this the best course to gain permission to absolve Louis; perhaps he was alarmed at the confederacy. But Philip would condescend to this alliance only on his own terms. The Emperor was to pledge himself to enter into treaty with no enemy of France (no doubt he had England in view). The negotiations dragged slowly on: the ambassadors of Louis at Avignon grew weary and left the city. Already the

April, 1337. Pope had warned the King of France, that if he still persisted in his haughty delay, still exacted intolerable conditions, Louis would throw himself into the arms of England. The Pope was profoundly anxious to avert the damnation which hung over the partisans of Louis in Germany and Italy.^k

War was now imminent, inevitable, between France and England. The Pope had interposed his mediation, but in vain.^m Edward III. treated with outward respect, but with no more, the Pope's solemn warning not to be guilty of an alliance with Louis of Bavaria, the contumacious rebel, and the excommunicated outcast of the Church.ⁿ The English clergy were with the King. The

^k Letter from the Pope to Philip.—Raynald. 1337, c. ii.

^m There are several letters MS., B. M., on this subject.

ⁿ MS., B. M. A letter dated July 20, 1337, denounces the crimes of Louis of Bavaria, his offences against

John XXII., his consorting with notorious heretics in Italy, his elevation of Peter of Corvara to the Antipope-dom. Benedict, who had treated him with mildness in hope of his penitence, entered into negotiations with him. King Edward is urged to withdraw

Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London and Winchester, disregarded the Pope's letters, and opposed his Legates. The Emperor rose in importance. The Pope reproached him afterwards with breaking off the negotiations at Avignon, withdrawing his ambassadors, and not appearing at the appointed day, Michaelmas.^o Yet all his conduct showed, that if he had hoped for absolution, Louis of Bavaria would have bought it at any price of degradation. He might seem ready to drink the last dregs of humiliation. He had made, before this, another long appeal to the Pope; he had excused himself, by all kinds of pitiful equivocations, for all his damnable acts in the usurpation of the Empire, and the creation of the Antipope; he forswore all his bold partisans, Marsilio of Padua, John of Jaudun; declared himself ignorant of the real meaning of their writings; threw off Michael of Cesena and the Spiritual Franciscans; asserted himself to hold the orthodox doctrine on the poverty of Christ. This had been his sixth embassy to the Court of Avignon.^p Now, however, Louis took a higher tone: he threatened to march to Avignon, and to extort absolution by force of arms. For not only was his alliance eagerly solicited by England: Germany was roused to indignation. Diet after Diet met, ever more and more resolved to maintain their independent right to elect the Sovereign of the Empire. Henry of Virneburg had been forced by the Pope on the reluctant Chapter and reluctant Emperor as Archbishop of Mentz; but Henry

Oct. 28,
1336.

Movement in
Germany.

from all recognition of Louis as Emperor, till he should have made full satisfaction to the Church. See, following letters, his dread of Edward's alliance "cum Theutonicis," Nov. 13, 1338.

The Pope declares the Empire vacant, the full right of so ordaining in the Pope
 • Lit. ad Archiepisc. Colon., apud Raynald. 1338, c. 3.
 • Oehlenschlager, Urkunden, lxvi.

was now in direct opposition to the Pope, under excommunication. He summoned an assembly of the Prelates and clergy at Spiers. With the utmost unanimity they agreed to send letters, by the Bishop of Coire and Count Gerlach of Nassau, to demand the reconciliation of Louis of Bavaria (they did not call him Emperor) with the Church, and so the deliverance of the German churches and clergy from their wretched state of strife and confusion. The Pope openly refused an answer to these ambassadors; but yet it was believed in Germany that he had whispered into their ears, not without tears, that he would willingly grant the absolution; but that if he did, the King of

July 1.
1338.

France had threatened to treat him with worse indignity than Philip the Fair had treated Boniface VIII.² To the excommunicated Archbishop of Mentz he deigned no reply; but to the Archbishop of Cologne he spoke in milder language, but threw the whole blame of the rupture on the Bavarian. Four other Diets were held of Prelates, Princes, Nobles, at Cologne, Frankfort, Rhense near Coblentz, again at Frankfort.

Diets.
April 19,
May 18,
July 16,
Aug. 8.

At Frankfort the Emperor appeared, and almost in tears complained of the obduracy of the Pope, and charged the King of France with preventing the reconciliation in order to debase and degrade the Imperial crown. He repeated the Lord's Prayer, the Ave-Maria, and the Apostles' creed, to prove his orthodoxy. The assembly declared that he had done enough as satisfaction to the Pope: they pronounced all the Papal proceedings, even the excommunication, null and void. If the clergy would not celebrate the divine services,

² Albertus Argentin.

they must be compelled to do so. The meeting at Rhense was more imposing. Six of the Electors, all but the King of Bohemia, were present.^r It is called the first meeting of the Electoral College. July 16. They solemnly agreed that the holy Roman Empire and they, the Prince-Electors, had been assailed, limited, and aggrieved in their honours, rights, customs, and liberties; that they would maintain, guard, assert those rights against all and every one without exception; that no one would obtain dispensation, absolution, relaxation, abolition of his vow; that he should be, and was declared to be, faithless and traitorous before God and man who should not maintain all this against any opponent whatsoever. The States-General at Frankfort passed, as a fundamental law of the Empire, a declaration that the Imperial dignity and power are from God alone; that an Emperor elected by the concordant suffrage or a majority of the electoral suffrages has plenary Imperial power, and does not need the approbation, confirmation, or authority of the Pope, or the Apostolic See, or any other.^s

This declaration was the signal for an active controversy: for daring acts of defiance on the Papal side, of persecution by the Imperial party. The Pope's ban of excommunication was nailed upon the gate of the Cathedral at Frankfort. At Frankfort all the Canons and Dominicans, in many cities on the Rhine the Dominicans and all known partisans of the Pope, all those who refused to celebrate the service, were expelled from their convents.

^r Chronicon Vintoduran. apud Ecard, i. p. 1844. Chronicon Petren. apud Menckenium, iii. 337. Raynald. 1338, c. viii.

^s "Nec Papæ sive Sedis Aposto-

licæ aut alicujus alterius approbatione, confirmatione, auctoritate indiget vel consensu."—Oehlenschläger, No. lxviii. Rebdorf, Annal. apud Freher

i. 616.

At a Diet at Coblentz the Emperor and the King of England met. Two thrones were raised in the market-place, on which the monarchs took their seats. The Emperor held the sceptre in his right hand, the globe in his left: a knight stood with a drawn sword over his head. Above 17,000 men-at-arms surrounded the assembly. The King of England recognised the Emperor excommunicated by the Pope. Before the Chief Sovereign of Christendom, Edward arraigned Philip of France as unjustly withholding from him not only Normandy, Anjou, and Aquitaine, but the throne of France, his maternal inheritance. The Emperor then rose. He accused Philip of refusing homage for the fiefs held of the Empire. He declared Philip to have forfeited those fiefs, to be out of the protection of the Empire, till he should have restored the kingdom of France to its rightful owner, the King of England. He declared the King of England Imperial Vicar over all the provinces west of the Rhine, and from Cologne to the sea. All the Princes of the Low Countries became thus his allies or vassals. The Emperor and the King of England sent their common defiance to the King of France. Pope Benedict, it was said, rejoiced at that defiance.[†]

Yet all this ostentation of defiance and scorn, this display of German independence, the determination of the electors to maintain their own rights, this confederacy of prelates and nobles and the States-General to repel the pretensions of the Pope, as to any control over the election of the Emperor, the popular excitement against the papalising clergy and monks, the

[†] "De quâ diffidatione," says Albert Argentin (he was a dependent on the Bishop of Strasburg), "Papa Benedictus, eâ intellectâ, multum jocundabatur."—P. 129.

elaborate arguments of the advocates of the Imperial power, the alliance with England—could not repress the versatility of Louis of Bavaria, nor allay his terror of the Papal censures. On the first excuse he began to withdraw his feeble support from the King of England, to revoke his title of Imperial Vicar.^u He listened to the first advances of Philip, who lured him with hope of reconciliation to the Roman See. Two years had not passed when Pope Benedict beheld at his Court at Avignon three Imperial ambassadors (not the first since the treaty with England), the Duke of Saxony, the Count of Holland, and the Count Hohenberg, renowned for his legal knowledge. They were accompanied or met by an ambassador from the King of France, supplicating the Pope to grant absolution to the orthodox, pious, and upright Louis of Bavaria. His letters were somewhat colder and less urgent. They pressed the abrogation of censures, which endangered such countless souls, as far as might be consistent with the honour of the Church. Even a Pope in Avignon could not submit to this insolent dictation, and from a King of France, embarrassed, as Philip now was, by such formidable enemies. Benedict replied with dignity, mingled with his characteristic shrewdness and sarcasm, “that he could not, according to the good pleasure of

^u MS., B. M. The Pope, who had made new proposals of peace between France and England, urges Edward to give up the Vicariate accepted from the excommunicated Louis of Bavaria, Oct. 12, 1339. Benedict's exertions for peace between France and England were constant, earnest, solemn. There is a letter on Edward's assumption of any pretensions to the throne of

France: the crown does not descend in the female line; if it did, there are nearer heirs than Edward: let him not trust to Germans and Flemings. March 3, 1340. See Edward's elaborate answer. Edward is admonished not to be too proud of his victories, Oct. 27, 1340. The King of France had agreed to accept the Pope's mediation as “*persona privata*.”

the King of France, hold Louis of Bavaria one day for a heretic, the next for an orthodox believer: Louis must make his submission, and undergo canonical penance." The world saw through both; it was thought that the King of France pretended to wish that which he did not wish; the Pope not to wish that which in fact was his real wish.*

Benedict XII. did not live to fulfil his peaceful designs. He died, leaving his reputation to be disputed with singular pertinacity by friends and foes. He was a man wiser in speech than in action, betraying by his keen words that he saw what was just and right, but dared not follow it.† Yet political courage alone was wanting. He was resolutely superior to the papal vice of nepotism. On one only of his family, and that a deserving man, he bestowed a rich benefice. To the rest he said: "As James Fournier I knew you well, as Pope I know you not. I will not put myself in the power of the King of France by encumbering myself with a host of needy relatives." He had the moral fortitude to incur unpopularity with the clergy by persisting in his slow, cautious, and regular distribution of benefices; with the monks by rigid reforms. He hated the monks, and even the Mendicant Orders. He showed his hatred, as they said, by the few promotions which he bestowed upon them; and hatred so shown was sure to meet with hatred in return. His weaknesses or vices were not likely to find much charity. He was said to be fond of wine, to like gay and free conversation. A bitter epitaph describes him as a Nero, as death to the

* Albert. Argentin. p. 128. Vin-
toduran. p. 1863. Benedict Vit. viii.
apud Baluzium.

† See the very curious account of a

personal interview which Albert of Stras-
burg had with the Pope, which shows
at once his leaning towards the Emperour
and his jesting disposition.—P. 129.

laity, a viper to the clergy, without truth, a mere cup of wine.² Yet of this Nero there is not one recorded act of cruelty (compare him with John XXII.); he was guiltless of human blood shed in war. He may have shown a viper's tooth to the clergy; he was too apt to utter biting and unwelcome truths. The justice of the other charges may be fairly estimated by the injustice of these. The last was most easy of exaggeration; another tradition ascribes to the habits of Benedict the coarse proverb, "as drunk as a Pope." Another more disgraceful accusation has been preserved or invented on account of the fame of one whose honour was involved in it. He is said to have seduced and kept as a concubine a sister of Petrarch. But this rests on the unsupported authority of a late biographer of the Poet.³

² Ille fuit Nero, laicis mors, vipera clero,
Deivus a vero, cuppa repleta mero."

³ It is absolutely without contemporary authority or allusion, even in the later biographies in Baluzius, which, perhaps written by some of the unpreferred clergy or monks, care-fully record all the other charges. It first appeared in Squarzafico's "Life of Petrarch." If De Sade is right in supposing Petrarch's letter to refer to Benedict XII., he speaks of him as "madidus mero," but there is not a word about licentious manners.—De Sade.

CHAPTER IX.

Clement VI.

THE French Cardinals were all-powerful in the Conclave. The successor of Benedict XII. was Cardinal Clement VI. May 7, 1342. Peter Roger, of a noble house of Marmont in the Limousin. He had been prior of St. Bandille at Nismes, Abbot of Fécamp, Bishop of Arras, Archbishop of Sens, Archbishop of Rouen. A Frenchman by birth, inclination, character, at his inauguration all was French. For the Emperor, for the Senator of Rome, for the Orsinis, Colonnas, Annibaldis, his stirrup was held by the Duke of Normandy, son and heir of the King of France, with the Dukes of Bourbon and Burgundy, and the Dauphin of Vienne. He took the name of Clement VI.; it might almost seem an announcement of the policy which was to distinguish his popedom. If Benedict XII. stood in every respect in strong contrast to John XXII., the rule of Clement's administration might seem to be the studious reversal of that of his predecessor. All the benefices, which the tardy and hesitating conscientiousness of Benedict had left vacant, were filled at once by the lavish and hasty grants of Clement. He declared a great number of bishoprics and abbacies vacant as Papal reserves, or as filled by void elections; he granted them away with like prodigality. It was objected that no former Pope had assumed this power. "They knew not," he answered,

*His first
acts.*

“how to act as Pope.”^a He issued a Brief that all poor clergy who would present themselves at Avignon within two months should partake of his bounty. An eye-witness declared that 100,000 greedy applicants crowded the streets of Avignon.^b If Clement acted up to his maxim, that no one ought to depart unsatisfied from the palace of a prince, how vast and inexhaustible must have been the wealth and preferment at the disposal of the Pope! The reforms of the monastic orders were mitigated or allowed to fall into disuse. The clemency of the Pope had something of that dramatic show which characterises and delights his countrymen. A man of low rank had in former days done him some injury. The man, in hopes that he and his offence had been forgotten, presented a petition to the Pope. Clement remembered both too well. Twice he threw down the petition and trampled it under foot. He was then heard by his attendants to murmur, “Devil, tempt me not to revenge!” He took up and set his seal to the petition.^c

If Clement was indulgent to others, he was not less so to himself. The Court of Avignon became the most splendid, perhaps the gayest, in Christendom. The Provençals might almost think their brilliant and chivalrous Counts restored to power and enjoyment. The papal palace spread out in extent and magnificence. The young art of painting was fostered by the encouragement of Italian artists.^d The Pope was more than royal in the number and attire of his retainers. The papal stud of horses commanded general admiration. The life of Clement was a constant succession of eccle-

^a Vit. iii. et v. Clement VI, apud Baluzium, pp. 284, 321.

^b Vit. i. p. 264.

^c Vit. i. p. 264.

^d See Kugler. Giotto had painted for Clement V., i. 123.

siastical pomps and gorgeous receptions and luxurious banquets. Ladies were admitted freely to the Court,* the Pope mingled with ease in the gallant intercourse. If John XXII., and even the more rigid Benedict, did not escape the imputation of unclerical licence, Clement VI., who affected no disguise in his social hours, would hardly be supposed superior to the common freedom of the ecclesiastics of his day. The Countess of Turenne, if not, as general report averred, actually so, had at least many of the advantages of the Pope's mistress—the distribution of preferments and benefices to any extent, which this woman, as rapacious as she was handsome and imperious, sold with shameless publicity.†

A voluptuous Court was not likely to raise the moral condition of the surrounding city. Petrarch had lived for some time at Avignon, under the patronage of the Cardinal Colonna, and of James Colonna, Bishop of Lombes. His passion for Laura had begun in a church; and though her severe and rare virtue gave that exquisite unattainted purity to his love verses; though as a poet his tenderness never melts into earthly passion; his highest raptures are Platonism; yet Petrarch was not altogether, though he became Canon of Lombes and Archdeacon of Parma, preserved from the contagion of his age; he had two natural children. But of the moral corruption of Avignon he repeatedly speaks with loathing abhorrence; Rome itself in comparison was the seat of matronly virtue: by his account it was one vast brothel. He fled to the quiet and unvitiated seclusion of Vaucluse.‡

Morals of
Avignon.

* “Mulierum et bonorum et potentia cupidus . . . ipse Francis Francus ferventer adhæsit.”—Albert. Argentin. p. 132.

† Matteo Villani.

‡ This repulsive subject cannot be fully understood without the study of Petrarch's letters, especially the book

Clement VI., with his easy temper, was least likely to restrain that proverbial vice of the Popes, which has formed for itself a proper name—Nepotism. On his brothers, nephews, kindred, relatives, compatriots, were accumulated grants, benefices, promotions. One nephew, at the age of eighteen, was Notary of the Apostolic Court and Cardinal.^h

Scarcely had Clement ascended the throne, when the Roman people sent a deputation to his Holiness ^{Embassy} to urge him to return to his See. Petrarch, ^{from Rome.} who had been crowned at Rome, had acquired the rights of a Roman citizen, and was one of the eighteen ambassadors. Among the rest lurked undistinguished Nicolo Rienzi, the future Tribune. Petrarch, as the crowned Poet of Rome, addressed the Pope in a long piece of Latin verse. Rome, the aged female, besought the return of the Pope; she tempted him with the enumeration of her countless religious treasures, her wonder-working reliques, her churches, her apostolic shrines.

The Pope, as usual, put off this supplication with fine

“Sine Titulo.” Avignon was the sink of Christendom. “Nec tam propter se quam propter concurrentes et coactas ibi concretasque orbis sordes ac nequitas hic locus a principio multis atque ante alios mihi pessimus omnium visus est.”—Sen. l. 10, ep. 2. But this wickedness was not only among the low, the retainers of the Church, or the gown. “Tam calidi, tamque præcipites in Venerem senes sunt, tanta eos ætatis et status et virium cepit oblivio, sic in libidines inardescunt, sic in omne ruunt dedecus, quasi omnis eorum gloria, non in cruce Christi sit, sed in comessationibus, et ebrietatibus,

et quæ hæc sequuntur in cubilibus, impudentiis . . . Spectat hæc Sathan ridens atque in pari tripudio delectatus, atque inter decrepitos ac puellas arbiter sedens, stupet plus illos agere, quam se hortari.” I must break off. “Mitto stupra, raptus, incestus, adulteria, qui jam *Pontificalis* ludi lasciviæ sunt.”—P. 730, Ed. Bas. Again I must pause; I dare not quote even the Latin. It is not enough to say that Petrarch was an Italian, and eager to restore the Papacy to Rome, or to treat such passages as satiric declamation.

^h Vit. i. p. 265. Matteo Villari apud Muratori, xiv. l. iii. c. 43.

words, but he granted one request. The Jubilee appointed by Pope Boniface for every hundred years was ^{The Jubilee,} but a partial blessing to mankind; very few indeed lived to that period. Clement ordained that it should be celebrated at the end of fifty years.

One man alone was excepted from the all-embracing clemency of the Pope—Louis of Bavaria. ^{Louis of Bavaria.} Already, as Archbishop of Rouen, Clement had preached before the Kings of France and Bohemia a furious and abusive declamation, in which he played on the name of the Bavarian. Louis had not merely joined in the persecution of those ecclesiastics or monks who obeyed the papal interdict; he had done an act of usurpation on the ecclesiastical authority, which, besides its contempt of the Pope, had inflamed against him the implacable resentment of the King of Bohemia. Of his imperial authority he had dissolved the marriage of Margaret of Carinthia, heiress of great part of the Tyrol, and sanctioned her repudiation of her husband, a younger son of the King of Bohemia.¹ He had then given a dispensation for her marriage with his own son, within the prohibited degrees.^k The bold and faithful asserters of the imperial power, Marsilio of Padua and William of Ockham, had been again his counsellors; they declared the power of dissolving marriages, and of dispensations, to be inherent in the imperial crown.

Yet on the accession of Clement. Louis sent a sub-

¹ Albert of Strasburg gives a strange account of this ill-assorted wedlock. "Cumque Joannes Comes Tyrolis, filius Bohemi *impotens*, uxorem suam *semifatuam* plurimum molestaret, inter alia, ejus mordendo mammillas."

^k Albert (p. 119) calls the act of Louis "inconsuetum et horribile. O idolorum servitus avaritia, quæ tantos principes confudisti, ex quibus iterum inter Bohemos et Principem et filios suos non immerito livor edax et odia suscitantur."

missive embassy to the Pope, to demand absolution. At the same time he reminded Philip of France of his solemn oath to interpose his friendly mediation. The Pope sternly answered that Louis must first acknowledge his sins and heresies, entreat pardon, lay down his imperial power at the Pope's feet, and restore the Tyrol to its rightful lord.

During the same year Clement published a new Bull of excommunication throughout Christendom, which, if Louis did not abdicate all his imperial authority within three months, and appear to receive judgement before the papal tribunal, threatened him with still heavier and worldly penalties. The Archbishops, Henry of Mentz and Baldwin of Treves, were ordered immediately to take steps for the election of a King of the Romans.

Louis was constantly vacillating between the most haughty defiance of the Pope and the meanest submission. At one time he alarmed the religious fears of his boldest partisans by his lofty pretensions; at another, disquieted them by his abject humiliation. He now threatened not to recognise Clement as Pope; he gave away bishoprics and benefices to which the Pope had already presented; he seized the money which the Pope's collectors were exacting for a crusade. But no sooner had the Pope's order to the Archbishops to summon the electors to discuss a new election, and the publication of the papal excommunication throughout Germany, produced some effect—no sooner had the electors met at Rhense,—than Louis hastened to entreat their forbearance, to promise his utmost endeavours to obtain reconciliation with the Pope, and to be guided altogether by their counsel.

Not content with this, Louis plunged desperately and

at once into the lowest depths of humiliation. The Pope at the close of the three months had held a consistory. It was proclaimed in Latin and in German, "Does any one appear for Louis of Bavaria?" None replied. He was pronounced in contumacy. At the same time came the answer of the King of France. "He had not sought the favour of the Pope in a becoming manner."^m

And now even the Pope himself was astonished by a proposal from Louis, that he, Clement, should absolutely dictate the form of submission: the ambassadors of Louis would receive full powers to subscribe to whatever conditions the Pope might be pleased to impose. Now was executed a procuration the most disgraceful, the most rigorous, that Louis ought not to have signed had he been in the Pope's prison.ⁿ It might seem to tax the ingenuity of the Pope's pride and enmity to frame more degrading conditions. Louis was to acknowledge and repudiate all his transgressions committed against John XXII. or his legates in the election of an Antipope, the protection of Marsilio of Padua and his fellows, his appeal to the Council; he was to condemn and declare accursed all the errors of Marsilio and his partisans. As penance for these offences, Louis was to undertake a crusade, build churches and monasteries, and do all other acts to the satisfaction of the Pope; he was to entreat pardon and absolution for all his crimes, to lay aside unconditionally the imperial title assumed at Rome; to confess that he had borne it heretically and unlawfully; to surrender his whole power into the hands of the Pope:

^m Albert. Argentin.

ⁿ So writes the author of the Paralipomena.—Chronic. Urspergens. p. 271.

as regarded the Kings of France and Bohemia, to conform himself entirely to the Pope's will; humbly to beseech the Pope to restore him to that state in which he was before his condemnation by Pope John; formally to take the amplest oath of allegiance ever taken by his predecessors to the Pope, to confirm all grants, to swear never to assail the papal territory, and be in all things, even the most severely trying, absolutely and entirely obedient to the Pope; to surrender his whole power, state, will, judgement, to the free and unlimited disposition of the Pope.° The imperial ambassadors, the Dauphin of Vienne, the Bishops of Augsburg and Bamberg, and Ulric of Augsburg, had full authority to sign these terms, which Henry IV. might almost have been ashamed of at Canosa. They ^{Jan. 1344.} swore on the Gospels and by the soul of the Emperor, that he would truly observe them. They signed them in full consistory, in the presence of twenty-three Cardinals and numbers of French, Italian, and German prelates.

But even yet the insatiate pretensions of the Roman See had not reached their height. The Emperor had drunk the very lees of humiliation; the Empire itself must be prostrate, as of old, at the feet of the Popedom: one more precedent must be furnished for the total subordination of the temporal to the spiritual power. New articles were prepared; the Emperor was to swear that all acts hitherto done by himself or in his name were invalid; he was to entreat the Pope, when he removed the ban of excommunication, to give validity

° "Res, statum, velle et nolle, nihil | Domini nostri Papæ."—Lud. IV. Sub-
 missio, in Baluz. Miscellan. ii. 273,
 lute et liberaliter in manibus dicti | 276.

to such acts; he was to make oath, not only not to attack the territory of the Church, but especially the three dependent kingdoms, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica; that he would enter into no alliance with heretics, whether men, princes, or kings; that he would issue no ordinance as Emperor or King of the Romans without special permission of the Roman See; that he would supplicate the Pope, after absolution, to grant him the administration of the empire; that he would make the States of the empire swear by word and by writing to stand by the Church. If he should not fulfil all these terms, should any doubt arise concerning these articles, the Pope alone was to judge thereof.

Louis, without appeasing his enemies, had sunk into the most abject contempt with his rightful partisans: this contempt would not condescend to disguise or dis-
Sept. 1344. Indignation of Germany. semblable itself. At a Diet at Frankfort the Emperor ventured to appear, and to submit to the States of Germany his own shame and the shame of the Empire. Some lingering personal respect for Louis and for his high office constrained the assembly; but though he had forfeited his own dignity, they would maintain theirs. Wicker, the Proto-notary of Trèves, in a long and skilful speech, showed the usurpation of the Pope on the rights of the Empire. An embassy was determined to represent to Pope Clement that the conditions to which Louis had submitted could not be fulfilled without violating his oath to the States. In other quarters there were loud murmurs that an Emperor who had so debased the holy office, ought to be compelled to abdicate: the throne had been so degraded by the Bavarian, that no Bavarian should ever hereafter be raised to the throne.

The Pope, after some time, took a strong aggressive

measure. Henry of Virneburg, Archbishop of Mentz, was deposed by his sole authority.^p Gerlach, April 11, 1346. a brother of the powerful Count of Holland, whose estates were in the neighbourhood, was elevated though but twenty years old, to the Metropolitan See.

The Pope scrupled not to break, if he could, the bruised reed. A new Bull of excommunication, on the pretence that Louis had betrayed April 13, 1346. reluctance or tardiness in the fulfilment of the treaty, was promulgated, which in the vigour and fury of its curses transcended all that had yet, in the wildest times, issued from the Roman See. "We humbly implore the Divine power to confute the madness and crush the pride of the aforesaid Louis, to cast him down by the might of the Lord's right hand, to deliver him into the hands of his enemies, and of those that persecute him. Let the unforeseen snare fall upon him! Be he accursed in his going out and his coming in! The Lord strike him with madness, and blindness, and fury! May the heavens rain lightning upon him! May the wrath of Almighty God, and of the blessed apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, turn against him in this world and in the world to come! May the whole world war upon him! May the earth open and swallow him up quick! May his name be blotted out in his own generation, his memory perish from the earth! May the elements be against him, his dwelling be desolate! The merits of all the Saints at rest confound him and execute vengeance on him in this life! Be his sons cast forth from their homes and be delivered before his eyes into the hands of his enemies!"^q The Electors were called upon to proceed at once to the creation of a new Emperor.

^p Albert. Argentin. p. 135.

^q Raynalus, sub ann.

Of these electors two only, his son the Margrave of Brandenburg, and the deposed Archbishop of Mentz, adhered to Louis. The three ecclesiastical electors, including Gerlach of Mentz, the King of Bohemia, the Duke of Saxony, were arrayed against him. The Elector Palatine vacillated between the parties. John, the King of Bohemia, the rival of Louis, now embittered by the affair of the Tyrol, was blind, and so disqualified for the Imperial crown. His son, Charles of Charles of Moravia. Moravia (of the age of thirty-six), was the representative of the house of Luxemburg. The Pope, not without fierce debates in the consistory, had determined to put forward Charles. The French cardinals, headed by the Cardinal Perigord, the Gascons by the Cardinal de Comminges, came to high words in the presence of the Pope. Each charged the other with treason to the Church. De Comminges accused Talleyrand de Perigord as implicated in the murder of Andrew, King of Naples. The Pope had refused to hear the ambassadors of the King of Hungary, when they demanded vengeance for that murder. The dispute almost came to a personal conflict. Talleyrand rose up to strike De Comminges; the Pope and the other cardinals parted them with difficulty. They retired in sullen wrath; each fortified his palace and armed his retainers. It was long before they were brought even to the outward show of amity.^r

Charles obtained not the support of the Pope without hard and humiliating conditions. He swore to those conditions before the Conclave. Eight days after his election he was to ratify his oath. He was to rescind all the acts of Louis of Bavaria; he was so religiously to respect the territories of the Church to their widest

^r Raynaldus, sub ann.

extent, that he was only to enter Rome for his coronation, and on the day of his coronation to depart again from the city.

The Electors met at Rhense; the Empire was declared long vacant; Charles of Moravia was proclaimed King of the Romans. But Frankfort had shut her gates against the Electors. Aix-la-Chapelle shut her gates against the new Emperor. Louis, July 11, 1346. low as he had fallen, almost below contempt, had still partisans; Germany at least had partisans. An assembly at Spire declared the election at Rhense void; and denied the right of the Pope to depose an Emperor.

War, a terrible civil war, seemed inevitable. But gratitude, kindred, the unextinguished passion for chivalrous adventure, led the blind John of Bohemia, accompanied by his son, the elected Emperor, to join the army of the King of France, now advancing to repel the invasion of Edward III. of England. The Battle of Crecy. Aug. 26, 1346. blind King fell nobly on the field of Crecy. His Imperial son was the first to fly; he was of the few that escaped the carnage of that disastrous day. Charles was thus King of Bohemia. As King of the Romans, though Aix-la-Chapelle and Cologne still closed their gates, he was crowned at Bonn. But Germany scoffed at the Priests' Emperor; the ally of the discomfited King of France, the fugitive of Crecy, made but slow progress either by arms or by policy. The unexpected death of Louis of Bavaria left him Death of Louis of Bavaria, October. without rival. Louis died the last Emperor excommunicated by the Pope; the Emperor, of all those that had been involved in strife with the Papacy, who had demeaned himself to the lowest baseness of submission.

Yet Germany would not acknowledge an Emperor

nominated by the Pope. The Empire was offered to Edward of England; it was declined by him. The election then fell on Gunther of Schwarzenburg.^s His resignation and his death relieved Charles from a dangerous rival; but Charles was obliged to submit to a new election at Frankfort. His coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle at length established his right to the throne. Still he was recognised not as appointed by the Pope; but raised by the free choice of Germany to the kingdom of the Romans.^t

In Italy, tragical and wonderful events marked the Pontificate of Clement VI. In Naples, King Robert had closed his long and busy reign. The crown had descended to his granddaughter, the heiress of the Duke of Calabria. Joanna was wedded in her early youth to her kinsman Andrew, of the royal house of Hungary. Joanna now stood arraigned before the world as an adulteress; if not as an accomplice, as having connived at the murder of her husband.^u Louis, King of Hungary, invaded the kingdom with a strong force to avenge his brother's death, and to assert his right to the throne as heir of Charles Martel. Joanna fled to Avignon; she was for a time placed under custody; but the Pope granted a dispensation for her marriage with her kinsman, Louis of Tarento. She returned to Naples, having sold to the Pope the city of Avignon, part of her kingdom of Provence.^x The Pope thus recognised her

^s Schmidt, Geschichte, p. 359.

^t Hervart von Hohenburg published two learned works, in defence of Louis of Bavaria against Bzovius, the continuator of Baronius. They contain many of the documents.

^u Compare Giannone, l. xxiii. He

is favourable to the character and abilities of Joanna.

^x Vit. Clement VI. apud Baluzium. The price was 30,000 florins of gold of Florence. Lunig, quoted in Giannone, xxiii. 1.

title; he became henceforth the lord and owner of Avignon. War continued to rage in Naples between the Hungarian faction and that of Joanna and Louis of Tarento. At length the determination of the contest (the cause having, as will appear, been heard on his tribunal by Nicolo Rienzi at Rome) was referred to the Pope, the lord paramount of the kingdom of Naples. After a year's examination by three Cardinals, Joanna pleaded that she was under a magic spell, which compelled her to hate her husband. Against such a plea who would venture to deny her innocence? And in this justification the Pope, and on the Pope's authority the world, acquiesced. The award of Clement absolved Joanna from the crime: ^y with her husband, Louis Prince of Tarento, she was restored to ^{Peace in 1351.} the throne. Peace was established between Naples and Hungary. Rome, meantime, had beheld the rise and fall of Rienzi.

^y The King of Hungary openly accused the Cardinal Talleyrand Perigord as an accomplice in the murder.

CHAPTER X.

Rienzi.

ROME for nearly forty years had been deserted by the Popes. she had ceased to be the religious capital of the world. She retained the shrines and the reliques of the great apostles and the famous old churches, the Lateran, St. Peter, and St. Paul; some few pilgrims came from all parts of Europe to the city still hallowed by these sacred monuments, to the Jerusalem of the West. But the tide of homage and tribute which had flowed for centuries towards the shrine of the successors of St. Peter had now taken another course. All the ecclesiastical causes and the riches they poured into the papal treasury; the constant influx of business which created large expenditure; the thousands of strangers, which year after year used to be seen in Rome from motives secular or religious, now thronged the expanding streets of Avignon. Rome, thus degraded from her high ecclesiastical position, was thrown back more forcibly than ever on her older reminiscences. She had lost her new, she would welcome with redoubled energy whatever might recall her ancient supremacy. At the height of the Papal power old Rome had been perpetually breaking out into rebellion against younger Rome. Her famous titles had always seemed to work like magic on her ear. It was now Republican and now Imperial Rome which threw off disdainfully the thralldom of the Papal dominion. The Consul Crescentius, the Senator Brancaleone, Arnold

of Brescia, the Othos, the Fredericks, Henry of Luxemburg, Louis of Bavaria, had proclaimed a new world-ruling Roman republic, or a new world-ruling Roman Empire. Dante's universal monarchy, Petrarch's aspirations for the independence of Italy, fixed the seat of their power, splendour, liberty, at Rome.

The history of Rienzi may now be related almost in Rienzi's own words, and that history, thus revealed, shows his intimate connexion not only ^{Rienzi.} with Roman and Papal affairs, but is strangely moulded up with the Christianity of his time.* His autobiography ascends even beyond his cradle. The Tribune disdains the vulgar parentage of the Transteverine innkeeper and the washerwoman, whom Rome believed to be the authors of his birth. With a kind of proud shamelessness he claims descent, spurious indeed, from the Imperial house of Luxemburg. His account is strangely minute. "When Henry of Luxemburg went up to be crowned (May, 1312) at Rome, the church of St. Peter, in which the coronation ought to have been celebrated, was in the power of his enemies, the Roman Guelfs and the King of Naples. Strong barricades and defences, as well as the deep Tiber, separated the two parts of the city. Henry was therefore compelled to hold his coronation in the church of St. John Lateran. But the

* These documents, unknown to Gibbon and to later writers, were published by Dr. Papencordt, "Cola di Rienzi und seine Zeit," Hamburg and Gotha, 1841. (Compare Quarterly Review, vol. lxi. p. 346, by the author.) They are chiefly letters addressed by Rienzi to Charles, Emperor and King of Bohemia, and to the Archbishop of Prague, written during

his residence in Bohemia after his first fall. They throw a strong, if not a clear and steady light upon his character. These documents were first discovered and made use of by Pelzel, the historian of Bohemia. The original MS. is not to be found, but the copy made by Pelzel for his own use is in the library of Count Thun at Tetschen. It was published almost entire by Dr. Papencordt.

religious Emperor was very anxious, before he left Rome, to pay his devotions at the shrine of St. Peter, and to see the church which had witnessed the coronation of so many Emperors. He put on the garb of a pilgrim, and in this disguise, with a single attendant, found his way into the church of St. Peter. A report spread abroad that the Emperor had passed the barriers in secret; the gates and bridges were instantly closed and jealously watched; and a herald was sent to put the Guelfic faction on their guard, and to offer a large reward for his capture. As soon as the Emperor and his attendant perceived this movement, they stole hastily along a street by the bank of the river, and, finding all the passages closed, they took refuge, under pretence of going in to drink, in the hostel or small inn kept by Rienzi's supposed father. There they took possession of a small chamber, and lay hid for ten or fifteen days. The Emperor's attendant

Story of his birth. went out to procure provisions: in the mean time, Rienzi's mother, who was young and handsome, ministered to the Emperor (Rienzi's own words!), 'as their handmaids did to holy David and to the righteous Abraham.'” Henry afterwards escaped to the Aventine, retired from Rome, and died in the August of that year. “But as there is nothing hidden that does not come to light, when his mother found out the high rank of her lover, she could not help, like a very woman, telling the secret of her pregnancy by him to her particular friend; this particular friend, like a woman, told it to another particular friend, and so on, till the rumour got abroad. His mother, too, on her deathbed, confessed the whole, as it was her duty, to the priest. Rienzi, after his mother's death, was sent by his father to Anagni, where he remained till his twentieth year. On his return, this marvellous story was related

to him by some of his mother's friends, and by the priest who attended her deathbed.^b Out of respect for his mother's memory, Rienzi was always impatient of the scandal, and denied it in public, but he believed it in his heart,^c and the imperial blood stirring in his veins, he began to disdain his plebeian life, to dream of honours and glories far above his lowly condition. He sought every kind of instruction; he began to read and study history, and the lives of great and good men, till he became impatient to realise in his actions the lofty lessons which he read." Was this an audacious fiction, and when first promulgated? Was it after his fall, to attach himself to the imperial house when he offered himself, as will hereafter appear, as an instrument to reinstate the Cæsarean power in Italy?^d

Be this as it may, the adolescence of Rienzi was passed in obscurity at Anagni. He then returned to Rome, a youth of great beauty, with a smile which gave a peculiar and remarkable expression to his countenance. He married the daughter of a burgher, who brought him a dowry of 150 golden florins; he had three children, one

^b The priest must have heard it sub sigillo confessionis; but Roman priests in those days may not have been over strict.

^c There are strong obvious objections to this story. The German writers know nothing of Henry's ten or fifteen days' absence from his camp, which could hardly have been concealed, as it must have caused great alarm. Consider too Rienzi's long suspicious silence, though he labours to account for it. He endeavoured, he avers, to suppress the report at the time of his greatness, because any kind of German connexion would have been highly un-

popular in Rome; but that the rumour prevailed among many persons of both sexes and all ages. Rienzi, on the other hand, appeals to a Roman noble, who at the court of Louis of Bavaria had spoken freely of his great secret, "Tam sibi quam suis ut audivi domesticis hanc conditionem meam sibi consciam revelavit."

^d De Sade had picked up what may seem a loose reminiscence of the story. The mother of Rienzi, he says, was reported to be the daughter of a bastard of King Henry. This could not be. The whole is in the Urkunde of Dr. Papencordt, p. xxxii.

son and two daughters. He embraced the profession of a notary. But his chief occupation was poring over those sacred antiquities of Rome, which exercised so powerful an influence on his mind. Rome had already welcomed the first dawn of those classical studies, publicly, proudly, in the coronation of Petrarch.^e The respect for the ancient monuments of Rome, and for her famous writers, which the great poet had endeavoured to inculcate by his language and by his example, crept into the depths of Rienzi's soul. The old historian, Fortefiocca, gives as his favourite authors Livy, Cicero, Seneca, Valerius Maximus; but "the magnificent deeds and words of the great Cæsar were his chief delight." His leisure was passed among the stupendous and yet august remains, the ruins, or as yet hardly ruins, of elder Rome. He was not less deeply impregnated with the Biblical language and religious imagery of his day, though he declares that his meditations on the profound subjects of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate, were not drawn from the holy wisdom of Gregory or Augustine, but were droppings from the less deep and transparent springs of the Roman patricians, Boethius and Symmachus, Livy, Cicero, and Seneca. Even now a religious has begun to mingle with the Roman fanaticism of the youth.

Already, too, had Rienzi learned to contrast the miserable and servile state of his countrymen with that of their free and glorious ancestors. "Where are those old Romans? Where their justice? Would that I had lived in their times!"^f The sense of personal wrong was wrought up with these more lofty and patriotic feelings. His younger brother was murdered; and

• Apud Muratori, R. I. S.

^f The passage is quoted by Papencordt.

Rienzi, unable to obtain redress from the partial and disdainful justice of the nobles, vowed vengeance for the innocent blood. And already had he assumed the office of champion of the poor. As the heads of the mercantile guilds, or the Roman Schools, called themselves by the proud name of Consuls, so Rienzi took the title of Consul of the orphans, the widows, and the indigent.

Rienzi must have attained some fame, or some notoriety, to have been either alone or among the delegates of the people sent on the public mission to Clement VI. at Avignon.^g These ambassadors were instructed to make three demands, some of them peremptory, of the Pope:—I. To confirm the magistracy appointed by the Romans. II. To entreat his Holiness at least to revisit Rome. III. To appoint the Jubilee for every fiftieth year. The eloquence of Rienzi so charmed the Pope that he desired to hear him every day. He enthralled the admiration of a greater than the Pope: Petrarch here learned to know him whose fame was to be the subject of one of his noblest odes.^h

Rienzi wrote in triumph to Rome.ⁱ The Pope had acceded to two of the demands of the people: he had granted the Jubilee on the fiftieth year; he had promised, when the affairs of Rome should permit, to revisit Rome. Rienzi calls on the mountains around, and on

^g There seem to have been two embassies, successive or simultaneous, one headed by Stephen Colonna, and two other nobles, with Petrarch; another (perhaps later), in which Rienzi signed himself "Nicolaus Laurentii, Romanus, consul orphanorum viduarum et pauperum, unicus popularis legatus."—Hobhouse, "Illustrations of Childe

Harold."

^h The "Spirto gentil." I cannot doubt that this canzone was addressed to Rienzi.

ⁱ These letters were published from the Turin MSS. by Mr. Hobhouse (Lord Broughton), in his "Illustrations of Childe Harold."

the hills and plains, to break out into joy. "May the Roman city arise from her long prostration, ascend the throne of her majesty, cast off the garment of her widowhood, and put on the bridal purple. Let the crown of liberty adorn her head, and rings of gold her neck; let her reassume the sceptre of justice; and, regenerate in every virtue, go forth in her wedding attire to meet her bridegroom. . . . Behold the most merciful Lamb of God that confoundeth sin! The most Holy Pontiff, the father of the city, the bridegroom of the Lord, moved by the cries and complaints and wailings of his bride, compassionating her sufferings, her calamities, and her ruin—astonished at the regeneration of the city, the glory of the people, the joy and salvation of the world—by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost—opening the bosom of his clemency—has pledged himself to have mercy upon us, and promises grace and redemption to the whole world, and to the nations remission of sins." After all this vague and high-flown Scriptural imagery, Rienzi passes to his classical reminiscences:—"What Scipio, what Cæsar, or Metellus, or Marcellus, or Fabius, can be so fairly deemed the deliverer of their country, or so justly honoured with a statue? They won hard victories by the calamities of war, by the bloodshed of citizens: he, unsolicited, by one holy and triumphant word, has achieved a victory over the present and future disasters of his country, re-established the Roman commonwealth, and rescued the despairing people from death."

Whether Pope Clement was conscious that he was deluding the ardent Rienzi with false hopes, while the eloquence of Rienzi palled in the ears of the French Papal Court; whether Rienzi betrayed his suspicions of the Pope's sincerity, or the Cardinal Colonna became

jealous of his influence with the Pope, he soon fell into disfavour. At Avignon he was reduced to great poverty, and, probably from illness, was glad to take refuge in a hospital.* The Cardinal, however, perhaps from contemptuous compassion, reconciled him with the Pope. Rienzi returned to Rome with the appointment of Notary in the Papal Court, and a flattering testimonial to his character, as a man zealous for the welfare of the city.

At Rome, Rienzi executed his office of Notary by deputy, and confined himself to his studies, and to his profound and rankling meditations on the miseries and oppressions of the people. The luxury of the nobles was without check; the lives of the men and the honour of the women seemed to be yielded up to their caprice and their lust. All this Rienzi attributed, in a great degree, to the criminal abandonment of his flock by the Supreme Pontiff. "Would that our pastor had been content with this scandal alone, that he should dwell in Avignon, having deserted his flock! But far worse than this: he nurses, cherishes, and favours those very wolves, the fear of which, as he pretends, keeps him away from Rome, that their teeth and their talons may be stronger to devour his sheep. On the Orsini, on the Colonnas, and on the other nobles whom he knows to be infamous as public robbers, the destroyers, both spiritual and temporal, of his holy episcopal city, and the devourers of his own peculiar flock, he confers dignities and honours; he even bestows on them rich prelacies, in order that they may wage those wars which they have not wealth enough to support, from the treasures of the Church; and when he has been

Rienzi in
Rome.

* Fortefiocca, apud Muratori.

perpetually entreated by the people that, as a compassionate father, he would at least appoint some good man, a foreigner, as ruler over his episcopal city, he would never consent; but, in contempt of the petitions of the people, he placed the sword in the hands of some madman, and invested the tyrants of the people with the authority of Senators, for the sole purpose, as it is credibly known and proved, that the Roman flock, thus preyed on by ravening wolves, should not have strength or courage to demand the residence of their Pastor in his episcopal seat.”^m

Rienzi, thus despairing of all alleviation of the calamities of the people from the ecclesiastical power, sat brooding over his hopes of reawakening the old Roman spirit of liberty. In this high design he proceeded with wonderful courage, address, and resolution. He submitted to every kind of indignity, and assumed every disguise which might advance his end. He stooped to be admitted as a buffoon to amuse, rather than as a companion to enlighten, the haughty nobles in the Colonna Palace. He has been called the modern Brutus: ⁿ he alleges higher examples. “I confess that, drunken after the parching fever of my soul, in order to put down the predominant injustice, and to persuade the people to union, I often feigned and dissembled; made myself a simpleton and a stage-player; was by turns serious or silly, cunning, earnest, and timid, as occasion required, to promote my work of love. David danced before the ark, and appeared as a madman before the King; Judith stood before Holofernes, bland, crafty, and dissembling; and Jacob obtained his blessing

^m Thus he wrote **later** to the Archbishop of Prague.—Papencordt, *Urkunde*, f. xliv.

ⁿ By Gibbon. See *Urkunde*, p. xlix.

by cunning: so I, when I took up the cause of the people against their worst tyrants, had to deal with no frank and open antagonists, but with men of shifts and wiles, the subtlest and most deceitful." Once in the assembly of the people he was betrayed by his indignation into a premature appeal to their yet unawakened sympathies. He reproached his fellow representatives with their disregard of the sufferings of the people, and ventured to let loose his eloquence on the blessings of good order. The only answer was a blow from a Norman kinsman of the Colonnas; in the simple language of the historian, a box on the ear that rang again.^o

Allegorical picture was the language of the times. The Church had long employed it to teach or to enforce Christian truth or Christian obedience among the rude and unlettered people. It had certainly been used for political purposes.^p Dante may show how completely the Italian mind must have been familiarised with this suggestive imagery. Many of the great names of the time—the Orsini, the Mastini, the Cani, the Lucchi—either lent themselves to or grew out of this verbal symbolism. Rienzi seized on the yet unrestricted freedom of painting, as a modern demagogue might on the freedom of the press, to instil his own feelings of burning shame at the common degradation and oppression. All the historians have dwelt on the masterpiece of his pictorial eloquence:—On a sinking ship, without mast or sail, sat a noble lady in widow's weeds, with dishevelled hair and her hands crossed over her breast. Above was written, "This is Rome." She was surrounded by four other ships, in

Allegorical
painting.

^o "Un sonante gotata," — Fortefiocca.

^p Dr. Papencordt cites many examples.

which sat women who personated Babylon, Carthage, Tyre, Jerusalem. "Through unrighteousness," ran the legend, "these fell to ruin." An inscription hung above, "Thou, O Rome, art exalted above all; we await thy downfall." Three islands appeared beside the ship; in one was Italy, in another four of the cardinal virtues, in the third Christian Faith. Each had its appropriate inscription. Over Faith was written, "O highest Father, Ruler, and Lord! when Rome sinks, where find I refuge?" Bitter satire was not wanting. Four rows of winged beasts stood above, who blew their horns, and directed the pitiless storm against the sinking vessel. The lions, wolves, and bears denoted, as the legend explained, the mighty barons and traitorous senators; the dogs, the swine, and the bulls, were the counsellors, the base partisans of the nobles; the sheep, the serpents, and foxes, were the officers, the false judges, and notaries; the hares, cats, goats, and apes, the robbers, murderers, adulterers, thieves, among the people. Above was, "God in his majesty come down to judgement, with two swords, as in the Apocalypse, out of his mouth." St. Peter and St. Paul were beneath, on either side, in the attitude of supplication.

Rienzi describes another of his well-known attempts to work upon the populace, and to impress them with the sense of the former greatness of Rome.^a The great bronze tablet^r containing the decree by which the Senate conferred the Empire upon Vespasian, had been employed by Boniface VIII., out of jealousy to the Emperor, as Rienzi asserts,^s to form part of an altar in the

^a Letter to the Archbishop of Prague, in Papencordt.

^r The *lex regia*, Imperium. This tablet is still in the Capitoline Museum.

^s This was written when Rienzi's object was to obtain favour with the Emperor (Charles) at the expense of the Pope.

Lateran Church, with the inscription turned inward, so that it could not be read. Rienzi brought forth this tablet, placed it on a kind of high scaffold in the Church, and summoned the people to a lecture on its meaning,^t in which he enlarged on the former power and dominion of Rome.^u

Rienzi's hour came at length. Throughout his acts the ancient traditions of Pagan Rome mingled with the religious observances of the Christian capital. The day after Ash Wednesday (A.D. 1347) a scroll appeared on the doors of the Church of St. George in Velabro: "Ere long Rome will return to her good estate." Nightly meetings were held on the Aventine (Rienzi may have learned from Livy the secession of the people to that hill). Rienzi spoke with his most impassioned eloquence. He compared the misery, slavery, debasement of Rome, with her old glory, liberty, universal dominion. He wept; his hearers mingled their tears with his. He summoned them to freedom. There could be no want of means; the revenue of the city amounted to 300,000 golden florins. He more than hinted that the Pope would not disapprove of their proceedings. All swore a solemn oath of freedom.

On the Vigil of Pentecost, the Festival of the Effusion of the Holy Ghost, the Roman people were summoned by the sound of trumpet to appear unarmed at the Capitol on the following day. All that night Rienzi was hearing, in the Church of St. Angelo, the Thirty Masses of the Holy Ghost. "It was the

^t This probably was somewhat later.

^u It was in this speech that he made the whimsical antiquarian blunder, which Gibbon takes credit for detecting.

He rendered "pomærium," of which he did not know the meaning, as "pomarium," and made Italy the *garden* of Rome.

Feb. 18.

Meeting on
the Aventine.

May 20.
Revolution.

Holy Ghost that inspired this holy deed." At ten o'clock in the morning he came forth from the Church in full armour, with his head bare: twenty-five of the sworn conspirators were around him. Three banners went before—the banner of freedom, borne by Cola Guallato, on which appeared, on a red ground, Rome seated on her twin lions, with the globe and the palm-branch in her hand. The second was white; on it St. Paul with the sword and diadem of justice: it was borne by the Notary, Stefanello Magnacuccia. On the third was St. Peter with the keys. By the side of Rienzi was Raimond, Bishop of Orvieto, the Pope's Vicar: around was a guard of one hundred horsemen. Amid the acclamations of the thronging multitudes they ascended the Capitol. The Count di Cecco Mancino was commanded to read the Laws of the Good Estate. These laws had something of the wild justice of wild times. All causes were to be determined within fourteen days; every murderer was to suffer death, the false accuser the punishment of the crime charged against the innocent man. No house was to be pulled down; those that fell escheated to the State. Each Rione (there were thirteen) was to maintain one hundred men on foot, twenty-five horse: these received a shield and moderate pay from the State; if they fell in the public service, their heirs received, those of the foot one hundred livres, of the horse one hundred florins. The treasury of the State was charged with the support of widows, orphans, convents. Each Rione was to have its granary for corn; the revenues of the city, the hearth-money, salt-tax, tolls on bridges and wharves, were to be administered for the public good. The fortresses, bridges, gates, were no longer to be guarded by the Barons, but by Captains chosen by the people. No

Baron might possess a stronghold within the city; all were to be surrendered to the magistrates. The Barons were to be responsible, under a penalty of one thousand marks of silver, for the security of the roads around the city. The people shouted their assent to the new constitution. The senators Agapito Colonna, Roberto Orsini, were ignominiously dismissed. Rienzi was invested in dictatorial power—power over life and limb, power to pardon, power to establish the Good Estate in Rome and her domain. A few days later he took the title of Tribune. “Nicolas, by the grace of Jesus Christ, the Severe and Merciful, Tribune of Freedom, Peace, and Justice, the Deliverer of the Roman Republic.”

The nobles, either stunned by this unexpected revolution, of which they had despised the signs ^{Awe of the Nobles.} and omens, or divided among themselves, looked on in wondering and sullen apathy. Some even professed to disdain it as some new public buffoonery of Rienzi. The old Stephen Colonna was opportunely absent from the city; on his return he answered to the summons of the Tribune, “Tell the fool that if he troubles me with his insolence, I will throw him from the windows of the Capitol!” The tolling of the bell of the Capitol replied to the haughty noble. Rome in all her quarters was in arms. Colonna fled with difficulty to one of his strongholds near Palestrina. The younger Stephen Colonna appeared in arms with his partisans before the Capitol, where the Tribune was seated on the bench of justice. The Tribune advanced in arms to meet him. Colonna, either overawed, or with some respect for the Roman liberty, swore on the Holy Eucharist to take no hostile measure against the Good Estate. All the Colonnas, the Orsini, the Savelli,

were compelled to yield up their fortress-palaces, to make oath that they would protect no robbers or malefactors, to keep the roads secure, to supply provisions to the city, to appear in arms or without arms at the summons of the magistracy. All orders of the city took the same oath—clergy, gentry, judges, notaries, merchants, shopkeepers, artisans: they swore to maintain the laws of the Good Estate.

Within fifteen days, so boasts Rienzi, the old, inveterate pride of this barbarous Patriciate was prostrate at the feet of the Tribune. History may record in his own words the rapidity with which he achieved this wonderful victory. “By the Divine grace no King, or Duke, or Prince, or Marquis in Italy ever surpassed me in the shortness of the time in which I rose to legitimate power, and earned fame which reached even to the Saracens. It was achieved in seven months, a period which would hardly suffice for a king to subdue one of the Roman nobles. On the first day of my tribunate (an office which, from the time that the Empire sank into decrepitude, had been vacant under tyrannical rule for more than five hundred years) I, for God was with me, scattered with my consuming breath before my face, or rather before the face of God, all these nobles, these haters of God and of justice. And thus, in truth, on the day of Pentecost, was that word fulfilled which is chanted on that day in honour of the Holy Ghost, ‘Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered,’ and again, ‘Send forth thy Holy Ghost, and thou shalt renew the face of the earth.’ Certainly hitherto no Pontiff or Emperor had been able to expel the nobles from the city, who had in general rather triumphed over than submitted to Popes and Emperors; and yet these nobles, thus terribly expelled

Their submission.

and exiled, when I cited them to appear again in fifteen days, I had prostrate at my feet, swearing obedience to my decrees."^x The old historian, in his own graphic phrase, confirms the words of Rienzi, "How stood they trembling with fear."^y

The primary laws of the new Republic had provided for financial reforms. The taxes became more productive, less onerous: the salt-duty alone increased five or six fold. The constitution had regulated the military organisation. At the sound of the bell of the Capitol appeared in arms from the thirteen Rioni of the city three hundred and sixty horse, thirteen hundred foot. The open, patient, inexorable justice of Rienzi respected not, it delighted to humiliate, the haughtiest of the nobles. It extended not only throughout the city, but to all the country around. The woods rejoiced that they concealed no robbers; the oxen ploughed the field undisturbed; the pilgrims crowded without fear to the shrines of the saints and the apostles; the traders might leave their precious wares by the road-side in perfect safety; tyrants trembled; good men rejoiced at their emancipation from slavery.^z The Tribune's hand fell heavily on the great houses. Petruccio Frangipani, Lord of Civita Lavigna, and Luca Savelli, were thrown into prison; the Colonnas and the Orsini bowed for a time their proud heads; the chief of the Orsini was condemned for neglecting the protection of the highways; a mule laden with oil had been stolen. Peter Agapito Colonna, the deposed senator, was arrested for some crime in the public streets.^a Rome was summoned to

Justice of
Rienzi.

^x Urkunde, xxxiv.

^y Urkunde.

^y "Deh che stavano pauro i!"

^a Fortefiocca, p. 41.

witness the ignominious execution of Martino Gaetani, nephew of two Cardinals, but newly married, for the robbery of a stranded ship at the mouth of the Tiber. The Tribune spared not the sacred persons of the clergy: a monk of S. Anastasio was hanged for many crimes. Rienzi boasted that he had wrought a moral as well as a civil revolution. All who had been banished since 1340 were recalled, and pledged to live in peace. "It was hardly to be believed that the Roman people, till now full of dissension and corrupted by every kind of vice, should be so soon reduced to a state of unanimity, to so great a love of justice, virtue, and peace; that hatred, assaults, murder, and rapine should be subdued and put an end to. There is now no person in the city who dares to play at forbidden games or blasphemously to invoke God and his saints; there is no layman who keeps his concubine: all enemies are reconciled; even wives who had been long cast off return to their husbands."^b

The magic effect of the Tribune's sudden apparition at the head of a new Roman Republic, which seemed to aspire to the sway of ancient Rome over Italy, if not over all the world, is thus glowingly described in his own language: this shows at least the glorious ends of Rienzi's ambition. "Did I not restore peace among the cities which were distracted by factions? Did I not decree that all the citizens who were banished by party violence, with their wretched wives and children, should be readmitted? Had I not begun to extinguish the party names of Guelf and Ghibelline, for which numberless victims had perished body and soul, and to reduce the city of Rome and all Italy into one har-

^b Letter to a friend at Avignon, from the Turin MS.—Hobhouse, p. 537

monious, peaceful, holy confederacy? The sacred standards and banners of all the cities were gathered, and, as a testimony to our hallowed association, consecrated and offered with their golden rings on the day of the Assumption of our Blessed Lady. . . . I received the homage and submission of the Counts and Barons, and of almost all the people of Italy. I was honoured by solemn embassies and letters from the Emperor of Constantinople and the King of England. The Queen of Naples submitted herself and her kingdom to the protection of the Tribune. The King of Hungary, by two stately embassies, with great urgency brought his cause against the Queen and her nobles before my tribunal. And I venture to say further that the fame of the Tribune alarmed the Soldan of Babylon. The Christian pilgrims to the Sepulchre of our Lord related all the wonderful and unheard-of circumstances of the reformation in Rome to the Christian and Jewish inhabitants of Jerusalem; both Christians and Jews celebrated the event with unusual festivities. When the Soldan inquired the cause of these rejoicings, and received this answer about Rome, he ordered all the towns and cities on the coast to be fortified and put in a state of defence.”^c

Nor was this altogether an idle boast. The rival Emperors, Louis of Bavaria and Charles of Bohemia, regarded not his summons to submit their differences to the arbitration of Rome. But before the judgement-seat of Rienzi stood the representatives of Louis of Hungary, of Queen Joanna of Naples and Louis Prince of Tarento, the husband of the Queen, and of Charles

^c I have put together two passages; the latter from his letter to the Emperor.—Papencordt, Urkunde.

of Durazzo who claimed the throne in right of his wife, Joanna's sister. They were prepared to obey the award of the Tribune, who applied to himself the words of the Psalm, "He shall judge the people in equity." An Archbishop pleaded before the tribunal of Rienzi. The kingdom of Naples, held in fee, as long asserted, of the Pope, seemed to submit itself to the Seignioralty of the Tribune of Rome.

It is impossible to determine whether, as Rienzi himself in one place admits, it was mere vanity or a vague and not impolitic desire to gather round his own name all the glorious reminiscences of every period of Roman history, and so to rivet his power on the minds of men, which induced Rienzi to accumulate on himself so many lofty but discordant appellations. The Roman Republic, the Roman Empire in its periods of grandeur and of decline, the Church, and the Chivalry of the middle ages, were blended together in the strange pomp of his ceremonies and the splendid array of his titles. He was the Tribune of the people, to remind them of the days of their liberty. He called himself Augustus, and chose to be crowned in the month of August, because that month was called after the "great Emperor, the conqueror of Cleopatra."^d He called himself Severe, not merely to awe the noble malcontents with the stern terrors of his justice, but in respect to the philosopher, the last of the Romans, Severinus Boethius. He was knighted according to the full ceremonial of chivalry, having bathed in the porphyry vessel in which, according to the legend, Pope Silvester cleansed Constantine the Great of his leprosy. Among the banners which he bestowed on the cities of

^d Urkunde, xi. and lrv.

Italy, which did him a kind of homage, that of Perugia was inscribed "Long live the citizens of Perugia and the memory of Constantine." Sienna received the arms of the Tribune and those of Rome, the wolf and her twin founders. Florence had the banner of Italy, in which Rome was represented between two other females, designating Italy and the Christian faith.

Rienzi professed the most profound respect for religion: throughout he endeavoured to sanction and hallow his proceedings by the ceremonial of the Church. He professed the most submissive reverence for the Pope. The Papal Vicar, the Bishop of Orvieto, a vain, weak man, was flattered by the idle honour of being his associate without any power in the government. Though many of the Tribune's measures encroached boldly on the prerogatives of the Pontiff, yet he was inclined, as far as possible, to encourage the notion that his rise and his power were, if not authorised, approved by his Holiness. He asserts, indeed, that he was the greatest bulwark of the Church. "Who, in the memory of man, among all the sovereigns of Rome or of Italy, ever showed greater love for ecclesiastical persons, or so strictly protected ecclesiastical rights? Did I not, above all things, respect monasteries, hospitals, and other temples of God, and, whenever complaint was made, enforce the peaceful restitution of all their estates and properties of which they had been despoiled by the Nobles? This restitution they could never obtain by all the Bulls and Charters of the Supreme Pontiff; and now that I am deposed, they deplore all their former losses. I wish that the Supreme Pontiff would condescend to promote me or put me to death, according to the judgement of all religious persons, of the monks, and the whole

clergy." The Tribune's language, asserting himself to be under the special influence of the Holy Ghost, which from the first awoke the jealousy of the Pope, he explains away, with more ingenuity, perhaps, than ingenuousness.* "No power but that of the Spirit of God could have united the turbulent and dissolute Roman people in his favour. It was their unity, not his words and actions, which manifestly displayed the presence of the Holy Ghost." At all events, in the proudest days of his ceremonial, especially on that of his coronation with the seven crowns, all the most distinguished clergy of Rome did not scruple to officiate.

These days, the 1st and 15th of August, beheld Rienzi at the height of his power and splendour. Roman tradition hallowed, and still hallows, the 1st of August as the birthday of the empire: on that day Octavius took Alexandria, and ended the civil war. It became a Christian, it is still a popular, festival.† On the vigil of that day set forth a procession to the Lateran Church—the Church of Constantine the Great. It was headed by the wife of Rienzi, her mother, with 500 ladies, escorted by 200 horsemen. Then came Rienzi with his iron staff, as a sceptre; by his side the Pope's Vicar. The naked sword glittered and the banner of the city waved over his head. The ambassadors of twenty-six cities were present; those of Perugia and Corneto stripped off their splendid upper garments and threw them to the mob. That night Rienzi passed in the church, in the holy preparations for his knight-hood. The porphyry font or vessel in which Con-

* Written to the Archbishop of Prague.

† It is still called Felicissimo Ferau-

gusto. Murator. Ant. Ital. diss. 112. tom. v. 12. Niebuhr in Roms Beschreibung, iii. 2, 235.

stantine, in one legend was baptised, in another cleansed from the leprosy, was his bath. In the morning proclamation was made in the name of Nicolas, the Severe and Merciful, the Deliverer of the City, the Zealot for the freedom of Italy, the Friend of the World, the August Tribune. It asserted the ancient indefeasible title of Rome as the head of the world and the foundation of the Christian faith, to universal sovereignty; the liberty of all the cities of Italy, which were admitted to the rights of Roman citizenship. Through this power, and the gift of the Holy Ghost, Rome had the sole prerogative of the election of the Emperor. It summoned all Prelates, Emperors elect or Kings, Dukes, Princes, and Nobles, who presumed to contest that right, to appear in Rome at the ensuing Pentecost. It summoned specially the high Princes, Louis Duke of Bavaria and Charles King of Bohemia, the Dukes of Austria and Saxony, the Elector Palatine, the Margrave of Brandenburg, the Archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, Trèves. Though the proclamation seemed to save the honour of the Pope and the Cardinals, the Pope's Vicar attempted to interpose; his voice was drowned in the blare of the trumpets and the shouts of the multitude. In the evening there was a splendid banquet in the Lateran Palace. Tournaments and dances delighted the people. The horse of the famous statue of Marcus Aurelius poured wine from his nostrils. The cities presented sumptuous gifts of horses, mules, gold, silver, precious stones.

The pride of Rienzi was not yet at its full. Fourteen days after, on the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, there was another ceremony in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore. Seven distinguished ecclesiastics or nobles placed seven crowns on the head

Aug. 15.
Coronation of
Rienzi.

of the Tribune, of oak, ivy, myrtle, laurel, olive, silver, gold. Of these the laurel crown had the emblems of religion, justice, peace, humility. Together the seven crowns symbolised the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost. The Tribune spoke, and among his words were these: "As Christ in his thirty-third year, having overthrown the tyrants of Hell, went up crowned into Heaven, so God willed that in the same year of my life,^g I, having conquered the tyrants of the city without a blow, and alone given liberty to the people, should be promoted to the laurel crown of the Tribune." This was the day of his highest magnificence. Never, he confesses in his humiliation, was he environed with so much pomp or elated by so much pride. It was now, after he had made the profane comparison between himself and the Lord, that was uttered the awful prediction of his downfall.^h In the midst of the wild and joyous exultation of the people, one of his most zealous supporters, Fra Gulielmo, in high repute for sanctity, stood aloof in a corner of the church, and wept bitterly. A domestic chaplain of Rienzi inquired the cause of his sorrow. "Now," replied the servant of God, "is thy master cast down from Heaven. Never saw I man so proud! By the aid of the Holy Ghost he has driven the tyrants from the city without drawing a sword; the cities and the sovereigns of Italy have acknowledged his power. Why is he so arrogant and ungrateful against the Most High? Why does he seek earthly and transitory rewards for his labours, and in wanton speech liken himself to the Creator? Tell thy

^g This is at variance with the story of his imperial birth. Henry of Luxemburg was in Rome in May and June, 1312. In Aug. 1347, Rienzi would

have been in his 34th or 35th year.

^h See the letter to the Archbishop of Prague in Papencordt.

master that he can atone for this only by streams of penitential tears." In the evening the chaplain communicated this solemn rebuke to the Tribune: it appalled him for a time, but was soon forgotten in the tumult and hurry of business.

Power had intoxicated Rienzi; but the majestic edifice which he had built was based on a quicksand. In the people this passion of ^{Roman} ^{people.} virtue was too violent to last; they were accustomed to paroxysmal bursts of liberty. It would indeed have been a social and religious miracle if the Romans, after centuries of misrule, degradation, slavery, superstition, had suddenly appeared worthy of freedom; or able to maintain and wisely and moderately to enjoy the blessings of a just and equal civilisation. They had lived too long in the malaria of servitude. Of the old vigorous plebeian Roman, they had nothing but the turbulence; the frugality, the fortitude, the discipline, the love of order, and respect for law, are virtues of slow growth. They had been depressed too long, too low. In victims of the profligacy and tyranny of the nobles, submission to such outrages, however reluctant, however cast off in an access of indignation, is no school of high and enduring dignity of morals, that only safeguard of sound republican institutions. The number, wealth, licence of the Roman clergy were even more fatally corruptive. Still, as for centuries, the Romans were a fierce, fickle populace. Nor was Rienzi himself, though his morals were blameless, though he incurred no charge of avarice or rapacity, a model of the sterner republican virtues. He wanted simplicity, solidity, self-command. His ostentation, in some respects politic, became puerile. His processions, of which himself was still the centre, at first excited, at length palled on the popular feeling. His luxury—for

his table became sumptuous, his dress, his habits splendid—was costly, burthensome to the people, as well as offensive and invidious; the advancement of his family, the rock on which demagogues constantly split, unwise. Even his religion, the indispensable, dominant influence in such times, was showy and theatrical; it wanted that depth and fervour which spreads by contagion, hurries away, and binds to blind obedience its unthinking partisans. Fanaticism brooks no rivals in the human heart. From the first the Papal Court had watched the proceedings of Rienzi with sullen jealousy. There was cold reserve in their approbation, or rather in the suspension of their condemnation: an evident determination not to commit themselves. Rienzi was in the same letter the humble servant, the imperious dictator to the Pope. As his power increased, their suspicions darkened; the influence of his enemies at Avignon became more formidable. And when the courtiers of the papal chamber, the clergy, especially the French clergy, the Cardinals, almost all French, who preferred the easy and luxurious life at Avignon to a disturbed and dangerous residence at Rome (perhaps with a severe republican censorship over their morals); when all these heard it not obscurely intimated that the Tribune would refuse obedience to any Pope who would not fix his seat in Rome, the intrigues became more active, the Pope and his representatives more openly adverse to the new order of things. Petrarch speaks of the poison of deep hatred which had infected the souls of the courtiers; they looked with the blackest jealousy on the popularity and fame of Rome and Italy.¹ The Cardinal Talleyrand Perigord was furious at the interposition of

Papal court.

¹ Petrarch, Epist. sine titulo.

Rienzi in the affairs of Naples. The Nobles of Rome had powerful relatives at Avignon. The Cardinal Colonna brought dangerous charges against Rienzi, not less dangerous because untrue, of heresy,^k even of unlawful and magical arts.

Power had intoxicated Rienzi, but it had not inspired him with the daring recklessness which often accompanies that intoxication, and is almost ^{Nobles in Rome.} necessary to the permanence of power. In the height of his pride he began to betray pusillanimity, or worse. He could condescend to treachery to bring his enemies within his grasp, but hesitated to crush them when beneath his feet. Twice again the Tribune triumphed over the Nobles, by means not to be expected from Rienzi, once by perfidy, once by force of arms. The Nobles, Colonnas and Orsinis, had returned to Rome. They seemed to have sunk from the tyrants into the legitimate aristocracy in rank of the new republic. They had taken the oath to the Constitution, the old Stephen and the young John Colonna, Rinaldo and Giordano Orsini. At the Tribune's command the armorial bearings had vanished from the haughty portals of Colonnas, Orsinis, Savellis!^m No one was to be called Lord but the Pope. They were loaded with praise, with praise bordering on adulation, by the Tribune, not with praise only, with favour. A Colonna and an Orsini were entrusted with, and accepted, the command of the forces raised to subdue the two tyrants, who held out in the Campagna, John de Vico, the lord of Viterbo, in the strong castle of Respampano, and

^k Rienzi's constant appeal to the Holy Ghost would sound peculiarly akin to the prophetic visions of the Fratelli.

^m All this he commanded, "e fu fatto." Compare Du Cerceat., Vie de Rienzi, p. 93.

Gaetano Cercano, lord of Fondi. Nicolas Orsini, Captain of the Castle of St. Angelo, with Giordano Orsini, commanded against John de Vico.

On a sudden (it was a month after the last August festivity), Rome heard that all these nobles ^{Arrest of Nobles.} had been arrested, and were in the prisons of the Tribune. Rienzi has told the history of the event.ⁿ "Having entertained some suspicion" (he might perhaps entertain suspicion on just grounds, but he deigns not to state them) "of designs among the nobles against myself and against the people; it pleased God that they fell into my hands." It was an act of the basest treachery! He invited them to a banquet.

Sept. 14. They came, the old Stephen Colonna, Peter Agapito Colonna, lord of Genazzano (once senator), John Colonna, who had commanded the troops against the Count of Fondi; John of the Mountain, Rinaldo of Marino, Count Berthold, and his sons, the Captain of the Castle of St. Angelo, all Orsinis. Luca Savelli, the young Stephen Colonna, Giordano Marini alone lay hid or escaped. The Tribune's suspicions were confirmed. Thus writes Rienzi: "I adopted an innocent artifice to reconcile them not only with myself but with God; I procured them the inestimable blessing of making a devout confession." The Confessor, ignorant of the Tribune's merciful designs, prepared them for death. It happened that just at that moment the bell was tolling for the assembly of the people in the Capitol. The Nobles, supposing it

ⁿ This letter was translated with tolerable accuracy, by Du Cerceau, from Hocsemius (in Chapeaville, Hist. Episcop. Leodens.). It was addressed to an Orsini, canon of Liège. Gibbon, who had not seen the original, observes on it, that it displays in genuine colours the mixture of the knave and the madman. It was obviously meant to be communicated to the Pope.

the death-knell for their execution, confessed with the profoundest penitence and sorrow.

In the assembly of the people, Rienzi suddenly veered round: not only did he pardon, he propitiated the people towards the Nobles; he heaped praise upon them; he restored their honours and offices of trust. He made them swear another oath of fidelity to the Holy Church, to the people, and to ^{Sept. 17.} himself; to maintain against all foes the Good Estate. They took the Blessed Sacrament together.

Rienzi must have strangely deluded himself, if he conceived that he could impose upon Rome, upon the Pope, and upon the Cardinals by this assertion of religious solicitude for the captive nobles; still more if he could bind them to fidelity by this ostentatious show of mercy. Contemptuous pardon is often the most galling and inexpiable insult. His show of magnanimity could not cancel his treachery. He obtained no credit for sparing his enemies, either from his enemies themselves or from the world. The Nobles remembered only that he had steeped them to the lips in humiliation, and brooded on vengeance. Both ascribed his abstaining from blood to cowardice. The times speak in Petrarch. The gentle and high-souled poet betrays his unfeigned astonishment at the weakness of Rienzi; that when his enemies were under his feet, he not merely spared their lives (that clemency might have done), but left such public paricides the power to become again dangerous foes of the state.^o

The poet was no bad seer. In two months the Colonnas, the Orsinis were in arms. From their fast-

^o Petrarch's letter, quoted p. lxxix. of Papencordt's Urkunde.

nesses in Palestrina and Marino they were threatening the city. The character of Rienzi rose not with the danger. He had no military skill; he had not even the courage of a soldier. Nothing less than extraordinary accident, and the senseless imprudence of his adversaries, gave him a victory as surprising to himself as to others; and his mind, which had been pitifully depressed by adversity, was altogether overthrown by unexpected, undeserved success. The young and beautiful John Colonna had striven to force his way into the gates; he fell; the father, at the sight of his maimed and mangled body, checked the attack in despair. All was panic; four Colonnas perished in the battle or the flight; eighteen others of the noblest names, Orsinis, Frangipanis, Savellis, the lords of Civita Vecchia, Viterbo, Toscanella.^p Rienzi tarnished his fame by insulting the remains of the dead. His sprinkling his son Lorenzo with the water tainted by the blood of his enemies, and saluting him as Knight of Victory, was an outburst of pride and vengeance which shocked his most ardent admirers.^q

Rienzi might seem by this victory, however obtained, by the death of the Colonnas, the captivity of his other foes, secure at the height of his greatness. Not a month has passed; he is a lonely exile. Everything seems suddenly, unaccountably, desperately to break down beneath him; the bubble of his glory bursts, and becomes thin air.

Rienzi must speak again. He had dark and inward

^p See the list of the slain and prisoners in Rienzi's account.—Papencordt, note, p. 182.

Du Cerceau (p. 222), his letter of triumph: "This is the day that the Lord hath made."

^q Read in Hocsemius (p. 506), or in

presentiments of his approaching fall. The prophecy at his coronation recurred in all its terrors to his mind, for the same Fra Gulielmo had foretold the death of the Colonnas by his hand and by the judgement of God. The latter prophecy the Tribune had communicated to many persons; and when the four chiefs of that house fell under the walls of Rome, the people believed in a Divine revelation. His enemies asserted that Rienzi kept, in the cross of his sceptre, an unclean spirit who foretold future events. (This had been already denounced to the Pope.) "When I had obtained the victory," he proceeds, "and in the opinion of men my power might seem fixed on the most solid foundation, my greatness of mind sank away, and a sudden timidity came over me so frequently, that I awoke at night, and cried out that the armed enemy was breaking into my palace; and although what I say may seem ludicrous, the night-bird, called the owl, took the place of the dove on the pinnacle of the palace, and, though constantly scared away by my domestics, as constantly flew back, and for twelve nights kept me without sleep by its lamentable hootings. And thus he whom the fury of the Roman nobles and the array of his armed foes could not alarm, lay shuddering at visions and the screams of night-birds. Weakened by want of sleep, and these perpetual terrors, I was no longer fit to bear arms or give audience to the people."^{*}

To this prostration of mind Rienzi attributes his hasty desperate abandonment of his power. But there were other causes. The Pope had at length declared against him in the strongest terms. During the last period of his power Rienzi had given many grounds

^{*} From the same letter.

for suspicion that he intended to assume the empire. He had asserted the choice of the Emperor to be in the Roman people; though in his condescension he had offered a share in this great privilege to the cities of Italy. The bathing in the porphyry vessel of Constantine was not forgotten. When the Papal Legate, Bertrand de Deux, had appeared in Rome to condemn his proceedings and to depose him from his power, Rienzi returned from his camp near Marino (he was then engaged against John de Vico), and confronted the Legate, clad in the Dalmatica, the imperial mantle worn at the coronation of the Emperors, which he had taken from the sacristy of St. Peter's. The Legate, appalled at the demeanour of the Tribune and the martial music which clanged around him, could not utter a word. Rienzi turned his back contemptuously, and returned to his camp. Upon this, in a letter to his "beloved sons," the Roman people, the Pope exhaled all his wrath against the Tribune.⁸ He was denounced under all those terrific appellations, perpetually thundered out by the Popes against their enemies. He was "a Belshazzar, the wild ass in Job, a Lucifer, a fore-runner of Antichrist, a man of sin, a son of perdition, a son of the Devil, full of fraud and falsehood, and like the Beast in the Revelations, over whose head was written 'Blasphemy.'" He had insulted the Holy Catholic Church by declaring that the Church and State of Rome were one, and fallen into other errors against the Catholic faith, and incurred the suspicion of heresy and schism.

The Pope's
declaration.

After his triumph over the Colonnas, Rienzi's pride had become even more offensive, and his magnificence

still more insulted the poverty and necessities of the people. He was obliged to impose taxes; the gabelle on salt was raised. He had neglected to pursue his advantage against the Nobles: they still held many of the strongholds in the neighbourhood, and cut off the supplies of corn and other provisions from the city. The few Barons of his party were rapidly estranged; the people were no longer under the magic of his spell; his hall of audience was vacant; the allied cities began to waver in their fidelity. Rienzi began too late to assume moderation. He endeavoured again to associate the Pope's Vicar, the Bishop of Orvieto, in his rule. He softened his splendid appellations, and retained only the modest title, the "August Tribune!" He fell to "Knight and Stadtholder of the Pope." Amid an assembly of clergy and of the people, after the solemn chanting of psalms, and the hymn, "Thine, O Lord, is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory," he suspended before the altar of the Virgin his silver crown, his iron sceptre and orb of justice, with the rest of the insignia of his Tribunate.

All was in vain. Pepin, Palatine of Altamura and Count of Minorbino, marched into the city, and occupied one of the palaces of the Colonnas Count Pepin in Rome. with an armed force. The bell of the Capitol rang unheeded to summon the adherents of Rienzi. He felt that his hour was come. He might, he avers, easily have resisted the sedition excited by Count Pepin, but he was determined to shed no more blood. He called an assembly of the Romans, solemnly abdicated his power, and departed, notwithstanding, he says, the reluctance and lamentations of the people. After his secession, it may well be believed that, under the reinstated tyranny of the Nobles, his government

was remembered with regret; but when the robber chief, whom he had summoned before his tribunal, first entered Rome and fortified the Colonna Palace, Rienzi's tocsin had sounded in vain; the people flocked not to his banner, and now all was silence, desertion. Even with the handful of troops which he might have collected, a man of bravery and vigour might perhaps have suppressed the invasion; but all his energy was gone: he who had protested so often that he would lay down his life for the liberties of the people did not show the courage of a child.^t His enemies could hardly believe their easy victory: for three days the Nobles without the city did not venture to approach the walls; Rienzi remained undisturbed within the castle of St. Angelo. He made one effort to work on the people by his old arts. He had an angel painted on the walls of the Magdalen Church, with the arms of Rome, and a cross surmounted with a dove, and (in allusion, no doubt, to the well-known passage in the Psalms) trampling on an asp, a basilisk, a lion, and a dragon.

Flight of Rienzi. Dec. 14 or 15. Mischievous boys smeared the picture with mud. Rienzi, in the disguise of a monk, saw it in this state, ordered a lamp to be kept burning before it for a year (as if to intimate his triumphant return at that time), and then fled from Rome.

His retreat was in the wild Apennines which border on the kingdom of Naples. There the austere of the austere Franciscans dwelt in their solitary cells in the deep ravines and on the mountain sides, the Spiritualists who adored the memory of Coelestine V.,^u despised the worldly lives of their less recluse

* So writes the old Roman biographer. | vision. All that in any way might
 † Rienzi at one time declared that | tend to the glory of Rome found
 Boniface VIII. appeared to him in a | welcome in his mind.

brethren, and brooded over the unfulfilled prophecies of the Abbot Joachim, John Peter Oliva, the Briton Merlin, all which foreshadowed the coming kingdom, the final revelation of the Holy Ghost. The proud vain Tribune exchanged his pomp and luxury for the habit of a tertiary of the Order (his marriage prohibited any higher rank); he wore the single coarse gown and cord; his life was a perpetual fast, broken only by the hard fare of a mendicant. He was enraptured with this holy society, in which were barons, Nobles, even some of the hostile house of Colonna. "O life which anticipates immortality! O angels' life, which the fiends of Satan alone could disturb! and yet these poor in spirit are persecuted by the Pope and the Inquisition!"

For two years and a half Rienzi couched unknown, as he asserts, among this holy brotherhood. They were dismal, disastrous years. Earthquakes ^{1348, 1349.} _{The Plague.} shook the cities of Christendom. Pope Clement, in terror of the plague which desolated Europe, shut himself up in his palace at Avignon, and burned large fires to keep out the terrible enemy. The enemy respected the Pope, but his subjects around perished in awful numbers. It is said that three-fourths of the population in Avignon died: in Narbonne, thirty thousand; of twelve Consuls of Montpellier, ten fell victims. It was called the Black Plague; it struck grown-up men and women rather than youths. After it had abated, the women seemed to become wonderfully prolific, so as to produce a new race of mankind. As usual, causes beyond the ordinary ones were sought and found. The wells had been poisoned, of course by unbelievers. The Jews were everywhere massacred. Pope Clement displayed a better title to the Divine protection than his

precautions of seclusion and his fires. He used his utmost power to arrest the popular fury against these unhappy victims.* The Flagellants swarmed again through all the cities, scourging their naked bodies, and tracing their way by their gore. Better that fanaticism, however wild, should attempt to propitiate God by its own blood, rather than by that of others; by self-torture rather than murder!†

The wild access of religious terror and prostration gave place, when the year of Jubilee began, to as wild a tumult of religious exultation. Rome again swarmed with thousands on thousands of worshippers. Rienzi had meditated, but shrank in fear from, a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. It is said that he stole into Rome in disguise: the Tribune was lost in the multitude of adoring strangers.

Suddenly after his return, in his retreat on Monte Magello, he was accosted by the hermit, Fra Angelo, a man acknowledged by all the brethren as a prophet. Angelo pronounced his name, which Rienzi believed had been a profound secret. The prophet had been led to Rienzi's dwelling by Divine revelation:—"Rienzi had laboured enough for himself; he must now labour for the good of mankind. The universal reformation, foreseen by holy men, at the urgent prayer of the Virgin, was at hand: God had sent earthquakes and great mortality on earth to chastise the

* This plague has a singular relation with the history of letters. Among its victims was Petrarch's Laura. It has been usually called the Plague of Florence, because described in the Decameron of Boccaccio; just as the common pestilence of Europe is said to be that of Athens, because related by

Thucydides. Singular privilege of genius, to concentrate all the interest and terror of such a wide-wasting calamity on one spot!

† See Continuator of Nangis; and the very curious account, especially of the Flagellants, in Albertus Argentinensis, p. 150.

sins of men. Such had been his predeterminate will before the coming of the blessed Francis. The prayers of St. Francis and St. Dominic, who had preached in the spirit of Enoch and Elias, had averted the doom." But "since there is now not one that doeth good, and the very Elect (the Dominicans and Franciscans) have cast off their primitive virtues, God has prepared, is preparing, vengeance. After this the Church will resume her primal holiness. There will be peace not only among Christians, but among Christians and Saracens. The age of the Holy Ghost is at hand. For this end a holy man, chosen of God, is to be made known to mankind by Divine revelation, who, with the Elect Emperor, shall reform the world, and strip the pastors of the Church of all temporal and fleeting superfluities."

Rienzi, from doubt, fear, perhaps some lingering touch, as he says, of his old arrogance, hesitated to undertake the mission to the Emperor Charles IV. imposed upon him by the prophet. Fra Angelo unfolded, with much greater distinctness, the secrets of futurity: he showed him prophecies of Spiritual men—of Joachim, of Oliva, of Merlin—already fulfilled. Rienzi deemed that it would be contumacy to God to resist the words of the prophet.²

In the month of August appeared in the city of Prague a man in a strange dress. He stopped at the house of a Florentine apothecary, and asked to be presented to my Lord Charles the Emperor Elect: he had something to communicate to his honour and advantage.

Aug. 1,
possibly in
July.
Rienzi in
Prague.

Rienzi, admitted to the presence of the King of the

² All this is from Rienzi's own letters in Papencordt, with the Urkunde.

Romans, announced his mission from the prophet, Fra Angelo. He had been commanded to deliver this message:—"Know ye, Sire and Emperor, that Brother Angelo has sent me to say to you, that up to this time the Father has reigned in this world, and God his Son. The power has now passed from him, and is given to the Holy Ghost, who shall reign for the time to come." The Emperor, hearing that he thus separated and set apart the Father and Son from the Holy Ghost, said, "Art thou the man that I suppose you to be?"^a He answered, "Whom do ye suppose me to be?" The Emperor said, "I suppose that you are the Tribune of Rome." This the Emperor conjectured, having heard of the heresies of the Tribune, and he answered, "Of a truth I am he that was Tribune, and have been driven from Rome." The Emperor sat in mute astonishment, while Rienzi exhorted him to the peaceful and bloodless conquest of Italy:—"In this great work none could be of so much service as himself. He alone could overcome the rival Orsinis and Colonnas." He offered his son as a hostage: "he was prepared to sacrifice his Isaac, his only begotten, for the welfare of the people." He demanded only the Imperial sanction. "Every one who presumes to take the rule in Rome when the Empire is not vacant, without leave of the Emperor, is an adulterer."

He was admitted to a second interview. The Archbishop of Trèves, two other Bishops, the Second inter-
view. ambassadors of the King of Scotland, many other nobles and doctors, sat around King Charles. Rienzi was commanded to repeat his message. He

^a I have moulded together the account in the historian Polistore, with Rienzi's own as it appears in the Urkunde. There is no essential discrepancy.

spoke on some points more at length:—"Another messenger had been sent to the Pope at Avignon: him the Pope would burn. The people of Avignon would rise and slay the Pope; then would be chosen an Italian Pope, a poor Pope, who would restore the Papacy to Rome. He would crown the Emperor with the crown of gold, King of Sicily, Calabria, Apulia; himself, Rienzi, King of Rome and of all Italy. The Pope would build a temple in Rome to the Holy Ghost, more splendid than that of Solomon. Men would come out of Egypt and the East to worship there. The triune reign, the peaceful reign, of the Emperor, of Rienzi, and of the Pope, would be an earthly image of that of the Trinity."

The Archbishops and Bishops departed in amazement and horror. Rienzi was committed, as having uttered language bordering at least upon Rienzi in custody. heresy, to safe custody under the care of the Archbishop of Prague. He was commanded to put his words in writing. From his prison he wrote a long elaborate address. He now revealed the secret of his own Imperial birth; he protested that he was actuated by no fantastic or delusive impulse; he was compelled by God to approach the Imperial presence; he had no ambition; he scorned (would that he had ever done so!) the vain glory of the world; he despised riches; he had no wish but in poverty to establish justice, to deliver the people from the spoilers and tyrants of Italy. "But arms I love, arms I seek and will seek; for without arms there is no justice." "Who knows," he proceeds, "whether God, of his divine providence, did not intend me as the precursor of the Imperial authority, as the Baptist was of Christ?" For this reason (he intimates) he may have been regenerated in the font of Constantine, and

this baptism may have been designed to wash away the stains which adhered to the Imperial power. He exhorts the Emperor to arise and gird on his sword, a sword which it became not the Supreme Pontiff to assume. He concludes by earnestly entreating his Imperial Majesty not rashly to repudiate his humble assistance; above all, not to delay his occupation of the city of Rome till his adversaries had got possession of the salt-tax and other profits of the Jubilee, which amounted to one hundred millions of florins, a sum strictly belonging to the Imperial treasury, and sufficient to defray the expenses of an expedition to Italy.

Charles of Bohemia was no Otho, no Frederick, no Henry of Luxemburg; his answer was by no means encouraging to the magnificent schemes of the Tribune. It was a grave homily upon lowliness and charity. It repudiated altogether the design of overthrowing the Papal power, and protested against the doctrine of a new effusion of the Holy Ghost. As to the story of Rienzi's imperial descent, he leaves that to God, and reminds the Tribune that we are all the children of Adam, and all return to dust. Finally, he urges him to dismiss his fantastic views and earthly ambition; no longer to be stiff-necked and stony-hearted to God, but with a humble and contrite spirit to put on the helmet of salvation and the shield of faith.

Baffled in his attempts to work on the personal ambition of the Emperor, the pertinacious Archbishop of Prague. Rienzi had recourse to his two most influential counsellors, John of Neumark, afterwards Chancellor, and Ernest of Parbubitz, Archbishop of Prague. John of Neumark professed a love of letters, and Rienzi addressed to him a brief epistle on which he lavished all

his flowers of rhetoric. John of Neumark repaid him in the same coin. The Archbishop was a prelate of distinction and learning, disposed to high ecclesiastical views, well read in the canon law, and not likely to be favourable to the frantic predictions, or to the adventurous schemes of Rienzi. Yet to him Rienzi fearlessly addressed a long "libel," in which he repeated all his charges against the Pope of abandoning his spiritual duties, leaving his sheep to be devoured by wolves, and of dividing, rending, severing the Church, the very body of Christ, by scandals and schisms. The Pope violated every precept of Christian charity; Rienzi alone maintained no dreamy or insane doctrine, but the pure, true, sound apostolic and evangelic faith. It was the Pope who abandoned Italy to her tyrants, or rather armed those tyrants with his power. Rienzi contrasts his own peaceful, orderly, and just administration with the wild anarchy thus not merely unsuppressed, but encouraged by the Pope; he asserts his own more powerful protection of the Church, his enforcement of rigid morals. "And for these works of love the Pastor calls me a schismatic, a heretic, a diseased sheep, a blasphemer of the Church, a man of sacrilege, a deceiver, who deals with unclean spirits kept in the Cross of the Lord, an adulterator of the holy body of Christ, a rebel and a persecutor of the Church; but 'whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth;' as naked I entered into power, so naked I went out of power, the people resisting and lamenting my departure."^b

^b A little further on he gives this piece of history: "We read in the Chronicles that Julius, the first Cæsar, angry at the loss of some battle, was so mad as to raise his sword against his own life; but Octavianus, his grandson, the first Augustus, violently wrested the sword from his hand, and saved Cæsar from his own frantic hand. Cæsar, returning to his senses, imme-

He reiterates his splendid offer to the Emperor for the subjugation of Italy. "If on the day of the Elevation of the Holy Cross I ascend up into Italy, unimpeded by the Emperor or by you, before Whitsuntide next ensuing I will surrender all Italy in peaceable allegiance to the Emperor." For the accomplishment of this he offered hostages, whose hands were to be cut off if his scheme was not fulfilled in the prescribed time; and if he failed, he promised and vowed to return to prison to be dealt with as the Emperor might decide. He repeats that his mission, announced by the prophetic hermit, is to prepare the way for the peaceful entrance of the Emperor, to bind the tyrants in chains, and the nobles in links of iron. "So that Cæsar, advancing without bloodshed, not with the din of arms and *German fury*, but with psalteries and sweet-sounding cymbals, may arrive at the Feast of the Holy Ghost, and occupy his Jerusalem, a more peaceful and securer Solomon. For I wish this Cæsar, not secretly or as an adulterer, like his ancestor of old,^c to enter the chamber of my mother, the city of Rome, but gladly and publicly, like a bridegroom, not to be introduced into my mother's chamber by a single attendant, in disguise and through guarded barriers; not as through the ancestor of Stephen Colonna, by whom he was betrayed and abandoned, but by the whole exulting people. Finally, that the bridegroom shall not find his bride and my mother an humble hostess and handmaid, but a free woman and a queen; and the home of my mother shall not be a tavern but a church."^d

diately adopted Octavianus as his son, whom the Roman people afterwards appointed his successor in the empire. Thus, when I have wrested the frantic sword from his hand, the Supreme Pontiff will call me his faithful son."

^c Henry of Luxemburg. What does this strange confusion of allusion mean?

^d There are several more letters to the Archbishop in the same rhapsodical tone and spirit.

The reply of the Archbishop was short and dry. He could not but wonder at his correspondent's protestations of humility, so little in accordance with the magnificent titles which he had assumed as Tribune; or with his assertion that he was under the special guidance of the Holy Ghost. "By what authority did Rienzi assert for the Roman people the right of electing the Emperor?" He was amazed that Rienzi, instead of the authentic prophecies of the Holy Scriptures, should consult the wild and unauthorised prophets Methodius and Cyril. The Archbishop ends with the words of Gamaliel, that "if the Tribune's schemes are of God they will succeed, however men may oppose them."

Was, then, Rienzi in earnest in his behalf in all these mad apocalyptic visions? Was he an honest fanatic? Does his own claim, during all his early career, to the special favour of the Holy Ghost intimate an earlier connexion, or only a casual sympathy and accordance with the Franciscan Spiritualists? A letter to Fra Angelo is that of a passionate believer, prepared, he asserts, to lay down his imperilled life, entreating the prayers of the brethren, warning them that they may be exposed to persecution.^e Or was it that in the obstinacy of his hopes, the fertility of his resources, the versatility of his ambition, Rienzi deliberately threw himself on this wild religious enthusiasm and on Ghibellinism, to achieve that which he had failed to accomplish in his nobler way? Would he desperately, rather than abandon

^e There is a strange passage about his wife (his Luna), which might tend to the suspicion that she had been corrupted by some of his enemies among the Roman clergy. Yet both his wife and his daughters he hopes at the end will become Sisters of St. Clare (the female Franciscans). There are some tender parental provisions about his son, whom he consigns to the care of the Spiritual brethren.—Apud Pappencordt, p. 74.

the liberty, the supremacy of Rome, enlist in his aid German and Imperial interests, Imperial ambition? The third and last act of his tragic life, which must await the Pontificate of Innocent VI., may almost warrant this view, if, in truth, the motives of men, especially of such men as Rienzi, are not usually mingled, clashing, seemingly irreconcilable impulses from contradictory and successive passions, opinions, and aims.

During all Rienzi's residence at Prague, the Pope had been in constant communication with the Emperor, and demanded the surrender of this son of Belial, to be dealt with as a suspected heretic and a rebel against the Holy See. The Emperor at length complied with his request. Rienzi's entrance into Prague has been described in the words of an old historian; his entrance into Avignon is thus portrayed by Petrarch. The poet's whole letter is a singular mixture of his old admiration, and even affection for Rienzi, with bitter disappointment at the failure of his splendid poetic hopes, and not without some wounded vanity and more timidity at having associated his own name with one, who, however formerly glorious, had sunk to a condition so contemptible. One of Rienzi's first acts on his arrival at Avignon was to inquire if his old friend and admirer was in the city. "Perhaps," writes Petrarch, "he supposed that I could be of service to him; he knew not how totally this was out of my power; perhaps it was only a feeling of our former friendship." "There came lately to this court—I should not say came, but was brought as a prisoner—Nicolas Laurentius, the once formidable Tribune of Rome, who, when he might have died in the Capitol with so much glory, endured imprisonment, first by a Bohemian (the Emperor), afterwards by a Limousin (Pope Clement), so as to make himself, as well as the

name and Republic of Rome, a laughing-stock. It is perhaps more generally known than I should wish, how much my pen was employed in lauding and exhorting this man. I loved his virtue, I praised his design; I congratulated Italy: I looked forward to the dominion of the beloved city and the peace of the world. . . . Some of my epistles are extant, of which I am not altogether ashamed, for I had no gift of prophecy, and I would that he had not pretended to the gift of prophecy; but at the time I wrote, that which he was doing and appeared about to do was not only worthy of my praise, but that of all mankind. Are these letters, then, to be cancelled for one thing alone, because he chose to live basely rather than die with honour? But there is no use in discussing impossibilities; I could not destroy them if I would; they are published, they are no longer in my power. But to my story. Humble and despicable that man entered the court, who, throughout the world, had made the wicked tremble, and filled the good with joyful hope and expectation; he who was attended, it is said, by the whole Roman people and the chief men of the cities of Italy, now appeared between two guards, and with all the populace crowding and eager to see the face of him of whose name they had heard so much."

A commission of three ecclesiastics was appointed to examine what punishment should be inflicted on Rienzi. That he deserved the utmost punishment Petrarch declares, "not for his heresy, but for having abandoned his enterprise when he had conducted it with so much success; for having betrayed the cause of liberty by not crushing the enemies of liberty." Yet, after all, everything in this extraordinary man's life seems destined to be strange and unexpected. Rienzi could scarcely look for any sentence but death, death at the stake, as an

audacious heretic, or perpetual imprisonment. He was at first closely and ignominiously guarded in a dungeon. He had few friends, many enemies at Avignon. He was even denied the aid of an advocate. Yet the trial by the three Cardinals was not pursued with activity. Perhaps Clement's approaching death inclined him to indifference, if not to mercy; then his decease
1352. and the election of a new Pope distracted public attention. The charge of heresy seems to have quietly dropped. Petrarch began to dare to feel interest in his fate; he even ventured to write to Rome to urge the intercession of the people in his behalf. Rome was silent; but Avignon seemed suddenly moved in his favour. Rumour spread abroad that Rienzi was a great poet; and the whole Papal court, the whole city, at this first dawn of letters, seemed to hold a poet as a sacred, almost supernatural being. "It would be a sin to put to death a man skilled in that wonderful art." Rienzi was condemned to imprisonment; but imprisonment neither too ignominious nor painful. A chain, indeed, around his leg was riveted to the wall of his dungeon. But his meals were from the remnants of the Pope's table distributed to the poor. He had his Bible and his Livy, perhaps yet unexhausted visions of future distinction, which strangely enough came to pass.

END OF VOL. VII.

HISTORY
OF
LATIN CHRISTIANITY;

INCLUDING THAT OF
THE POPES TO THE PONTIFICATE OF NICOLAS V.

By HENRY HART MILMAN, D.D.,
DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S.

IN NINE VOLUMES.—VOL. VIII.

FOURTH EDITION.

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HISTORY

OF

LATIN CHRISTIANITY.

BOOK XII.—*continued.*

CHAPTER XI.

Innocent VI.

THE terrible Black Plague had startled the voluptuous Court of Avignon to seriousness. The last act of Clement VI. was one of papal wisdom and of earnest religion. He had not set the example of Christian courage and devotion to the distresses of the more than decimated people (two-thirds, it was said, of the population in Languedoc and Provence had perished^a), but he dared to admire that virtue in others which he displayed not in himself. The clergy, too, had mostly stood aloof during these dreary times in terror and in apathy. The Mendicant Friars alone were everywhere, braving con-

^a Petrarch writes of it (it swept away his Laura)—

“Exemplis caritura quidem, tenuemque nepotum
Vix habitura fidem: *superant si forte nepotes,*
Nec finem modo fata parant imponere mundo.”—*Ecloga ix.*

The “*Epistola ad seipsum*” is at once more true and throughout more poetical:—

“Funera crebra quidem, quocunque paventia flecto
Lumina, conturbant aciem: perplexa feretris
Templa gemunt, passimque simul sine honore cadaver
Nobile plebelumque jacet.”

See on the Black Plague Dr. Hecker's book on the Epidemics of the Middle Ages, translated by Dr. Babington, Third Edition, London, 1859.

tagion, by the sickbed, in the church, in the churchyard ; praying with the people, praying for the people, praying over their bodies, which owed to them alone decent interment. The grateful people repaid them with all they could bestow. Alms, oblations, bequests, funeral dues, poured upon them, and upon them alone. The clergy took alarm ; they found themselves everywhere supplanted in the affections of men, in their wills, in the offerings at the altar. The very dead seemed to reject them, and, as it were, to seek the churchyards of the Friars for their holy rest. They began to clamour, even more loudly than heretofore, against these invasions of their rights. The cardinals, many bishops, a multitude of the secular clergy, thronged to Avignon ; they demanded the suppression of the Mendicants. By what authority did they preach, hear confessions, intercept the alms of the faithful, even the burial dues of their flocks? The Consistory sat, not one was present who dared to lift his voice in favour of the Friars. The Pope rose : the Pope might well know of what incalculable importance were the Mendicants to his own power, but he might also at this time have had more generous, more pious motives. He defended them with imposing eloquence against their adversaries. At the close of his speech he turned to the prelates : “ And if the Friars were not to preach to the people, what would ye preach? Humility? you, the proudest, the most disdainful, the most magnificent among all the estates of men, who ride abroad in procession on your stately palfreys! Poverty? ye who are so greedy, so obstinate in the pursuit of gain, that all the prebends and benefices of the world will not satiate your avidity! Chastity? of this I say nothing! God knows your lives, how your bodies are pampered with pleasures. If ycu

Consistory of
Avignon.

hate the Begging Friars, and close your doors against them, it is that they may not see your lives; you had rather waste your wealth on pandars and ruffians than on Mendicants. Be not surprised that the Friars receive bequests made in the time of the fatal mortality, they who took the charge of parishes deserted by their pastors, out of which they drew converts to their houses of prayer, houses of prayer and of honour to the Church, not seats of voluptuousness and luxury." So went forth to the world the debate in the Consistory at Avignon.^b

Yet Clement VI., not long before his death,^c had filled up the conclave with French prelates; twelve were appointed at once in the interests of the King of France. The King of England, now, by the victory at Crecy and by conquest, master of great part of France, had in vain demanded one place.^d The remains of the deceased

^b Continuator of Nangis, sub ann.

^c There are two terrible satires by Petrarch against Clement VI. The one an Eclogue (the sixth) between Pamphilus (St. Peter) and Micio (Pope Clement). Pamphilus, whom Micio in his unblushing effrontery insults by openly avowing his love of gold and pleasure, and by comparing himself with St. Peter, breaks out in these lines:

"Es meritus post vincla cruceem, post
verbera ferrum,
Supplicium breve! quin potius sine fine
dolores
Carceris æterni, vel si quid tristius
usquam est.
Serve infide, fugax, Dominoque ingrato
benigno."

The other (Eclogue VII.) is between Micio (Pope Clement) and Epi, or Epicureanism, who in the warmest language declare their mutual, inseparable attachment.

^d Vit. apud. Baluz. The seventh Eclogue of Petrarch also contains the most bitter descriptions of the Cardinals who formed the Conclave on the death of Clement. De Sade (iii. pp. 149 and 276) boasted that he could furnish the key to the whole satire, and show the original of every one of the portraits drawn in such sharp and hateful lineaments, but he abstained, not perhaps without some recollection that they were French Cardinals. It dwells chiefly, in no modest terms, on their voluptuousness. Of one he says:

"Tamen omnia turbat
Septa furens, nullasque sinit dormire
quietas
Somniferâ sub nocte capras."

Of another :

"Liquitur hic luxu."

Pope were attended to their final resting-place at Chaise Dieu in Auvergne, by five cardinals, one his brother, three his nephews, one his kinsman. The Conclave looked at first to John Borelli, General of the Carthusian Order, a man of profound learning and piety. The Cardinal Talleyrand Perigord warned them, that under his austere rule their noble horses would in a few days be reduced to draw waggons or to toil before the plough. They passed a law by unanimous consent which would have raised the College of Cardinals to a dominant, self-elected aristocracy, superior to the Pope. The Pope could create no Cardinal till the number was reduced to sixteen, nor increase the number beyond twenty. Nor could he nominate these Cardinals without the consent of the whole, or at least two-thirds of the Conclave. Without their consent he could neither depose nor put under arrest any Cardinal, nor seize or confiscate their property. The Cardinals were to enjoy, according to the statute of Nicolas IV., one-half of all the revenues of the Papal See.* All swore to observe this statute; some with the reservation, if it was according to law.

The election fell on Stephen Aubert, a Limousin, a distinguished Canon lawyer, Bishop of Clermont. The first act of Innocent VI. was to release himself from his oath, to rescind, and declare null and illegal, this statute of the Conclave. He proceeded to redress some of the abuses under the rule of his predecessor. He was more severe and discriminating in his preferments; he compelled residence: he drove away a great part of the multitude of bishops and benefited clergy who passed their time at Avignon in luxury

Innocent VI.
Dec. 18, 1352.

* Raynaldus, A.D. 1352, c. xxix.

and in the splendour of the papal court. One instance was recorded of his conduct. A favourite chaplain presented his nephew, quite a youth, for preferment. "One of the seven benefices which you hold," said the Pope, "will suit him well." The chaplain looked grave and melancholy. The Pope compelled him to choose the three best of his remaining benefices: "with the other three I shall be able to reward three of the poor and deserving clergy." ^f But for the nepotism, which seemed the inalienable infirmity of the whole succession, Innocent VI. had escaped that obloquy, which is so loud against almost all the Avignonese pontiffs. The times were favourable to his peaceful and dignified rule: his reign of nearly ten years was uneventful, or rather the great events disturbed not the temporal or religious tranquillity of the Pope. John, King of France, ^{France and England.} a prisoner after the battle of Poitiers, was too weak to exercise any degrading tyranny over the Pope, and though French at heart, by birth and by interest, Innocent was too prudent to attempt to enforce his offers of mediation by ecclesiastical censures against Edward or his son the Black Prince. Once, indeed, the course of victory brought the younger Edward to the foot of the bridge of Avignon (the Pope had taken the precaution of encircling the city with strong fortifications). The border districts of Aquitaine, which the King of France was required to surrender, would have included many of the southern bishoprics in the English province. England would have been in dangerous approximation to Avignon.^g Bands of English adventurers burned St.

^f Vit. iii. apud Baluz.

^g During the pontificate of Innocent VI. there is scarcely a historical document in the Papal correspondence; it consists almost wholly of dispensations for holding pluralities, decisions

Esprit and Mondragon; and were only bought off by a large sum of money.^h

Charles IV. was undisputed Emperor; his prudence or his want of ambition kept him in dutiful submission to the Pope.ⁱ He determined to observe nearly to the letter the humiliating agreement, by which he was to enter Rome only to be crowned, and to leave it the instant that ceremony was over. He descended into Italy with a small squadron of horse. Notwithstanding the urgent entreaties and tempting offers of the Ghibelline chieftains; notwithstanding a vigorous and eloquent remonstrance of Petrarch, whose poetic imagination would have raised him into a deliverer, a champion of the unity of Italy, as Dante Henry of Luxemburg; Charles pursued his inglorious course, and quietly retired beyond the Alps, virtually abandoning all the imperial rights in Italy.

Charles IV., despised by many for his ignominious subservience to the Pope, and his total withdrawal from

on convent property, dispensations for marriage. V. xxiv. p. 336: Is a letter to the Prince of Wales; his men had taken Robert de Veyrac, canon of Bourges, and plundered him. May 4, 1366: Safe-conduct is requested for his Legates, sent to entreat peace. P. 352: Is a curious letter to the Bishop of London: "The tongue offends trebly by a lie, God, our neighbour, and ourselves." The Pope was accused as though "non mediatoris partes assumpsimus sedurbationis egimus." The Bishop of London had not contradicted these wicked rumours.—Villeneuve, June 18, 1356. See following letters.

^h The Pope (June 24, 1356) writes to his *Vicar* in the March of Ancona about *English* troops (*condottieri*?) making irruptions into the territory of St. Peter. English cruisers had seized a Neapolitan and a Genoese vessel with Papal effects on board. There is a letter (Oct. 1356) praising the noble conduct of the Black Prince to his prisoner, King John. See also other singularly *meeek* letters to the Black Prince.—March, 1362.

ⁱ Ockham described Charles IV. as "mancipium Avinonensium sacrificiorum a quibus imperium emerat."—Quoted in Wolfi Lectiones, p. 496.

Italian politics, nevertheless, by one sagacious or fortunate measure, terminated the long strife between the Papacy and the Empire. The famous Golden Bull seemed only to fix the constitutional rights of the electors. It declared the electoral dignity to be attached for ever to certain hereditary and indivisible fiefs. Before this time the severance of those fiefs had split up the right among many competitors. It thus raised the electoral office to a peculiar and transcendent height. It gave to the Seven, the four lay fiefs, Bohemia, Saxony, Brandenburg, the Palatinate, and the three great archbishoprics, the full, absolute, unlimited power of election. It did not deny, but it did not acknowledge, any right of interposition in the Pope, either to control the election or to refuse his confirmation. Germany had the sole, unquestioned privilege of electing the King of the Romans (that appellation sunk into a mere title of honour); the King of the Romans became Emperor, but Emperor of Germany. On Italy, the great cause of contention between Popes and Emperors, the Golden Bull was silent. Innocent, whether he had the wisdom to discern the ultimate bearings of this great act, raised no protest. His acquiescence was tacit, but still it was acquiescence.

A.D. 1355.

Innocent VI., by the prudent or happy choice of his legate, the martial Cardinal,—Ægidio Albornoz, Archbishop of Toledo, restored the papal influence, which had been almost lost, at least in Southern Italy. When Albornoz took the field, all Romagna was in the hands of the old Roman barons or fierce and lawless military adventurers. The papal banner hung only on the walls of two castles, Montefiascone and Montefalcone. Petty tyrants of either

The Cardinal
Albornoz.

class had seized the cities; Giovanni del Vico, nominally Prefect of Rome, occupied on his own account the greater part of the patrimony of St. Peter, even Viterbo. In a prison at Avignon Albornoz found perhaps his most useful ally, no less than the Tribune Rienzi.

Who could have supposed that this man, hardly escaped from death as a dangerous usurper of the papal authority, and who had endeavoured to incite the Emperor to reduce the papal power within the strict limits of papal jurisdiction; that the writer of those stern and uncompromising invectives against the desertion of Italy by the Popes, the unsparing castigator of the vices of the clergy, the heaven-appointed reformer (as he asserted) of the Church, the harbinger of the new kingdom of the Holy Ghost; that Rienzi should emerge from his dungeon, to reappear in Italy as the follower of the papal Legate, and reassume the supreme government in Rome with the express sanction of the Pope. Such, however, were the unparalleled vicissitudes in the life of Rienzi. Since the fall of the Tribune Rome had returned to her miserable anarchy. For a time two Senators chosen out of the nobles, for another period a popular leader named Cerrone, held the government. A second Tribune had arisen, Rome. Baroncelli. Baroncelli, who attempted to found a new republic on the model of that of Florence; but the fall of Baroncelli had been almost as rapid as his rise. Plague and earthquake had visited the city; and though the Jubilee had drawn thousands of pilgrims from all parts of the world, and poured wealth into her bosom, this wealth had been but a new object of strife, faction, and violence.

Rienzi had been released from prison. The Papal court began to think that under the judicious guidance of Albornoz, Rienzi's advice and ^{Rienzi again in Italy.} knowledge of Italy and of Rome might be of use to the Papal cause. The Vice-Legate in Rome, too, Hugo Harpagon, represented that his sufferings had no doubt taught Rienzi wisdom, that he had abandoned his old fantastic dreams of innovation; his name was still popular in Rome, he might be employed to counteract the dominant impiety and evil. The more immediate object appears to have been to use him as an opponent to Baroncelli, who had usurped the office and title of Tribune. Harpagon requested that he might be sent to Rome.

Rienzi, weary of his long incarceration and long inactivity, embraced the offer without reluctance. So was he now to share in that work, which he had said in one of his addresses to Charles IV., would be much more easy, more safe, and more congenial to his disposition; to reduce distracted Italy to unity and peace in the name of the Holy Mother the Church, rather than in the interests of the Empire.^k Ere his arrival, Baroncelli had already fallen. Albornoz, who perhaps had formed a sounder estimate of Rienzi's character, retained him in his own camp. There Rienzi cast the spell of his eloquence over two distinguished youths, Arimbald, a lawyer, and Brettone, a knight, brothers of the celebrated and formidable Fra Moreale, the captain of the great Free Company.

On Moreale in some degree depended the fate of Romagna and of Rome. Out of the books of his

^k See Papencordt, p. 232.

youthful studies, the companions of his dismal prison, Livy and the Bible, the Tribune filled his young partisans with his lofty notions of the greatness of Rome, and infatuated them by splendid promises of advancement. They lent him considerable sums of money, and enabled him to borrow more. He appeared, accompanied by these youths, and in a gorgeous dress, before the Legate, and demanded to be invested in the dignity of Senator of Rome. The Papal authority was yet acknowledged in Rome by the factious Nobles. It seemed a favourable opportunity, and worth the hazard. In the name of the Church Albornoz appointed Rienzi Senator of Rome. With a few troops the Senator advanced, and in a short time was once more master of the scene of his former power and glory.

But Rienzi had not learnt wisdom. He was again bewildered by the intoxication of power; he returned to his old pomp and his fatal luxury. He extorted the restoration of his confiscated property, and wasted it in idle expenditure. He was constantly encircled by his armed guard; he passed his time in noisy drunken banquets. His person became gross, hateful, and repulsive.^m Again called on to show his

^l The Roman biographer, who seems to have been an eye-witness, describes his splendid attire with minute particularity.

^m The Roman biographer is again our authority. "Formerly he was sober, temperate, abstemious; he had now become an inordinate drunkard. . . he was always eating confectionary and drinking. It was a terrible thing to be forced to see him (*horribile cosa era*

potere patire di vederlo). They said that in person he was of old quite meagre, he had become enormously fat (*grasso sterminatamente*); he had a belly like a tun; jovial, like an Asiatic Abbot (*habea una ventresca tonna, joviale, a modo de uno Abbate Asiano*). (Another MS. reads *Abbate Asinino*.) He was full of shining flesh (*carbuncles?*), like a peacock—red, and with a long beard; his face was *alway*

military prowess against the refractory Colonnas, he was again found wanting. The stern and equal vigour which had before given a commanding majesty to his wild justice, now seemed to turn to caprice and wantonness of power. His great measure by which he appeared determined this time at least, to escape the imputation of pusillanimity as shrinking from the extermination of his enemies, was sullied with ingratitude, as well as treachery. The execution of Fra Moreale, the brother of the youths to whom he had been so deeply indebted (Moreale he had perfidiously seized), revolted rather than awed the public mind. The second government of Rienzi was an unmitigated tyranny, and ended in his murder in a popular insurrection. With the cry of "Long live the people" was now mingled "Death to the Tribune, to the traitor Rienzi." His body was treated with the most shameful indignities.

Death of
Rienzi.
A.D. 1354.

Cardinal Albornoz proceeded calmly, sternly, in his course. In a few years he had restored the Papal power in almost all the cities of Romagna, in Rome itself. Once he was rashly recalled; all fell back into its old confusion. On the return of Albornoz, who was equally formidable in the darkest intrigue and in the fiercest conflict of arms, the Papal authority resumed its predominance.

A.D. 1358.

Just before his death, Innocent VI. received the grateful intelligence, that long-rebellious Rome had at last submitted to the dominion of a foreign Pope. The only condition was that the dreaded Cardinal Albornoz should not bear sway within the city.

Rome sub-
mits.

changing; his eyes would suddenly kindle like fire; his understanding, too, kindled in fitful flashes like fire (così se mutava suo intelletto come fuoco).'
—Apud Muratori, Ant. Ital. xii. p 524.

The magnificent tomb of Innocent VI. in Villeneuve, the city on the right bank of the Rhone, remains to bear witness to the wealth and splendour of the most powerful and most prudent of the Avignonese Pontiffs; the fame of the most pious he must leave to his successor.

CHAPTER XII.

Urban V.

ON the death of Innocent VI. twenty Cardinals met in Conclave. Mutual jealousies would not permit them to elect one of their own order; Oct. 28, 1362. yet it seemed so strange that they should go beyond that circle, that the election of Urban V. was attributed to direct inspiration from God.^a The choice fell on William Grimoard, Abbot of St. Victor in Marseilles, then on a mission in Italy, and Urban V. yet unsuspected of Italian attachments. William heard the tidings of the death of Innocent at Florence. He exclaimed, that if a Pope were elected who should restore the seat of St. Peter to Italy, and crush the tyrants in Romagna, he should die content. Had this speech, bruited abroad in Italy, been heard in Avignon, William Grimoard had never ascended the Papal throne.

Urban V. (he took this name) excelled in the better qualities of a Benedictine monk. He enforced severe discipline upon the Conclave, the court, Character. the clergy.^b He discountenanced the pomp and luxury of the Cardinals, and would endure no factions. He

^a Petrarch boldly asserts that the election was supernatural; that such men as the Cardinals could only have been overruled by the Holy Spirit to suspend their own jealousies and ambition; that the object of the Holy Spirit was the elevation of a Pope who should return to Rome.—Compare Vit. i

^b See authorities in the four lives in Baluzius.

introduced into the court the most rigid order, and impartial justice. He punished the abuses among the lawyers practising in these courts, and cut short their profitable delays. He set himself against concubinage in all orders, especially the clergy. He condemned usurers, and obliged certain of that craft to regorge 200,000 florins. He mulcted and expelled all who were guilty of simony from his court. He compelled those who had accumulated many benefices to surrender all which they could not serve in person. He was rigid in examining the attainments and morals of those whom he preferred. He was a munificent patron of learned men; maintained at his own expense one thousand scholars at different Universities; he was constantly supplying them with books. At Montpellier, the great school of medicine, he founded and endowed a noble college. He was not charged with avarice, he imposed no unusual subsidies; he was liberal to the poor.^c With the exception of his brother, whom he made Bishop of Avignon, and, at the request of the Conclave, Cardinal, and one nephew, a man of merit, he advanced none of his kindred. He kept his lay relatives in their proper sphere; a nephew married the daughter of a merchant at Marseilles. He established a kind of secret moral and religious inspection throughout Christendom, and invited to his court devout and discreet men of different nations. From them he obtained knowledge of the life and morals of the more notable men in all realms.

Pope Urban V. might stand aloof in dignified seclusion from temporal affairs, except in Italy.

State of Europe. The King of France was in too low a condition to enforce any unbecoming submission; the King

of England too strong for the Pope even to resent the vigorous measures of the English Parliament in limitation of the Papal power. The Emperor Charles IV., after the Golden Bull, demeaned himself almost as a willing vassal of the Holy See. The old antagonists of the Popedom, the Viscontis, were almost alone in open hostility with the Pope. The head of that house had united in himself the spiritual and civil supremacy in Italy.^d John, Archbishop of Milan, ruled as Sovereign, headed his armies as General, invaded his neighbours as an independent potentate. The warlike Legate, Alborno, fully occupied in the South, respected the warlike Archbishop. The Archbishop found it politic to maintain peace with Alborno. The death of the Archbishop left his territories to be divided between his three nephews. The elder, the voluptuous Matteo, soon died of debauchery, or poisoned by his two brothers, Bernabo and Galeazzo, who dreaded the effect of those debaucheries in thwarting their loftier ambition. Bernabo sought to advance his power by intrigue and arms. Galeazzo had bought the daughter of the King of France, Isabella of Valois, as a bride for his son. He afterwards wedded his daughter to Lionel, Duke of Clarence, son of Edward III. Bernabo had been expelled from Bologna by the Cardinal Alborno; he had besieged the city in vain: he was thus in open war with the Church. Almost the first act of Urban V. was to fulminate a Bull against Bernabo;^e summoning him to appear at Avignon in March to hear his sentence. The charges were sufficiently awful, debaucheries and cruelties, diabolic hatred of the Church.

Of Italy.

The Visconti.

Oct. 5, 1354.

A.D. 1362.

^d Sismondi, Républiques Italiennes, vi. c. 43.^e The Bull in Raynaldus.

He had forced the Archbishop of Milan to kneel before him, and fiercely asked him whether he knew not that Bernabo Visconti was Pope, Emperor, and Sovereign in his own territories; that neither Emperor nor God could do anything against his will. He had cast the Archbishop into prison; he had published a prohibition to all his subjects, under pain of being burned, to seek any act of pardon from the Papal court, or from the Pope's Legate, to make them any payment, or to take counsel with them. He would admit no presentation of the Pope to bishopric or abbacy. He had contemptuously opened, publicly torn, and trampled on sundry writings and ordinances of the Holy See. This was not the worst: he had burned priests and monks in iron cages; beheaded or tortured others to death; bored the ears of a pious Franciscan with a red-hot iron; compelled a priest at Parma to mount a lofty tower and pronounce an anathema against Pope Innocent VI. and his Cardinals; he had seized with insatiable rapacity the goods of the Church.

Bernabo, as might be expected, appeared not in Avignon. The Pope declared him excommunicate, and all who aided and abetted him involved in his excommunication. He knelt and invoked Christ himself, the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and all the host of heaven, that this bloody and misbelieving tyrant might be punished in the world to come as in this world. He ordered a crusade to be preached throughout Italy against the Visconti.

But in Italy, even from an Italian Pope, these terrific words had worn out all their magic; from a foreign Pope hated by the Italians as an alien, despised as the vassal of France, even of fallen France, they were utterly disregarded. Bernabo, this monster of wicked-

ness, found no difficulty in purchasing peace by abandoning his groundless claims on Bologna. Even Urban V. must close his eyes to the crimes of the Visconti.

The state of Italy was doubtless among the motives which induced Pope Urban to meditate the restoration of the Papal See to Rome. The reign of each successive Pope in Avignon had widened the estrangement of Italy and of Rome from the Papal interests. The successes of the Cardinal Albornoz were but the invasions and conquests of a foreign power. Both awe and attachment must eventually, if slowly, die out altogether. The Ghibellines had long lost all awe; the Guelfs would become an anti-Ghibelline, no longer a Papal faction; they would neither fight nor intrigue for a Pope who had ceased to be Italian. Rome would not endure much longer (she had but partially endured) her baffled hopes of becoming again the metropolis of Papal dignity and Papal wealth, the heart of the world, the centre of religious business, the holy place of religious pilgrimage, of the simultaneous reverence and oblations of Christendom to the shrines of the apostles, and the shrines of their successors; she would not, she could not, much longer be deluded by specious but insincere promises, with the courteous mockery of her urgent ineffective invitations. It might be dangerous to reside among the feuds of the turbulent nobles at Rome and in the Roman territory, or the no less turbulent people; but the danger of alienating Italy altogether was still greater.

If a Transalpine Pontiff might thus insensibly lose all authority in Italy—if throughout Christendom the illusion of Apostolic Majesty, which invested the successor of St. Peter in what was believed to have been his actual throne at Rome, would gradually but inevitably have melted away, should he entirely desert that throne—

besides this the position of the Pope at Avignon had become insecure. The King of France, a prisoner in England, had ceased to tyrannise, but he had also ceased to protect. The leaders of the English conquests had approached to a dangerous proximity. England openly resisted the Papal grant to France of the tenths to maintain the war.^f The Black Prince could not be ignorant of the inclinations, the more than inclinations, the secret subsidies and aids, of the Pope to his enemies. Urban was a Frenchman: what Frenchman had not deeply commiserated the state of his native land? England (since the Papal power had reached its height within the realm, in the time after Becket and that of King John) had been gradually assuming the tone of ecclesiastical independence. The civil and spiritual liberties had grown up together: the Commons showed as great reluctance to submit to Papal as to Royal exactions. Under Edward III., the nation, proud of his victories, was entirely on the King's side. The subservient attachment of the Pope to the King of France had no doubt considerable influence on the bold measures of the English Legislature. They had infinitely less reverence for a French Pope. All this will require further development.

Rumours began to spread of Urban's design to return to Italy. Perhaps his speech at Florence, before his election, had now transpired in Avignon. The Conclave, almost entirely French, heard with dismay the

^f See the curious Eclogue of Petrarch (the twelfth), written after the battle of Poitiers. Pan is France, Faustula the Papacy, Articus England.

"Tot deerant alimenta viris, nisi Pana virill
Faustula sollicitum curarum parte levas-
set.

Nam grege de magno *decimam* largissima
quamque
Obtulit, atque famem sedavit pinguibus
hædis.
Ah meretrix! (obliqua tuens ait Articus illi)
Immemorem sponsi, cupidus quem mungit
adulter.
Hæc tibi sola fides? sic sic aliena minis
tras?"

urgent and reiterated representations from Rome, to which the Pope lent too willing an ear. Petrarch, who in his youth had appealed to Benedict XII., in his manhood to Clement VI., now in his old age addressed a more grave and solemn expostulation to Urban V. The poet described, perhaps with some poetic licence, the state of widowed Rome:—"While ye are sleeping on the shores of the Rhône, under a gilded roof, the Lateran is a ruin, the Mother of Churches open to the wind and rain; the churches of the Apostles are shapeless heaps of stones." The tremendous appeal which closed his prolix argument demanded of Urban, "whether, on the great day of judgement, he had rather rise again among the famous sinners of Avignon, than with Peter and Paul, Stephen and Laurence, Silvester, Gregory, Jerome, Agnes, and Cecilia?"^g

The determination of the Pope was doubtless confirmed during a visit of the Emperor to Avignon. He resolved to break through the thralldom of the Conclave. He had himself Pope determines on return to Italy. never been a Cardinal, he belonged not to their factions. He had deprived their houses of the right of asylum: in those houses the most infamous in that infamous population had found refuge. By one account he created two new Cardinals, and contemptuously declared that he had as many Cardinals as he chose under the hood of his cowl.^h The Cardinals heard the summons to accompany the Pope to Italy as a sentence of exile. They were strangely ignorant of Italy: supposed the climate, country, food, wretched and unwholesome.ⁱ They trembled for their lives in turbulent Rome; they would not quit their sumptuous and luxurious palaces.

^g Petrarch, *Senilia*, lib. vii.

^h Vit. iii.

ⁱ Vit. ii.

Five only, it is said, followed him to Marseilles. As they left the port they shrieked aloud as in torture, "Oh wicked Pope! Oh godless brother! whither is he dragging his sons?" as though they were to be transported to the dungeons of the Saracens in Ctesiphon or Memphis, not to the capital city of Christendom.^k

The Pope set sail from Marseilles. The galleys of Joanna of Naples, of Venice, of Genoa, and of
Embarks for Italy. April 20, 1367. Pisa, crowded to escort the successor of St. Peter back to Italy. He landed at Genoa,

was received in great state by the Doge and the Seignory. He celebrated Ascension Day in the cathedral church. He embarked and reached the

May 4. shore near Corneto. He was received by

June 4. Alborno, the Legate; silken tents were pitched upon the sands, amid arches of green foliage. He said Mass, mounted a horse, and rode into Corneto: there he stayed during the Feast of Pentecost. The ambassadors of the Roman people presented themselves to acknowledge his full sovereignty, and to offer the keys of St. Angelo.

Aug. 24. His arrival in Viterbo was saddened by the death of Alborno, a Prelate who, though highly skilled and expert in deeds of arms, never forgot his pontifical decency.^m A riot in Viterbo was suppressed; the ringleaders hanged by the people themselves.

After some delay Urban made his public entry into Rome. He was greeted by the clergy and people
At Rome. with a tumult of joy. He celebrated Mass at the altar of St. Peter, the first Pope since the days of Boniface VIII. The Papal palace was in ruins; Urban

^k Petrarch, *Senilia*, ix. 2, p. 857.

^m "In factis armorum, non omissâ pontificali decentiâ, valde doctus et *eu* vertus."—Vit. i. 379.

commenced extensive repairs; but his chosen residence was not Rome, but Montefiascone, whose pleasant and quiet situation filled him with delight. While he lived in a noble palace built there, the affairs of his Court were conducted at Vitorbo. The next year the Emperor, who in an assembly of his Estates at Vienna had proclaimed himself the loyal protector of the Pope, and confirmed him in the possession of all his territories, set out for Rome at the head of a powerful force. In Rome he led the Pope's horse from the Castle of St. Angelo to St. Peter's, and served him Aug. 1368.
The Emperor
at Rome. as a Deacon during the high service. The Empress received the crown from the Pope. The Emperor named an ecclesiastic, the Cardinal da Porto, his Vicar in Italy. To some this was a most magnificent, to others a contemptible spectacle. The clergy were in raptures of joy at the honours paid to the Pope; the Roman people were delighted at the unwonted amity between these old implacable antagonists, the Emperor and the Pope; but the cold Ghibellines either looked with scorn at the humiliation of the Emperor, or treated it as base hypocrisy. The enemies of the Church laughed at it as a theatric show. "I," says a devout eye-witness, "was drunk with delight, I could not command myself, beholding a sight which my forefathers had never seen, and that we had never hoped to see—the Papacy and the Empire at unity, the flesh obedient to the spirit, the kingdom of the earth subject to the kingdom of heaven."ⁿ

But neither the pomps of Rome nor the pleasant seclusion of Montefiascone could retain a French Prelate, though that Prelate was Urban V. He had not

ⁿ Coluccio Salutati (he was present), quoted by Pelzel.

firmness to resist the incessant murmurs, the urgent entreaties, of the Cardinals. From the vast buildings which were still going on at his cost at Avignon, he must have contemplated a return, if but for a time, to that city. Only two years after the interview with the Emperor at Rome, Pope Urban embarked again near Corneto, after a prosperous voyage arrived at Marseilles, and re-established himself at Avignon. The excuse alleged in public was his parental desire to reconcile the Kings of France and England, but no one believed that he himself believed in this excuse. He went there, however, only to die: two months had hardly passed when he expired. His weakness may have been a secret inward longing for his native land. Petrarch, notwithstanding this last act of infirmity, honoured his memory, and wrote in fervent language of his virtues.^o

Sept. 5, 1370.
Dec. 19.

• Petrarch, Senil. xiii. Epist. 13.

CHAPTER XIII.

Gregory XI.

THE Conclave, in raising the nephew of Clement VI. to the Pontificate, might think themselves secure against any compulsory return to Italy. Peter ^{Dec. 30, 1370.} Roger had become a Cardinal before he was eighteen years old. Among those dissolute youths whose promotion by Clement VI. gave offence, the young Cardinal Peter alone vindicated this flagrant act of nepotism by his severe theological studies, and by his mastery over the canon law. His morals were blameless; he was singularly apt, easy, and agreeable in the despatch of business, popular in the Conclave. He assumed the Popedom with sincere reluctance. Gregory XI. inherited the weakness of his uncle—immoderate love of his kindred, with whom he crowded all offices, ecclesiastical as well as civil. This was his one infirmity. Gregory XI. was in the prime of life, but he suffered under a painful disease.

The first years of Gregory's Pontificate were one long period of disasters. His offers of mediation between England and France were rejected with indifference approaching to contempt.^a ^{State of Italy.} Italy.

^a MS., B. M. Instructions and powers to two Nuncios, the Cardinals S. Sisto and IV. Coronarum. There is a tone of serious and commanding earnestness in the admonitions to peace; this continues, if possible with deepening solemnity, perhaps because so ineffective, during the whole seven years from the accession of Gregory, 1370, to the death of Edward III., 1377

abandoned by the Popes, except to be tyrannised over and burthened with inordinate exactions by weak and venal Legates, unworthy successors of the able and vigorous Albornoze, seemed determined altogether to revolt from allegiance to the Pope. Bernabo Visconti aimed at absolute dominion; he laughed to scorn the excommunications repeated from time to time, if possible, with accumulated maledictions. One of these contained a prohibition against intermarriages with the females of that house—an invention of Papal presumption reserved for this late period, but an idle protest against the splendid and royal connexions already formed by that aspiring family. The Free Companies—that more especially of the Englishman, John Hawkwood, Dec. 17, 1372. taking service with the highest bidder, or, if unhired, plundering and wasting under their own banner—inflicted impartial misery on Guelf and Ghibelline.^b

In the north the Viscontis were all-powerful; the

There is a striking letter to the Black Prince (who must have received it when perhaps under his slow mortal illness, near his end), dwelling on all the horrors of war. Did the Black Prince think of the massacre of Limoges? June 2, 1374 (vol. xxvii.). Among other powers the Nuncios have that of consecrating or ordering consecration of churches, and of purifying cemeteries polluted by the burial of excommunicated persons; having first exhumed and cast out their bodies, if they could be discerned. March 9, 1371. They have very large powers of granting benefices, of visiting monasteries, described as, in England, in great need of visitation. One hundred women, of high birth and rank, to be

named by the Nuncios; some of them, with four "honest matrons," were to enter and visit any convent of females, but not to eat or sleep therein. The Nuncios have power to absolve thirty persons who have committed homicide or mutilation on deacons or archdeacons, with a form of penance, scourging in the church. There are several of these powers of absolution; one for the homicide of priests. The clergy should seem to have fared ill, or to have exposed themselves in these wars.

^b There is a curious history of the Free Companies by Ricotti, which, with some other recent works, does credit to the modern Italian school of history.

wretched government of the Papal Legates raised the whole south in one wide revolt.^c Even in Florence, Ghibellinism was in the ascendant. A league was formed, after some years, which comprehended the Viscontis, Joanna of Naples, Florence, Pisa, Sienna, Lucca, Arezzo, against the iniquitous ecclesiastical rule. Viterbo, Montefiascone, Narni, raised the banner of liberty; in the next month, Perugia, Assisi, Spoleto, Gubbio, Urbino, Cagli, Fermo. Though the Cardinal Legate let loose John Hawkwood, now in the pay of the Church, in a few days eighty cities, castles, and fortresses had thrown off the Papal rule. Early in the next year followed Ascoli, Civita Vecchia, Ravenna, and other cities. Bologna drove out the Cardinal, who fled in disguise. Forlì raised the standard of the Ordellaffi. Hawkwood, now receiving no pay, paid himself by the sack of Faenza. Imola, Camerino, Macerata, fell under the dominion of the Alidori and Rodolf di Vacano.

The Pope had no resources but in the wealth at his command. The tenths were levied in all the remote kingdoms of Christendom—in Poland, Hungary, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, even in the British Isles^d—to subjugate the immediate subjects of the patrimony of St. Peter.^e Wealth could raise

Tenths
levied for
war in
Italy.

^c 1375. Muratori, Ann. sub ann.

^d March 10, 1372, Gregory XI. writes to the Archbishop and Bishops of England, describing the enormous expenses of the Roman See in Italy, the usurpation of the Papal rights and territories. He has obtained subsidies from the prelates and clergy of France, Spain, Germany, and almost all the faithful in Christ, *except the kingdom*

of England. He urges a subsidy, seemingly a voluntary one, in England.—MS., B. M., March 10, 1372.

^e Throughout it is the war urged by the Viscontis, Bernabo, and Galeazzo, those sons of iniquity, which enforces and justifies his exactions on the English Church. At one time he demands 100,000 gold florins (July 1 1372), at another 60,000. It is r

armies: in those calamitous times there were soldiers to be hired for any cause. A formidable force of wild and barbarous Bretons was levied: the fears of Italy magnified them to fourteen thousand, they were at the least four thousand men. Under the command of the Cardinal Robert of Geneva, unopposed by the Visconti (the Pope, by the surrender of Vercelli and other cities, had bought off Galeazzo Visconti), they were let loose on wretched Romagna. They achieved no conquests: but by their excesses they made the Papal sway only more profoundly odious.

A.D. 1376.

None but the Pope himself could restore the Papal power. He must himself rule in Italy, or cease to rule. The mind of Gregory XI. was already shaken: † he had rebuked a non-resident prelate. “Why do you not betake yourself to your diocese?” “Why do you not betake yourself to yours?” was the taunting reply. An ambassador of a singular character accepted a mission from Florence to reconcile that city with the Pope. Catherine of Sienna was at the height of her fame for sanctity.‡ Already she had sent to the

Catherine of
Sienna.

case when, according to the Constitutions of the Council of Vienne, they might pawn their chalices, books, the ornaments of churches and altars. The Pope implores the King not to impede the collection, as he is a Catholic prince of Catholic parents (the King's officers (gentes) had been guilty of this), nor to favour the contumacious clergy who will not pay. The letter to Edward is submissively urgent; no menace of censure. Afterwards the Bishop of Lincoln and the King's justiciaries are cited to Avignon for impeding the collection.

† Above two years before his return

he writes to King Edward III. (Jan. 9, 1375): “Etsi debitum honestatis exposcat ut sacram urbem, in quâ, principalis sedes nostra consistit, personaliter visitemus ut quam cito commode fieri poterit accedamus.” He adds the further he is distant, the more the Church in England requires the support of the King; he commends it to the care of Edward. He positively states his intention of being in Rome the autumn of that year, 1375.

‡ One most extraordinary letter of S. Catherine of Sienna may illustrate the times, the woman, the religion: it is addressed to her confessor, Raymond

Pope a solemn admonition to name worthy Cardinals. She appeared at Avignon; she urged, she implored the Pope to return to Italy. The visions of another saint, S. Brigitta of Sweden, had been long full of the same heaven-inspired remonstrances; Christ had spoken by that holy virgin.^h

of Capua, who was at Rome. When she wrote it she can hardly have been more than 32. She urges Raymond in the most rapturous phrases to hide himself in the wounded side of the Son of God. (S. Catherine herself, says her biographer, was permitted constantly to approach her lips to the side of the Lord, and to quaff his blood.) "It is a dwelling full of delicious odours; even sin takes a sweet perfume." "Oh blood! oh fire! oh ineffable love!" But the object of the letter is to relate the execution of a man, young or old does not appear, nor for what crime he suffered, but there can be little doubt that it was political, not religious. The day before his death she conducted him to the Mass; he received the Eucharist, from which he had before kept aloof. The rest of the day was passed in ineffable spiritual transports. "Remain with me," he said, "and I shall die content." His head reposed on her bosom. She awaited him next morning on the scaffold; she laid her head down on the block; she obtained not what she ardently desired. He came at length, suffered his fate with the gentleness of a lamb, uttering the name of the Saviour. She received his head in her hands. At that moment appeared to her the God-Man with the brightness of the sun. She was assured of her

friend's salvation. She would not wash off the stain of the rich smelling blood from her garments. Yet, though she must remain on earth, the first stone of her tomb was laid. "Sweet Jesus! Jesus Love!" My attention was directed to this remarkable letter (the 97th in Gigli's edition) by a translation in the *Annales Archéologiques*, vol. xi. p. 85. S. Catherine had the stigmata. And this woman interposed between Popes, Princes, and Republics!

^h *Revelationum S. Brigittæ*, L. iv. c. cxxxvii. *et seqq.* The Saint is especially denunciatory of the Curia of Gregory XI. at Avignon. "Quid feci tibi, Gregori. Ego enim patienter permisi te ascendere ad Summum Pontificatum, et prædixi tibi voluntatem meam, per literas de Roma, tibi divinâ revelatione transmissas Quid ergo pro tantis beneficiis rependis mihi? Et cur facis hoc, videlicet quod in Curia tuâ regnat superbia maxima, cupiditas insatiabilis, et luxuria mihi execrabilis, ac etiam vorago pessima horribilis symoniæ? Insuper etiam rapis et deprædaris a me innumerabiles animas. . . . Et ideo culpa tua est. . . ." She prophesies his speedy death, if he thinks of returning to Avignon. These two huge volumes, '*Revelationes S. Brigittæ*' are for the most part mystic rhapsodies, visions of the Saviour, and the Virgin, full of strange pious

The commission, however, entrusted to S. Catherine of Sienna for the reconciliation of contumacious Florence failed till, after the accession of Urban VI., her words wrought with irresistible influence on the more than wavering Pope. Gregory XI., notwithstanding the opposition of the Cardinals, though six of them remained at Avignon, embarked, like his predecessor, at Marseilles,ⁱ put in at Genoa, and then landed near Corneto. His voyage was not so prosperous, many ships were lost, the Bishop of Lucca was drowned. The Pope passed the Feast of the Nativity at Corneto. On the seventeenth day after, he arrived by sea, and sailed up the Tiber to Rome. All was outward splendour and rejoicing in Rome, processions through decorated streets, banquets, a jubilant people, every one prostrate before the successor of St. Peter.^k But before long the Bannerets of the Regions, who had cast down their ensigns of authority at the feet

Oct. 2.
Oct. 18.

Pope sets out
for Italy.

allegory : and frequent free and bold censures of the clergy, cardinals, even the Pope. See L. i. c. 41. After describing the guilt of Lucifer, Pilate, Judas, the Jews, she adds of the Pope, "Similis es Lucifero, injustior Pilato, immitior Juda, abominabilior Judæis." L. iii. c. 27. She contrasts the Papacy from the days of S. Peter to Cœlestine V. with the Papacy after "sedem ascendit superbia." L. vii. c. 7. "Multi summi Pontifices fuerunt ante Joannem Papam (John XXI.) qui sunt in Inferno." In all these female Revelations there is a prompter and guide behind, and he is always a Friar.—See Prologus D. Alphonsi, c. 2.

ⁱ He was at Marseilles, Sept. 29 ; at Genoa, Oct. 23-4 ; St. Peter's,

Rome, April, 1377.—Documents in MS., B. M.

^k Compare the account in rude verse by Peter, Bishop of Senigaglia :—

"Egrediente summo Pontifice S. Pauli palatium affuerunt mille histriones . . . Verè non credebam in presentì sæculo videre tantam gloriam oculis propriis. Dire fatigatur Præsul prolixitate itineris cum suis servulis . . . Membra fatigata debilitataque magnificè gemmatis ferculis refocillavimus."
Apud Raynald. 1377, 1.

The whole dreary but curious poem, which describes minutely the journey from Avignon to Marseilles, the voyage from Marseilles to Corneto, from Corneto to Rome, the retirement to Anagni, may be read, if it can be read, in Ciacconius and in Muratori.

of the Pontiff, resumed their independent rule. De Vico, the Prefect of the city, held Viterbo and Montefiascone; not a city returned to its allegiance. The sack of Faenza and Cesena by the sanguinary Cardinal Robert and his Bretons, and by the soldiers of Hawkwood, whom he called to his aid, deepened, if it could be deepened, the aversion; scenes of rape and bloodshed, which even shocked those times, were perpetrated under the Papal banner.^m

Gregory had the barren consolation, that beyond the Alps he had still some power. The Emperor Charles IV. humbly sought his influence to obtain the succession for his son Wenceslaus. Even in Italy, wherever his authority was acceptable, it was admitted. Sicily was erected into an independent kingdom, that of Trinacria.

But neither the awe of his spiritual authority, though he launched excommunication and interdict with un-

^m On the massacre of Cesena read the passage from a very remarkable Canzone of F. Sacchetti, the writer of loose novels and powerful sermons, as well as poet. He was a contemporary. The Poet writes of the frightful carnage:

“Per ingrasare i porci di Brettagna.”

The Breton soldiers of Cardinal Robert.

He charges the guilt on the Pope himself:—

“E tu, che sei pel ciel vicario in terra,
Non pensi ch'è a lui ne venga il lezzo,
Che per lo tuo difetto sente, e vede
Il popol tuo cercar l' altrui mercede.”

After two other frightful charges,

“La terza, micidial, crudele e fera,
Fu l' innocente sangue di Cesena,
Sparto da lupi tuoi con tanta rabbia;
Gravide e vecchie morte in grande scialera,
Tagliando membri, e segando ogni vena;
Pulzelle prese: e dir: Chi l' ha, se l' abbia.
E altre rifuggite in nuova gabbia,
Alcune co' fanciulli per più scempi
Seguite a morte su l' altar de tempi.”

O terra, o lago rosso del lor sangue,
O Pontifice.”

Gigli, Vita di F. Sacchetti, prefixed to Works, p. xxvii, Firenze, 1858.

I will add the judgement of Sacchetti as a theologian, on the validity of a Papal excommunication: “Un' altra opinione tengono molti uomini grossi, e dicono che chi muore scomunicato è dannato. *Sententia Pastoris justa vel injusta timenda est.* E si dee temere la sentenza del pastore o giusta o ingiusta; ma la'ngiusta non mi dannà, ma fammi meritare s' io la porto pazientemente. Se la sentenza ingiusta mi dannasse, dunque potrebbe il papa o il vescovo più che la justizia divina, se la loro injustizia annullasse la justizia di Dio; e' questo non può essere; adunque la scomunica ingiusta non dannà, ma più tosto salva chi pazientemente la porta.”—*Sermone xiv. p. 45.*

wearied hand, nor his gentler virtues, could allay the evils which seventy years absence of the Popes from Rome had allowed to grow up. During the retreat of Gregory from the heats of the summer to Anagni were made some approaches to pacification with the Prefect de Vico and with Florence. The Pope despatched the holy Catherine of Sienna to Florence as a mediator of peace. But the delays of the Saint, and her intercourse with some of the Guelfic leaders in somewhat of a worldly and political spirit, inflamed the fury of the adverse factions.ⁿ They threatened to seize and burn the wicked woman. She hardly escaped political martyrdom.

A.D. 1377.

ⁿ "Cum hæc sacra virgo me teste (her biographer and confessor) de mandato felicis memoriæ D. Gregorii hujus nominis Papæ XI. accessisset Florentiam (quæ pro tunc rebellis erat et contumax in conspectu Ecclesiæ) pro pace tractandâ inter Pastorem et oves, ibique multas persecutiones injustas fuisset passa . . . nullo modo voluit recedere, quousque defuncto Gregorio, Urbanus VI., successor ejus pacem fecit cum Florentinis prædictis." It will reconcile this with the text, if it is supposed that she went to Avignon before on a mission from one of the parties in Florence. Urban VI. afterwards sent for her to Rome, through her confessor. She went unwillingly, but went.—Vit. apud Bolland. c. i. p. 111. Alban Butler has told well, though not quite fully, the Life of Catherine of Sienna.—April 30. S. Catherine of Sienna learned to read at once by spiritual inspiration of the Saviour. She learned by the same all-powerful influence to write, while she was asleep; but in this latter ac-

quirement she was aided by S. John the Evangelist and S. Thomas Aquinas. I have, since the second edition, read a Life of Catherine, by M. Malan. No book ever so sorely tried my disposition to believe men to be in earnest, when they think themselves to be so. But the life of S. Catherine, as related by M. Malan, is a curious physical as well as religious study; a singular display of an intensely hysterical temperament, wrought up by the circumstances and superstitions of the times. The man named in the extract above was, according to M. Malan, Nicolas Toldo of Perugia, who suffered under the cruel Terrorism of the Monte dei Reformatori, at Sienna. M. Malan will hardly suppose how disgustingly profane, too profane to be ludicrous, is much on what he enlarges with rapture, to others of more sensitive, and assuredly not less sincere piety. Read too on Catherine of Sienna an Article in the Archivio Storico Italiano, by Tommaseo, vol. xii. 3. pp. 21, 45.

But these negotiations dragged heavily on. A great congress was held at Sarzana. The main difficulty was a demand by the Pope for the reimbursement of 800,000 florins expended in the war through the contumacy of the Florentines. The Florentines retorted that the war was caused by the maladministration of the Cardinal Legates.

Negotiations
with Flo-
rence.

Pope Gregory, worn out with disease and disappointment, and meditating his return to Avignon, died, leaving all in irreparable confusion, confusion to be still aggravated by the consequences of his death.^o

Death of
Gregory XI.
March 27 or
28, 1378.

With Gregory XI. terminated the Babylonish captivity of the Popedom, succeeded by the great schism which threatened to divide Latin Christendom in perpetuity between two lines of successors of St. Peter, and finally to establish a Transalpine and a Cisalpine Pope.^p

• Muratori, sub ann.

^p The will of Pope Gregory XI. may be read in D'Achery, iii. p. 738. The whole gives a high notion of his character as a man of conscience and piety. There is this singular passage: "Quod si in Consistorio aut in publicis consiliis ex lapsu linguæ, vel etiam lætitiâ inordinatâ, aut præsentia magnatum ad eorum forsan complacentiam, seu ex aliquali distemperantiâ aut superfluitate aliquâ dixerimus errores contra Catholicam fidem . . . seu forsitan adhærendo aliquorum opinionibus contrariis fidei Catholicæ, scienter, quod non credimus, vel etiam ignoranter, aut dando favorem aliquibus contra

Catholicam religionem obloquentibus, illa expressè et specialiter revocamus, detestamur et habere volumus pro non dictis." Is not this to be taken as illustrating the free conversation at the court of Avignon? See also the very curious account of the interview of Gregory XI. with two of the German Friends of God, Nicolas of Basle (see Book xiv. c. 7), the friend of Tauler—the anger of the Pope at being rebuked by two such plain-spoken men, his gentleness and meekness, and friendliness, when he discovered their deep and earnest piety.—Karl Schmidt, *Der Gottesfreund* in XIV. Jahrhundert.

BOOK XIII.

CONTEMPORARY CHRONOLOGY.

POPES.		EMPERORS OF GERMANY.		KINGS OF FRANCE.		KINGS OF ENGLAND.	
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
1378 Urban VI.	1389	1378 Wenceslaus	1400	Charles V.	1380		
1378 Clement VII. (Antipope)	1394						
1389 Boniface IX.	1404			1360 Charles VI.	1422		
1394 Benedict XIII. (Antipope)	1423	1400 Rupert	1410			Richard II.	1399
1404 Innocent VII.	1406					1399 Henry IV.	1413
1406 Gregory XII.	1415						
1409 (Council of Pisa)						1413 Henry V.	1422
Alexander V.	1410	1410 Sigismund	1438			1422 Henry VI.	
1410 John XXIII.	1415					<i>Archbishops of Canterbury.</i>	
1417 Martin V.	1431			1422 Charles VII.		Simon Sudbury	1381
1431 Eugenius IV.	1447	1438 Albert II. (of Austria)	1440			1381 William Courtenay.	
1439 Felix V. (Antipope)	1448	1440 Frederick III. (of Austria).				1397 Thomas Arundel.	
1447 Nicolas V.	1454					1398 Roger Walden (substitute).	
						1398 Arundel	1414
						1414 Henry Chicheley	1443
						1443 John Stafford	1462
						1462 John Kemp.	
KINGS OF SCOTLAND.		KINGS OF NAPLES.		KINGS OF SPAIN.		EMPERORS OF THE EAST.	
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
		Joanna	1382	<i>Castile.</i>		John V. Paleologus	1391
		1382 Charles III. (of Durazzo)	1386	Henry II.	1379		
		1386 Ladislaus	1414	1379 John I.	1390	1391 Manuel	1424
Robert II.	1390			1390 Henry III.	1406	1424 John VI.	1448
1390 Robert III.	1406			1406 John II.	1452	1448 Constantine.	
				<i>Arragon.</i>			
				Peter IV.	1387		
1406 James I.	1438			1387 John I.	1395		
		1414 Joanna	1434	1395 Martin	1410		
				1410 Ferdinand	1415		
				1415 Alphonso V.		OTTOMAN EMPERORS.	
		1434 Alfonso (of Arragon).				A.D.	A.D.
1438 James II.				KINGS OF PORTUGAL.		Amurat I.	1389
				A.D.	A.D.	1389 Bajazet I.	1408
				Ferdinand	1383	1403 Soliman	1410
				1385 John I.	1433	1410 Musa	1413
				1433 Edward.		1413 Mahomet I.	1421
				1438 Alphonso V.		1421 Amurat II.	1450
						1450 Mahomet II.	

BOOK XIII.

CHAPTER I.

The Schism.

GREGORY XI. had hardly expired when Rome burst out into a furious tumult. A Roman Pope, at least an Italian Pope, was the universal outcry. March 27, 1378. The Conclave must be overawed; the hateful domination of a foreign, a French Pontiff must be broken up, and for ever. This was not unforeseen. Before his death Gregory XI. had issued a Bull,^a conferring the amplest powers on the Cardinals to choose, according to their wisdom, the time and the place for the election. It manifestly contemplated their retreat from the turbulent streets of Rome to some place where their deliberations would not be overborne, and the predominant French interest would maintain its superiority. On the other hand there were serious and not groundless apprehensions that the fierce Breton and Gascon bands, at the command of the French Cardinals, might dictate to the Conclave. The Romans not only armed their civic troops, but sent to Tivoli, Velletri, and the neighbouring cities; a strong force was mustered to keep the foreigners in check. Throughout the interval between the funeral of Gregory and the opening of

^a The Bull in Raynald. 1378.

the Conclave, the Cardinals were either too jealously watched, or thought it imprudent to attempt flight. Sixteen Cardinals were present at Rome,^b one Spaniard, eleven French, four Italians.

^{The Conclave.}
^{April 7.} The ordinary measures were taken for opening the Conclave in the palace near St. Peter's.

Five Romans, two ecclesiastics and three laymen, and three Frenchmen were appointed to wait upon and to guard the Conclave. The Bishop of Marseilles represented the great Chamberlain, who holds the supreme authority during the vacancy of the Popedom. The Chamberlain the Archbishop of Arles, brother of the Cardinal of Limoges, had withdrawn into the Castle of St. Angelo, to secure his own person, and to occupy that important fortress.

The nine solemn days fully elapsed, on the 7th of April they assembled for the Conclave. At that instant (inauspicious omen!) a terrible flash of lightning, followed by a stunning peal of thunder, struck through the hall, burning and splitting some of the furniture. The Hall of Conclave was crowded by a fierce rabble, who refused to retire. After about an hour's strife, the Bishop of Marseilles, by threats, by persuasion, or by entreaty, had expelled all but about forty wild men, armed to the teeth. These ruffians rudely and insolently searched the whole building; they looked under the beds, they examined the places of retreat. They would satisfy themselves whether any armed men were

^b See in Sismondi *Répub. Ital.* vii. p. 107 (or in Ciacconius), the list of the Cardinals, and their titles. Sismondi throughout has followed Thomas di Acerno. But perhaps Acerno's account is rather suspicious, as his object was to prove the legitimacy of

the election of Urban VI. This was supposed to depend on the election not having been compulsory; but if one thing be clear, it is that the majority would have preferred a French Pope. —Baluz. in *Not.* p. 1065.

^c Orsini, Florence, Milan, St. Peter's

concealed, whether there was any hole, or even drain through which the Cardinals could escape. All the time they shouted, "A Roman Pope! we will have a Roman Pope!" Those without echoed back the savage yell.^d Before long appeared two ecclesiastics, ^{Roman dele-} announcing themselves as delegated by the ^{gates.} commonalty of Rome; they demanded to speak with the Cardinals. The Cardinals dared not refuse. The Romans represented, in firm but not disrespectful language, that for seventy years the holy Roman people had been without their pastor, the supreme head of Christendom. In Rome were many noble and wise ecclesiastics equal to govern the Church: if not in Rome, there were such men in Italy. They intimated that so great was the fury and determination of the people, that if the Conclave should resist, there might be a general massacre, in which probably they themselves, assuredly the Cardinals, would perish. The Cardinals might hear from every quarter around them the cry, "A Roman Pope! if not a Roman, an Italian!" The Cardinals replied, that such aged and reverend men must know the rules of the Conclave; that no election could be by requisition, favour, fear, or tumult, but by the interposition of the Holy Ghost. To reiterated persuasions and menaces they only said, "We are in your power; you may kill us, but we must act according to God's ordinance. To-morrow we celebrate the Mass for the descent of the Holy Ghost; as the Holy Ghost directs, so shall we do." Some of the

^d The accounts of this remarkable transaction are perhaps less contradictory than at first appears. Some are from eye-witnesses, or from persons in the confidence of one or other of the Cardinals. That in the second Life of Gregory XI. (apud Baluzium) has some strong internal marks of truth in its minuteness and graphic reality.

French uttered words which sounded like defiance. The populace cried, "If ye persist to do despite to Christ, if we have not a Roman Pope, we will hew these Cardinals and Frenchmen in pieces." At length the Bishop of Marseilles was able entirely to clear the hall. The Cardinals sat down to a plentiful repast; the doors were finally closed. But all the night through they heard in the streets the unceasing clamour, "A Roman Pope, a Roman Pope!" Towards the morning the tumult became more fierce and dense. Strange men had burst into the belfry of St. Peter's; the clanging bells tolled as if all Rome was on fire.

Within the Conclave the tumult, if less loud and clamorous, was hardly less general. The confusion without and terror within did not allay the angry rivalry, or suspend that subtle play of policy peculiar to the form of election. The French interest was divided; within this circle there was another circle. The single diocese of Limoges, favoured as it had been by more than one Pope, had almost strength to dictate to the Conclave. The Limousins put forward the Cardinal de S. Eustache. Against these the leader was the Cardinal Robert of Geneva, whose fierce and haughty demeanour and sanguinary acts as Legate had brought so much of its unpopularity on the administration of Gregory XI. With Robert were the four Italians and three French Cardinals.^e Rather than a Limousin, Robert would even consent to an Italian. They on the one side, the Limousins on the other, had met secretly before the Conclave: the eight had sworn

^e There were five,—Limoges, Aigrefeuille, Poitou, Majoris Monasterii (St. Martin in Tours), and De Verny.

not on any account to submit to the election of a traitorous Limousin.^f

All the sleepless night the Cardinals might hear the din at the gate, the yells of the people, the tolling of the bells. There was constant passing and repassing from each other's chambers, intrigues, altercations, manœuvres, proposals advanced and rejected, promises of support given and withdrawn. Many names were put up. Of the Romans within the Conclave two only were named, the old Cardinal of St. Peter's and the Cardinal Jacobo Orsini. The Limousins advanced in turn almost every one of their faction; no one but himself thought of Robert of Geneva.

In the morning the disturbance without waxed more terrible. A vain attempt was made to address the populace by the three Cardinal Priors; they were driven from the windows with loud derisive shouts, "A Roman! a Roman!" For now the alternative of an Italian had been abandoned; a Roman, none but a Roman, would content the people. The madness of intoxication was added to the madness of popular fury. The rabble had broken open the Pope's cellar, and drunk his rich wines.^g In the Conclave the wildest projects were started. The Cardinal Orsini's was to dress up a Minorite Friar (probably a Spiritual) in the Papal robes, to show him to the people, and so for themselves to effect their escape to some safe place, and proceed to a legitimate election. The Cardinals, from honour or from fear, shrunk from this trick.

^f See in Raynaldus the statement of the Bishop of Cassano, the confidential friend of Robert of Geneva.

^g "Sitibundi et sitientes, volentes sibi de bono vino Papali, aperuerunt

cellarium Domini Papæ, in quo erant vina Græca, Garnaria, Malvoisia, et diversa alia vina bona."—Thomas di Acerno, apud Murator. iii.

At length both parties seemed to concur. Each claimed credit for first advancing the name, which most afterwards repudiated, of the Archbishop of Bari, a man of ^{Archbishop} _{of Bari.} repute for theologic and legal erudition, an Italian, but a subject of the Queen of Naples, who was also the Countess of Provence. They came to the nomination. The Cardinal of Florence proposed the Cardinal of St. Peter's. The Cardinal of Limoges arose, "The Cardinal of St. Peter's is too old. The Cardinal of Florence is of a city at war with the Holy See. I reject the Cardinal of Milan as the subject of the Visconti, the most deadly enemy of the Church. The Cardinal Orsini is too young, and we must not yield to the clamour of the Romans. I vote for Bartholomew Prignani, Archbishop of Bari."^b All was acclamation; Orsini alone stood out: he aspired to be the Pope of the Romans.

But it was too late; the mob was thundering at the gates, menacing death to the Cardinals, if they had not immediately a Roman Pontiff. The feeble defences sounded as if they were shattering down; the tramp of the populace was almost heard within the Hall. They forced or persuaded the aged Cardinal of St. Peter's to make a desperate effort to save their lives. He appeared at the window, hastily attired in what either was or seemed to be the Papal stole and mitre. There was a jubilant and triumphant cry, "We have a Roman Pope, the Cardinal of St. Peter's. Long live Rome! long live St. Peter!" The populace became even more frantic with joy than before with wrath. One band hastened to the Cardinal's palace, and, according to the strange

^b A Niem says, "Per electionem uniformem scilicet nemine eo-um discrepante."—*De Schism.* c. 11.

usage, broke in, threw the furniture into the streets, and sacked it from top to bottom. Those around the Hall of Conclave, aided by the connivance of some of the Cardinal's servants within, or by more violent efforts of their own, burst in in all quarters. The supposed Pope was surrounded by eager adorers; they were at his feet; they pressed his swollen, gouty hands till he shrieked from pain, and began to protest, in the strongest language, that he was not the Pope.

The indignation of the populace at this disappointment was aggravated by an unlucky confusion of names. The Archbishop was mistaken for John of Bari, of the bed-chamber of the late Pope, a man of harsh manners and dissolute life, an object of general hatred.¹ Five of the Cardinals, Robert of Geneva, Acquasparta, Viviers, Poitou, and De Verny, were seized in their attempt to steal away, and driven back, amid contemptuous hootings, by personal violence. Night came on again; the populace, having pillaged all the provisions in the Conclave, grew weary of their own excesses. The Cardinals fled on all sides. Four left the city; Orsini and S. Eustache escaped to Vicovaro, Robert of Geneva to Zagarolo, St. Angelo to Guardia; six, Limoges, D'Aigrefeuille, Poitou, Viviers, Brittany, and Marmoutiers, to the Castle of St. Angelo; Florence, Milan, Montmayeur, Glandève, and Luna, to their own strong fortresses.

The Pope lay concealed in the Vatican. In the morning the five Cardinals in Rome assembled round him. A message was sent to the Ban-^{Election confirmed.}nerets of Rome, announcing his election. The six Cardinals in St. Angelo were summoned; they were hardly

¹ Jo. de Bari vulgariter nuncupatum, Gallicum seu de terrâ Lemovicensi oriendum, satis, ut fama erat, superbum, pariter et lascivum."—A Niem, c. 11.

persuaded to leave their place of security but without their presence the Archbishop would not declare his assent to his elevation. The Cardinal of Florence, as Dean, presented the Pope Elect to the Sacred College, and discoursed on the text, "Such ought he to be, an undefiled High Priest." The Archbishop began a long

April 9.

harangue, "Fear and trembling have come upon me, the horror of great darkness." The

Cardinal of Florence cut short the ill-timed sermon, demanding whether he accepted the Pontificate. The Archbishop gave his assent; he took the name of Urban VI. Te Deum was intoned; he was lifted to

Coronation.

April 18.

the throne. The fugitives returned to Rome.

Urban VI. was crowned on Easter Day, in the Church of St. John Lateran. All the Cardinals were present at the august ceremony. They announced the election of Urban VI. to their brethren who had remained in Avignon.^k Urban himself addressed the usual encyclic letters, proclaiming his elevation, to all the Prelates in Christendom.

None but He who could read the hearts of men could determine how far the nomination of the Archbishop of Bari was free and uncontrolled by the terrors of the raging populace; but the acknowledgment of Urban VI. by all the Cardinals, at his inauguration in the holy office—their assistance at his coronation without protest, when some at least might have been safe beyond the walls of Rome—their acceptance of honours, as by the Cardinals of Limoges, Poitou, and Aigrefeuille—the homage of all^m—might seem to annul all possible irre-

^k See in Raynaldus the letter and signatures.

^m The Cardinal of Amiens, absent
ⁿ Legate in Tuscany, came to Rome

to do homage to the Pope.—Raynald. sub ann. No. xx.

Thus writes S. Catherine of Sienna. a resolute Partisan of Pope Urban VI.

gularity in the election, to confirm irrefragably the legitimacy of his title.

Not many days had passed, when the Cardinals began to look with dismay and bitter repentance on their own work. "In Urban VI.," said a writer of these times" (on the side of Urban as rightful Pontiff), "was verified the proverb—None is so insolent as a low man suddenly raised to power." The high-born, haughty, luxurious Prelates, both French and Italian, found that they had set over themselves a master resolved not only to redress the flagrant and inveterate abuses of the College and of the Hierarchy, but also to force on his reforms in the most hasty and insulting way. He did the harshest things in the harshest manner.

The Archbishop of Bari, of mean birth, had risen by the virtues of a monk. He was studious, ^{Character of Urban VI.} austere, humble,^o a diligent reader of the Bible,^p master of the canon law, rigid in his fasts; he wore haircloth next his skin. His time was divided between study, prayer, and business, for which he had

"Questo annunciarono a noi e a voi, e a li altri signori del mondo, manifestando per opera quello chè ci dicevano con parole: cioè facendoli reverentia, e adorandolo comè Christo in terra e coronandolo con tanta solennità, rifacendo di novo la electione con grande concordia, a lui come sommo Pontefice chieseron le grazie e usaronle. E se non fusse vero chè Papa Urbano fusse Papa, e che l' havessero eletto per paura, non sarebbero essi degni eternalmente di confusione; che le colonne de la sancta Chiesa poste per dilatare la fede per timore de la morte corporale volesseron dare a loro a noi morte eternale . . . e noi saremo essi idolatri,

adorando per Christo in terra, quel che non fusse."—Al Rè di Francia, *Epist.* cxcvi.

ⁿ Theodore à Niem, *De Schism.* l. i. c. 7.

^o "Ante Papatum homo humilis et devotus, et retrahens manus suas ab omni munere, inimicus et persecutor symoniarum, zelator caritatis et justitiæ, sed nimis suæ prudentiæ innitendo et credens adulatoribus," &c.

^p In person he was "brevis staturæ et spissus, coloris lividi sive fuscì."—A Niem, liv. i. ch. i. He often before his papacy made à Niem read the Bible to him till he fell asleep.

great aptitude. From the poor bishopric of Acherontia he had been promoted to the archbishopric of Bari, and had presided over the Papal Chancery in Avignon. The Monk broke out at once on his elevation in the utmost rudeness and rigour, but the humility changed to the most offensive haughtiness. Almost his first act was a public rebuke in his chapel to all the Bishops present for their desertion of their dioceses. He called them perjured traitors.⁹ The Bishop of Pampeluna boldly repelled the charge; he was at Rome, he said, on the affairs of his see. In the full Consistory Urban preached on the text "I am the good Shepherd," and inveighed in a manner not to be mistaken against the wealth and luxury of the Cardinals. Their voluptuous banquets were notorious (Petrarch had declaimed against them). The Pope threatened a sumptuary law, that they should have but one dish at their table: it was the rule of his own Order. He was determined to extirpate simony. A Cardinal who should receive presents he menaced with excommunication. He affected to despise wealth. "Thy money perish with thee!" he said to a collector of the Papal revenue. He disdained to conceal the most unpopular schemes; he declared his intention not to leave Rome. To the petition of the Bannerets of Rome for a promotion of Cardinals, he openly avowed his design to make so large a nomination that the Italians should resume their ascendancy over the Ultramontanes. The Cardinal of Geneva turned pale, and left the Consistory. Urban declared himself determined to do equal justice between man and man, between the Kings of France and England. The French Cardinals, and those in the pay of France, heard this with great indignation.[†]

⁹ "Me præsentē," writes à Niem. c. 111.

[†] Raynaldus, sub ann.

The manners of Urban were even more offensive than his acts. "Hold your tongue!" "You have talked long enough!" were his common phrases to his mitred counsellors. He called the Cardinal Orsini a fool. He charged the Cardinal of S. Marcellus (of Amiens), on his return from his legation in Tuscany, with having robbed the treasures of the Church. The charge was not less insulting for its justice. The Cardinal of Amiens, instead of allaying the feuds of France and England, which it was his holy mission to allay, had inflamed them in order to glut his own insatiable avarice by draining the wealth of both countries in the Pope's name.* "As Archbishop of Bari, you lie," was the reply of the high-born Frenchman. On one occasion such high words passed with the Cardinal of Limoges, that but for the interposition of another Cardinal the Pope would have rushed on him, and there had been a personal conflict.†

Such were among the stories of the time. Friends and foes agree in attributing the schism, at least the immediate schism, to the imprudent zeal, the imperiousness, the ungovernable temper of Pope Urban.‡ The

* So writes Walsingham :—"Cum sæpius missus fuisset a Papâ Gregorio prædecessore suo, ut quoquomodo pacem inter Angliæ et Franciæ regna firmaret, et ipse inestimabiles auri et argenti summas, pro labore sui itineris jussu Papæ de utroque regno cepisset, omisso suæ legationis officio non curavit paci providere regnorum, sed potius elaboravit, ut dissentiones et odia continuarentur inter reges diutius, et dum ipse descenderet taliter sub umbrâ firmandæ concordiæ, rediretque multotiens infecto negotio, suo p[ro]videret

uberius nefando marsupio de male quæsità pecuniâ relevatâ de Christi patrimonio, utroque regno sophisticè spoliato."—Walsingham, p. 216.

† Baluz., note, p. 1067.

‡ "Talis fuit Dominus noster post coronationem suam asper et rigorosus, nescitur tamen, utrum ex divinâ voluntate, quum certè ante creationem suam fuerit multum humilis, amabilis et benignus."—A Niem. Catherine of Sienna remonstrates with the Pope on his bursts of passion: "Mitigate un poco, per l' amore di Christo crocifisso

Cardinals among themselves talked of him as mad;^z they began to murmur that it was a compulsory, therefore invalid, election.^y

The French Cardinals were now at Anagni: they were joined by the Cardinal of Amiens, who had taken no part in the election, but who was burning under the insulting words of the Pope, perhaps not too eager to render an account of his legation. The Pope retired to Tivoli; he summoned the Cardinals to that city. They answered that they had gone to large expenses in laying in provisions and making preparations for their residence in Anagni; they had no means to supply a second sojourn in Tivoli. The Pope, with his four Italian Cardinals, passed two important acts as Sovereign Pontiff. He confirmed the election of Wenceslaus, son of Charles IV., to the Empire; he completed the treaty with Florence by which the Republic paid a large sum to the See of Rome. The amount was 70,000 florins in the course of the year, 180,000 in four years, for the expenses of the war. They were relieved from ecclesiastical censures, under which this enlightened Republic, though Italian, trembled, even from a Pope of doubtful title. Their awe showed perhaps the weakness and dissensions in Florence rather than the Papal power.

quelli movimenti subiti—date il botto a natura come Dio v'ha dato il core grande naturalmente." These sudden passions were to him "vituperio e danno del' anime."—Epist. xix. Compare the following Epistle.

* This account of Thomas di Acerno, Bishop of Luceria, is as it were the official statement of Urban's party, which accompanied the letter to the King of Castile.

† Thomas di Acerno gives six causes

for the alienation of the Cardinals :

I. The sumptuary limitation of their meals. II. The prohibition of simony of all kinds under pain of excommunication: this included the Cardinals. III. His projected promotion of Cardinals. IV. The determination to remain at Rome. V. His insulting demeanour and language to the Cardinals. VI. His refusal to go to Anagni, and his summons to Tivoli.

The Cardinals at Anagni sent a summons to their brethren inviting them to share in their counsels concerning the compulsory election of the successor to Gregory XI. Already the opinions of great legists had been taken; some of them, that of the famous Baldus,² may still be read. He was in favour of the validity of the election.

July 20.

But grave legal arguments and ecclesiastical logic were not to decide a contest which had stirred so deeply the passions and interests of two great factions. France and Italy were at strife for the Popedom. The Ultramontane Cardinals would not tamely abandon a power which had given them rank, wealth, luxury, virtually the spiritual supremacy of the world, for seventy years. Italy, Rome, would not forego the golden opportunity of resuming the long-lost authority. On the 9th August the Cardinals at Anagni publicly declared, they announced in encyclical letters addressed to the faithful in all Christendom, that the election of Urban VI. was carried by force and the fear of death; that through the same force and fear he had been inaugurated, enthroned, and crowned; that he was an apostate, an accursed Antichrist. They pronounced him a tyrannical usurper of the Popedom, a wolf that had stolen into the fold. They called upon him to descend at once from the throne which he occupied without canonical title; if repentant, he might find mercy; if he persisted, he would provoke the indignation of God, of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and all the Saints, for his violation of the Spouse of Christ, the common Mother of the Faithful.³ It was

Declaration
of Cardinals
at Anagni.

² Opera Baldi, vol. vi., and summarily in Raynaldus, sub ann. 1738, c. LXXVI.

³ Document in Raynaldus, and in the Gersoniana.

signed by thirteen Cardinals. The more pious and devout were shocked at this avowal of cowardice; Cardinals who would not be martyrs in the cause of truth and of spiritual freedom condemned themselves.

But letters and appeals to the judgement of the world, and awful maledictions, were not their only resources. The fierce Breton bands were used to march and to be indulged in their worst excesses under the banner of the Cardinal of Geneva. As Ultramontanists it was their interest, their inclination, to espouse the Ultramontane cause. They arrayed themselves to advance and join the Cardinals at Anagni. The Romans rose to oppose them; a fight took place near the Ponte Salario, three hundred Romans lay dead on the field.

Urban VI. was as blind to cautious temporal as to Imprudent acts of Urban VI. cautious ecclesiastical policy. Every act of the Pope raised him up new enemies. Joanna, Queen of Naples, had hailed the elevation of her subject the Archbishop of Bari. Naples had been brilliantly illuminated. Shiploads of fruit and wines, and the more solid gift of 20,000 florins, had been her oblations to the Pope. Her husband, Otho of Brunswick, had gone to Rome to pay his personal homage. His object was to determine in his own favour the succession to the realm. The reception of Otho was cold and repulsive; he returned in disgust.^b The Queen eagerly listened to suspicions, skilfully awakened, that Urban meditated the resumption of the fief of Naples, and its grant to the rival house of Hungary. She became the sworn ally of the Cardinals at Anagni. Honorato Gaetani, Count of Fondi, one of the most turbulent barons of the land,

^b A Niem, i. c. vi. Compare letters of Catherine of Sienna to the Queen of Naples.

demanded of the Pontiff 20,000 florins advanced on loan to Gregory XI. Urban not only rejected the claim, declaring it a personal debt of the late Pope, not of the Holy See, he also deprived Gaetani of his fief, and granted it to his mortal enemy, the Count San Severino. Gaetani began immediately to seize the adjacent castles in Campania, and invited the Cardinals to his stronghold at Fondi. The Archbishop of Arles, Chamberlain of the late Pope, leaving the Castle of St. Angelo under the guard of a commander who long refused all orders from Pope Urban, brought to Anagni the jewels and ornaments of the Papacy, which had been carried for security to St. Angelo. The Prefect of the city, De Vico, Lord of Viterbo, had been won over by the Cardinal of Amiens.

The four Italian Cardinals still adhered to Pope Urban. They laboured hard to mediate between the conflicting parties. Conferences were held at Zagarolo and other places; when the French Cardinals had retired to Fondi, the Italians took up their quarters at Subiaco. The Cardinal of St. Peter's, worn out with age and trouble, withdrew to Rome, and soon after died. He left a testamentary document declaring the validity of the election of Urban. The French Cardinals had declared the election void; they were debating the next step. Some suggested the appointment of a coadjutor. They were now sure of the support of the King of France, who would not easily surrender his influence over a Pope at Avignon, and of the Queen of Naples, estranged by the pride of Urban, and secretly stimulated by the Cardinal Orsini, who had not forgiven his own loss of the tiara. Yet even now they seemed to shrink from the creation of an Antipope. Urban precipitated and made inevitable this

Aug. 20.

disastrous event. He was now alone;^c the Cardinal of St. Peter's was dead; Florence, Milan, and the Orsini stood aloof; they seemed only to wait to be thrown off by Urban, to join the adverse faction. Urban at first declared his intention to create nine Cardinals; he proceeded at once, and without warning, to create twenty-six.^d By this step the French and Italian Cardinals together were now but an insignificant minority. They were instantly one. All must be risked, or all lost.

On September 20, at Fondi, Robert of Geneva was elected Pope in the presence of all the Cardinals (except St. Peter's) who had chosen, in-
Or Quatuor
Tempora,
Sept. 16.
Clement VII. augured, enthroned, and for a time obeyed Urban VI. The Italians refused to give their suffrages, but entered no protest. They retired into their castles, and remained aloof from the schism. Orsini died before long at Tagliacozzo. The qualifications which, according to his partial biographer, recommended the Cardinal of Geneva, were rather those of a successor to John Hawkwood or to a Duke of Milan, than of the Apostles. Extraordinary activity of body and endurance of fatigue, courage which would hazard his life to put down the intrusive Pope, sagacity and experience in the temporal affairs of the Church; high birth, through which he was allied with most of the royal and princely houses of Europe: of austerity, devotion, learning, holiness, charity, not a word.^e He took the name of Clement VII.: the Italians bitterly taunted the mockery of this name, assumed by the Captain of the Breton Free Companies

^c Like a sparrow on the house-top.
 --A Niem, i. xi.

Some authorities give twenty-nine.

^e Vit. I. apud Baluzium. A Niem agrees, and adds: "Unde potest elici,

quod illa electio a Spiritu Sancto et puris conscientis non processit."—
 Read Catherine of Sienna's letter to the Count of Fondi. Epist. exciv. another hint of the furious passion of Urban VI.

—by the author, it was believed, of the massacre at Cesena.^f

So began the Schism which divided Western Christendom for thirty-eight years. Italy, excepting the kingdom of Joanna of Naples, adhered to her native Pontiff; Germany and Bohemia to the Pontiff who had recognised King Wenceslaus as Emperor; England to the Pontiff hostile to France;^g Hungary to the Pontiff who might support her pretensions to Naples; Poland and the Northern kingdoms, with Portugal, espoused the same cause. France at first stood almost alone in support of her subject, of a Pope at Avignon instead of at Rome. Scotland only was with Clement, because England was with Urban. So Flanders was with Urban because France was with Clement.^h The uncommon abilities of Peter di Luna, the Spanish Cardinal (afterwards better known under a higher title), detached successively the Spanish kingdoms, Castile, Arragon, and Navarre, from allegiance to Pope Urban.

^f Collutius Pierius, apud Raynald. No. lvi.

^g Selden, in his Table Talk, says: "There was once, I am sure, a Parliamentary Pope. Pope Urban was made Pope in England by Act of Parliament, against Pope Clement: the Act is not in the Book of Statutes, either because he that compiled the book would not have the name of the Pope there, or else he would not let it appear that they meddled with any such thing; but it is upon the Rolls."—Artic. "Pope." Compare Walsingham. Ambassadors

for both were in England. "Domino Deo favente repulsi sunt apostatici, admissi Papales."—P. 215.

^h "Exinde quanto plus divisi principes patronos sibi dilectos grato venerabantur aspectu, in eis plus excrecebat superbia et pertinacia dominandi, dum unus Alemanniam, Hungariam, Angliam et Hispaniam, sibi subditas cerneret, alter in Gallia dulcissimo sinu foveretur, ditaretur, et ejus defenderetur viribus."—Relig. de St. Denys, i. p. 80.

CHAPTER II.

The Rival Popes.

NEITHER of these Popes were men whom religious enthusiasm could raise into an idol ; they were men rather from whom profound devotional feeling could not but turn away abashed and confused. If the hard and arrogant demeanour of Urban might be excused when displayed only to the insolent and overbearing French Cardinals, or even justified as the severity of a Reformer of the Church, his subsequent acts of most revolting cruelty to his own partisans showed a type of that craft, treachery, and utter inhumanity which were hereafter to attain the bad Italian Popes. He might seem almost to confirm the charge of madness. On the other hand, the highest praise of Clement was that he was a sagacious and experienced politician, a valiant Captain of a Free Company.

The French Cardinals, the King of France, all parties
General Council. at times spoke loudly of an Œcumenic Council. But who was to summon that Council? how was it to be composed? under whose auspices was it to sit, so that Christendom might have faith in the wisdom or justice of its determinations? So long as the sole question was the validity of Urban's election, the Cardinals declared for a Council ; but no sooner had the Antipope been chosen, and the rival claims must be disputed before this uncertain yet authoritative tribunal, than the Cardinals became averse to the measure and

started all possible difficulties. As Clement's party drew back, the Urbanists took up the cry, and clamorously defied their antagonists to meet them before an ecclesiastical Senate of Christendom.

The rival Popes had first recourse to their spiritual arms. Urban at the close of the year issued a long Brief, declaring four especially of the French Cardinals, among them the Archbishop of Arles, who had carried off the Papal crown and jewels, the Acts of Urban. Count of Fondi, and many other of the Romagnese and Campanian nobles, guilty of heresy, schism, treason, and apostasy. All were excommunicated; the Cardinals deposed; the nobles were degraded from their haughty order, their estates confiscated; all who had sworn fealty to them were released from their oaths: the usurping Pope was denominated Antichrist.

Clement VII. was not less authoritative or maledictory in his denunciations. The Roman Pope was called upon to lay down his ill-gotten power. Of Clement. He, too, was an Antichrist, as opposing the College of Cardinals in their full right of electing a Pontiff, unawed by popular clamour or fear of death. From Fondi Clement went to Naples. Nothing could equal the magnificence of his reception. The Queen, her husband Otho of Brunswick, many of the nobles and great ecclesiastics kissed his feet.

But Urban in his first creation of twenty-six Cardinals in one day^a had included many Neapolitans of the highest families and dignities in the kingdom, and had thus secured himself a strong interest. He had degraded Bernard di Montoro, the Archbishop of Naples, and appointed Bozzato, a man of influence and powerful

^a A Niem, i. xii.

connexions in the city. The people had been somewhat jealously excluded from the splendid spectacle of Pope Clement's reception: they rose in their resentment; they declared that they would not desert a Neapolitan for a foreign Pope.^b Urban's Archbishop set himself at their head. The Queen with great difficulty subdued the insurrection. Clement was so alarmed for his own safety that he fled rapidly to Fondi; and, not daring to rest there, embarked in all speed for Provence. He landed at Marseilles; and from that time became the Pope of Avignon and France.

Urban's great difficulty was the disorder and poverty of his finances. The usual wealth which flowed to the Papal Court was interrupted by the confusion of the times. The Papal estates were wasted by war, occupied by his enemies, or by independent princes. Not only did he seize to his own use the revenues of all vacant benefices, and sell to the citizens of Rome property and rights of the churches and monasteries (from this traffic he got 40,000 florins); not only did he barter away the treasures of the churches, the gold and silver statues, crosses, images of saints, and all the splendid furniture; he had recourse to the extraordinary measure of issuing a commission to two of his new Cardinals to sell, empawn, and alienate the estates and property of the Church, even without the consent of the Bishops, Beneficed Clergy, or Monasteries.^c Thus having

A. D. 1380.
Successes of
Urban.

^b Giannone, xxiii. 4.
^c Muratori, Ann. sub ann. 1380. Urban appointed Cosmo Gentili, Chancellor of Capua, his Nuncio in England. All other commissions were annulled. He was to collect "omnes et singulos fructus, redditus et proventus beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum dicti regni

vacantium, per nos seu Aplicâ auctoritate collatorum et conferendorum in antea, census quoque annuos, et alia omnia et singula res et bona nobis et camera prædictæ quâcunque ratione vel causâ debita." He specifies Peter's Pence.—MS., B. M., Aug. 27, 1379. The Archbishop of York is ordered to

hardly collected sufficient funds, the Pope hired the services of Alberic Barbiano, Captain of one of the Free Companies, and prepared for open war. The Romans undertook the siege of the Castle of St. Angelo, which still held out for the Cardinals and continued to bombard the city. It was at length taken; but the Romans, instead of surrendering it to the Pope, razed the fortress, so long hostile to their liberties, nearly to the ground. The Romans, if they loved not the Pope, had the most cordial detestation of the French. The Pope's courtiers of ultramontane birth or opinions, all indeed except a few Germans and English, were insulted, robbed, treated with every contumely. "I have seen," writes one present, "Roman matrons, to excite the mob against them, spit in the faces of the courtiers."^d Before the close of the year, Pope Urban could announce to Christendom the total discomfiture of the Gascon and Breton bands by Alberic Barbiano, the capture of St. Angelo, the flight of the Antipope, the submission of the Queen of Naples.^e

Pope Urban and Queen Joanna were equally insincere: the Queen in her submission, the Pope in his acceptance of it. Joanna had been the child-^{Naples.}less wife of four husbands; the heir to the realm of Naples by both lines was Charles of Durazzo, nephew of the King of Hungary. The King of Hungary still cherished the deep purpose of revenge for the murder of his brother. Charles of Durazzo had been already invited during the hostilities of the Pope with Joanna

sequester all goods of adherents of Robert, "that son of iniquity." March 14, 1381. All sums, "ratione communium servitorum" (the ordinary phrase) on the translation of William (Courtenay), Bishop of

London, to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, to be sent to Rome. Nov. 3, 1382.

^d Curiales, Theodoric & Niem, i. 14.

^e Apud Raynald, 1379, n. xxxi.

not to wait the tardy succession, but to seize at once the crown of Naples.

All the passions least becoming a pontiff combined to influence Urban VI., policy, vengeance, family ambition, interest, pride; policy, for he could not depend on the hollow friendship of Joanna; vengeance, for without Joanna's aid and instigation the Cardinals at Fondi had not dared to elect the Antipope; family ambition, for the nepotism of Urban, like that of his successors, was not content with benefices and cardinalates, it soared to principalities. One of his nephews, Francis Prignano, had been among the new Cardinals; another, Buttillo Prignano, he aspired to invest in the principedom of Capua, Amalfi, and other wealthy fiefs. Interest and pride urged the advantage of a King of Naples, indebted to him for his crown, over whose power and treasures he might rule, as he afterwards endeavoured to rule, with the almost undisputed despotism of a Protectorate.^f

Charles of Durazzo came to Rome: he was invested by the Pope in the Sovereignty of Naples, as Charles of Durazzo. June 1, 1381. forfeited to its liege lord the Pontiff by the iniquities of Queen Joanna; he was crowned by the hand of the Pope.

Joanna was hardly less undisguised in her hostility to Pope Urban. In evil hour for herself, in worse for Naples, she determined to adopt as her heir Louis of Anjou, nephew of the King of France, thus again inflicting on her unhappy realm all the miseries of a French invasion. The French Pope hastened to invest the French Prince in the rights which, as Pope, he claimed with the same title as his rival in Rome.

^f According to Gobelinus Persona, Urban had adherents in Naples. The parties met in strife in the streets: "Vivat Papa di Roma!" "Vivat Papa di Fundis!"—Apud Meibomiun, i. p. 297.

Charles of Durazzo was first in the field. The unpopularity of Joanna with her subjects was heightened by their hatred of the French, and the long tradition of their tyranny. The churchmen were for Pope Urban; their inclination had been skilfully increased by the distribution of benefices and dignities. The Hungarian and Papal forces met scarcely any resistance.

Treacherous Naples opened its gates. Otho of Brunswick, the husband of Joanna, hastily summoned from Germany, was betrayed by his own bravery into the power of his enemies: Joanna was besieged in the Castel-Nuovo. She looked in vain for

July 16.

the Provençal fleets and the French armament. Famine compelled her to capitulate; she was sent prisoner to a castle in the Basilicata. The inexorable King of Hungary demanded the death of the murderess, though acquitted of the crime by one Pope, and in close alliance with successive Popes. Pope Urban was silent; the unhappy daughter of a line of kings was put

Aug. 25.

to death, either strangled while at her prayers,^g or smothered, according to another account, under a pillow of feathers. Thus died Joanna II. of Naples, leaving her fame an historic problem. To some she was a monster of lust and cruelty, the assassin of her husband; to others a wise, even a most religious princess, who governed her kingdom during peace with firm and impartial rule, promulgated excellent laws, established the most equitable tribunals. Her repeated marriages were only from the patriotic desire of bearing an heir to the throne of her fathers.^h

May 22, 1382

Louis of Anjou, in the mean time, had been crowned

^g A Niem says: "Cum quâdam die oraret, *ut fertur*, sedens ante altare genuflexo, de mandato ipsius Caroli, per quatuor satellites Hungaros fuerat strangulata."

^h Compare Gianone on the character of Joanna.

King of Naples by Clement VII. But Clement, prodigal of all which might embarrass the hostile Pope, not only as liege lord granted away Naples, he created for his French ally a new kingdom, that of Adria. It comprised all the Papal territories, the March of Ancona, Romagna, the Duchy of Spoleto, Massa Trabaria, the cities of Bologna, Ferrara, Ravenna, Perugia, Todi, the whole region except the City of Rome, with her domain, the Patrimony of St. Peter in Tuscany, the Maritima, and Sabina. These were reserved for the Pope and his successors.¹

The Provençal fleet of Louis (Provence received him at once as her lord) was too late to rescue the Queen. His powerful land army encountered no resistance till it reached the frontiers of the kingdom.^k Among the followers of Louis was Peter, Count of Geneva, the brother of Pope Clement. Many of the highest Neapolitan nobles, the great Constable Thomas di San Severino, the Tricarici, the Counts of Conversano, Caserta, S. Agata, Altanella, fell off from Charles, and joined the invading ranks. Louis had passed Benevento and occupied Caserta; Charles stood on the defensive.

The embarrassment of Charles was increased by tidings that the Pope was marching towards Naples:^m he mistrusted his friend almost as much as his enemy. He hastened to meet Urban at Capua, from thence, by Aversa,ⁿ conducted him to

¹ Leibnitz, Cod. Jur. Gent. i. 206, quoted by Muratori, Ann., sub ann. 1382.

^k The army of Louis is stated at 40,000, 45,000, even 60,000 men.—Note of Mansi in Raynald., A.D. 1382.

^m Urban set out in May to Tivoli;

then to a small castle, Vellemonte, in Campania. He was at Ferentino in Sept. till Michaelmas Day.

ⁿ At Aversa à Niem (then with Urban) was in a great fright "quod aliquid sinistrum contra nos dispositum esset, quia sicut in sacco tenebamur inclusi." Compare Gobelinus Persona

Naples, under the cover of anxiety for his personal safety. He would not permit the Pope to take up his residence in the archiepiscopal palace; he escorted him, under a strong guard of honour, to the Castel Nuovo. Charles had eluded the condition of ^{Nov. 1383.} his elevation to the throne, the erection of the principality of Capua for Butillo, the Pope's nephew. Urban seized the opportunity of his distress to demand, not only Capua, with its adjacent towns, Cagnazzo and Carata, but also the Duchy of Amalfi, Nocera, and other towns and castles. On these terms, and these alone, the Pope would aid the King against the invading French, and grant the plenary dominion over the rest of the realm. Charles was compelled to yield; the compact was celebrated with great rejoicings; the Pope was permitted to occupy the archiepiscopal palace; the marriage of two of his nieces with two Neapolitan nobles was celebrated with high festivity. In the midst was a tumult in the city. The Pope's nephew had ^{Butillo the Pope's nephew.} broken into a convent and ravished a nun of high birth and celebrated beauty. Loud complaints were made to the Pope; he laughed it off as a venial outburst of youth: his nephew Butillo was forty years old. But the King's justice would not or dared not endure the crime. A capital sentence was passed against Butillo. The Pope, as Suzerain of the realm, annulled the sentence of the King's Justiciary and of the King. After some contest Butillo was, if not rewarded, bought off from the indulgence of his lusts, by a wife, the daughter of the Justiciary, and of the King's kindred, with a dowry of 70,000 florins a year,^o and the noble castle of Nocera.

apud Meibomium. By his account, Naples.

Charles was compelled to use much ^o All this from Theodoric à Niern
 courteous force to bring Urban to then in the Pope's retinue.

Spiritual censures were reserved for offenders of another kind. The Pope celebrated high mass, and declared Louis, Count of Anjou, heretic, excommunicated, accursed, published a crusade against him, and offered plenary indulgence to all who should take up arms. Charles of Durazzo was proclaimed Gonfalonier of the Church.^p During all this time there was a violent persecution of all the Neapolitan clergy, as before of the Sicilian, suspected of inclinations to the Antipope. The Cardinal di Sangro was the chief agent to the Pope in these measures of destitution, confiscation, and torture. The basest of the clergy were substituted for the ejected Prelates or Abbots.^q

Charles protracted the war with skill; it is difficult to account for the inactivity of the French. Charles was suddenly relieved by the death of his enemy. Louis of Anjou died at Bariglio. The French army, already wasted by the plague of which Amadeo, Duke of Savoy, perhaps Louis of Anjou himself, had died,^r broke up, and retired beyond the Alps.

Charles had now no open adversary. He had still eluded the surrender of the great city of Capua to the Pope's nephew. He had ceded

Oct. 10, 1384.

^p MS., B. M. There is a commission appointing John, Duke of Lancaster, Gonfalonier of the Church in the crusade against John, calling himself King of Castile and Leon. March 21, 1383. Privileges are granted to all crusaders against Robert, Antipope, and the King of Castile. About the same time Thomas, Archbishop of York, who owed 2000 florins under the title "communium servitorum," is called on to pay. Aug. 6, 1383.

^q "De Sangro creditit sacrificium

offerre se Deo, sic omnes ipsos miseros perturbando . . . adeo miser et iners Neapolitanorum clericus eâ vice vix reperiebatur, qui non fieret Archiepiscopus vel Episcopus aut Abbas vel Prælatus per eundem Urbanum, dummodo talis vellet esse."—Theod. à Niem, i. c. xxvi. Compare, on the persecutions, Vit. I. Clement, p. 502.

^r The plague may have been the cause of the previous inactivity. Charles himself had the plague, but recovered.

Nocera, and in that fortress the Pope and some of his Cardinals had taken up their dwelling. The Cardinals had once fled, but were recalled. Amidst the rejoicings of the capital Charles summoned the Pope to meet him to deliberate on important affairs. "Kings have been wont to wait on Popes, not Popes on Kings," was the mistrustful and haughty reply of the Pope. He added, to ingratiate himself with the people, "If Charles would have me for his friend, let him repeal the taxes imposed on his kingdom." Charles sent back for answer, "that if he came he would come like a king, at the head of his army; he wondered that priests should presume to interfere with his kingdom—his by force of arms, and as the inheritance of his wife: to the Pope he owed but the four words in the investiture." "The kingdom," rejoined Urban, "belongs to the Church—a fief granted to a king who shall rule with moderation, not flay his subjects to the quick: the Church may resume her gift, and grant it to a more loyal liegeman." Charles made no further answer. Alberic Barbiano, the Constable of the kingdom, with a strong force, laid siege to Nocera. But this old stronghold of the last Mohammedans in the kingdom defied the insufficient engines and battering trains of the times. Daily might the old Pope be seen on the walls, with lighted torches, and with bells sounding, pronouncing his malediction against the besiegers.*

Some of the Cardinals whom Urban had created, and who had followed him, though reluctantly, to Naples

* Urban at least gave ground for the suspicion that he contemplated the resumption of the kingdom, the deposal of Charles. Did his extravagant nepotism look even higher than the principedom of Capua?

Quarrel of Charles and Pope Urban. May, 1384.

Nov. 1384.

Feb. 1385.

(many of them were with him still more reluctantly in Nocera),^t endeavoured to soften the furious Pope, and to induce him not to provoke too far the victorious Hungarian, now elated with success. They urged him at least to return to Rome. Urban suspected treachery. No doubt some secret consultations were held about his conduct. Bartolino of Piacenza, a bold, shrewd, unscrupulous lawyer, had framed answers to twelve questions, abstract in their form, but significant enough in their intent.^u "Whether, if the Pope were notoriously negligent or incompetent, or so headstrong and obstinate as to endanger the whole Church—if he should act entirely according to his arbitrary will in contempt of the Council of the Cardinals—it might be lawful for the Cardinals to appoint one or more guardians, according to whose advice he would be bound to regulate his actions." One of the Cardinals, an Orsini by birth, betrayed the secret to the Pope, and declared certain of his brethren privy to the agitation of these perilous questions. The Pope inveigled such as were not there, to Nocera, as though to hold a consistory. Six of them, Arrest of Cardinals. the most learned and of best repute, were seized and cast into a close and fetid dungeon, an old tank or cistern. Of the names given are the Cardinal di Sangro, John, Archbishop of Corfu (C. S. Sabina), Ludovico Donati, Archbishop of Tarento (S. Marco), Adam, Bishop of London (C. S. Cecilia), Eleazar, Bishop of Rieti.^x There Theodoric à Niem (whose relation is extant), appointed with other of the Pope's ministers to take their examination, found them in the most pitiable state. The Cardinal di Sangro, a

^t In Ferentino he had threatened to deprive some.—A Niem, xxviii.

^u Theodoric à Niem had seen the

questions, with the opinions of some learned theologians.

^x Compare Baluzius, ii. 985.

tall and corpulent man, had not room to stretch out his feet. They were all loaded with chains. The Pope's ministers questioned them, adjured them in vain to confession. The inquisitors returned to the Pope; two of them burst into tears. Urban sternly taunted their womanish weakness. Theodoric, by his own account, ventured to urge the Pope to mercy.⁷ Urban became only more furious; his face reddened like a lamp; his voice was choked with passion. He produced a confession, wrung forth the day before by torture from the Bishop of Aquila, which inculpated the Cardinals. The conspiracy, indeed, with which they were charged by the suspicion of Urban, or by their enemies who had gained the ear of Urban, was terrible enough. They had determined to seize the Pope, to declare him a heretic, and to burn him.⁸ They were brought before the public consistory; if they had confessed, it was believed that they would have been made over to the executioner and the stake. They persisted in their denial; they were thrust back into their noisome dungeon, to suffer from hunger, thirst, cold, and reptiles.

Three days after the Cardinals were submitted to the torture: that of two is described with horrible minuteness by the unwilling witness. The Cardinal di Sangro

⁷ Theodoric à Niem.

⁸ "*Tanquam hæreticus condemnaretur puniendus . . . et statim sententiâ per ipsos Cardinales tanquam per Collegium sic latâ, executio ejusdem per ignem fieret ibidem.*"—A Niem. Gobelinus (of Benevento), a contemporary, apud Meibomium, i. 301, says: "Prout postea quibusdam officialibus Papæ revelatum est unde ad me notitia hujus facti devenit, quia de familiâ Camerae Apostolicæ tunc extiti." This

version of the affair is even worse for the character of Urban. His harshness and pride had driven above halt the Cardinals to invite an Antipope; now the same harshness and pride, with nepotism, had driven five more Cardinals to conspire to seize the Pope and burn him as a heretic. Gobelinus confirms the torture; he speaks of the nephew as Prince of Capua, who seized the Cardinals.

was stripped almost naked, and hoisted by the pulley. Butillo, the Pope's nephew, stood laughing at his agonies. Thrice he was hoisted. Theodoric, unable to endure the sight, entreated him to make some confession. The Cardinal bitterly reproached himself with the tortures which he himself had inflicted on archbishops, bishops, and abbots, the partisans of the Antipope, for the cause of Urban. The executioner was a fierce ruffian, who had been a pirate, and was now Prior of the Hospitallers. The Cardinal of Venice, an old, feeble, and infirm man, had not to suffer the same bitter self-reproach as Di Sangro: yet he was racked with even worse cruelty from morning to dinner-time. He only uttered, "Christ has suffered for us." The Pope was heard below in the garden, reciting aloud his breviary, that the executioner might be encouraged by his presence.^a

Urban was besieged in Nocera; among his fiercest enemies was the Abbot of Monte Casino;^b but he had still active partisans in Italy. The Pope was the head of a great interest. Raimondello Orsini made a bold diversion in his favour. A Genoese fleet hovered on the coast. Pope Urban made a sudden sally from

^a "Idemque Urbanus interim in horto inferius ambulabat, altè legendo officium, ita quod eum legentem nos in aulâ audiebamus, volens dictum Basilium per hoc reddere sollicitum quod mandatum de diligenter torquendo Cardinalem non negligeret."—A Niem, c. lii. p. 44.

^b They were horrible times. Peter Tartarus, the Abbot of Monte Casino, watched all the outlets from Nocera, seized and put to the torture the partisans of the Pope. "Eos idem Abbas variis

tormentis affecit."—Gobelinus, p. 303. A messenger with secret letters to the Pope was taken and slung like a stone from the machines into the castle; he was dashed to pieces. Gobelinus describes the siege at length. He was then at Benevento: he saw a placard offering indulgences to all who would succour the Pope, the same as for a crusade to the Holy Land. See also the flight in Gobelinus, who was in the Pope's train.

Nocera, aided by some troops raised by Sanseverino and the Orsini, reached first friendly Benevento, then got on board the galleys between Barletta and Trani. He dragged with him the wretched Cardinals. During the flight to the galleys, the Bishop of Aquila, enfeebled by torture, could not keep his sorry horse to his speed. Urban, suspecting that he sought to escape, in his fury ordered him to be killed; his body was left unburied on the road. With the rest he started across to Sicily; thence to Genoa. The Cardinals, if they reached Genoa alive, survived not long.

A.D. 1386.

By some accounts they were tied in sacks and cast into the sea, or secretly despatched in their prisons.^c One only, the Englishman, was spared: it was said, out of respect for, or at the intervention of, King Richard II. Nocera fell; the Pope's nephew, Butillo, was the prisoner of King Charles.

Urban remained in Genoa almost alone. Some of his Cardinals had perished under his hand; others, Pileus Cardinal of Ravenna, Galeotto of Pietra Mala, fled, after a vain effort to save the lives of their colleagues. They might indeed dread the wrath of the Pontiff: they too had written letters to the Roman clergy, on the means of coercing the proud and cruel Pope, whom they not obscurely declared to be mad, though his madness excused not his horrible wickedness.^d But Genoa would not endure the barbarous

^c Muratori, sub ann. 1385. A Niemi says, "Utique ipsi quinque Cardinales postea non videbantur." There was a report that their bodies were thrown into a pit in a stable and consumed with quicklime. Gobelinus (who wrote a poem in praise of Urban) says, "Quinque Cardinales quos usque tunc

in carceribus detinuit ibidem mortuos reliquit, sed quomodo aut quali modo vitam finierint, non planè mihi constat." Eleven years after he heard that they had been murdered in prison, and buried in a stable.—P. 310.

^d Literæ apud Baluzium, ii. No. 226. "Ut videbatur insano similis et furenti,

inhumanities of the Pope; not only did the inhabitants treat him with cold disrespect, the magistrates seized and punished some of the satellites of his cruelties: the indignant Pope left the city and proceeded to Lucca.^e Before this he had shown some disposition to forgive, not, indeed, his own enemies. Gian Galeazzo Visconti had surprised his uncle Bernabo by the basest treachery, and poisoned him. Gian Galeazzo had no difficulty (his power and wealth were boundless) in obtaining absolution.^f

The wounded pride of Urban was not the sole motive for his journey to Lucca. Charles, King of Naples, now his deadly foe, had gone to Hungary to claim the crown of that realm. There he had been murdered. His enemies refused him burial, as under excommunication.^g The Pope remorseless as ever warred against the unburied body, against his widow and his orphans. Queen Margaret and her blameless children were loaded with malediction. Margaret claimed the crown of Naples for her son Ladislaus; the Angevin party for the son of Louis of Anjou. The Pope maintained a haughty and mysterious silence as to their conflicting pretensions.^h He levied troops; he set himself at their head in Perugia. No one could penetrate his design. It was surmised that he aspired to

Dec. 1386.

Feb. 7, 1386.
Death of
Charles of
Durazzo.

Crown of
Naples.
1387.

. . . Multasque iniquitates et detestabilia scelera commisit et cotidie committit." They allege the imprisonment, torture, starvation of the Cardinals at Nocera.

^e Walsingham asserts that Urban did not get away from Genoa "donec inestimabilem auri summam pro sua ereptione persolvisset januensibus, qui plus propter nummum quam propter

Deum ejus ereptioni prætenderant, sicut patet."—P. 320.

^f A Niem, c. lvi.

^g Mailath, *Geschichte der Magyaren*, ii. 110.

^h "Dimorava intanto Papa Urbano in Lucca, mirando con dispetto le rivoluzioni di Napoli, tutte contrarie a suoi interessi."—Muratori *Ann.* sub ann.

assume the kingdom himself as Pope, or to raise his nephew to the throne. He issued a furious manifesto to the whole of Christendom, calling on all clerks and laymen to take up arms and join the Papal forces against the Antichrist, the Pope of Avignon, alleging the example of the Levites who slew in one day 23,000 idolaters without regard to kindred or consanguinity, and against the contumacious kingdom of Naples.ⁱ Of the rights of Ladislaus not one word, though Queen Margaret had attempted to propitiate him, by sending his nephew, a prisoner since the capture of Nocera by King Charles, to Genoa.

This nephew, Butillo, was at once the madness, the constant disgrace, danger, and distress of the weak, imperious, unforgiving Pontiff. At Perugia the ruffian stole into the house of a noble lady, for whom he had a violent passion; he was waylaid by her brothers, and well scourged. The Pope withdrew from the insolent city, but he did not suspend his martial preparations. He had determined to provide for his financial wants, and to confirm his waning popularity with the burghers of Rome, by a Jubilee, of which he himself might reap the immediate fruits. The period of this great festival had been contracted by Clement VI. to fifty years. An ingenious calculation discovered, that if the time of the Saviour's life were reckoned, thirty-three years, the Jubilee would fall during the year next ensuing.^k This holy pretext was eagerly seized; Christendom was summoned to avail itself of the incalculable blessings of

ⁱ This manifesto is dated Lucca, Aug. 29, 1387. It contains this extraordinary passage about the Virgin Mary (the army was to assemble on the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin):

“Quæ est impiis terribilis, velut castrorum acies ordinata, et cunctas hæreses *sola* interemit in toto mundo.” —Apud Raynald. 1387, No. 6.

^k Gobelinus, p. 310.

a pilgrimage to Rome, with all the benefits of indulgences. The treasury of the Holy See was prepared to receive the tribute of the world.

But Urban sowed for another to reap.^m A fall from his mule shook the enfeebled frame of the Pontiff. He could not return to Perugia, distant about ten miles: he was carried in a litter to Ferentino, on his way to the kingdom of Naples. At the approach of winter he was compelled, by the failure of funds for the payment of his soldiers, to return to Rome. He was coldly received.ⁿ He lingered for a year, giving directions to regulate and eagerly awaiting the coming Jubilee, which he never saw. He died in the autumn.

Charity might almost admit for the manners and the acts of this Pontiff the excuse of insanity (some of the Cardinals manifestly entertained this belief); but whether more than the insanity of ungoverned passions, pride, ambition, cruelty, and blind nepotism, must be left to wiser judgement than that of man.^o

Clement VII. reigned at Avignon in comparative peace and dignity. The fiercer parts of his character, which had been so darkly shown during his wars as Legate, at the massacre of Cesena, in which perished 30,000 human beings, were no longer called into action. His war against his adversary was waged by the more innocuous arms of encountering

^m The words of Theodoric à Niem. character of Urban VI.: "Rigidus erat sibi, sed suis multò rigidior, ita ut delinquentibus nunquam ignosceret, aut eorum ærumnis aliquatenus compateretur: probat hæc pœna suorum Cardinalium ferociter inflictæ et æternæ damnatio carceris subsequente." — P. 346.

ⁿ Gobelinus adorns his return to Rome with miracles, and says, "Romam cum honore magno regressus est."

^o "Hic obiit Romæ et dicitur quod fuerit intoxicatus propter nimiam suam duritiam."—Chron. Ratisbon. Eccard, i. 2118. Walsingham sums up the

ecclesiastical censures, and by the investiture of Louis of Anjou in the kingdom of Naples. The clergy in all the great kingdoms followed or led their rulers. No doubt there were partisans of Clement in the realms which espoused the cause of Urban—of Urban in those which sided with Clement. Schism, when it was a stern acknowledged duty to hate, punish, exterminate schismatics, could not but produce persecution and victims of persecution. Everywhere might be found divisions, spoliations, even bloodshed; ejected and usurping clergy, dispossessed and intrusive abbots and bishops; feuds, battles for churches and monasteries. Among all other causes of discord, arose this the most discordant; to the demoralising and unchristianizing tendencies of the times was added a question on which the best might differ, which to the bad would be an excuse for every act of violence, fraud, or rapacity. Clement and his Cardinals are charged with great atrocities against the adherents of Urban.^p The Italian partisans of Clement, who escaped the cruelty of Urban, crowded to the court of Clement; but that court, at first extremely poor, gave but cold entertainment to these faithful strangers: they had to suffer the martyrdom of want for their loyalty. When this became known, others suppressed their opinions, showed outward obedience to the dominant power, and so preserved their benefices.^q France at times bitterly lamented her indulgence of her pride and extravagance, in adhering to her separate Pontiff. If France would have her own Pope, she must be at the expense of

^p "Multum enim atrociter contra obedientes dicto Urbano præfatus Clementis et sui Cardinales ac eorum complices, in principio dicti schismatis, se habuerunt."—See the rest of the passage, Theodoric à Niem, i. xix.

^q Vit. Clement. p. 497. Evils of the Schism, *ibid.* Compare with à Niem.

maintaining that Pope and his Conclave. While the Transalpine kingdoms in the obedience of Urban rendered but barren allegiance, paid no tenths to the Papal See, took quiet possession of the appointment to vacant benefices; in France the liberties of the Church were perpetually invaded. The clergy were crushed with demands of tenths or subsidies; their estates were loaded with debts to enrich the Apostolic Chamber. The six-and-thirty Cardinals had proctors in ambush in all parts of the realm, armed with Papal Bulls, to give notice if any large benefice fell vacant in cathedral or collegiate churches, or the priories of wealthy abbeys. They were immediately grasped as Papal reserves, to reward or to secure the fidelity of the hungry Cardinals.^r They handed these down in succession to each other, sometimes condescending to disguise the accumulation of pluralities by only charging the benefices with large payments to themselves. "So," says an ecclesiastic of the day, "the generous intentions of kings and royal families were frustrated, the service of God was neglected, the devotion of the faithful grew cold, the realm was drained; many ecclesiastics were in the lowest state of penury; the flourishing schools of the realm were reduced to nothing; the University of Paris mourned for want of scholars."^s Clement had the satisfaction of receiving some important partisans, who were alienated by the rude manners or repulsive acts of Urban. The two surviving Italian Cardinals of the old Conclave, Milan and Florence, joined him early.

^r Compare the Monk of S. Denys: "Omnes ecclesiasticas dignitates quas-
cunque, post episcopalem, majores in-
differenter suæ dispositioni reservavit."
P. 82. See also p. 398, and the regu-

lations adopted by the King, at the
instance of the University of Paris, to
check the Papal exactions.

^s Reliq. S. Denys, ut supra. Docu-
ments *Luédits*.

The Cardinal of Prato and the Cardinal of Pietra Mala[†] had revolted from Urban at Genoa. Da Prato publicly burned his red hat, and received another from Clement. But on the accession of Boniface IX. he fell back again to the Italian Pontiff: he was called in derision the triple-hatted.[‡] The kingdoms of Spain, after an ostentatiously laborious examination of the titles of the two Pontiffs, were won, by the dexterous diplomacy of the Cardinal of Luna, to Clement. Clement was generous, affable, accomplished, perhaps with more of the French noble than the Pope. He was splendid and liberal, and therefore could not be too scrupulous as to the sources of his revenue. The creation of Cardinals was chiefly in the French interest, as those of his predecessors, to perpetuate the see at Avignon, though he did not lose sight of the advantage of maintaining some Italian supporters. His nepotism tempted him not to the daring courses of Urban; his kindred were content with ecclesiastical dignities or Church estates, which Clement did not hesitate to alienate to the lay nobility. By the death of his brother, Clement became Count of Geneva, but in him expired the line. He survived his rival Urban VI. about five years.[§]

[†] Ciacconius, p. 637.

[‡] The indignant biographer of Clement charitably wishes him a fourth of red-hot brass or steel.—Apud Baluz.

p. 524.

[§] He died Sept. 16, 1394. See on his death next chapter.

CHAPTER III.

Boniface IX. Benedict XIII.

THE Avignouese Pontiff, Clement VII., and his Cardinals had some vague hope that on the death of Urban Christendom would recognise his claims. These hopes were speedily dissipated. The Italian Cardinals proceeded at once to the election of Peter Tomacelli, Boniface IX. a Neapolitan.^a He took the name of Boniface IX. Would he be the worthy successor of the last true Italian Pope, Boniface VIII.? He was a man of ability;^b though by one account not above thirty years old, he had mastered the passions of youth. After the turbulent and restless reign of Urban, that of Boniface might seem to promise at least comparative repose. The charge against his fame is insatiable avarice, flagrant and shameless simony. But Boniface State of Italy. was pressed with more than common necessities.^c The schism imposed upon Christendom the maintenance of two Papal Courts; the more peaceful magnificence of Avignon; that of Rome less secure, involved in almost inevitable wars, and in the

^a On this election the Monk of St. Denys observes: "Infidelibus quoque sancta religio et Catholica fides habebatur ludibrio, dum Bonifacius Romæ, Clemens vero Avinione sibi Apostolicam auctoritatem vindicabant."—xi, 9, p. 692.

^b He was not skilled in chanting or

in writing, not eminently instructed in any science but grammar, fluent in speech. Theodoric à Niem, one of his secretaries, had a contemptuous opinion of his capacity for business.

^c "Per lo Papa manteneva lo stato suo con molta pace, e dovizia."—*Infesura*, apud Muratori, p. 1175.

perplexed politics of Italy. The ordinary revenues of the Roman Pontiff were cut off. France, once the wealthiest and most prodigal of the kingdoms, and Spain, acknowledged the Antipope. In England the King and the Parliament had become extremely jealous of the wealth of their own Clergy, still more of the subsidies levied by Rome. The statutes of the realm began to speak a defiant and economic language; that of Provisors under Edward III., the fuller statute of Mortmain under Richard II., showed a determination to set a limit to the boundless exactions of the hierarchy. The Clergy were not unwilling to restrict the tribute paid to the Papal Chamber. The progress of Wycliffite opinions strengthened the reluctance of the people. The Pope was reduced to implore a charitable subsidy of the Archbishop and Clergy;^d and could not but betray how he writhed under the stern restrictions of the statutes of Provisors, and the refusal to permit the revenues of English benefices to enrich the Cardinals of Rome.^e The northern kingdoms, as well as Poland and Hungary, were poor. Germany had to

^d MS., B. M. He writes to the Archbishop of Canterbury to obtain "certum caritativum subsidium."—Jan. 2, 1390.

^e See the very curious document, MS., B. M., in which Boniface rehearses at length all the main articles of the three Statutes of Provisors passed by Edward III. and Richard: his utter amazement that the last came from such a Catholic King, one so zealous for the orthodox faith (with almost a page of laudatory titles). "The King ought to have seen, what is clearer than noonday, that laymen can have no right to dispose of ecclesiastical things."

He pronounces all the statutes "cassa et irrita." Feb. 4, 1391. He writes of the great Council of the realm, "Quia nonnulli avaro cupiditatis vicio." Certain persons had intruded into benefices held in York by Adam, Cardinal of S. Cecilia. He urges redress to the Cardinal. March 15, 1391. A month after he makes a pathetic appeal to the whole clergy of England for a subvention. They coldly refused it. April 14, 1391. We have one account of his modest receipts, amounting to but 1515 florins, reckoned equal to 252*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

maintain her own splendid and princely Prelates, and those Prelates to keep up their own state. In Italy the Patrimony of St. Peter had been invaded by the Duke of Milan, Gian Galeazzo Visconti, who seemed to aspire to the kingdom of Italy. On his death the Duke bequeathed to his sons, among his territories, Bologna, Perugia, Sienna. Even in the immediate domain of the See most of the towns and cities were in the power of petty independent tyrants or of the old nobles. Naples was distracted by civil war. The sons of Charles of Durazzo and Louis of Anjou were fighting for the throne.

At the same time there were imperious demands on the Papal exchequer. The Pope could not stand aloof from the affairs of Naples. The nepotism of Boniface was more humble than the audacious family ambition of Urban. He espoused at once the cause of Ladislaus. Queen Margaret was relieved from ecclesiastical censures, and the house of Hungary declared the rightful heirs. But the award of the Holy See must be enforced; aid in money and in troops must be afforded to expel the French usurper, whose title was his grant from the Pope of Avignon. In Rome, where at first Boniface took up his abode, all was ruin. The churches were in miserable dilapidation; the Capitol was falling; the Castle of St. Angelo had been almost razed to the ground. The Jubilee of 1390, to which pilgrims came from Germany, England, Poland, Hungary, enriched the Papal coffers for a time. Boniface raised 600 horse under Alberic Barbiano, in aid of Naples. He ordered extensive repairs in the churches. The treasures in hand were soon exhausted. The one resource of the Papal Chamber was the wealth of the Clergy, and that wealth could hardly be reached by direct taxation. The

Pope was reduced to that which was branded by the odious name of Simony, and, as the system was organised by Boniface IX., was Simony in its worst form. At first, and even for seven years of his Pontificate, Boniface stood in some awe of the more rigid Cardinals. He did not publicly take money for the higher promotions; he took it only in secret, and through trustworthy agents; but he had always reasons to allege to the Cardinals against the advancement of those who were unable or refused to pay. As these Cardinals to his joy dropped off, he gave free rein to his cupidity.^f At length, after ten years, at once to indulge, palliate, and to establish this simony, he substituted as a permanent tax the Annates, or First-fruits of every bishopric and rich abbey, calculated on a new scale, triple that at which they stood before in the Papal books.^g This was to be paid in advance by the candidates for promotion, some of whom never got possession of the benefice. That was matter of supreme indifference to Boniface, as he could sell it again. But as these candidates rarely came to the court with money equal to the demand, usurers, with whom the Pope was in unholy league, advanced the sum on exorbitant interest. The debt was sometimes sued for in the Pope's court.

The smaller benefices were sold from the day of his appointment with shameless and scandalous notoriety. Men wandered about Lombardy and other parts of

^f By a regulation in his Chancery of the seventh year of his Papacy, the Archbishop, Bishop, or Abbot who did not exhibit letters from the Pope himself in the Papal Exchequer, and had not fully discharged all the claims upon

him, forfeited his preferment.

^g Mansi has proved against Raynaldus, that Boniface, if not the inventor of the annates, first made them a perpetual burthen.—Note on Raynald. sub ann.

Italy, searching out the age of hoary incumbents, and watching their diseases and infirmities. For this service they were well paid by the greedy aspirants at Rome. On their report the tariff rose or fell. Benefices were sold over and over again. Graces were granted to the last purchaser, with the magic word "Preference,"^h which cost twenty-five florins. That was superseded by a more authoritative phrase (at fifty florins), a prerogative of precedence.ⁱ Petitions already granted were sometimes cancelled in favour of a higher bidder: the Pope treated the lower offer as an attempt to defraud him. In the same year the secretary Theodoric à Niem had known the same benefice sold in the course of one week to several successive claimants. The benefices were so openly sold that if money was not at hand the Pope would receive the price in kind, in swine, sheep, oxen, horses, or grain. The officers were as skilful in these arts as himself. His auditors would hold twenty expectatives, and receive the first-fruits. The Argus-eyed Pope, however, watched the deathbed of all his officers. Their books, robes, furniture, money, escheated to the Pope. No grace of any kind, even to the poorest, was signed without its florin fee. The Pope, even during Mass, was seen to be consulting with his secretaries on these worldly affairs.^k The accumulation of pluralities on unworthy men was scandalous even in those times.^m

^h Anteferre.

ⁱ Prærogativa antelationis.

^k Compare à Niem, ii. c. 7 to 12.

^m "Vidi etiam tunc unius auditorum causarum dicti Bonifacii hominis inutilis et solo nomine Decretorum Doctoris literas super expectativâ gratiâ in diversis provinciis Germaniæ fabri-

catas, in quibus dispensabatur inter alia secum, quod sex incompatibilia beneficia recipere et simul retipere, illaque totiens, quotiens sibi placeret, simpliciter vel ex causâ pronunciationis dimittere et loco dimissorum totidem similia et dissimilia beneficia recipere et retinere posset etiam si essent digni-

The rapacity of Boniface was more odious from the unpopularity of his mother and his brothers; the mother the most avaricious of women, his brothers and their sons, in whose favour the nepotism of Boniface, in general sordid, yet in one instance was ostentatiously prodigal. He bought the principality of Sora for one of them at an enormous price from Ladislaus of Naples.

Boniface, on his accession, had proclaimed to Christendom his earnest anxiety to extinguish the schism. The means he proposed were not well chosen to promote the end. He addressed Clement VII. as the son of Belial. "Some perverse men, trusting in the arm of flesh against the Lord, cry out for a Council. O damned and damnable impiety!"^a Two years after he sent a milder letter by two Carthusian monks. They were imprisoned by Clement, and only released on the intervention of the King of France.

The death of Clement VII. might seem a providential summons to close the schism. The University of Paris,

tates majores post Pontificales," &c. &c.—A Niem, ii. xi. Compare Gobelius, who is almost as strong on the abuses of the Papal Chancery under Boniface IX. as à Niem, pp. 316, 318. "In this tyme cam oute a bulle fro the Court (Curia) which revoked alle the graces that he had granted many zeres before: of which ros much slaunder and obliqui agayne the Cherch; for thei seide playnly that it was no more crust to the Pope's writing than to a dogge tail, for as ofte as he wolde gader mony, so often would he annullen eld graces and graunt newe."—Capgrave's Chronicle of England, p. 281. Capgrave was no Lollard; he hated Wyeliffe with

a Monk's hatred, and has many passages very hostile to the Lollards.

^a "Sed dicunt impii perversores, in carnali brachio contra potentiam Domini confidentes, fiat Concilium, ut schisma sedetur. O damnosa, et damanda impietas!" He accuses the Cardinals of having gained the consent of the King of France to the creation of Clement, by accusing Urban VI. of a design to deprive him of his kingdom. It was the aim of the King of France to unite the French and Papal crowns.—Apud D'Achery, vol. i. p. 770. The Monk of St. Denys gives this letter, l. xiii. 14. The second, xiv 12.

now the first learned body in Christendom, had already taken the lead, denouncing the diabolical schism.^o They had urged the King to take affairs into his own hands, and to compel the conflicting Popes to accede to one of three schemes for the termination of the contest—Cession, Arbitration, or a General Council. Clement had received this memorial in a fury of passion: he denounced it as an insolent and defamatory libel. “Dost thou understand this Latin?” he said to the bearer. “Sufficiently!” the officer replied; but when the Pope withdrew into his chamber in such manifest wrath, he thought it prudent to leave Avignon. The Pope would see no one, speak to no one. The Cardinals met and agreed to press on the Pope the measures proposed by the University. He assembled them, and bitterly reproached them with their traitorous cowardice. They replied by urging calmly the necessity of the measure. Clement retired and never more left his chamber. Three days after he was struck with apoplexy: his death was attributed to his grief.^p So soon as his death was known the University wrote again to the King, adjuring him to prohibit the Cardinals at Avignon from proceeding to a new election.^q The wary Cardinals, lest they should

Sept. 16,
1394.

Sept. 18,
1394.

Oct. 13, 1394.

^o See for the proceedings of the University, during the lifetime of Clement, the Monk of St. Denys, xiv. 10. Read too (in the Gersoniana) the address of the University to the King—*Quare hoc?* They ask of the consequences of the schism. Because unworthy men are promoted to the highest rank in the Church. “*Quibus nihil sancti est, nihil pensi nihil honesti curæ sit; exhauriunt ecclesias, religiones dissipant, monasteria spoliant.*”

The churches are in ruins; the lower priesthood oppressed, reduced to mendicancy; the treasures of the churches sold. “*Exactiones gravissimas, maximas, intolerabiles pauperibus Ecclesie ministris imponunt, impiissimos homines, atque inhumanissimos ad colligendum eligunt,*” &c. &c.

^p Rel. de St. Denys, xv. v.

^q There are 24 names of Cardinals in Ciacconius.

seem to despise the King's counsel, hurried over the election, and then opened the royal letter. The Cardinals swore to do all in their power to end the Schism now they had put it out of their power. No act could be more certain to perpetuate it than the election of the Spaniard, the crafty, able, ambitious, unprincipled Cardinal of Luna. Before the election their solemn oath had been taken to each other that whoever was chosen should at once resign the Papacy at the requisition of the Cardinals, if Boniface would likewise resign. The Cardinal of Luna had been the loudest to condemn the Schism; he had openly and repeatedly declared that if he were Pope he would put an end to it at once.

Benedict XIII. (such was his title) communicated his election to the King of France. "The impor- Benedict XIII. Oct. 23. tunity of the Cardinals had compelled him to accept the unwelcome office, but he was prepared by all means which should be advisable to promote the union of the Church."† The University sent an address, eloquent and almost adulatory; it was received with the most gracious urbanity. "I am as ready to resign the office as to take off this cap." He took it off and saluted them. Each of the Popes was fully prepared to heal the Schism provided he himself remained Pope; but neither could show such disrespect to the Cardinals to whom he owed his elevation as to invalidate their privilege of election: neither would acknowledge himself an intrusive and usurping Pontiff.

In Italy Boniface IX., notwithstanding his rapacity (perhaps through his rapacity, which extorted Boniface IX. ecclesiastical wealth for the secular purposes of his government), by ability, moderation, and firmness,

† Dupuy, Hist. du Schisme, p. 39.

had made some progress towards the reinstatement of the Papacy in respect and authority.^s That respect it had almost lost, when the Roman dominions of the Pope were treated as the province of a foreign prelate, oppressed rather than governed by a Cardinal Legate: that authority the fierce and desultory ambition of Urban VI. had shaken rather than confirmed. The noble city of Perugia was weary of her factions, Guelf and Ghibelline. The Beccarini (the nobles and their partisans), the Raspanti (the burghers with their adherents) offered to receive the Pope as a resident and as sovereign within their walls. Boniface knew that nothing promoted the popularity of the Pope in Rome so much as his absence. No sooner had the Romans

In Perugia,
Oct. 17, 1392.

lost the Pope than they were eager for his return. He moved to Perugia. Ancona and some of the other cities made advances towards submission. But the unhappy parsimony of Boniface did not permit him to environ himself with a strong well-paid body of guards, which might keep down the still adverse

July 30,
1393.

factions in Perugia. At midnight, during the following summer, he was awakened by a wild tumult.^t The exiled Guelfs, who had re-entered the city through his mediation, had risen, not without provocation, and were perpetrating frightful carnage on the Ghibellines. Pandolfo Baglioni, the head of the Ghibelline nobles, his brother, eighty nobles, a hundred of their followers, the Beccarini, were slain. The Pope fled in horror and disgust to Assisi. Biordo, a chief of Condottieri, in league with the Guelf Raspanti, was

^s "Nec fuit ante eum quisquam Romanorum pontificum, qui talem potestatem temporalem Romæ et in patrimonio S. Petri exercuisse legatur."—Gobelinus, p. 316.

^t Theodoric a Niem, ii. xv He was with the Pope. See also Sismondi, Républiques Italiennes, t. vii. p. 350.

under the walls with 1500 adventurers. He entered the city and became its lord. Biordo's power lasted not long; he was excommunicated by the Pope. The Pope with bolder nepotism had now created his brother Marquis of the March of Ancona. The Marquis was besieged in Macerata by Biordo, taken prisoner, and released for a large ransom. Biordo even became master of Assisi by treachery, but himself, having made peace with the Pope,^{May 22, 1394.} was murdered in Perugia by the Abbot of St. Peter's, who aspired by this good deed to the Cardinalate. "Perugia will not endure a tyrant," was the watchword of the new insurrection. The Abbot was received by Boniface, but died a short time after unrewarded. The Pope had long before the fall of Biordo determined no more to honour the fickle and perilous city of Perugia with his residence. He had returned by urgent invitation to Rome; he made the Capitol a strong fortress. But Rome would neither be without the Pope, nor when he was within her walls leave him in peace. The Romans took umbrage at the fortification of the Capitol; the life of Boniface was endangered in an insurrection, instigated by the Bannerets of the city. He was saved by the fortunate presence of King Ladislaus with some troops. Not two years after broke out another revolt. The Pope met it with firmness. Thirteen persons were executed.^{A.D. 1396.}

But the Pope had other means to reduce the contu-

▪ According to Theodoric à Niem the Pope was concerned in the murder of Biordo, returned to Perugia, and fled again to Assisi. I am not quite confident that I have rightly unravelled

this intricate affair, which lasted several years.

▪ "Egli, che non era figliuolo della paura fece prendere i delinquenti," &c. —Muratori, sub ann. 1397.

macious city. The year of Jubilee was at hand. He treated that which had been interpolated by his predecessor but ten years before, and of which himself had enjoyed the gains, as an irregular breach in the solemn order of the Ritual. To Rome the Jubilee was of as inestimable value as to the Pope. Without the Pope it was a vain unprofitable ceremony. They sent an embassy to entreat him to vouchsafe his presence. Boniface yielded, but enforced his own conditions. His partisan, the Malatesta, was to be created Senator of Rome. The magistracy of the Bannerets, the democratic leaders of the Regions of the city, was to be abrogated for ever. Boniface entered, and assumed for the first time the full sovereignty of Rome.⁷ He had already, it has been said, fortified the Capitol: the Castle of St. Angelo rose again from its ruins in more than its ancient strength.

But this was not without a fierce struggle.

Jan. 1400. Two of the Colonnas, lords of Palestrina, in league with the deposed Bannerets, broke into the city, and reached the foot of the Capitol with shouts, "Death to the Pope; long live the Roman people!" They were repulsed; thirty-one hung up alive.⁸

The Jubilee was held in all its pomp and all its prodigality of pardon. Pilgrims from all Christendom flocked to Rome, even from France, notwithstanding the inhibition of the King. To the French the Pope who bestowed indulgences was the legitimate Pope. The King himself, by besieging the Antipope Benedict XIII. in Avignon, and by taking him into captivity, had destroyed the awe which belonged to the holy office. Many of the wealthier pilgrims, however, brought not

⁷ Sozomen. Hist. S. R. I. xvi. Raynaldus, sub ann. 1400.

⁸ Theodori: à Niem, ii. c. xxvii. A

youth was compelled by promise of pardon to hang the rest; among them were his own father and brother.

their rich offerings to the shrines of the Apostles in Rome. They were plundered in every part of the neighbourhood, noble matrons and damsels ravished. The plague broke out in the crowded city. The Pope thought of withdrawing to a place of security, but he dared not risk the loss of Rome, the loss of the oblations. His bitter adversary taunts him with refusing alms to the plundered and dying pilgrims.^a

But a more formidable enemy to the Popedom seemed to be advancing with irresistible force. The first time for centuries, Italy seemed likely to fall under the dominion of a native King. Gian Galeazzo Visconti had cast off the ignoble name of Count of Virtù;^b by the sanction of the Emperor Wenceslaus he was Duke of Milan. By his success in arms, by his more successful intrigues, he had obtained the power, he meditated the assumption of the title, of "King of Italy." All the great cities of Lombardy owned his dominion; Bologna, Perugia, Sienna were his. He threatened at once Florence and Rome. All the great Free Companies, all the distinguished generals, marched under the standard of the Serpent. What had a Pope, with a contested title, a Pope even with the ability of Boniface, to oppose to such puissance? and, against a King of Italy with such vast territories, wealth, ambition, what had been the Pope?

The death of Gian Galeazzo from the plague relieved the Republic of Florence and the Pope. His last will^c divided his great dominions among his sons. All the great warlike Lombard Republics, the

^a "Solitus enim erat rapere, nec rapta indigentibus communicare."—A Niem, ii. 28.

^b Muratori, Ann., sub ann. 1395.

^c See the will and the magnificent obsequies in Corio, Storia di Milano, l. iv. p. 286.

cities of Tuscany and Romagna, were recited in that will as passing to his descendants. The Pope, with prompt ability, took advantage of the occasion. He detached the famous Alberic Barbiano, the Great Constable, from the service of Milan. Barbiano with his bands began the reconquest of the cities in the ecclesiastical territories. His avarice and extortions gave Boniface the command of wealth, wealth the command of all the mercenary soldiery in Italy, and all the soldiery were mercenary.^d Had not Boniface been compelled by the failure of his health and a painful disease to retire to the warm baths of Pozzuoli, he might have witnessed the restoration of the whole patrimony of St. Peter to his rule.

During all this period the Ultramontane Kings had been labouring to extinguish the Schism. So long as the Pope at Avignon was a Frenchman, so long the King of France and the French Cardinals adhered to his cause. Their sympathy with a Spaniard was much less strong,^e the evils of the Schism became more glaringly manifest. Immediately after the accession of Benedict XIII. the King (Charles VI.) summoned a Council of the higher Clergy of Paris. Simon de Cramault, Patriarch of Alexandria, Bishop of Carcassonne, presided in the Council over nine Archbishops, forty-six Bishops, Abbots and Doctors innumerable. The Council threw aside at once the proposition of compelling all the Christian kingdoms

Benedict
XIII.

A.D. 1395.

^d "Verbis conflatis in aurum, auroque verso in arma, terras ecclesiæ alienatas rebellibus subactis, verbis, auro, armis potenter recuperavit."—Gobelinus, p. 323.

^e "Ferunt quidem Dominos Cardinales Gallicos odio habentes Dominum

Benedictum pro eo quod erat alterius nationis quam Gallicæ, et quoniam inter se de uno Gallico post mortem Clementis VII. non potuerunt concordare, propterea in istum convenerunt."—Contin. Chronic. Theodor. à Niem, apud Eccard. i. p. 1534.

who supported the Italian Pontiff to submit to Benedict XIII.^f It was an avowed impossibility. Three courses remained:—1. A General Council; 2. Compromise by the appointment of arbiters; but who was to choose the arbiters, or enforce their award? 3. The renunciation of both into the hands of the College of Cardinals—either the two Colleges united in one, or each to his own College. The voices were in overwhelming number for the renunciation. A stately embassy was determined of three Princes of the blood, the Dukes of Berry and Burgundy Ambassadors to Avignon. the King's uncles, the Duke of Orleans his brother, three Bishops, Senlis, Poitiers, and Arras, with eight nobles. The University of Paris addressed letters to all the Cathedral chapters of France, urging them to make processions, and offer prayers for the success of this embassy. The Ambassadors arrived at Avignon. The Pope at first entrenched himself behind forms; but he was at length obliged to admit them to an audience.^g Gilles de Champs communicated to the Pope June 1, 1395. that the King and the Church having duly considered all other courses had determined on that of the renunciation of the two Popes. Benedict sought delay; he was Vicar of Christ, answerable to Christ in an affair of this solemn import; it must not be driven on with unseemly speed. The Ambassadors returned; they summoned the Cardinals in the King's name to Villeneuve (on the right bank of the Rhone). Of the twenty Cardinals nineteen approved the project of the King; the Spanish Cardinal of Pampeluna alone declared that it was injustice to place the legitimate Pope on a level with the intruder Boniface. Benedict attempted

^f This was called the "via facti."

^g Dupuy, *Hist. du Schisme*, p. 43.

to propitiate the Ambassadors by courtesy and hospitality. They dined with him, he gave them the blandest promises. At length he delivered a schedule with a counter-project. The two Popes and the two Colleges of Cardinals were to meet in some place bordering on France, under the King's protection. No one could discern more clearly than Benedict himself the insuperable difficulties of this scheme: it was rejected by the ambassadors of the King, by those of the University, and by the Cardinals. Their prayers, remonstrances, admonitions were vain. Benedict took a lofty tone; he commanded them under the penalties of contumacy, disobedience, unbelief, under threats of the severest procedures, to adopt his scheme and no other. Some fell on their knees, and conjured him with tears to assent to the counsels of the high and mighty Prince. Benedict replied, "They were his subjects; he was their sovereign; he was lord not only over them, but over all who were living in death;^h he had to render account to God alone." The negotiations lingered on, but at length the Ambassadors returned to Paris. It was determined to enter into communication with the other great powers of Christendom. Two Abbots were sent into Germany; the Patriarch of Alexandria, the Admiral of France, and other nobles into England. Benedict attempted to win the King of France by the grant of a tenth. This alienated the Clergy; the King dared not levy the subsidy. The University of Paris entered an appeal against all acts of Benedict to a future one, true, and universal Pope. Benedict in a Bull annulled this defamatory libel.ⁱ The next year the University replied

A.D. 1395.

A.D. 1396.

^h "Mortement vivants."—Dupuy, p. 51.

ⁱ Gersoniana, p. xii.

to the Bull by a new appeal, in which they declared that many Popes had been repudiated for their wickedness.

Two years passed. In 1398 the Assembly of the States and Clergy of France met again. There were present the Dukes of Berry, Burgundy, Orleans, the King of Navarre, eight Archbishops, thirty-two Bishops, Abbots without number, deputies from five Universities. It was announced not only that the King and the Church of France had determined the renunciation by both Popes, the Kings of Hungary, Bohemia, England,^k Arragon, Castile, Navarre, and Sicily concurred in this measure as the only way to end the Schism.

July 27.

After long, grave, learned debate, a vast majority had resolved on the unconditional subtraction of allegiance from Benedict XIII. This act of renunciation was solemnly published with processions and prayers on a Sunday, and promulgated by letters with the King's signature throughout the realm.^m No sooner was it published at Avignon than the Cardinals, except Pampeluna and Tarascon, disclaimed Pope Benedict; he thundered invectives against them; they withdrew across the Rhône to Villeneuve in the dominions of the King.

^k In 1398 Benedict seems to have entertained some hope of moving the King of France against the Antipope Boniface. He writes to Richard II. of England to interpose in his behalf with the King of France, whom Richard called Father (Richard had married Isabella of France), but who had long strayed from the bosom of Mother Church and the way of truth.—MS., B.M., Dec. 21, 1398.

^m See the Document in the monk

of S. Denys, xix. c. 5. He enters at length into the conduct of Pope Benedict. Among other charges is the following :—“*Successivè idem Benedictus, ad suam ambitionem hujusmodi palliandam, quosdam per diversa mundi climata mandavit falsidicos, qui non erubuerunt contra veritatem seminare, quod iidem illustris ducis legati, solum et adeo apperuerunt viam cessionis simplicis parte nostrâ, ut illico cederet, et unus Gallicus eligeretur in Papam.*”

Peter d'Ailly, Bishop of Cambrai, the most learned theologian of the age, had held the singular office of enforcing on both Popes the duty of renouncing their dignity, and submitting to a just award. At a Council at Rheims, the Bishop of Cambrai received his commission from the Emperor and the King of France, and the Clergy of both realms.

A.D. 1398.
At Rome. He had set out for Rome. He found Pope Boniface at Fondi, having subdued the turbulent and marauding Count, the author or abettor of the Schism, and who had boldly alleged his refusal to acknowledge the Roman Pontiff as an excuse for plundering his dominions. The Commissioner of the Ultramontane Sovereigns returned to Rome with the Pontiff. Boniface entertained him with the utmost courtesy, and with vague but promising protestations of his earnest desire to close the Schism. The Pope's avaricious and ambitious brothers took alarm at the extent of his concessions. Throughout Rome were murmurs of doubt and apprehension. They feared lest they should lose their Pope, their dignity, their profit, the general pardon of the Jubilee." A great deputation addressed the Pope, exhorting him to assert himself to be the true Pope, not to abandon the privilege and patrimony of St. Peter. They would hazard their lives in defence of his right. "My good children," returned Boniface, "Pope I am, Pope will I remain, despite all treaty between the Kings of France and Germany."

■ "Se doutèrent fort les Romains, qu'ils ne perdisent le siège du Pape qui par un trop leur valoit, et portoit grand profit, et en tous les pardons généraux, qui devoient être dedans deux ans à venir, dont tout profit devoit redonder en la cité de Rome et la

environ."—Froissart, iv. 67. This mission was in 1398, before the Jubilee. Dupin, in his *Life of Peter d'Ailly* (Gersoni Opera, vol. i.), has omitted this journey to Rome, so vividly described by Froissart.

Peter d'Ailly had returned to France; he was now joined in a second Commission to Avignon with the Marshal Boucicaut. If the eloquence of the Bishop should not prevail, the Marshal was to employ the force of arms. Peter d'Ailly arrived in the Court of Benedict. He had first an interview with Pope Benedict. All the answer which he could At Avignon. obtain was, "Let the King of France issue what ordinances he will, I will hold my title and my Popedom till I die." D'Ailly entreated him to consult his Cardinals.^o In a full Consistory he delivered a long and persuasive Latin harangue. He then withdrew. The Cardinal of Amiens urged the inevitable necessity of submission to the determination of the Kings of France and Germany. Pope Benedict steadily refused; "he had been invested by God in his Papacy; he would not renounce it for Count, or Duke, or King." The Consistory was in tumult; almost all the Cardinals clamoured against him. The Bishop of Cambrai entered again; he demanded an answer. "Pope I have written myself; Pope I have been acknowledged by all my subjects; Pope I will remain to the end of my days. And tell my son, the King of France, that I had thought him till now a good Catholic; he will repent of his errors. Warn him in my name not to bring trouble on his conscience." Such at Rome and at Avignon was the reply to overtures of peace.

The Marshal Boucicaut in the mean time was gathering his forces around Avignon. The Provençal gentlemen, with Raymond de Turenne at their head, crowded to his banner. Expectation of the pillage of Avignon,

^o See the picturesque description in Froissart, iv. 57, compared with other accounts.

with the Papal treasures, and the plunder of the luxurious villas of the Cardinals, drew together men accustomed to fight in the Free Bands. The citizens of Avignon would have compelled the stubborn Pontiff to yield; the old man answered with dauntless courage, "I will summon the Gonfalonier of the Church, the King of Arragon, to my aid. I will raise troops along the Riviera as far as Genoa. What fear ye? Guard ye your city, I will guard my palace." But Avignon and the Cardinals capitulated at the first summons.

Pope besieged in his palace.

The Pope shut himself up in his palace, and prepared for a resolute defence. He had laid in great store of provisions, grain, oil, wine: his fuel was burned by an accidental fire; he pulled down part of the buildings to cook the food. Boucicaut from awe, or in confident expectation that the Pontiff must soon submit, would not lead his soldiers to storm the strong Papal Palace. The Cardinals had fled again to Ville-neuve; Pampeluna and Tarascon alone were still faithful to Benedict.

The Cardinals sent an embassy, three of their body, to the King. They urged the seizure of Pope Benedict, and that Boniface should be compelled by the same withdrawal of obedience to submit to the decree of a Council. They suggested their apprehensions lest Benedict should escape into the dominions of the King of Arragon, with whom he was connected by marriage. They neglected not their own interests; they stipulated that their own privileges, emoluments, expectatives should be religiously respected. None of the great benefices, bishoprics, or abbacies were to be filled till the union of the Church, the proceeds to be set apart to advance that object. The insolence, violence, and avarice of the Cardinals retarded

Cardinals at Paris.

rather than promoted peace. They were insulted in the streets of Paris.^p The King began to waver. Instructions were sent to Boucicaut not to proceed against Benedict by force of arms, only to prevent his escape with the Papal treasures. The palace was closely blockaded; Benedict's two Cardinals in an attempt to fly were seized and thrown into prison.

Benedict had in vain entreated succour from the King of Arragon. He had offered to make Barcelona or Perpignan the seat of the Papacy. ^{Benedict capitulates.}

"Does the priest think that for him I will plunge into a war with the King of France?" Such was the reply of Martin of Arragon. Benedict was constrained to capitulate. The harshest part of the terms was that they were to be enforced by the hostile Cardinals and by the wealthier burghers of Avignon. The Cardinals and the burghers pledged themselves to keep strict guard, that Benedict should not leave his palace: he was their prisoner.

It was remarked that throughout this contest Benedict employed not the spiritual sword. The Pope endured the siege without hurling anathemas on his foes.^q His malediction could only have struck in general at the King and all his nobles; the interdict, had he dared to issue it, would have smitten the whole realm. But he knew the state of the Court of France, the insanity of the King, the implacable feud between the houses of Burgundy and Orleans. The withdrawal

^p "Et inde vulgares sumpserunt audaciam, ut cum issent ad palacia dominorum cum pomposo equitatu, eis conviciabantur, verba ignominiosa proferentes quæ cum maximâ indignatione audiebant."—Relig. de S. Denys, xix. p. 680.

^q "Nec aliquantulum usus fuit contra quemquam gladio spirituali, nam sciebat non a cunctis lilia deferentibus istas iniquitates procedere, cum multi illos dampnarent, sibi favorabiliter adherentes."—Chronic. S. Denys, xix. 8.

from his allegiance by one of the furious factions which divided the Court and Kingdom ensured the sympathy of the other. The Armagnacs and Burgundians, the rival Dukes, could not join in hatred or persecution of the same object. Who would know, in those superstitious times, whether the constant paroxysms of derangement which seized the King might not be attributed to the Papal excommunication? The two Augustinian Monks who had undertaken to cure the King's malady, having utterly failed in their mission, were arraigned for the impious magic, in which the kingdom had put its full faith, by the Bishop of Paris and the Clergy. They were beheaded at the Place de Grève as sorcerers, not as impostors; their quarters exposed to the insult and abhorrence of the furious populace.[†]

For five years Benedict XIII. endured this humiliating imprisonment. The Cardinals kept A.D. 1398-1403. jealous ward, their vigilance was unwearied, unrelaxed. Yet Benedict could not be ignorant that the Duke of Orleans now publicly espoused his cause against the Dukes of Burgundy and Berry. The University of Toulouse had entered the lists against the University of Paris, and boldly arraigned the sacrilegious revolt from the one true Pope.[‡] Louis, King of Sicily, forced his way to the presence of the Pope. His title to his throne depended on the Papal March 12, 1403. grant. Louis tendered his full and loyal allegiance to the successor of St. Peter. Benedict knew that his time was come. On a still evening, with the aid of a Norman gentleman, Robert de Braque-

[†] Chron. de St. Denys. Sismondi, Hist. des Français.

[‡] Dupuy, Hist. du Schisme.

mont, he stole in disguise out of the palace, unquestioned and unsearched by the guards. He passed the night in Avignon. The next morning he dropped down the Rhône to Château Rénaud, a strong fortress held by 500 soldiers of King Louis. His first act was to send for a barber; ever since he had been a prisoner he had let his beard grow.

Never was revulsion more rapid or complete. The abject prisoner of his own Cardinals, from whom half Christendom, the loyal half, had withdrawn their allegiance, was again the Pope of France and Spain. His two faithful Cardinals were at his side, the rest in trembling submission at his feet. They dared not disobey his summons. He entertained them at a sumptuous repast. In the midst of the festivity was heard the clang of arms; soldiers were seen with their gleaming halberds taking their stations in silence. The Cardinals sat in speechless terror. But Benedict desired only to show his power: at a sign they withdrew. The feast went on; but if a dark tradition be true, his mercy confined itself to churchmen. Two centuries and a half afterwards the ruins of a hall were shown, in which the Pope had given a banquet of reconciliation to some of the principal burghers of Avignon, and then set fire to the building and burned them all alive.[†] Be this but an ancient legend, he compelled the citizens to rebuild the battered walls of the Papal palace: he garrisoned it with Arragonese soldiers. The clergy of France had been again convoked in Paris. The Cardinals of Poitiers and of Saluces appeared to plead the cause of Benedict (the last time they had

May 15.

[†] Bouché, *Hist. de Provence*, ii. 432. Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, xi. p. 380.

been his bitter adversaries). The Dukes of Burgundy, Berry, and Bourbon still held with the University of Paris, but the University of Paris was now divided. On a sudden appeared the Duke of Orleans, leading the King. It was a lucid interval in the melancholy state of the prince. Charles faltered out, at the suggestion of his brother, a declaration of his high opinion of the learning and virtue of Benedict. The Duke of Orleans took the Cross from the altar; the King laid his hands upon it, and declared that he restored to Benedict the allegiance of the realm of France: "so long as he lived he would acknowledge him alone as the Vicar of Christ." The faint gleam of doubtful reason in a madman was to determine who was the representative of God's Almightyness on earth! The Bishops burst into the chant of the *Te Deum*, the bells rang out. Paris knew by those pealing sounds that Benedict was again the successor of St. Peter.^u The King's letters announced these glad tidings to the provinces. Benedict still, to the King, to the Duke of Orleans, to the whole kingdom, professed his eager desire to extinguish the Schism. In proof of his sincerity he sent an embassy to his rival at Rome. Boniface refused to receive the ambassadors but as Pope. The Bishop of S. Pons, Benedict's Legate, and his colleagues had the prudence to yield. They were received in full Consistory. They urged a free conference, at some appointed place, to discuss the rival claims. Boniface, perhaps suffering under his painful malady, the stone, answered with bitter pride, "that he alone was Pope, Peter di Luna an Antipope." "At least," rejoined the

Feast of St. Michael.
Sept. 29, 1404.

^u Compare Gersoniana, p. xvi. Dupin's abstract of these proceedings is full and fair.

offended ambassadors, "our master is guiltless of simony." The insult struck to the heart of Boniface. He retired to his chamber, and ere two days was dead.*

Oct. 1.

* Dupuy, p. 90. Theodoric à Niem, ii. 23. We read in Ciacconius: "Fuit Bonifacius unus insigniorum et prudentissimorum Pontificum, quos unquam Roma vidit, et qui plus timoris, observantiæ et obedientiæ apud Romanos cives obtinuit." Of his avarice and rapacity, and other faults, or of Christian virtues he says nothing. See also his epitaph. Boniface had a complication of fearful maladies, of which the stone was the fatal one. This extraordinary story of a proposed cure of this malady rests on the authority of the Archbishop of Florence: 'Multis vulgatum est quod cum secundum medicinam carnalem diceretur sibi, quod per coitum cum muliere liberaretur a calculo, ex quo decessit, minimè ac-

quiescere voluit tanto sacrilegio contra divinam legem, eligens potius mori quam impudicè vivere."—S. Antonin. Chronicon, sub ann. Compare, on the other hand, Gobelinus Persona, who hates Boniface as cordially as he flattered Urban VI. Gobelinus, now in Germany, saw the workings of the avarice and rapacity of Boniface. Boniface absolutely annulled all and every one of his own acts, grants, indulgences, and dispensations, and those of his predecessors (read the whole 87th chapter), it should seem, to regrant for five years with new fees. Of his death he says, "Et sic quamvis torsionibus intolerabilibus cotidie quatitur, tamen aurum sitire non desinit."—P. 323.

CHAPTER IV.

Innocent VII. Gregory XII. Benedict XIII.

SUBMISSION to a foreign Pontiff was the last thought of the Italian Cardinals. There were only eight^a in Rome. They solemnly swore that whosoever of them should be chosen would abdicate the Popedom so soon as Benedict should do the same. This oath was taken by Cosmo Megliorotto, who was elected, and assumed the name of Innocent VII. The ambassadors of Benedict demanded their safe-conduct as accredited only to Pope Boniface. They had been seized; they were forced to buy their release from the Commander in the Castle of St. Angelo.^b

Innocent VII. had too much virtue, gentleness, and humanity for these tumultuous times.^c His first year was a year of purgatory in the Conclave. The Cardinals, headed by the Cardinal of Montpellier, would not abandon the good old profitable usages of simony. But he had to encounter more terrible enemies. Nothing can redound more to the praise at least of the firm and resolute policy of Boniface than the fierce outbreak immediately after his death. The Guelfs and Ghibellines, awed by his stern conduct, had crouched in sullen repose. Innocent had hardly time

^a Seven, Ciaconius; mne, Oldoin. I make out eight. Gobelinus gives seven names.

^b Dupuy, p. 90.

^c Theodoric à Niem, ii. 34. He

writes to the Archbishop of York, announcing his election, and hopes that the "desiderabilis unionis tranquillitas" may ensue on his accession.—MS., B. M., Dec. 27, 1404.

to return to the safe Vatican Palace from his coronation in the Lateran, when Rome rose in tumult to demand the restoration of the Bannerets, and the surrender of the city to their rule. Two Colonnas, one Savelli, hastened from the fortresses in the neighbourhood to inflame the insurrection against the Papal Government.^d The Orsini were the hereditary defenders of the ecclesiastical authority. There were all the evils and miseries of a Roman insurrection — palaces pillaged, matrons and virgins violated.

Ladislaus King of Naples was in the city at the accession of Innocent; he was leagued with the Ghibellines, but the champion of liberty brooded over designs fatal to liberty. He was now almost undisputed sovereign of the realm of Naples. He aspired to include Rome within his dominions. The yielding Pope endeavoured to purchase the friendship, he averted the open hostility of Ladislaus, by the cession, for a certain number of years, of the Maremma. The King of Naples interposed his mediation between the Pope and the people. But the terms betrayed at once his power and his inclinations. 20,000 florins from the tax on salt, which belonged to the Papal exchequer, were awarded to the people. The Pope held the Castle of St. Angelo (Murchardon, a famous condottiere, commanded the garrison), the Capitol was surrendered to the people. The Tiber flowed between the city of the Church and the city of the people. The Senator was to be named by the Pope out of three prescribed by the people. Ten magistrates, called the Ten of Liberty, were to be renewed every two months.^e

^d "Quod urbicolæ per ecclesiam non per cives regerentur."—A Niem.

^e Sozomen, apud Muratori, S. R. I. t. xvi. Raynaldus has the treaty sub ann. 1404.

The Pope still endeavoured to maintain a popular policy. In a creation of Cardinals, five were Romans; but the emissaries of Ladislaus were still active. A dispute arose, which led to armed strife, about the fort which commanded the Ponte Molle, and so all the northern approaches to Rome. A deputation of the people, among which were some of the most audacious and most popular leaders, two of the captains of the regions,^f entered the Castle of St. Angelo. Ludovico Megliorotto, the nephew of the Pope, a bold, fiery man, an intimate associate of Murchardon the commander of the Papal troops, would not endure their plebeian insolence. As they departed, he fell on them, eleven were killed.^g Their bodies were left till night reeking on the pavement. There they were seen by Leonardo Aretino (the historian), who made his way with difficulty to the presence of the Pope. He found the old man, who was entirely guiltless of all connivance in the act, in the deepest depression and horror. He lifted his eyes to heaven, as though to call God to witness his innocence.^h

The bell of the Capitol tolled out; the people rose to vengeance: all the palaces of the Cardinals and courtiers were pillaged. The Pope and Cardinals with difficulty fled to Viterbo. The Pope had almost perished of thirst. The Abbot of St. Peter's was murdered in his sight, as also another of his Court; their bodies were cast in the highway. John of Colonna took possession of the Vatican; the arms of the

^f Capi di Rioni.

^g The murder was committed in a house, "ubi habitabat mater Bonifacii." The bodies were thrown out of the window, and lay near the Amila,

where the Veronica was commonly shown.—*Diarium Anton. Petri. Murat.* R. I. S. xxiv. p. 917.

^h Leonard. Aretin. *Comm.* xxx. p. 922.

Pope were defaced or covered with mud. The Colonna was ironically called John XXIII.

Ladislaus thought that his hour was come. His troops were under the walls; he hoped to hear himself welcomed as Lord of Rome. The Colonnas, the Savellis, some other Barons were prepared to raise the cry. His troops found their way into the city, and began to sack the houses.^l But the turbulent people had not cast out the Pope to submit to a king and a stranger.^k The whole city was a great battle-field. The soldiers of Ladislaus set fire to it in four quarters; but at length, after great slaughter, the King abandoned his desperate enterprise, his discomfited troops withdrew. With more than her usual versatility, Rome had her ambassadors at Viterbo imploring the return of Pope Innocent,^m offering to recognise his plenary dominion,ⁿ and laying at his feet the keys of the city. Innocent was again Lord of Rome. He waited about two months, he was received in triumph. Three months Return to Rome. after, he issued his Bull of Excommunication against King Ladislaus and the Colonnas. Ambassadors from King Ladislaus were at his footstool. Peace was made; the Castle of St. Angelo surrendered. In the Death. same month, in the year after he had fled from Rome, Innocent departed from this dismal world to the quiet grave.^o

^l "Posuit ad sacchum totam Romam."—*Diarium Petri*. He was master of three Rioni.

^k "E benchè li Colonnese, e li Savelli, e alcuni altri Baroni el volessero, tutto il popolo no' l voleva."—*Piero Minorbetto*, apud *Tartini*, sub ann. 1405.

^m *Theodoric à Niem*, ii. 38.

ⁿ "Dominium totius Romæ."

^o The dates seem to be :—Dominion offered to the Pope, Jan. 14 (1406). Return of the Pope, March 13. Anathema on Ladislaus and the Colonnas, June 18. Ambassadors from Ladislaus, July 17. Peace, Aug. 6. Castle of St. Angelo surrendered, Aug. 9. Death of Innocent. Nov. 13.

The Schism could not terminate with the death of either Pope. The Roman Cardinals could not acknowledge Benedict unconditionally without condemning their own obstinate resistance, or without vitiating their succession, and imperilling their title to the Cardinalate. An ecclesiastical head was necessary for the assertion of the ecclesiastical dominion in Rome:^p it would have been wrested at once, perhaps for ever, by the turbulent people from the feeble and disunited grasp of the Cardinals. Fifteen Cardinals met in Conclave.

Nov. 30.

Again they administered, and all took, an oath of unusual rigour,^q that whoever might be elected Pope would at once renounce the Papacy, directly his rival at Avignon would consent to the same abjuration. Of all the fifteen, none seemed to take this oath with more promptitude and sincerity, none had for years so deeply deplored the Schism, or urged all measures for its termination so earnestly, as Angelo Corario, a Venetian by birth, now verging on eighty years of age. On his election as Gregory XII, in public and in private Corario seized every opportunity of expressing, in the strongest words, the same determination.^r "His only fear was lest he should not live to accomplish the holy work." At his coronation he was seen to weep when he renewed this protestation; it was the one subject of his grave sermon. In private he declared, that for the union of the Church, if he had

^p Theodoric à Niem, iii. See in the *Stimmen aus Rom* (on this book more hereafter) the curious account by the ambassador of the Teutonic Order of the turbulent state of Rome. His house was seized by some of the mercenary soldiers; he could not get them out, and was obliged to share it with

them. He was summoned to do homage to the new Pope, but was afraid to venture through the streets.

^q The oath is in Oldoin. *Addit. ad Ciacconium*, p. 755; and in à Niem. iii. 2.

^r "Me präsentē," says à Niem.

not a galley, he would embark in the smallest boat; if without a horse, he would set out on foot with his staff.^a He refused to grant expectatives. His first act was a letter, of which the superscription might seem offensive, "to Peter di Luna, whom some nations during this miserable schism call Benedict XIII." The rest was respectful, earnest: no sacrifice could be too great for the reunion of the Church. "The mother before King Solomon was their example; to save her son's life she had ceased to be a mother. This they should do for the Church." Benedict, from Marseilles, replied with the same superscription, "to Angelo Corario, whom some in this pernicious schism name Gregory XII." The Spaniard vied with his rival in Rome in the fervour of his words: he offered to receive ambassadors with the utmost respect. "Haste, delay not, consider our age, the shortness of life, embrace at once the way of salvation and peace, that we may appear with our united flock before the Great Shepherd." Each pledged himself to create no new Cardinals, unless to keep up their equal numbers. Gregory's pacific letters to the King of France were read with joy and admiration; he was held to be an angel of light.^t

Savona, on the Riviera of Genoa,^u was named as the

^a See the letter addressed to Christendom by the Cardinals at Pisa.—A Niem, *Nemus Unionis*, vi. 11.

^t In the MS., B. M., is a letter addressed to the clergy and nobility of the whole Christian world, in which he describes himself as "ad extirpationem inveterati ac lugubris et pestiferi schismatis paternis et sollicitis studiis intendentes."

^u He writes to Henry IV. of England,

as one "quem unionis hujusmodi accipimus ardentissimum zelatorem," announces the agreement for meeting at Savona, and solicits a subsidy, without which he cannot move; he urges Henry "subventionis munus extendere de tuâ regali munificentia." Rome, June 1, 1407. He writes, too, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, **soliciting a subsidy.**

place where the rival Popes were to meet, each to depose himself, and to remit the election of the one supreme Pontiff to the united College of Cardinals. Ambassadors from Genoa arrived at Rome in May, offering safe-conduct, protection, the temporary cession of the city of Savona, to be occupied half by each Pope. Ambassadors arrived also from the King of France and the University of Paris.

But already to the jealous ears of some about his Court the language of Gregory had become suspicious.^x He spoke, not perhaps without some ground, of the insecurity of Savona, which, as the French King now ruled in Genoa, was subject to him as its temporal lord, and in spiritual affairs owned the sway of Benedict. The advancement of one of his three nephews—ambitious, unpopular men—to the office of President of the Papal Chamber,^y and the reception of magnificent presents from Ladislaus of Naples, threw darkening doubts on his sincerity. The confessor of King Ladislaus, a Franciscan of great worldly ability, was admitted to the confidence, and never quitted the person of the Pope. The ambiguous movements of the King and of the Pope increased the perplexity. The King's troops suddenly appeared within the walls of Rome. John of Colonna joined them. The Pope, whom some supposed to be in secret league with the King, retired, it was given out, in fear, but in slow pomp, into the Castle of St. Angelo. But the soldiers of Colonna committed some brutal outrages in a nunnery, and plundered some shops. The people rose, headed by Paolo

^x Theodoric à Niem, iii. The cause of à Niem's rancorous hatred of Gregory may possibly have been personal. but his writings have a character of honesty, though full of passion. They are in general supported by other documents. Gregorius he calls through out "Errorius." ^y Camerarius

Orsini, who commanded the Papal troops. The assailants fell into an ambush; Nicolas Colonna and other leaders were taken and beheaded in the Capitol. Gregory put on the appearance of great joy at the discomfiture of Ladislaus; but men mistrusted his joy.

June 17.

The month had not elapsed before Pope Gregory set off from Rome in state—in pontifical state, it seemed—on the holy mission of restoring peace to the distracted Church. He remained two months at Viterbo: in September he moved to Sienna. Michaelmas was the appointed time for the meeting at Savona.

Vigil of St. Laurence.
Aug. 9.
Viterbo.Sept.
Sienna.

Then began the long and weary tergiversation, the subtle excuse, the suggestion of difficulty after difficulty, the utter neglect and abandonment of all his lofty protestations, the tampering with, the breach of, the most solemn oaths. His more inveterate enemies taunt him as a hoary hypocrite:^z he is exculpated only as a weak old man, wrought upon by his rapacious and ambitious kindred.^a His first act, the alienation of some great estates of the Church for the endowment of his three nephews, might pass as only a prudent provision in case the Papacy should be adjudged away from him.^b There may have been ground for some other of his manifold excuses: that Venice did not furnish the galleys which alone could make him a match for the fleets of Genoa at the command of Benedict; that the land journey through Lombardy, to the friendly territory of the Marquis of

^a Theodoric à Niem.

^a Leonard. Arétin. "Nos de Pontifice nullo modo credimus, de propinquis non dubitamus." The acts are certain.

^b One was to have Faenza, another

Forlì, a third Vobeto, in Tuscany; they were also to have the noble city and port of Corneto: the grants for these alienations were made, but not fulfilled.—A Niem, c. xxi.

Montferrat, was perilous on account of the wars raging in that district; that he was in want of money to meet his rival in equal magnificence.^c A large sum was borrowed from Florence, to be forcibly reimbursed by the clergy of that city; the clergy of Rome were wrung by the unrelenting exactions of Paolo Orsini; sacred furniture and vessels were sold. All this embittered and exasperated the clergy. But deeper and more powerful influences were at work. The kindred of the Pope would not hazard his supremacy. With King Ladislaus his title to Naples hung on the perpetuation of the Schism, at least on the maintenance of the Italian Pontiff. If there was a French Pope, a French King of Naples was inevitable.^d Gregory, while he seemed to anathematise, was ruled by Ladislaus. He still professed the profoundest solicitude for the conference, but he still raised new impediments, Monks and friars

preached openly against his cowardly abandonment of his incontestable rights. If Gregory and his Cardinals went to Savona, they would be murdered, such was the notorious determination of the odious Benedict. Those who urged the immediate accomplishment of his vows were coldly heard, or put to silence. The negotiations dragged on. Gregory, in a long statement, raised twenty-two objections to Savona;

Delays.

^c See in the *Stimmen aus Rom* the difficulty of dealing with Gregory XII. He refused to confirm the ordinary decrees and compacts of his predecessor. He is unmanageable on such litigated points, for he is unlearned in the canon law, and always thinks that he is being cheated. Yet he will do everything himself, even the business usually despatched by the Cardinals. He grants no graces; all must depart with their

affairs unsettled. In one week he had 2000 supplications, all of which were crammed into a bag, hardly ten of them were ever got out and signed.—P. 152.

^d “Veretur nunc ut abdicacione factâ, et utroque collegio ad electionem coeunte, Gallicus forte aliquis ad pontificatum sumatur, qui favorem in regno obtinendo in Ludovicum convertat.”—Leonard. Aretin. *Epist.*

he insisted on some town in the occupation of a neutral power. Carrara was named, Lucca, Pisa, Leghorn. Benedict saw the advantage of advancing on his tardier rival; he moved to Porto Venere, afterwards to Spezia. Gregory to Lucca. They were not more than fifteen leagues asunder; but the one, like a water animal, would not leave the sea-shore—the other, like a land animal, would not approach the sea.^e

So closed one year; another began. Towards the spring Ladislaus advanced on Rome with 15,000 men. He was admitted into the city by the secret connivance of Paolo Orsini.^f He gave out that he came to protect Rome from a descent meditated by the fleet at the command of Benedict. Of this descent Gregory had more than once declared his apprehension. He almost avowed his joy at this aggressive act of Ladislaus; the design of Benedict, which he assumed as unquestionable, justified all his caution. Marshal Boucicaut had, in truth, thirteen galleys, destined for the mouth of the Tiber, to protect the city of Rome from the King of Naples; but they were kept in port by stress of weather. Ladislaus was not content with Rome; he still advanced; Perugia, Orta, Amelia, Todi, Rieti, submitted to his sway.^g

The weary negotiations had gone languishing on. Gregory offered at one time to abdicate the Papacy, if he might retain his old titular dignity of Patriarch of Constantinople, two bishoprics in his native territory

^e Leonard. Aretin. p. 926.

^f See the account of the entrance of Ladislaus into Rome (April 25), the public joy, the peace, abundance, and cheapness of provisions. — *Nemus Unionis*, vi. c. 9. “Ita quod in genere omnes contentantur de domino regis,

exceptis forsun aliquibus Romanis habitibus gravamen.” All the armed men on the other side were expelled from the city.

^g Muratori, Ann. sub ann. 1408. *Nemus Unionis*, vi. c. 27.

Venice, with the English archbishopric of York, then expected to fall vacant.^h But there was now a sudden and total rupture. Gregory reassumed the unlimited Pontifical power. He declared his determination, in direct violation of the compact, to create four new Cardinals—two of his nephews, his Protonotary, and Brother John the Dominican, Bishop elect of Ragusa, a man odious on all accounts,ⁱ now especially so, as having not only secretly urged, but openly preached the sole indefeasible Popedom of Gregory.^k The old Cardinals were summoned to his presence. They sat in mournful stillness; they heard the Pope condescend to communicate his purpose. One broke out, "Let us die first." Another fell at his feet. Defiance, protest, entreaty, moved not the impenetrable old man. He heard that they were meditating flight to Pisa. At the same time came forth a Bull for the creation of the four Cardinals, and an inhibition to the rest to leave Lucca. Paolo Guinigi, Lord of Lucca, interposed; he refused to permit any violence to be used against the Cardinals. They withdrew to Pisa: there they published an appeal to a General

^h A Niem, c. xxi.

ⁱ See the letter from Satan to this Fra Joanne Dominico, wishing him "salutem et superbiam sempiternam." A. Niem, *Nemus Unionis*, vi. 29. This *Nemus Unionis* is a very curious collection of documents made by Theodoric à Niem, selected perhaps in hostility to Gregory XII., but neither invented nor falsified. "In hoc nemore laborantibus hypocrisis Veneta (of Gregory XII.) argutia Cathalonica (Benedict XIII.) versutia Sicula (Ladislaus) fallacia Genuensis, elegantia Gallica, sinceritas Theutonica, et æquitas Portugallica obviabant."—In Pref.

^k See *Nemus Unionis*, tract. iv. c. 4; for the arguments against the cession of Gregory. "XV. Quia sic privarentur Italici injustè tanto honore Sedis Apostolicæ et Ecclesia transferretur ad Gallicos, ad Avinionenses. XVI. Quia Italici post renunciationem divulgabuntur per universum orbem terrarum insensati, vecordes, ignari, quia tantam gloriam Papatus perdidderunt: et Gallici prædicabuntur sensati, animosi, sapientes, quia licet falsum Papam habuissent tamen vice-runt." It was a strife of Italy and France for the Popedom. Compare iv. 8.

Council. Their taunting address^m reminded the Pope of his vow to go on foot with his staff to accomplish the union of the Church. They asserted that they had been in danger, if not of their lives, of imprisonment in noisome dungeons: manacles and fetters had been prepared in the Pope's palace.ⁿ Gregory could not be silent. He haughtily declared them unworthy of reply, but he did reply. He accused them of secret and suspicious conversations with the French ambassador and those of Peter di Luna. He utterly denied all designs against their lives and liberties. They alleged, he said, that they had sworn to go to Pisa, but not to go without the Pope.^o

Cardinals
at Pisa.

Christendom had beheld with indignation this miserable game of chicanery, stratagem, falsehood, perjury, played by two hoary men, each above seventy years old. But the great European kingdoms were too much divided, too much agitated by intestine disunion, to act together in this momentous common cause. Benedict XIII., taking courage from the more tardy movements and more glaring violation of faith in his adversary, seemed resolved to assert his Papal title by an act of Papal arrogance. France had threatened to stand neutral and to withdraw her allegiance from both Popes. Benedict presumed no doubt on the state of affairs, the hopeless derangement of the King, the deadly feud still raging between the houses of Bur-

Indignation
of Christen-
dom.

^m Dated May 14.

ⁿ Apud Raynald. sub ann.

^o Read the letter of the University of Paris to the Cardinals at Pisa: "Superfluum putamus referre, quoties requisitæ fuerunt dilationes, refutationes, et illusiones quibus jam orbem fatigaverunt. . . . Credimus neminem

tam improbum, tam perditum, tamque eorum similem inveniri posse, qui posthac eos defendendos arbitraretur, nisi forsitan is fuerit, quem eadem infausti schismatis cognatio in damnatam hæresim demerserit." — Nemo Unionis, vi, 15.

gundy and Orleans. A Christian preacher had startled even the low morality of that age, by vindicating the assassination of the Duke of Orleans. Benedict prepared two Bulls: one, the more violent, had been drawn up in the year 1407; one during the present year, in a more mitigated tone. Both, however, arraigned the King of France, more or less directly, as under the seduction of the devil, and as inflaming the Schism in the Church. All who were guilty of this crime, even though clothed in the highest temporal or spiritual dignity, he pronounced under excommunication—excommunication from which they could be absolved only by the Pope himself, and on the bed of death. Their kingdoms were threatened with interdict. The milder Bull, more distinctly addressed to the King of France, expostulated with him as a father with a disobedient son, but warned him against those awful censures.^p

The Pope's messengers were instructed to deliver these Bulls into the King's hands, and to return with all speed. They were apprehended and thrown into prison. The King was sane enough to assemble nobles, prelates, some members of the parliament, and deputies from the University of Paris. John Courte-
Monday,
May 21, 1408. cuisse, a distinguished theologian, delivered a sermon on the text, "His iniquity shall fall on his own head." He exhibited thirteen articles against Peter di Luna, called Benedict XIII. He charged him with perjury for not fulfilling his vow of abdication; with heresy, as having asserted that the Pope would be guilty of a deadly sin, if he should renounce the Pope-

^p The superscription was "Domino Regi et omnibus Dominis de sanguine et concilio."—Gersoniana xxii.

dom, even to restore unity in the Church of God.⁹ The Bulls were declared illegal, treasonable, injurious to the King's majesty. The King gave his assent to the prayer, and commanded the Chancellor, the famous Gerson, to "do what was right." Gerson tore the Bulls in two; one half he gave to the nobles, one to the prelates and the delegates of the University; they rent them into shreds.⁷ The Pope's messengers, some days after, were brought forth in black linen dresses, on which, on one side, were painted themselves presenting the Bulls to the King; on the other the Pope's arms reversed. They had paper crowns on their heads, with the inscription, "Traitors to the Church and to the King." They were placed on a high scaffold, and exhibited to the scorn and derision of the people. They were sent back to perpetual imprisonment; one got away after three years.⁸

The inexorable University pursued its triumph; some of the highest and most learned prelates of the realm were assailed as being favourable to Peter di Luna. The King's proclamation was published in Italy, announcing the neutrality of France, asserting the perjury, treachery, heresy of both Popes. All churches were called on to abandon Angelo Corario and Peter di Luna. The Marshal Boucicaut had orders to seize the person of Benedict XIII., but Benedict had his galleys ready; he set sail, and arrived safe at Perpignan. Gregory took refuge in the territories of his native Venice.

⁹ See the account of John de Courteu- Councils in the first volume of Gerson's
cuisse (Breviscoxa) in Dupin's Ger- works. Courteu-
soniana, p. xl. There is a long treatise cuisse was Bishop of
of Courteu- Paris, A.D. 1420.
cuisse on the Pope and General
⁷ Dupuy, p. 148. ▪ Dupuy, 137.

CHAPTER V.

COUNCIL OF PISA.

Gregory XII., Benedict XIII., Alexander V., and John XXIII.

THE mutual fear and mistrust of the rival Popes was their severest self-condemnation. These grey-headed Prelates, each claiming to be the representative of Christ upon earth, did not attempt to disguise from the world that neither had the least reliance on the truth, honour, justice, religion of his adversary. Neither would scruple to take any advantage of the other; neither would hesitate at any fraud, or violence, or crime; neither would venture within the grasp of the other, from the avowed apprehension for his liberty or his life. The forces at the command of each must be exactly balanced; the cities or sovereigns in whose territories they were to meet must guarantee, or give hostages for their personal security. They deliberately charged each other with the most nefarious secret designs, as well as with equivocation, evasion, tampering with sacred oaths, perjury.

The College of Cardinals, not only by their great public act, the summoning on their own authority a full independent Council, but even more offensively by the language of their addresses to the Popes, from whom they had severally revolted, and those to the Kings and nations of Christendom, condemned both. Each arraigned the Pope

Benedict
in Spain.
Gregory in
Venetian
territory.

Cardinals
summon
Council.

whom he had till now honoured as the successor of St. Peter, as guilty of the most odious and contemptible conduct, falsehood, perjury, obstinate adherence to a fatal and damnable Schism. The two parties met at Leghorn; the four Cardinals, who either of their own free will, or under compulsion, had accompanied Benedict to Perpignan, had found their way to Italy; the eight who had abandoned Gregory at Lucca—Naples, Aquileia, Colonna, Orsini, Brancaccio, Ravenna, Lucca, St. Angelo.^a There they determined to assume, as the senate of Christendom, a dictatorial power over their Sovereign; and to call on their own authority, without the sanction of the Pope or the Emperor, the famous Council of Pisa. Strong measures must be justified by strong asseverations of their necessity. The Popes, thus superseded in the highest branch of their authority, and made amenable to a new tribunal, must first be surrendered to general aversion and scorn. The Cardinals in the *obedience* of Benedict XIII.^b (new terms were required to express new relations) maintained in their

* H. Minutolo, a Neapolitan, Cardinal of Tusculum.

Antonio Gaetani, a Roman, C. Præneste.

Odo Colonna, Roman, C. S. George in Velabro.

Odo Orsini, Roman, C. S. Silvester and S. Martin.

Raynold Brancaccio, Neapolitan, S. Vitus and Modestus.

John de Megliorotto, of Sulmona, C. S. Croce.

Angelo Somaripa, of Lodi, C. S. Pudentiana.

Peter Stefaneschi, Roman, C. of St. Angelo.

^b Guy de Malesicco, a Poitevin, C. of Præneste.

Nicolas Brancaccio, Neapolitan, C. Albano.

John de Brogniac, Frenchman, C. of Ostia.

Peter G. Dupuy, Frenchman, C. of Tusculum.

Peter de Thurcy, Frenchman, C. S. Susanna.

Amadeo of Saluzzo, Piedmontese, C. S. Maria Nuova.

Angelo di S. Anna, Neapolitan.

The Cardinals of Milan, Peter Philargi of Candia, afterwards Pope Alexander V., and De Baro, a Spaniard, Cardinal of S. Agatha, soon appeared. Then the Cardinals of Bordeaux of Urbino, and De Frias, Cardinal of Spain.

summons to their Pope some words of respect. They addressed him as Pope; they spoke of his rival as Angelo Coraric. But in their letter to the King of France and to the Universities, and in the circulars addressed to Christendom, he was, as the author and maintainer of the Schism, wicked as the Jews and the heathen soldiers who would rend the seamless robe of Christ. His utter insincerity, his artifices, his obstinacy, his contempt of his oaths, were exposed in unambiguous words.^c The Cardinals in the obedience of Gregory were more unmeasured in their reproaches. On the instant of their secession or escape from Lucca, the city walls were lined with a fierce satire against Gregory, in which invective and ridicule vied in bitterness.^d It purported to be a summons not only from the Cardinals, but from all the officers of the Papal Court down to the grooms of the kitchen and stable; it summoned Gregory to appear in Lucca on a certain day, to be degraded not only as a man of blood, without honour, the slave of his carnal affections, but as a drunkard, a madman, a proclaimed heretic, a subverter of the Church of God, an accursed hypocrite. It deposed all his adherents, especially his four new Cardinals.^e

Their avowed proclamations were hardly more seemly in language. They darkly described and attributed to

^c D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, i. 818.

^d This placard is in the work of à Niem. It is entitled *Epistola Delusoria*. L'Enfant supposes that it was really the work of the Cardinals. It is manifestly a furious satire against all parties, perhaps by à Niem himself.—L'Enfant, *Concile de Pise*, i. p. 235.

^e Compare in the *Nemus Unionis à Niem's* correspondence with one of the

Cardinals; his address to the Pope (was it delivered?), and his description of the perplexity of the courtiers, who held fat benefices: "*plerique eorum remanent nobiscum et non nobiscum, timore perditionis dictorum beneficiorum non amore.*" A Niem had no benefice, and could speak boldly and freely. He quotes, "*Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator,*" vi. c. 23.

him and to his adversary all the evils of the Schism. They had chosen him as the best and most holy of their order; he had sworn deeply, repeatedly, solemnly, to extinguish the Schism by renunciation; he had afterwards declared such renunciation diabolic and damnable, as though he had taken the keys of St. Peter only to acquire the power of perjuring himself, and of giving free licence of perjury to others.^f

The rival Popes were too well aware of the authority which a General Council would exercise over the mind of Christendom not to make a desperate effort to secure that authority in their own favour. They made all haste to anticipate the Council of Pisa, which the Cardinals with more dignified tardiness, had summoned for the Lady-day in the following year. Benedict collected a hasty but somewhat imposing assembly at Perpignan.^g It was said to have been attended by nine Cardinals, by four Prelates, invested for the occasion with the venerable titles of the four Patriarchs of the East. There were the Archbishops of Toledo, Saragossa, Tarragona; many Bishops from Arragon, Castile, and the other kingdoms of Spain, Savoy, Lorraine, still in the obedience of Benedict XIII. The Scotch Bishops had not time, or were prevented from attendance. There were even some Prelates from France, notwithstanding the declaration of the King and Parliament of their absolute neutrality, and although the Archbishop of Auch had been deposed, and the Archbishop of Rheims himself had fallen into disgrace for his obstinate resistance to the will of the King and of the nation. The assembly at Perpignan assumed all

Benedict's
Council at
Perpignan.
Nov. 1, 1408.

^f Raynaldus, A.D. 1408, No. xxxiii.

^g L'Enfant Concile de Pise, i. 221. Martene, Anecdotes, ii. 1476. A Niern De Schismate, ii. 37. Aguerre, Concil. Hispar.

the formalities of an Œcumenic Council ; but the event answered neither these lofty pretensions, nor the bold hopes of Benedict. Violent disputes arose as to the course which they should counsel the Pope to pursue. The higher dignitaries gradually shrunk away, till the Pope was left with but eighteen Prelates. The final deliberations of this remnant of a Council, with their results, are among the irreconcilable contradictions of this period. By most accounts Benedict consented to send ambassadors with certain powers and instructions to Pisa. Some of them were arrested at Nismes by order of the King of France ; the Archbishop of Tarra-gona with others hardly escaped stoning by the populace at Pisa. On their application for passports the Cardinal Legate of Bologna declared that if he found them in the city with or without passports he would burn them alive. Yet among the charges presented against Benedict in the Council of Constance, he is affirmed to have treated his own Council with contemptuous harshness, and to have repelled them from his presence. He certainly retired to the strong fortress of Peniscola, and there in sullen dignity awaited the event.

Gregory's proposed Council was even more inglorious :

Gregory's
Council. it had not where to hold its humble state.^h

No one great city was open to the poor old Pontiff. Rome was in the possession of King Ladislaus, who in outward friendship with Gregory, was making suspicious advances to the Council of Pisa. Florence held a synod of her own, condemnatory of both Popes.

^h See MS., B. M. Summons to the Irish Church to send the Bishops of Waterford and Lismore to the General Council. Sienna, Aug. 13, 1408. Gregory XII. sends the Cardinal Bishop of Porto, Legate to England and Ireland. He could be ill spared from the College of Cardinals. But the mission was of paramount importance. Jan. 17, 1409.

The Council of Pisa was in her territories, under her protection. The Cardinal Legate, that Legate Balthasar Cossa, was Tyrant of Bologna: he looked to rule for his own ends the Council of Pisa. The learned University of Bologna declared against both Popes; his native Venice would not embark in the desperate cause of her countryman Angelo Corario; her grave ambassadors gave cold counsel to the Pope to submit and renounce his dignity. Ravenna, Aquileia, Capua, even Ephesus, then for a brief time in the occupation of the Christians, were named. At length in an obscure corner of the Venetian territory, at Ciudad in the Friuli, a few Prelates were gathered to assert the indefeasible right of the old deserted Gregory XII.; to hear his feeble murmurs of anathema against his antagonists. But this was after the Council of Pisa had held her sittings.¹

That Council of Pisa rose in imposing superiority above these secluded and fugitive conciliabules, as they were tauntingly called. Under the stately nave of the Cathedral in that city, where the aspiring Lombard or rather Italian architecture had lifted the roof to a majestic height yet unequalled in Italy, even by Gothic Assisi, and supported it on tall harmonious pillars (even now the noblest model of the Italian Basilica, expanded into the Latin cross); where over the altar hovered the vast and solemn picture of our Lord with the Virgin on one side, St. John on the other, in which Cimabue made the last and most splendid effort of the old rigid Byzantine art to retain its imperilled supremacy; and thus Latin Christianity seemed to assert its rights against Teutonic independence before their final severance: beneath these auspices met the most august assembly

¹ Labbe, Concilia. A Niem, De Schismate. L'Enfant, i. p. 295.

as to the numbers and rank of the Prelates, and the Ambassadors of Christian Kings, which for centuries had assumed the functions of a representative Senate of Christendom. At first fourteen Cardinals, seven in each obedience, took their seats; the number grew to twenty-one or two, and finally, on the arrival of the Legate of Bologna with three others, to twenty-six; four Patriarchs — Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, Grado. Twelve Archbishops, eighty Bishops appeared in person; fourteen Archbishops and a hundred and two Bishops by their procurators.^k Eighty-seven Abbots, among the Cistercians those of Clairvaux, Grammont, Camaldoli, represented each his order; there were the Procurators of two hundred more; those of the Præmonstratensians and of St. Antony in Vienne appeared for all their Order with forty-one Priors; the Generals of the Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, Augustinians, the Grand Master of Rhodes, the Prior of the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre, the Proctor General of the Teutonic Knights. The Universities sent their delegates—Paris, Toulouse, Orleans, Angers, Montpellier, Bologna, Florence, Cracow, Vienna, Prague, Cologne, Oxford, Cambridge; as did the Chapters of a hundred Metropolitan and Collegiate churches. There were three hundred Doctors of Theology and of Canon Law. The hierarchy of France were in the largest numbers; but Italy, Germany represented by the Procurators of the Archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, Saltzburg, and Magdeburg, and England by those of Canterbury, York, London, Winchester, and many others, by the Bishops of Salisbury (the famous Robert Hallam), St. David's, Carlisle, perhaps Chichester

^k There are considerable variations in the lists, as published in D'Achery. in Raynaldus, and by L'Enfant. Compare L'Enfant, i. pp. 239, 240.

—added their weight, as did Poland and Hungary. Even Spain had one or two Bishops. There were also ambassadors from the Kings of France, England, Portugal, Bohemia, Sicily, Poland, Cyprus; from the Dukes of Burgundy, Brabant, Pomerania, the Margrave of Brandenburg, the Landgrave of Thuringia, and many other German Princes. The Kings of Spain alone stood aloof as not having renounced the allegiance of Benedict, to whom also the Kings of Hungary, Scotland, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark gave a doubtful support. Ladislaus of Naples alone adhered to Gregory, from enmity to Florence rather than from friendship to the Pope. The Emperor Robert—or rather the claimant of the empire, elected on the deposition of Wenceslaus, whose indefeasible title was still acknowledged in some parts of Germany—alone of sovereign princes by his ambassadors contested the legality of the Council, its self-constituted authority, and its right of adjudication in the cause of two Popes, one of whom must be the legitimate Pontiff.

The Council conducted its proceedings with grave regularity, or rather (there were rare excep- Proceedings of the Council. tions) with dispassionate dignity. It seemed profoundly impressed with the sense of its own unprecedented position, and the extraordinary and dictatorial power which it had been compelled to assume, contrary to the usage of the last centuries. The assertion of the supremacy of a General Council, of a Council unsummoned by the Pope, was a doctrine which needed the boldness, authority, learning, and weight of such men as Gerson, the Chancellor of Paris,^m to vindicate. The

^m John Gerson was born 14th Dec. monks. He studied at Paris under 1363, of a family devoted to the Peter d'Ailly in 1392 or 1395, succeeded Peter d'Ailly as Chancellor of Church. His three brothers were

Treatise of that all-honoured man was acknowledged as the one work which contained and summed up with irrefragable force and erudition the arguments in favour of the Council.^a

The Council met on Lady-day; but, in the commencement of the fifteenth century, that almost holiest of days must not be profaned by business even of that solemn importance. At the close of the first formal session on the next day, proclamation was made at the gates of the Cathedral, demanding whether Peter di Luna or Angelo Corario were present, either by themselves, their Cardinals, or Procurators. Three times on successive days this citation was repeated; at the close, neither Peter di Luna nor Angelo Corario making answer, they were pronounced in contumacy. The prelates and ambassadors from the more distant lands arrived but slowly; the Council occupied its time with sermons and the discussion of preliminary matters, the hearing and dismissing the ambassadors of the Emperor. The more solemn business commenced with the arrival of the French and English ambassadors (France had at first been represented only by the Bishop of Meaux), Simon de Cramault Patriarch of Alexandria, Giles de Champs Bishop of Coutances, and two doctors, Robert Hallam Bishop of Salisbury, Henry Bishop of St. David's, the

the University. He had been the delegate of the University to both Popes.—Dupin, Vita Gersoni.

^a Gersoni Opera, ii. p. 114. His doctrine was this: "Unitas Ecclesie semper manet ad Christum sponsum suum. . . Et si non habet vicarium, dum scilicet mortuus est corporaliter vel civiliter vel quia non est probabiliter expectandum quod unquam sibi vel

successoribus ejus obedientia præstetur a Christianis, tunc Ecclesia, tam divino quam naturali jure, potest ad procurandum sibi vicarium unum et certum semet congregare ad Concilium Generale representans eam, et hoc non solum auctoritate Dominorum Cardinalium, sed etiam adjumento et auxilio cujuscunque Principis, vel alterius Christiani."

Prior of the Benedictines in Canterbury, Thomas Abbot of St. Mary Jervaulx, the Earl of Suffolk, and several doctors. They rode into Pisa in great pomp with two hundred horses in their train.^o

One month had almost fully elapsed, when the Advocate Fiscal, the Secretary of the Council, read April 24. certain resolutions framed by the promoters of the cause: among these, that the Holy Council was canonically called and constituted by the two Colleges of Cardinals now blended into one; that to them it belonged to take cognisance of the two competitors for the Papacy. The Advocate read a long and elaborate report on the origin and progress of the Schism. He concluded with this proposition: "Seeing that the contending Prelates had been duly cited, and, not appearing, declared contumacious, they were Two Popes declared to be deposed. deprived of their pontifical dignity, and their partisans of their honours, offices, and benefices; if they contravened this sentence of deposition, they might be punished and chastised by secular judges; all kings, princes, and persons of every rank or quality were absolved from their oaths, and released from allegiance to the two rival claimants of the Popedom."^p The promoters demanded the hearing of witnesses to the facts deposed. The hearing of witnesses proceeded; but before many days the Council found that this hearing would draw out to an interminable length. They declared the main facts matters of public notoriety. All went on in slow form. One Prelate alone departed from the grave dignity of the assembly, the Bishop of Sisteron in Provence, an Arragonese, up to this time a strong partisan of Benedict XIII. In his sermon, on "Purge away your old

^o L'Enfant, p. 269.

^p Concilia, sub ann.

leaven," he caused astonishment among the audience by asserting that they were no more Popes than his old shoes; he called them worse than Annas and Caiaphas, and compared them to the devils in hell.⁹ First was pronounced the general subtraction of obedience from both Popes. On the 5th June, proclamation having been again made for their appearance and no answer heard, the gates of the Cathedral were thrown open, and

Sentence. the definitive sentence read by the Patriarch
of Alexandria. "The Holy Universal Council, representing the Catholic Church of God, to whom belongs the judgement in this cause, assembled by the grace of the Holy Ghost in the Cathedral of Pisa, having duly heard the promoters of the cause for the extirpation of the detestable and inveterate Schism, and the union and re-establishment of our Holy Mother Church, against Peter di Luna and Angelo Corario, called by some Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII., declares the crimes and excesses, adduced before the Council, to be true, and of public fame. The two competitors, Peter di Luna and Angelo Corario, have been and are notorious schismatics, obstinate partisans, abettors, defenders, approvers of this long schism; notorious heretics as having departed from the faith; involved in the crimes of perjury and breach of their oaths; openly scandalising the Church by their manifest obstinacy, and utterly incorrigible; by their enormous iniquities and excesses they have made themselves unworthy of all honour and dignity, especially of the Supreme Pontificate; and though by the canons they are actually^r rejected of God, deprived and cut off from the Church, nevertheless the Church, by this definitive sentence, deposes, rejects and cuts them off, prohibiting

⁹ L'Enfant, p. 273, from the Abbot of Saint Maixant.

^r Ipso facto

both and each from assuming any longer the Sovereign Pontificate, declaring for further security* the Papacy to be vacant." The rest of the sentence pronounced Christians of all ranks absolved from all vows and engagements towards them, uttered excommunication and other canonical penalties against all who should succour, abet, or harbour either of them. Whosoever should refuse obedience to this decree, the competitors or their abettors, were to be repressed by the secular arm. All censures, excommunications, interdicts, issued by the two pretendants, were annulled; all promotions since May, 1408, declared void.†

Such was the first solemn, deliberate, authoritative act, by which a General Council assumed a power superior to the Papacy, which broke the long tradition of the indefeasible, irresponsible autocracy of the Pope throughout Christendom. It assumed a dictatorial right in a representative body of the Church to sit, as a judicial tribunal, with cognisance of the title by which Papal authority was exercised, of offences committed by Prelates claiming to be Popes, and to pronounce in the last instance on the validity of their acts. It was much beyond a decision on a contested election; it was the cashiering of both, and that not on account of irregularity or invalidity of title, but of crimes and excesses subject to ecclesiastical censure; it was a sentence of deposition and deprivation, not of uncanonical election. Each party of Cardinals had concurred in the election of one or other of the Popes; they could not take that ground without impugning their own authority. If the Schism imperceptibly undermined the Papal power in

* Ad cautelam.

† The decree may be read in à Niem, c. 44, L'Enfant, and the Concilia

public estimation, the General Council might seem to shake it to its base.

The Council had a harder task than the deposal of the two contesting Popes, of whom Christendom was weary, and who were abandoned by most of their own partisans. The election of a new Pope, who should command universal respect, and awe back the world into its old reverence for the Supreme Pontiff, was the necessary but far more difficult function of the Council. The Conclave could not be charged with precipitation.

Election
of Pope. During eleven days^u the twenty-six Cardinals were occupied in their momentous consultation.

The secrets of the Conclave were religiously kept. No one knew whether these days were occupied by grave and impartial deliberation or by the struggle of conflicting interests. The Cardinals must have gone beyond their own pale to have found a Prelate whose name for ability, learning, piety, would have extorted universal admiration. Most of them had been promoted during the Schism, as zealous partisans of either Pope, rather than as distinguished Churchmen. One alone, Balthasar Cossa, afterwards John XXIII., was known for his consummate power and energy, though certainly for no other hierarchical qualifications. But his time was not come. The warlike Legate, who had crushed the liberties of Bologna, had doubtless the sagacity not yet to aspire to the supreme dignity, probably had no chance of commanding the suffrages of the French Cardinals, to whom he was unknown, or the Italian, by whom he was too well known and feared.

The choice fell on Peter Philargi, of Candia, of the Order of Friar Minors, commonly called Cardinal of

^u From June 15 to June 26.

Milan, rightly Cardinal of the Twelve Apostles. This choice may have been the final determination to set up an irreproachable man, of some fame for eloquence and learning, or a compromise between the unyielding Cisalpine and Transalpine parties. Whenever such compromise takes place, it is usually in favour of an aged Prelate; and the Cardinal of Milan was above seventy years old. Alexander V. (the name he assumed) was of such obscure origin, that it is disputed whether the Candia from which he was named was the Island of Crete, or a small village in the Milanese. Cast parentless and friendless on the world, he had become a Mendicant Friar. Beggary was not his choice only, it was his lot. His life had been blameless, studious, holy. He had studied theology at Oxford and Paris; and had been raised by the discernment of Gian Galeazzo Visconti to the tutorship of his sons. By the same influence he became Bishop of Vicenza, of Novara, and Archbishop of Milan. Alexander V. was superior to the two vices which had loaded with reproach the fame and memory of most of his predecessors—avarice and nepotism. His weakness was prodigality. He lavished what under the existing circumstances must have been the limited and precarious resources of the Papacy with such generous profusion, that he said of himself, he had been rich as a Bishop, as a Cardinal poor, as Pope he was a beggar. On the day of his enthronement his grants were so lavish as to justify, if not to give rise to, the rumour, that the Cardinals, on entering into the Conclave, had made a vow that whosoever should be elected would grant to the households of his brother Cardinals the utmost of their demands. From nepotism Alexander V. was safe, for he was without kindred or relatives. But there was another, perhaps more fatal, nepotism which turned the

tide of popularity against him—the nepotism of his Order. It was more than the accumulation of all the offices of his Court on his beloved brethren, more than the lavish grant of bishoprics and dignities—it was the undue elevation of the Franciscans^x above all the Secular, all the Regular Clergy. Two hundred years had not allayed the strife of the Mendicants and the Clergy. From the highest seats of learning to the most obscure country parish, there was rivalry, strife, jealousy, hatred. Still the theory of the Church, her whole discipline, depended on the sole and exclusive authority of the lawful pastors in their parishes, and on their exclusive right to perform the services of the Church, to hear confession, to grant absolution. Some highminded and far-seeing among the Prelates or the Clergy might welcome the Friars as active and zealous coadjutors in the task of Christianising mankind; they might keep on terms of mutual respect and harmony. The Mendicants might even, by their noble exertions under terrible exigencies, as declared in the Consistory of Avignon after the great plague, command the unwilling approbation of Cardinals and Popes.^y But in general they were still hated with unmitigated hatred by the Clergy: by some of the better, as unjustly interfering between them and their beloved flocks, and as alienating and seducing away their people's affections; by the worse, as a standing reproach on their negligence and ignorance, and as drawing off to themselves the emoluments which the Clergy deemed their sole right—the oblations, the gifts,

^x “Aliquos etiam Fratres Minores sibi charos et sociales publicis officiis et lucratis quæ prius consueverant regi per seculares personas habiles et expertos in eâdem suâ curiâ præfecit,

et miro modo conabatur plerosque Fratres Minores Cathedralibus Ecclesiis præficere ut pastores.”—A Niem, iii. c. 51.

^y See vol. viii. pp. 1, 2.

the bequests. The inevitable degeneracy of the Friars would no doubt aggravate the strife. The Mendicant Orders had spread their net too wide not to comprehend multitudes of men with no other qualification than beggary. So soon as they became, if not rich, with the advantages of riches, with splendid convents, ample endowments, or even the privilege of subsisting at the cost of others, they would become little better than what they had been long called by their adversaries in England—sturdy beggars. Up to this time the Popes (as has appeared in our history)² had left some restraint on the Friars. They were too useful partisans, too much under the Papal control, not to find as much favour as could be granted without absolutely estranging the Clergy; yet the Bishops retained some power over them; and the Popes had refused absolutely to abrogate the exclusive privileges of the secular clergy. The relations of the two rival bodies were still kept in a kind of politic balance, and rested on vague and contradictory decrees.

The Bull of Alexander V., issued but a few months after his accession, rudely struck down the barrier.^a It invested the Friar Preachers, the Friar Minors, the Augustinians, and the Carmelites, in the full, uncontrolled power of hearing confession and granting absolution in every part of Christendom. It rescinded, and declared null, if not heretical, seven propositions advanced or sanctioned by other Popes, chiefly John XXII. One of these it averred, with unnecessary insult and disparagement of the Papal infallibility, to have been issued by that Pope, when

Bull of Alexander in favour of the Friars. Oct. 12.

² Compare Book xi. c. 2. L'Enfant pas given the substance of the former Bulls, p. 309, &c.

^a Relig. de St. Denys. Laboureur's translation of the Bull may be read in L'Enfant, p. 314.

under condemnation for heresy. These propositions had enacted that without the consent of the parish priest, or at least of the Bishop, no Friar could hear confession. This Bull was not only the absolute annihilation of the exclusive prerogatives and pretensions of the Clergy, but it was ordered to be read by the Clergy themselves in all the churches in Christendom. They were to publish before their own flocks the triumph of their enemies, the complete independence of their parishioners on their authority, their own condemnation for insufficiency, their disfranchisement from their ancient immemorial rights. Henceforth there was a divided dominion in every diocese; in every parish there were two or more conflicting claimants on the obedience, the love, and the liberality of the flock. Still further, all who dared to maintain the propositions annulled by the Bull were to be proceeded against as contumacious and obstinate heretics. Thus the Pope, who was to reconcile and command or win distracted Christendom to peace and unity—a narrow-minded Friar, thinking only of his own Order—had flung a more fatal apple of discord into the world, and stirred up a new civil war among the more immediate adherents of the Papacy, among those who ought to have been knit together in more close and intimate confederacy.

The reception of this Bull in Paris, though its injurious workings were more openly and indignantly resented in Paris than elsewhere, may show its effect throughout Christendom. The old war of the University with the Dominicans and Franciscans, which had ended in the humiliation of their champion William of St. Amour, and the triumphant participation by their intrusive rivals in their ancient privileges (perhaps not mitigated by the assumption of the mastery

University
of Paris.

over her schools by the great Dominican and Franciscan teachers, Albert the Great, Aquinas, Bonaventura, Duns Scotus), was not beyond the scope of their recollection. The tradition of academic jealousy and rivalry is endowed with pertinacious vitality. The schools rose in almost unanimous insurrection. The University of Paris had hailed with acclamations the accession of Pope Alexander. No sooner had this Bull arrived in the city, than, with contemptuous doubts of its authenticity, they sent delegates to Pisa to inquire whether it was genuine. The delegates would not be satisfied without seeing the leaden seal attached to the Bull.^b The Bull professed to have been framed with the advice and consent of the Cardinals; the delegates visited and inquired separately of the Cardinals whether they had given such advice and consent, thus tacitly accusing the Pope of falsehood or forgery. The Cardinals disclaimed all participation in the decree; they did not deny that it was injurious to all who had the cure of souls.

The University, on the report of her delegates, proceeded to expel all Mendicant Friars from her walls, and to prohibit their preaching in Paris till they had produced and renounced the original Bull. The Preachers (Dominicans) and the Carmelites declared that they had no knowledge of the Bull, that they were content with the privileges possessed before the time of Alexander V. But the Franciscans, proud of a Pope from their own Order, went about defying all authority, and boasting that to them alone it belonged to preach,

^b "A Pope's Bull and a Pope's Brief differ very much, as with us the great seal and the privy seal: the Bull being the highest authority the Pope can give, the Brief is of less. The Bull has a leaden seal upon silk, hanging upon the instrument; the Brief has *sub annulo Piscatoris* upon the side." I quote this from Selden's *Table Talk*, on account of the illustration.

to hear confession, and even to levy tithes.^c The King interposed; on their convent gates was affixed a royal proclamation, forbidding Priests and Curates to permit the Franciscans or Augustinians to preach or hear confession in their churches.^d The Chancellor Gerson, the Oracle of the Council, denounced the act of the Pope in no measured language.^e

Whatever tended to destroy the popularity of Alexander threw discredit on the Council of Pisa. Murmurs were heard in many quarters that the Council, instead of extinguishing the Schism, had but added a third Pope. Benedict from his fastness at Peniscola issued his anathemas against the Council and against his rivals. Gregory and Ladislaus in Rome. Gregory had been obliged to take ignominious flight from the territories of Venice; he found refuge with Ladislaus. As the price of his security, and for 25,000 gold florins, he was reported at least to have sacrilegiously alienated the patrimony of the Church, to have sold Rome, the March, Bologna, Faenza, Forlì, and all the lands of St. Peter to that ambitious King. Ladislaus unfurled his standard, which bore the menacing inscription, "Cæsar or Nothing." He occupied Rome with a

^c A Niem describes the joy of the Franciscans at the elevation of Alexander V.: "Mirabiliter lætificati sunt; discurrebant enim per vias et plateas civitatis catervatim valde multi eorum per singulos dies, velut essent mente capti."—iii. c. 53.

^d Relig. de St. Denys.

^e Relig. de St. Denys. "Dedisti nobis unum et verum Ecclesiæ Pastorem, quem recepimus magno cum gaudio, reverentiâ et exultatione. Et ecce malignum spiritum prælii et divisionis, qui visus est suscitare turbationem novam, malam nimis,

coepertam et fraudulentam sub umbrâ boni et religionis." The Christian hierarchy, writes Gerson, consists of the Pope, Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, successors of the Apostles; of curates, successors of the 70 disciples. Gerson asserts in the strongest terms the exclusive and perpetual rights of the curates to all the offices and emoluments of their function. They are more perfect than simple monks. "Sequitur statum curatorum perfectiorem esse statu simplicium religiosorum." This was new doctrine.—Gersoni Opera, ii. p. 433.

large force;† he had made terms with Paolo Orsini, the Guelfic condottiere; he was advancing on Tuscany. Alexander, Pope without a rood of the Papal dominions, fulminated his Bulls against the ally of the deposed Gregory, the usurper of the dominions of the See of Rome. But the Pope, recognised by France, and by most of the Italian States, had more formidable forces than spiritual censures. Louis of Anjou, in whom centered the hereditary pretensions of his house to the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, appeared at Pisa with five hundred lances. Florence, who feared and hated Ladislaus, and the Cardinal Legate with his bands at Bologna, formed with Louis a strong league. Their armament moved towards Rome; Paolo Orsini advanced against Louis.‡ But the religion and loyalty of the captain of a Free Company depended on the highest bidder. He had no scruples in changing his service and his Pope. He marched back with Louis of Anjou to reduce Rome, which he had gone forth to protect. At first the Leonine City, the Vatican, and St. Peter's, then the Castle of St. Angelo, at length the Cisterverine region, and the Capitol submitted to the conqueror. Rome acknowledged Pope Alexander V.

Oct. 1.

† The occupation of Rome by Ladislaus is afterwards described by Pope John XXIII. as “optentu nephario atque velamine maledictionis filii Angeli Corarii, heretici et schismatici, per generale Pisan^m Concilium justo Dei judicio sententialiter condemnati.”—MS., B. M., Oct. 23, 1411. There is in the D.ary of Antonius Petri (Muratori, t. xxiv.) a very curious account of the transactions in Rome day by day, of the hangings and decapitations, daily occurrences, of many of which

Antonius was eye-witness. But on great events he is provokingly silent. He gives this strange inscription on one of the banners of Ladislaus, which he unfurled with the Papal banner:—

“Io son un povero Rè, amico delle Saccomanni,
Amatore delle populi, e distruttore della Tiranni.”—p. 999.

‡ Antonius Petri describes the entrance of King Louis and the Orsinis, with the Cardinal S. Eustachio (Balthasar Cossa), into Rome, Oct. 1.

Alexander had been driven by the plague from Pisa to Prato; from Prato he removed to Pistoia.^h Instead of taking possession of Rome he crossed the cold snowy Apennines to put himself under the protection, or to deliver himself into the hands, of the Cardinal Legate. In Bologna he died in peace
 May 3, 1410. after a Pontificate not much exceeding ten months. Rumours of course that he died by poison spread abroad, and his successor bore also of course the guilt of his untimely end.ⁱ

The Conclave had followed the Pope. After a very short interval it was announced to Christendom
 Sunday, May 25, 1410. that twenty-four Cardinals had given their unanimous suffrages; ^k that Balthasar Cossa was chosen Supreme Pontiff, and had taken the name of John XXIII.^m

John XXIII. is another of those Popes the record of whose life, by its contradictions, moral anomalies, almost impossibilities, perplexes and baffles the just and candid historian. That such, even in those times, should be the life even of an Italian Churchman, and that after such life he should ascend

^h The appointment of Marcello Strozzi Nuncio and Collector in England is dated Pistoia, 30th Dec. 1409.—MS., B. M.

ⁱ “Idem dominus Alexander Papa in lecto ægritudinis constitutus Bononiæ coram suis Cardinalibus pulchrum sermonem Latinum fecit.” He died four days after, May 3, 1410. In the Chronicon attributed to à Niem is the text of this sermon, “Pacem meam do vobis, pacem relinquo vobis.”—Apud Eecard, p. 1536. S. Antoninus, Chronicon, ii. Dugloss, Hist. Polon.,

attribute his death to a poisoned clyster. Monstrelet speaks more generally of poison. The sixth article against John XXIII. at Constance accuses John, and his physician, Daniel de S. Sophia, of the crime.—Ap. Von de Hardt. iv. 1, 3. But see in Monstrelet the pompous funeral.

^k The list in Ciacconius, p. 786. It was not certain how many were actually present at the election.

^m Read in Monstrelet the account of his election and splendid inauguration, l. i. c. lxxviii.

to the Papacy, shocks belief; yet the record of that life not merely rests on the concurrent testimony of all the historians of the time, two of them secretaries to the Roman Court, but is avouched by the deliberate sanction of the Council of Constance to articles which, as will hereafter appear, contained all the darkest charges of the historians, and to some of which John himself had pleaded guilty.

Balthasar Cossa was a Neapolitan of noble birth;ⁿ as a simple clerk he served in the piratical warfare carried on by the hostile fleets of the rival Provençal and Hungarian Kings of Naples. He retained through life the pirates' habit of sleeping by day, and waking by night. At a later period two of his brothers, who had not like himself abandoned in time that perilous vocation, were taken by King Ladislaus, and notwithstanding the influence of Balthasar with the Pope, and the Pope's strenuous exertions in their behalf, hanged without mercy. Balthasar cherished from that time an implacable hatred to Ladislaus. He retired to Bologna and studied the Canon Law, it was said without much success. He was raised by Boniface IX. to the dignity of Archdeacon of Bologna. But his ambition had higher views. He returned to Rome, and was appointed one of the Pope's chamberlains.^o He became one of the dexterous and unscrupulous agents of the Pope's insatiable avarice and of his own. He was the most daring and skilful vendor of preferments, the most artful of usurers. By secret, and as they demeaned themselves to their victims, friendly messengers, he

His youth.

ⁿ De Vitâ Joannis XXIII., à Theodorie à Niem, apud Meibomium, i. This work must be compared with the charges entertained and confirmed by

the Council of Constance, and at length admitted by John himself.

^o Cubicularius.

warned rich Prelates, that the Pope, ill-disposed towards them, designed to remove them from their wealthy and peaceful benefices to preferments in barbarous countries, in remote islands, or lands held by the Saracens. He received vast bribes to propitiate the unfriendly Pontiff. To him was attributed the enormous abuse of Indulgences. Already Priests and Friars loaded with these lucrative commodities, travelled through Germany, by Thuringia, Swabia, Saxony, into the Northern kingdoms, Denmark and Sweden. On their arrival in a city they exhibited a banner with the Papal arms, the keys of St. Peter, from the windows of their inn. They entered the principal church, took their seat before the altar, the floor strewed with rich carpets, and, under awnings of silk to keep off the flies, exhibited to the wondering people, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Priests or Bishops, their precious wares. "I have heard them," writes the biographer of John XXIII., "declare that St. Peter himself had not greater power to remit sins than themselves." One of the wealthiest of these Papal merchants, on his return from his journey, was seized at Bologna. Balthasar Cossa, perhaps his former patron, but now Legate, plundered him of 100,000 florins. The poor victim hanged himself in prison.^p

Pope Boniface had formed so high an estimate of the abilities of Balthasar Cossa, that he was raised Legate in Bologna. to the Cardinalate, and appointed Legate to wrest the city of Bologna from the domination of the Visconti.^q The Legate fulfilled his mission; the poor student of law, the Archdeacon of Bologna, became the

^p A Niem, p. 7.

^q There was another notorious, it was said, but unavowed reason for his foreign mission, his separation from

his brother's wife, the sister of a Cardinal, with whom he was living 'n incestuous, and, even for Rome, scandalous concubinage.

lord of that city with as absolute and unlimited dominion as the tyrant of any other of the Lombard or Romagnese commonwealths. Balthasar Cossa, if hardly surpassed in extortion and cruelty by the famous Eccellino, by his debaucheries might have put to shame the most shameless of the Viscontis. Under his iron rule day after day such multitudes of persons of both sexes, strangers as well as Bolognese, were put to death on charges of treason, sedition, or other crimes, that the population of Bologna seemed dwindling down to that of a small city. He used to send to the executioners to despatch their victims with greater celerity. Neither person nor possession was exempt from his remorseless taxation. Grain could not be ground, nor bread made, nor wine sold, without his licence. From all ranks, from the noble to the peasant, he exacted the most laborious services. He laid taxes on prostitutes, gaming-houses, usurers. His licentiousness was even more wide and promiscuous. Two hundred maids, wives, and widows, with many nuns, are set down as victims of his lust. Many were put to death by their jealous and indignant husbands and kindred. The historian wonders that in so rich and populous a city no husband's, or father's, or brother's dagger found its way to the heart of the tyrant.^r

So is Balthasar Cossa described by Theodoric à Niem, his secretary. Leonardo Aretino, another secretary, in pregnant and significant words, represents him as a

^r Yet the Chronicle, or rather the Continuation attributed to à Niem, speaks thus of his nearly nine years' administration of Bologna: "Floruit multum civitas et adaucta est longâ pace." But the author, who passes over Cossa's early life, admits that before the Council of Constance above forty charges were proved, some against his life, some against his doctrine; and that John XXIII. admitted their truth — Apud Eccard, p. 1537.

great man, of consummate ability in worldly affairs, nothing or worse than nothing in spiritual.

At the death of Alexander V. the Conclave, of sixteen Cardinals at least,^a in Bologna, were entirely in the power of this ambitious and unscrupulous man. They may have discarded the suspicions awakened by the opportune death of Alexander, though, as has been said, among the crimes afterwards not only murmured in secret, but alleged against John XXIII., was that of having poisoned his predecessor: no man whose death was important could be suffered to die in the course of nature.

The election, though without actual violence, may have been compulsory; yet at Constance, though almost all the Cardinals bear testimony against John, this does not seem to have been among the charges.^b But the awe, the terror of his character and of their perilous situation may not have been less real. They may have wilfully closed their eyes (dastardly or almost impossible as it may seem) against his crimes and vices, allowing themselves to be dazzled by his higher qualities, his energy, courage, military skill, success. He was the Pope to restore the Papal interests in Romagna, in Italy, in Christendom. Already Cardinal Cossa had won back Rome to the dominion of his predecessor. He had his own powerful forces; he had bought over Paolo Orsini; with his close confederate, Louis of Anjou, he had made Ladislaus of Naples tremble on his throne. The ambassadors of Louis were in Bologna, strongly urging the election of their King's useful, indispensable ally.

No wonder if the secrets of that Conclave were

^a The number present varies. See above.

^b This charge had been a condemnation of their own weakness and want of Christian courage.

betrayed; it is still less wonderful that the accounts are contradictory; none would wish, none would dare to speak the truth. Each as his own exculpation might require, or his hatred predominate, would colour the facts. Cossa, it is said, appalled the Conclave with his threats; he scornfully rejected each name proposed; in their fear and discord they left him to name the Pope. He demanded the stole of St. Peter to array the worthiest, put it on his own shoulders—"I am Pope."^u By another account he proposed the Cardinal Caracciolo, an unlearned, rude, and most unfit man. On his rejection Cossa himself was chosen.^x The same writer in another place speaks of unmeasured bribery. Perhaps the simple phrase of a third may be most true—he owed his election to the troops at his command.^y But whatever their motives, fear, deception, corruption, foreign influence—whether affrighted, cajoled, bribed, dazzled—the Conclave refused to remember the enormities of the life of Balthasar Cossa; the pirate, tyrant, adulterer, violator of nuns, became the successor of St. Peter, the Vicegerent of Christ upon earth.^z Cossa was Pope; Louis of Anjou hastened to kiss the feet of his brother-in-arms; fourteen ecclesiastics, some of the wisest and ablest Prelates of Italy, accepted the title and rank of Cardinal at his hands. He fulminated his sentence of excommunication against the deprived Antipopes Gregory and Benedict; against King Ladislaus, whom he deposed from his throne.

^u Philip of Bergamo. Supplem. Chronic. L'Enfant, ii. p. 4.

^x Theodoric à Niem, Vit. Johan. XXIII. In his *Invectiva*, à Niem accuses Cossa of having broken up the threshold with a golden axe, and given a sop to the Molossian hounds.

^y Platina.

^z "In cujus electione multi scandalizati sunt, quia ut tyrannus rexisse Bononiam, vitæ mundanæ deditus dicebatur."—Gobelinus, p. 330. This is at the least less passionate authority

At first the united forces of the Pope and Louis of Anjou met with some reverses; but during the next year, at the battle of Rocca Secca, Ladislaus suffered a total defeat. But Louis of Anjou, with his French impetuosity, knew not how to profit by his victory. "On the first day," said Ladislaus, "my person and my realm were at the mercy of the enemy; on the second my person was safe, but my realm was lost; on the third hope arose for my realm as well as my person."^a Pope John had already advanced to Rome. No sooner had he left Bologna than the whole city rose with cries of Long live the people! Long live the Arts!^b The Cardinal Legate fled to the citadel, from whence he looked down on the plunder of the palace; in a few days he was compelled to surrender at discretion. The Pope at Rome received with exultation the tidings of the battle of Rocca Secca. The standards of the vanquished Ladislaus were dragged ignominiously through the miry streets. But the triumph was short; Louis had in vain attempted to force the passes which led into the kingdom of Naples; he returned baffled and discomfited to Rome, and after a few weeks embarked for Provence.

The Pope was left alone to the vengeance of Ladislaus. Florence had abandoned the League; he renewed his idle maledictions against a King who laughed them to scorn. He published a Crusade throughout Christendom in Italy, France, Germany, England,^c Denmark, Norway, Prussia, Poland, Lithuania,

^a S. Antoninus, p. 156.

^b The guilds of the city.

^c MS., B. M. Not merely was the Crusade to be preached with all the privileges of a Crusade to the Holy

Land, but a subsidy implored, and a tenth demanded of the clergy, by the Legates, Antonio da Pineto, General of the Minorites, and Paul da Sulmona, Archdeacon of Ravenna. Oct. 23.

Hungary, even in Cyprus and the East.^d He summoned and held a Council at Rome, but few prelates would venture their lives in the unapproachable and insecure city. The Council was only memorable for an incident, in itself ludicrous, which nevertheless struck deep fear into many hearts as a dismal omen. Immediately after the opening Mass for the descent of the Holy Spirit, a huge owl flew out, screeching and fixing its eyes on the Pope. Those who dared to laugh laughed; some whispered, "A strange shape for the Holy Ghost!" The Pope broke up the assembly. On the next day there sat the owl, with its large eyes full on the Pope. The Cardinals with difficulty drove it out with sticks and stones.^e These Papal acts, the excommunication and the Crusade, which displayed the dauntlessness and energy of the Pope, had been but feeble security against the King of Naples at his gates, if the crafty Ladislaus had not found it his interest to incline to peace. King and Pope had too many enemies, too few, and those but hollow friends. The Pope would purchase, at the highest price, not only peace but the recognition of his title.^f Pope Gregory still lived under the protection of the King, in undisturbed retirement at Gaeta. Ladislaus was seized with qualms of religious conscience. He summoned the Prelates and theologians of his

1411. The Legates had power to absolve fifty persons excommunicated for trading with Alexandria in Egypt, and all the other ordinary powers. He hoped to make an agreement with Thomas of Lancaster, the King's second son, to head an English crusade. Nov. 9, 1411.

^d The preaching of this Crusade and the Indulgences in Bohemia was a

great cause of the Hussite disturbances.

^e See Clemangis, Tract, p. 75, from an eye-witness. A Niem, apud Von der Hardt, ii. 375.

^f A Niem had heard from a partisan of Gregory XII. that John XXIII. paid, and that Ladislaus received by the hands of a certain Florentine, 100,000 florins for his abandonment of Gregory — p 17.

realm, and imparted to them his grave doubts whether he was not guilty of sin in maintaining a Pope rejected by all Christendom. He paid a cold civil visit to express his profound respect and sorrow to him whom he had so long honoured as Pope. Gregory had no ungrounded apprehensions lest he might be surrendered to his rival. Two Venetian merchant-ships were in the harbour; the inhabitants of Gaeta loved the poor old Pope; they bought a passage for him and his Court. The vessels sailed all round Calabria, and though pursued by the galleys of John XXIII. reached Rimini. Gregory was received by the Malatestas, the deadly enemies of Pope John.^g

Ladislaus dictated the terms of the treaty with the Pope; at least no Pope not under hard necessity had submitted to such terms. Ladislaus was acknowledged not only as King of Naples, but also as King of Sicily. The Arragonese King of Sicily adhered to Benedict XIII. Ladislaus was named Gonfalonier of the Church. The Pope consented to pay 120,000 florins of gold; he surrendered as security the cities of Ascoli, Viterbo, Perugia, and Benevento. He absolved Ladislaus from a debt of 40,000 florins, the accumulated tribute to the Papacy. The Pope was to maintain 1000 horse for the subjugation of Sicily. The Pope obtained at this vast and dishonourable sacrifice only peace and the recognition of his own title; the dismissal not the surrender of the rival Pope.^h

Yet this peace did not last many months. The Pope had but time to exasperate Rome with his exactions. Though, as it should seem, himself possessed of great resources, he determined that Rome

New quarrel
with Ladislaus.

^g Raynald, sub ann.

^h A Niem p. 16.

should pay for her own security. His prothonotaries and referendaries wrung subsidies from the Cardinals and the clergy; the Senators from the people. A heavy duty on wine drove the populace to fury. The measure of wine usually sold at one florin rose to nine. He taxed the artisans and shopkeepers, and issued a debased coinage. The Pope was compelled to post up the abolition of the obnoxious wine-duty on all the corners of the streets.

The causes of the breach with the King of Naples are obscure, if any cause was wanting beyond the treachery and ambition of the King, the utter insincerity and avarice of the Pope. John hoped to reap a rich harvest by deposing all the Bishops and rich beneficiaries of the kingdom of Naples who had sworn allegiance to Gregory, or by extorting heavy mulcts for their confirmation. The wines of Naples were loaded with a prohibitory duty. Ladislaus had already troops moving in the March of Ancona, urging the cities to revolt; rumours spread of his designs on Rome; his troops were at the gates, within the city. The Romans swore that they would eat their children rather than submit to the dominion of that dragon Ladislaus.ⁱ The Pope went through the solemn mockery of committing the defence of the city to the patriotic heroism of the citizens; he himself fled in haste, first to Sutri, then to Viterbo, then to Montefiascone. The Cardinals and the Court followed as they might; some fell into the hands of the relentless enemy. The city, perhaps in secret intelligence with Ladislaus, made no resistance.^k The Neapolitan soldiers plundered

A.D. 1413.

Pope leaves
Rome.
June 5.
June 7.

¹ "Nos Romani primò volumus comedere filios nostros antequam volumus habere dominium istius Draconis."—

Antonius Petri.

^k According to à Niem, who describes the rupture, John XXIII. did not fly

all the palaces of the Pope and Cardinals, and did not even spare the sacred buildings; they stabled their horses in the churches. They pillaged all the wealthy clergy; some lost their lives. The Pope fled by Sienna to Florence, which opened her hospitable gates to receive him, more from jealousy or dread of Ladislaus, than from respect for the Pontiff. Ladislaus had summoned Sutri, Viterbo, Montefiascone to surrender him. From Florence he withdrew to Bologna, now again submitted to the Papal rule.

In John XXIII. it might almost seem that the weight of his vices had crushed the stronger faculties of his mind. This consummate master of Italian craft had been overreached, baffled, put to shame, driven from Rome, by the superior treachery as well as the superior force of Ladislaus. He was now betrayed into a step more fatal to his power, his fame, his memory, by the overbearing energy and resolution, if it may be so said, the single-minded cunning, of Sigismund, Emperor of Germany. The Council of Constance, from which John XXIII. hoped to emerge the undisputed Vicar of Christ, the one all-honoured Pope, cast him out as a condemned, degraded, unpitied captive, even more utterly forsaken, scorned, and downtrodden than his two old rivals deposed by the Council of Pisa.

Yet it was hard necessity which drove Pope John

till the soldiers of Ladislaus were in the city. The Pope showed equal want of courage and ability.—p. 21. The city was weary of the taxation of the Pope. Ladislaus had many of the Romans in his pay. "Aliqui etiam eorundem Romanorum secretè partem dicti regis tenuerunt, stipendiati per ipsum *more veteri Romanorum.*" A

Niem fled with him. He was in Rome, March, 1413. Ladislaus encamped in the Roman Campagna the beginning of May; the Pope fled in June. He was in Florence Oct. 7 to the beginning of November. He was at Bologna Nov. 12; in the end of that month in Lombardy. He returned to Bologna about Easter in the ensuing year.

into close alliance with the Emperor Sigismund; and the character of Sigismund had not yet disclosed its obstinate firmness and determination to enforce submission even from Popes to the deliberate desires of Christendom. He might, as far as had yet appeared, be overawed by the vigour or circumvented by the astuteness, of a subtle Italian. At all events Sigismund was now the only safeguard against the irresistible Ladislaus. Already the Neapolitan troops had possession of the Roman territory as far as Sienna. Bologna, if strong in her citadel, disaffected in her city, might at any time be besieged. Sigismund might be expected to cherish profound revenge against Ladislaus for his attempt on the kingdom of Hungary.

Sigismund was now sole and uncontested Emperor. The schism in the empire had been extinguished, first by the death of the Emperor Rupert, then by that of Jodoc of Moravia, the competitor of Sigismund.^m He was the most powerful Emperor who for many years had worn the crown of Germany, and the one unoccupied sovereign in Europe. France and England were involved in ruinous war. Henry V., by the battle of Agincourt, had hopes of the conquest at least of half France. France, depressed by the melancholy lunacy of the King, by the long implacable feuds of the Armagnacs and Burgundians, by the English victories, had sunk far below her usual station in Christendom. Sigismund, as Emperor, had redeemed the follies, vices, tyrannies of his youth. During that youth, as Margrave of Brandenburg, his wasteful prodigality had compelled him to pawn his Margravate; he had lost the kingdom of Poland by his harsh despotism; at times passionately

^m Aschbach, Kaiser Sigmund, gives a full and good view of all these revolutions

cruel, at times passionately merciful, his revenge on his enemies had no appearance of justice, his mercy no magnanimity. He had endangered his rightful kingdom of Hungary, by provoking the fiery Magyars to rebellion. He had attempted wrongfully to expel his brother from the kingdom of Bohemia. His immoderate love of women shocked an age accustomed to royal licence. As Emperor he seemed almost at once transformed into the greatest sovereign whom the famous house of Luxemburg had ever offered to wear the Imperial crown. On his accession Sigismund declared that he should devote himself to the welfare of his subjects, as well in his own dominions as in the Empire. His conduct justified his declaration. He enacted and put in execution wise laws. He made peace by just mediation between the conflicting principalities. He was averse to war, but not from timidity. His stately person, his knightly manners, his accomplishments, his activity which bordered on restlessness, his magnificence, which struggled, sometimes to his humiliation, with his scanty means, had cast an unwonted and imposing grandeur, which might recall the great days of the Othos, the Henrys, the Fredericks, around the Imperial throne.

But nothing so raised and confirmed the influence of Sigismund, as his avowed and steadfast resolution to terminate the Schism in the Church, and to compel the reformation of the clergy so imperiously demanded by all Christendom. This could be accomplished only by a General Council, a council of greater authority and more fully representing all the kingdoms and the whole hierarchy of Christendom than that of Pisa.

John XXIII. could not but know that the price of the alliance of Sigismund, now his only refuge, was the

summoning a General Council. His own title rested on the authority of that of Pisa. The Council of Pisa had decreed that the same or another Council should meet after three years. If such Council were but a continuation of that of Pisa, he was the only Pope whom it could recognise; if summoned in his name, its obedience to that summons was an acknowledgment of his lawful authority. However dangerous so grave and solemn an assembly to a Pope whose election was by no means absolutely above the suspicion of force, bribery, or treachery; still more to a Pope burthened by the consciousness of a life so utterly unpapal; yet his confidence in his own subtlety and skill in intrigue; the authority of his position as actual and acknowledged Pontiff; the strong Italian interest which would rally round an Italian Pope; the great wealth, however obtained, at his command; the gratitude, if such virtue were known, of many Cardinals of high name for learning and virtue, whom he had promoted to that dignity; his power of impeding, protracting, postponing, perplexing, averting embarrassing questions; his personal presidency; a thousand fortuitous circumstances might mitigate the unavoidable danger, and enable him to involve in inextricable disputes a divided assembly: and what Council was ever without such divisions?

The Pope therefore determined to submit with a good grace to the inevitable Council. His ambas-
sadors to the Emperor had full power to cede
this momentous point.ⁿ To his secretary, Leonardo

The Pope
consents to
the Council.

ⁿ See summons to Archbishops of Canterbury, York, and Dublin to the Council. Pope John carefully asserts the *Presidency* of Alexander V. in the Council of Pisa. The Council of Rome, he acknowledged, was too thinly attended. The place of the Council was not named. MS., B.M., March 3, 1413. In another document it is said, "in locce decenti et ydoneo." Rome, May 15.

Aretino, he betrayed his secret policy. "All depends on the place appointed for the Council: I will not trust myself within the dominions of the Emperor. My ambassadors, for the sake of appearances, shall have liberal instructions, and the fullest powers to display in public: in private I will limit them to certain cities."° These cities he named, and adhered for some days to his resolution. But on the day on which those ambassadors, the Cardinal Challant, and Zabarella Cardinal of Florence, took leave, he seemed seized with a sudden access of courage and confidence. He had intended to restrict their powers, yet he had such reliance on their discretion, that he tore in pieces their secret instructions and threw them aside.

The interview between the Emperor and the Cardinals took place at Como. Whether the Cardinals deliberately preferred the interests of Christendom to the interests of the Pope, or were overawed or persuaded by the Emperor, the Pope was thunderstruck when he heard that in his name they had agreed on Constance, an Imperial city on the German side of the Alps.

Constance, but that it was an Imperial city, was admirably adapted for the seat of a Council—at the foot of the Alps, accessible from Italy and from all parts of the world, with its spacious lake, from whose shores provisions might be furnished, with a salubrious air, and a well-ordered population. The Pope was perplexed to find ostensible objections; his true ones he dared not avow. He had recourse to a personal conference with the Emperor, to try how far, by his blandishments or subtle arguments, he might move the stubborn German. They met at Lodi, with ostentatious display of mutual

• Leonard. Aretin. apud Muratori, S. R. I. Raynald, sub ann. 1413.

respect. The Pope celebrated Mass in his most magnificent attire; the Emperor condescended to officiate as deacon. But if the Emperor took the lower office in ecclesiastical rank, he made the Pope feel his superior moral dignity. He gravely admonished the Pope to amend his own irregular life, to correct the notorious simony of his court. The Pope was too politic to take offence. The Emperor and the Pontiff went together in seeming amity to Cremona. There an incident had nearly taken place, which, by preventing the Council of Constance, might have changed the fortunes of the world. Gabrino Fondoli from Podestà had become tyrant of Cremona. He entertained his distinguished guests with sumptuous hospitality. He led them up a lofty tower to survey the rich and spacious plains of Lombardy. On his deathbed Fondoli confessed the sin, of which he deeply repented that he resisted the temptation, and had not hurled Pope and Emperor down, and so secured himself an immortal name.^p

Nov. 1413.

The irrevocable step was now taken: John had wasted his arts, his eloquence, on the impassive Sigismund. The Imperial letters and the Papal Bull were almost simultaneously issued to summon the General Council of Christendom to meet at Constance towards the close of the ensuing year. The Imperial edict addressed to all Christendom cited all whom it might concern to the Council at Constance. Sigismund declared his own intention to be present; he guaranteed his full protection as Emperor, to all who should attend the Council. To the Pope and to the Cardinals he guaranteed all their ecclesiastical privileges, their im-

^p Muratori, Ann. sub ann. 1413, with his authorities.

munities to all prelates and clerks, to the Pope his plenary authority, jurisdiction, and power. At the same time he summoned Gregory XII., not as by name Pope, under the assurance of a full safe-conduct. Benedict XIII. was summoned through the King of Arragon.⁹

The Pope having passed some months at Mantua, About Easter, 1414. under the protection of the Marquis Gonzaga, withdrew to Bologna. He had not calculated on his unlooked-for deliverance from his most dangerous and implacable foe. Ladislaus of Naples was master of Romagna almost to the gates of Bologna, and Bologna was awaiting every month an attack from his irresistible arms. He had compelled a hollow, unwilling treaty with Florence. But Ladislaus was suddenly Death of Ladislaus. Aug. 6, 1414. seized at Perugia with a mortal malady, the effect of his immoderate debaucheries. He was conveyed in a litter to Rome, thence by sea to Naples, and died.^r

The Pope might breathe freely. He had time, short time indeed, to repent of the haste and precipitancy with which he had committed himself (was he irretrievably committed?) to the dangerous, if not fatal Council. His kindred gathered round him, the friends of his power and fortune, if not of his person. They urged

⁹ Cæsar. Sigismund. Edictum Universale, Von der Hardt, vi. p. 5 *et seqq.* Raynald. sub ann. 1413. L'Éminent, 191. It is dated Oct. 30. The Pope's Brief, Dec. 1413.

^r Antonius Petri (p. 1045) of the death of Ladislaus: "De quâ novâ tota Roma videlicet pro majori parte gavisa est." Afterwards: "Obiit de unâ morte in litore maris dominus Rex

Venceslaus, cujus anima *benedicatur per contrarium*"—a delicate phrase for damnation—"quia multa mala operatus fuit in hoc mundo, specialiter in totâ Româ, ac etiam in Ecclesiâ Urbis, videlicet in Ecclesiâ S. Petri et ejus Burgo, ut apparet." Neither party respected the churches. Orsini's troops with their horses were stabled in S. Paolo fuori delle mura.

the grave, ominous admonition, "You may set forth as Pope to the Council, return a private man." But the Cardinals—and it is among the inexplicable problems of his life, that some of the Cardinals whom he promoted were men of profound piety, as well as learning and character—if less true to his interests, were more faithful to his honour and truth. They pressed on him, that he was solemnly pledged to the Emperor—to Christendom: there was no retreat. Their urgency might seem a guarantee for their loyalty.⁸ If they counselled his departure, they were under a strong obligation to adhere to his cause: they could not in honour, or in regard to Italian interests, forsake him. In all councils, according to the ordinary form of suffrage, the Pope and the Cardinals had maintained commanding authority. So with heavy heart, with dark and ominous misgivings, but, on the other hand, in impressive pomp and with a treasure of vast magnitude, hoarded for this end, a treasure in itself the best security for the fidelity of his adherents, John XXIII. set forth from the Oct. 1, 1414. gates of Bologna to open the Council of Constance.

⁸ Baynaldus, Bzovius, sub ann. 1414.

CHAPTER VI.

Wycliffe.

DURING the secession of the Popes for seventy years to Avignon, and the Schism which ensued on their return to Italy, not only grew up the strong league of the hierarchy against the autocracy of the Pope, which had already in the Council of Pisa asserted, and in that of Constance was about to assume, a power superior to the Supreme Pontiff, with the right of deposing him, and reforming the Church in its head as well as its members: in England also had appeared the first powerful adversary of the whole hierarchical system, and sowed deep in the popular mind thoughts, opinions, passions, which eventually led to the emancipation of mankind from sacerdotal and from Latin Christianity. The first teacher who shook with any lasting effect the dominion of the hierarchy—the harbinger, at least, if not the first apostle of Teutonic Christianity—was John Wycliffe.

The Teutonic constitution of England had slowly and steadily developed itself, encroaching at once on the Norman despotism of the Crown, and the Latin despotism of the Church. The privileges of the Clergy had fallen away, had been annulled, or sunk into desuetude, without resistance, with sullen but unregarded remonstrance.

The immunity of the whole order from the civil courts, and from the royal jurisdiction—their absolute right of being judged in all causes and for all crimes in the first

instance, and therefore exclusively, in their own courts—that immunity for which Becket had begun his quarrel, lived in exile and died a martyr— had been abandoned in its extreme extent, or surrendered with no violent struggle. The strong hand of the law would no longer scruple to arrest and put on his trial a priest accused of treason, murder, or other felony. Some sanctity still adhered to his person; but his property was confiscated to the Crown, though himself might be delivered up to the Ordinary. The singular plea, the *Benefit of Clergy*, lingered till recent times in our law, a feeble memorial of the times when no one dared lay unconsecrated hands on the “anointed of the Lord.”^a But even archbishops appear before long in rude but vain encounter with the civil courts, in exile without public sympathy, one laying his head on the block for treason.^b

Immunity
of clergy
from civil
courts.

The second absolute immunity, from taxation, had been wrested from the Clergy, notwithstanding the obsti-

^a See b. xii. c. viii.

^b There is in Wilkins a curious instrument of Archbishop Langham (Primate, 1367). He complained in Parliament that the civil authorities had not scrupled to arrest, indict, even to condemn to public execution (*mortu turpissimæ et insolitæ condempnare*), clerks and regulars in holy orders. The King and the magistrates, on the other side, complained that when such persons, so found guilty of the most flagitious crimes (such cases seem to have been very common), were given up on demand to their Bishops, they were negligently guarded, and so pampered in prison, that it was a place of comfort and enjoyment rather than of penance (*quod carcer pro eorum fla-*

gitio non cedit ad pœnam, sed magis ad solatium et refocillationem suorum corporum). Some were allowed to escape, some discharged on slight evidence. They returned to their old courses, and were of bad example to unoffending clergymen. The Primate orders that the prisons be kept more strictly; these notorious malefactors and felons watched more closely and kept to hard diet.—Wilkins, iii. pp. 13, 14. In another document it is complained that priests and secular clerks are persons “*pendus par agard des justices séculiers, en prejudice des franchises*.” King and Parliament grant benefit of clergy. In another, many clerks are found guilty of forging the King's coin.—P. 28

nate and passionate resistance of Boniface VIII., by the vigour of Edward I. The Clergy who would not respect the king's law, being put out of the protection of the law, had found their old defence against the Crown, spiritual censures, so unavailing, the superstitious terror, or the grateful reverence of the people, so utterly gone, that they were compelled to yield.^c They now hardly asserted more than their right to tax themselves for secular purposes in their separate Houses of Parliament, the Convocation, and to grant, assess, and levy the subsidies which they dared no longer to refuse.

Under the reign of the feeble Edward II. there is some resumption of the Papal power. We have heard Clement V. command the arrestation and persecution of the Templars: he was obeyed not without some reluctance, but obeyed. The avaricious John XXII. would not abandon the claims of the See of Rome on the yet wealthy, not yet exhausted land. The mediation of Pope John between England and Scotland was accepted with the eager willingness of conscientious weakness by Edward II., in his conscious strength sullenly, coldly submitted to by Robert Bruce.^d Bruce laughed to scorn the Pope's excommunication.^e But Pope John would not espouse the cause of England without his reward. He peremptorily demanded the full arrears of the tribute of 1000 marks, fallen behind under Edward I.; still more under Edward II., whose

^c See vol. vii. p. 61.

^d See the apology of Pope John to Edward for addressing Robert Bruce by the title of King, without which Bruce would not receive his letters.—MS., B. M., Oct. 21, 1316; March 29, 1317.

^e The Pope's Nuncios were waylaid and plundered near Durham by partisans of Bruce. The monks of Durham were concerned in this. It is a curious passage.—MS., B. M., vol. xvi., dated Avignon, April 28.

poverty, not his courage, resisted the Papal requisitions. The Pope recites the surrender of the island by King John. King Edward is admonished that the neglect is offensive to God, that on this payment depends his salvation.^f In a letter to the Primate all the disasters of the land are traced to the sacrilegious withholding of the 1000 marks.^g The Pope indeed gave good counsel to the young king.^h He took his part, even by excommunication and interdict against the Barons, but at the same time warned him against his foolish and criminal favouritism.ⁱ Throughout the frequent correspondence appears the shrewd worldly wisdom of Pope John, too sagacious not to see and despise the weakness of the King; yet John is on the King's side, in order to secure the tribute of the land, the Peter's Pence, and other convenient emoluments of the See of Rome. He does not refuse to the King grants of subsidies from Church property.^k

^f "Et quorum præstatio divinam tibi gratiam poterit sequestrare."—Ad Reg. Edward. Sept. 18, 1317.

^g Ad Episcop. Cantuaren.

^h See the curious letter of advice, "cum juvenibus et imprudentibus tractas negotia ac consilium maturitatis abjiciens per viam Roboam, consilia (o?) juvenum incedis. Totius bona regni tui immoderatè distribuis."—Oct. 21, 1317. Compare p. 510: "Bona tua a garsionibus et gulosis hominibus aut aliis personis turpibus consumi contingunt."

ⁱ In 1322, Jan. 19, he exhorts Edward to peace with the Barons: he had not kept faith as to the sentence against the Despencers.—P. 431.

^k There is one strange story, characteristic of the times and the men.

Edward II., besides his ambassador, the Bishop of Hereford, sent a Franciscan friar to communicate most privately to the Pope ("nobis solis," writes John) a divine vision, and to take the advice of his Holiness. The Virgin appeared to S. Thomas when an exile in France, foretold his martyrdom, and that the *fifth* King after Henry II. would be "vir benignus ac Ecclesiæ Dei pugil." She gave the Saint an ampulla of most holy oil. The King anointed by that oil would recover the Holy Land. S. Thomas gave the oil to a monk of the Convent of S. Cyprian in Poitiers. The same monk also received a plate with an inscription which he only could read. (The oil was as that revealed to Pope Leo, with which Archbishop Turpin

The wars of England and France under Edward III. had found the Pope no longer, even in theory, as of old, the impartial and independent Pontiff of Christendom, residing in his own capital, lord of his own territory, usually an Italian and chosen by Italian Cardinals. He was now a Frenchman, elected by a French Conclave, almost nominated by the King of France; if not within the realm, in a city on the borders of, and surrounded by France; a vassal, in truth, and often an instrument in the hands of that King. The Pope had indeed appeared to assume a lofty neutrality, had pretended to impose his imperious mediation; and the weaker the King of France had become by his humiliating defeats, the less servile became the Pope. Yet this neutrality, though not violated, was held in just suspicion by England; the mediation was hardly so far respected as to be declined. The conqueror of Crecy and of Poitiers was not likely to submit to the arbitration of a French Pope.

anointed Charlemagne.) When the King of the Pagans heard that this oil was concealed at Poitiers, he sent a Christian and a Pagan to get it. The Pagan died; the Christian bought it with the Pagan's money, and carried it to Germany, where it came into the possession of the Duke of Brabant. Edward might have been anointed with it at his coronation through his kinsman the Duke of Brabant, but, content with his usual anointing, had refused. Its virtue had now been proved by a miracle wrought on the Duchess of Brabant. Edward now gravely attributes all his misfortunes to his refusal of this oil. Still he would not be a second time anointed without the sanction of the Pope. Pope John treats the matter with

solemn seriousness. He consults with a Cardinal. He decides that as "no observation of days or hours is enjoined," it is not superstitious to believe in the oil; it would not interfere with the former unction. The Pope, however, refuses to authorise any prelate to do it: the King may get it done, but secretly (clam), for fear of raising too much astonishment. The Pope in conclusion suddenly turns round, and wisely says "that a virtuous life will be more efficacious: it will be of more real value to the King to protect the Church of Rome and her liberties"—the Papal notion of virtue! All this is from the Pope's own letter.—MS., B. M., June 2, 1318.

More than once, it has been seen, the victorious bands of the Black Prince approached, alarmed, if they did not threaten, Avignon. The splendid palaces of the Cardinals at Villeneuve, on the right bank of the Rhône, might at any time fall a defenceless prey to the Gascon marauders.

In England the war had become popular, national.^m The clergy did not dare or did not desire to withhold their contributions; but the heavier taxation of the Crown made them more impatient of the taxation of the See of Rome by first-fruits, annates, reservations, and direct burthens, carried to an unprecedented height by the need or the avarice of the Avignonese Pontiff;ⁿ and they had been almost entirely alienated from Rome by their hostility to the foreign prelates intruded into the richest benefices of the kingdom.^o Throughout this long reign

^m The Cardinal Legates, in 1346, about June, instead of being received with honour, were received "ple-
rumque conviciis, contemptibus, et injuriis;" they are in peril of being "pro bono opere lapidati." The Pope instructs them not to expose themselves to danger, to have guards against popular riot, to take care that everything is written.—MS., B. M., Aug. 28, vol. xxii. p. 194.

ⁿ In MS., B. M. Clement VI. complains to Queen Isabella and Queen Philippa, and to the King's Council (Aug. 28, 1343), that certain proctors of his Cardinals, in England on business, had been ignominiously expelled the realm. He claims (July 7, 1344) reservations of all vacant benefices for two years, on account of the poverty of the Roman See (vol. xxi. p. 190). He writes to the King complaining of Acts of Parliament against Reserva-

tions and Provisions. He asserts himself "ecclesiarum omnium tanquam Pastor Universalis." The King's interference is impious. The Acts are "in derogationem et enervationem predictæ libertatis ecclesiasticæ, Primatus ejusdem Romanæ ecclesiæ et auctoritatis et potestatis ipsius sedis Aplicæ." Persons had been sacrilegiously imprisoned for disobedience to these Acts. He threatens divine vengeance. Jan. 30, 1345. Clement protests that he had not sent his Legates to fulminate censures or excommunications: they were only sent peaceably to endeavour to persuade the King to give up the obnoxious statutes (p. 472). The Bishopric of Ely is a reservation. "Thomas de Insulâ, penitentiarius noster," but ("oriundus") of English race, recommended to the King.

^o The King had taken, or borrowed

England was becoming less hierarchical, the hierarchy more English.

Nothing shows more clearly the change in the national opinion and in the times than the relation of the King and the Primate of the realm. One Archbishop of Canterbury, Stratford, a few years after Edward III.'s accession,^p is arraigned of high treason; he declares himself in danger of capital punishment, though the King disclaims such intention. The crime of which the Primate is, probably without justice, accused, is a secular offence—the malversation of subsidies levied for the French war. The Archbishop flies from Lambeth (two other bishops, Lichfield and Chichester, the King's treasurers, had been sent to the Tower). At Canterbury he ventures to excommunicate his accusers, the King's counsellors, with bell, book, and candle. He returns to London, but shrouds himself under the privileges of Parliament rather than under his ecclesiastical immunity. He forces his way, himself bearing his cross, into the House of Peers, as his place of security, his one safe sanctuary. He is at last obliged to submit, ere he can be admitted to com-

"sub obligatione congruâ," all the "proventus et redditus" of benefices held by foreigners (alienigenas) for the support and necessities of the realm, deducting the burthens on them. The Pope (Clement) wonders at his audacity. It was not by the advice of "periti," but "imperiti," that he occupied "bona Ecclesiastica, in quibus, sicut nosti, nulla laicis est attributa potestas." The "color quæsitus crediti non excusat." Let the King's counsellors observe "quod multi ex fratribus nostris Sanctæ Romanæ

Ecclesiæ Cardinalibus in Regno tuo prædicto beneficia obtinentes, qui circa nos universali Ecclesiæ serviendo singularum Ecclesiarum commoditatibus utiliter se impendunt." Those not resident in "obsequio nostro," or for other just causes, were to be considered resident. Clement entreats the King, for the good of his soul, to give up his sacrilegious design. April 24, 1346. Compare letter, April 28, 1347.

^p Stratford, Archbishop, 1333. Edward III., VIII.

purgation, to an investigation before a jury of twelve of his peers—four prelates and eight nobles. The quarrel is settled by amicable intervention, but the King grants rather than condescends to accept pardon.^a This arraignment of Becket's successor without a general insurrection of the Church, with no Papal remonstrance, though Stratford himself held the loftiest doctrines on the superiority of the priest to the layman, is an ominous sign. A second Primate, Simon Langham, having accepted a Cardinal's hat, lives in exile. A third (under Richard II.), Simon Sudbury, is cruelly murdered by the peasants of Kent; yet the land is darkened with no interdict; the martyr is canonised neither by the fear of the people nor the reverence of the clergy. A fourth, Arundel, is arraigned of high treason, sees his brother the Earl of Arundel executed before his face for a conspiracy in which himself is concerned, flees for safety to the continent, returns only under the protection of Henry Bolingbroke. That usurper (Henry IV.) hesitates not to strike off the head of the Archbishop of York for capital treason; and so sunken is the Pope through the Schism, that there is but a feeble shadow of remonstrance at this sacrilegious violation of the canon law. He vindicates the conduct of the King with an elaborate apology, and hastens to bestow his absolution on all concerned in the execution.^f

^a Godwin de Præsulibus. Vit. Stratford.

^f See MS., B. M. Gregory XII. to the Bishops of Durham and Lincoln. He dwells on the undoubted treason of Scrope, by which his life was forfeited to the laws of the land, "licet A. chepiscopos præfatus deliquerit,

correctio tamen et punitio secunum canonum instituta ecclesiastico iudicio fuerit relinquenda." Yet the danger to the King and the urgency of his friends, fully justify the act. The interdict issued by the more virtuous and bolder Innocent VII. is annulled; all processes declared void; the Bishops

It was not indeed till the reign of Richard II. that the three great Statutes—of Mortmain, of Provisors, and of Præmunire (the two first less stringently enacted before) took their perfect form—together the Great Charter, as it were, of English liberties against the Church. One had risen above the other. The first, Mortmain, set an impassable bound to the all-absorbing acquisitions of the Church, and the severance of the land into one sacred and one common territory—the sacred slowly encroaching till it threatened to swallow up the other.^s The second, Provisors, wrested away the Papal power of disposing at least of all the benefices in the patronage of spiritual persons.^t The third, Præmunire, boldly and openly vindicated the right of the State of England to prohibit the admission or the execution of all Papal Bulls or Briefs within the realm; a virtual prophetic, premonitory declaration of the King's supremacy.^u

have plenary authority to reconcile every one who had any hand in the affair.—Lucca, April 13, 1408. See the curious account of the death of Scrope. Wharton, 'Anglia Sacra,' ii. 369. On the horror excited in good Churchmen and rigid monks, compare Capgrave, p. 291. "Where the Bishop dyed were many miracles; pilgrims crowded to the spot till forbidden by the King. The King was so struck with remorse that he became a leper, ever fouler and fouler; his body shrunk before his death to the height of a cubit. Archbishop Arundel took it so to heart (he was at dinner with the King), that he fell into a tertian fever, and in that state was carried home." See also Wright, 'Politi-

cal Poems,' ii. 114. "Ast Thomam (Becket) militum audax atrocitas, Symonem (Sudbury) plebium furens ferocitas, Ricardum (Scrope) callidè sæva crudelitas, obruncant *Christos Domini*."

^s Compare on the successive statutes and final law of Mortmain, Blackstone, c. 18.

^t On Provisors, consult a book of greater merit than fame, 'England under the House of Lancaster' (London, 1852), p. 396. The abandonment of those in lay patronage was a prudent concession of the Pope. See Lingard, vol. iii. p. 108.

^u On Præmunire, 16 Richd. II. c. 5. Hallam, Middle Ages, ii. p. 48.

About three years* before the accession of Edward III., was born of humble parentage in a village near Richmond in Yorkshire, John Wycliffe, who was to give lasting celebrity to the name of his obscure birthplace.† His destination, either from his own choice or the wise providence of his parents, was that of a scholar, to which the humblest could in those days aspire. England was almost a land of schools; every Cathedral, almost every Monastery, had its own; but youths of more ambition, self-confidence, supposed capacity, and of better opportunities, thronged to Oxford and Cambridge, now in their highest repute. In England, as throughout Christendom, that wonderful rush, as it were, of a vast part of the population towards knowledge, thronged the Universities with thousands of students, instead of the few hundreds who have now the privilege of entering those seats of instruction. This silent, regular, peaceful, and as yet inexhaustible crusade for the conquest of University learning, for the worship of the Schoolmen and the Doctors, for the adoration of the reliques of ancient religious and even philosophical wisdom, for the discovery of the Aristotelian or Arabian Dialectics, arose in great degree out of the state of society. There were in truth but two professions, Arms and the Church. But Arms—though the English yeomen, her archers, crossbow-men, and bill-men had now begun to make their importance felt in the continental wars—was, as to distinction at least, an aristocratic profession. The demand for foot-soldiers, though on the increase, was limited and precarious. They were

Birth of
Wycliffe.

Movement
to the Uni-
versities.

* 1324-1327. On the place of his birth, see Mr. Shirley's preface to Fasciculi, Rolls Publications.

† This seems clearly proved by Lewis and Vaughan, the biographers of Wycliffe.

mostly raised for a short and hasty campaign, and dismissed again by their suzerain. The regular troops, and even the Free Bands, formed but a small part of the population. But the Church was constantly needing, constantly drawing from all quarters, recruits for her service; and that not only for her own special functions, most lawyers, physicians, even statesmen, were ecclesiastics. The Monastic establishments, the Friars in their various Orders, absorbed undiminished multitudes. The Church had no succession in herself. Not that married clergy were unknown or unfrequent, or that the canonical proscription could exclude the sons of the clergy, though held illegitimate, from holy orders, or the inheritance of patrimonial benefices.* Still these were few in proportion to the inexhaustible demand. The vast mass of the secular clergy, all those in the inferior Orders (the noble, even royal, families furnished some prelates and rich beneficiaries) as well as the Monks and Friars, came from below. It was the great strength, as among the great blessings of the hierarchy, that the meanest might themselves aspire to be, or might see their kindred become, the most learned, wealthy, powerful in the realm — Bishops, Chancellors, Archbishops, Cardinals, even Popes.

John Wycliffe found his way to Oxford; he was admitted into Queen's College, then just founded by Philippa of Hainault, Queen of Edward III. He removed to Merton, the older, wealthier, and more famous of the Oxford foundations.

The English Universities had already begun to take their peculiar character, a league, as it were, of separate, independent Colleges, each a distinct republic, with its

* Compare vol. vi. p. 382.

endowments, statutes, internal government; though the University was still paramount, and the Chancellor, with his inferior officers, held the supreme, all-embracing authority. These colleges were founded for the maintenance of poor scholars by Statesmen, Prelates, Princes, Kings, Queens. There were now six of these colleges in Oxford, as distinguished from the halls or hostels, where the other scholars dwelt and studied only under the ordinary academic discipline.^a Walter de Merton, Chancellor of Henry III., was the founder of the first of those noble institutions. De Merton, though he introduced, according to the habits of his time, much of the monastic discipline, the common diet, seclusion within the walls, regular service and study: perhaps as a churchman, possibly with even more widely-prophetic view, was singularly jealous lest his college should degenerate into a narrow monastic community. Whoever became a monk was expelled from his fellowship. Merton, among her older students, might offer famous names to excite the pride and emulation of her scholars. She boasted the venerable tradition of Duns Scotus, the rival of the most renowned of the Schoolmen, of Aquinas himself. Roger Bacon probably was an object as much of awe as of admiration, as little comprehended by Wycliffe as by the most supercilious churchman or narrow-minded monk. But if only the name of William of Ockham, the Locke of the Middle Ages in his common-sense philosophy, and in the single-minded worship of truth, was held in reverence; if his works were studied, it could be no wonder if the scholars of Merton indulged in speculations perilous

Famous
men of
Merton

^a All this has been well wrought out in the Report of the Oxford University Commission. See also the Histories of Oxford.

to the Pope, to the hierarchy, even to the imaginative creed of the Middle Ages. The bold and rigid nominalism of Ockham struck at the root of all the mystic allegoric theology; it endangered some of the Church doctrines. His high imperialist Apologies shattered the foundations of the Papal Supremacy, and reduced the hierarchy below the Throne. The last renowned teacher of divinity at Merton had been the profound Bradwardine, whose great learning (he was celebrated as a geometer as well as a theologian), his lowliness, and admirable piety, had made a strong impression on his age. He had just lived to be Archbishop of Canterbury.^b Bradwardine may have left his influence on the mind of Wycliffe in his severe Augustinian Predestinarianism, a doctrine in which the more austere churchmen and all the first Reformers (or they would hardly have dared to be Reformers) met, as to its theory, if not its application.

Wycliffe's fame in Oxford, his promotion to offices of high trust and honour, and his writings, are the only testimonies to the extent and depth of his academic studies; his logic, his scholastic subtlety, some rhetorical art, his power of reading the Latin Scriptures, his various erudition, may be due to Oxford; but the vigour and energy of his genius, his perspicacity, the force of his language, his mastery over the vernacular English, the high supremacy which he vindicated for the Scriptures, which by immense toil he promulgated in the vulgar tongue—these were his own, to be learned in no school, to be attained by none of the ordinary courses of study. As with his contemporary and most

^b Collier, i. 552. Godwin de Præsulibus. Bradwardine survived his consecration only five weeks and four days.

congenial spirit, Chaucer, rose English Poetry, in its strong homely breadth and humour, in the wonderful delineation of character with its finest shades, in its plain, manly good sense and kindly feeling (some of its richness and fancifulness it might owe to Italy and France): so was Wycliffe the Father of English Prose, rude but idiomatic, biblical in much of its picturesque phraseology, at once highly coloured by and colouring the Translation of the Scriptures.

Great obscurity hangs over the earliest publications of Wycliffe, obscurity further darkened by the publication of the tract called "The Last Age of the Church." * If this be genuine, Wycliffe must have been in danger of sinking into a wild follower of the Fraticelli, the believers in the visions of the Abbot Joachim. A profoundly religious mind like Wycliffe's may have brooded over the awful plague which a few years before had devastated Europe,^d and might be accepted as a sign of the Last Days by devout men. The treatise may have been composed at that period, or the darkness then impressed upon his mind may have dispersed but slowly. The denunciations of the Tract are against the Clergy, the Simoniacs, and holders of great benefices; ^e no word against his future enemies, the Mendicants.

It was by his fearless and unsparing attack on the

* We are indebted for this publication, from the library of Trinity College, to the learned Dr. Todd of Dublin. Dr. Todd appears to me more completely sceptical as to its authenticity than he admits himself to be. The only authority for its genuineness is, that it appears in a volume which contains other tracts by Wycliffe; and that a Tract under this name is recounted among his

works by the inaccurate Bishop Bale, and on his authority received by Lewis, who had not seen it.

^d A. D. 1347-8-9. Ann. atat. Wycliffe, 23-4-5.

^e "Both vengeance of swerde and myschiefe unknown before, by which man thes daise should be punished, shall fall for synne of prestis," &c. &c. —p. xxxiv.

Mendicant Friars that Wycliffe rose into fame, honour, and popularity at Oxford. The Mendicants in England, as everywhere else (now four Orders), had swarmed in their irresistible numbers. Here, too, they had invaded every stronghold of the clergy, the University, the city, the village parish. Here, too, the Clergy clamoured, and with unrelaxing clamour, that these intruders entered into their cures, withdrew their flocks from the discipline of the Church, intercepted their offerings, estranged their affections, heard confessions with more indulgent ears, granted absolution on easier terms. Fitz Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh, who before his Irish Primacy had been Chancellor of Oxford, a man of high character, had denounced them as utterly destructive of true religion. The Mendicants strove hard in Oxford, as heretofore in Paris and all the other Universities, to obtain the ascendancy, either from their ambition, their conscious pride in their great theologians, or as foreseeing the brooding rebellion of more free inquiry and a bolder speculative philosophy, which themselves had unknowingly fostered by some of their sons. They were accused of trepanning the youth who were sent up to the Universities.^f Parents were afraid to risk their sons, who without their consent were enlisted into the Mendicant Orders. The number of scholars is said to have sunk from 30,000 to 6000. The Friars were at the same time ambitious of the honours of the University. They claimed degrees on their own terms, and demanded that the Statutes of the University which limited the age at which youths might become Friars should yield to their own.^g Appeal was made

^f The University, the Chancellor and Regents, passed a Statute, that none should be received into the Orders | of the Friars under fifteen years old. —Lewis, p. 5, 6.
^g Ibid.

to Rome. Urban V. condemned the Statutes in the strongest terms. Cambridge was equally guilty with Oxford in vigorous resistance to all encroachments on the University. And it appears not that the Universities obeyed the mandate to repeal their Statutes.^h

Wycliffe struck boldly at the root of the evil: he denounced Mendicancy in itself. He denied, with vigour of argument which might have won the favour of John XXII., that Christ was a Mendicant; he dwelt on their blasphemy in likening their institutes to the Gospel, their founder to the Saviour. He treated all the Orders and both the classes among the Franciscans with the same asperity. He branded the higher as hypocrites, who, professing mendicancy, had stately houses, rode on noble horses, had all the pride and luxury of wealth with the ostentation of poverty. The humbler he denounced with all his indignation as common able-bodied beggars, who ought not to be permitted to infest the land.ⁱ

So far Wycliffe was the champion of a great party in the University and in the Church. Honours, dignities

^h MS., B. M. The Pope Urban V. declares that the statute "*canonicis obviat institutis.*" The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops are to order the Chancellor, "*summariè et de plano, ac sine strepitu et figurâ judicii,*" to repeal the statute, and this without appeal, June 1, 1365. The second letter *condemns Cambridge as Oxford.* The regulations are "*dilectioni Dei dissona, proximis noxia et sacris traditionibus inimica.*" The Archbishop, the Bishops of Llandaff (London?) and Bangor, are to *cite* the Universities to show cause why they have enacted

such statutes. In the mean time the Pope suspends their execution, July 19, 1365.

ⁱ The opinions of the austerer Franciscans that Christ and his Apostles were absolutely without property had been publicly taught in London by Roger Conway, a Minorite; opposed by Richard Kilmyngham, Dean of St. Paul's, and by Fitz Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh, who was born in London. In Oxford they were preached in 1360, opposed by Wycliffe, Thoresby Archbishop of York, and others.

crowded upon him. He was Warden of Baliol Hall, on the presentation of Baliol College,^k Rector of Fylyingham, Warden of Canterbury Hall. His last appointment plunged Wycliffe into litigation, and into an appeal to the Court of Rome.

Simon Islip, Archbishop of Canterbury, had endeavoured in his foundation of Canterbury Hall to blend together the Monastic and Secular Clergy. Of twelve fellows the Warden and three were monks from Christ Church in Canterbury, eight secular Clergy. The Hall was endowed with the Rectory of Pagenham in Sussex, and a manor, Wingford, in Northamptonshire. One Wodehull was named Warden. Wodehull is described as a turbulent and violent man:^m the scheme of amicable union broke up. Just before his death Islip dispossessed Wodehull and the monks; the Hall was surrendered altogether to the Seculars; Wycliffe was named Warden. Simon Langham became Archbishop; Langham was a monk by education and character.ⁿ It was alleged that the act of his predecessor Islip was extorted from him in a state of imbecility. Langham annulled the proceeding, and reinstated Wodehull; Wycliffe resisted; the Archbishop endeavoured to compel submission by the sequestration of the Pagenham Rectory; Wycliffe appealed to the Pope. This was his only resource; it implies no confidence in

^k Doubt has been thrown on his Baliol preferment by Mr. Courthope. See 'England under Henry of Lancaster,' note iv. p. 356. On the other hand, Mr. Shirley (note, p. 513) attributes the whole of the affair of Canterbury Hall to another John Wycliffe, Vicar of Mayfeld. His reasons to me are strong, but not conclusive.

^m Wodehull was unpopular in the University; it was with great difficulty that he was admitted to his degree.—Lewis.

ⁿ Simon Langham was hated by a large party in the Church, as appears from the well-known verses—

"*Exultant cœli quia Simon venit ab Ely
Cujus ad adventum flect in Kent mille
centum*"

the justice of the Papal Court; it is consistent with serious misgivings as to his own chance of obtaining impartial justice; it was but the common order of things.

Wycliffe's fame was not confined to Oxford; his opinion was demanded by the Crown on a subject of grave importance. The Pope Urban V. had been so unwise at this juncture as to demand the arrears of the 1000 marks, of which so much has been heard, the tribute and acknowledgment of fealty to the Roman See. That ignominious burthen had now been allowed to accumulate for thirty-three years. Urban was urged to the demand by his poverty, covetousness, or desire of embarrassing King Edward. Wycliffe was commanded to answer some bold Doctor who maintained the right of the Pope. As royal chaplain he was present at a solemn debate in the King's Council; he recites the opinions delivered by seven of the barons, singularly curious and characteristic. To these Wycliffe, as a humble and obedient son of the Roman Church, protesting that he held nothing injurious to that Church or offensive to pious ears, refers his own adversary before he begins his argument. The first was a frank, warlike Peer, of few, plain words:—"Our ancestors won this realm and held it against all foes by the sword. Julius Cæsar exacted tribute by force; force gives no perpetual right. Let the Pope come and take it by force; I am ready to stand up and resist him." The second was more argumentative:—"The Pope is incapable of such feudal supremacy. He should follow the example of Christ, who refused all civil dominion; the foxes have holes, and the birds of the air their nests, he had not where to lay his head. Let us rigidly hold the Pope to his spiritual duties, boldly oppose all his claims to civil

power." The third said:—"The Pope calls himself the Servant of the Servants of the Most High; his only claim to tribute from this realm is for some service done; but what is his service to this realm? Not spiritual edification, but draining away money to enrich himself and his Court, showing favour and counsel to our enemies." The fourth:—"The Pope claims to be the suzerain of all estates held by the Church; these estates held in mortmain amount to one-third of the realm. There cannot be two suzerains; the Pope, therefore, for these estates is the King's vassal; he has not done homage for them; he may have incurred forfeiture." The fifth was more subtle:—"If the Pope demands this money as the price of King John's absolution, it is flagrant simony: it is an irreligious act to say, 'I will absolve you on payment of a certain annual tribute;' but the King pays not this tax; it is wrung from the poor of the realm; to exact it is an act of avarice rather than salutary punishment. If the Pope be lord of the realm, he may at any time declare it forfeited, and grant away the forfeiture." The sixth was even more vigorous in his retort:—"If the realm be the Pope's, what right had he to alienate it? He has fraudulently sold it for not a fifth part of its value. Moreover, Christ alone is the suzerain; the Pope being fallible may be in mortal sin. It is better, as of old, to hold the realm immediately of Christ." The seventh boldly denied the right of John to surrender the realm:—"He could not grant it away in his folly; the whole, the Royal Charter, signature, seal, is an absolute nullity." Wycliffe in his own resolute vindication of resistance to the Pope's claim had alluded to the peril which himself incurred lest he should be defamed at the court of Rome, and incur ecclesiastical censure and loss of bene-

fices.* It cannot be known how far this act or the character of Wycliffe influenced the decision of the Court of Rome in his appeal; but after some delay Canterbury Hall was adjudged to the monks of Christ Church; Wodehull was again appointed Master.†

Just at this juncture appeared a clearer sign and an omen that the popular mind had begun to look with jealousy on the power of hierarchy. In A.D. 1371.
45 Edward
III. the Parliament of 1371 the Commons addressed the Crown with a remonstrance against the ap- Parliament pe-
tition against
Hierarchy. pointment of Churchmen to all great dignities of the State, and a petition that laymen might be chosen for those secular offices. The King answered that he would consult with his Council on the matter. The connexion of Wycliffe or Wycliffe's opinions with this movement does not appear, or how far Wycliffe had as yet urged those principles which at a later time he expressed so strongly. The movement was generally attributed to John of Gaunt,—to John of Gaunt, the patron of Chaucer, the protector, as will soon appear, of Wycliffe against the hierarchy. The blow was aimed principally at William of Wykeham, that magnificent Prelate, who from the surveyor and architect of the King (Windsor owes its royal splendour to King Edward), had become Bishop of Winchester, Chancellor, and at the head of all affairs of State. The blow was not without effect. Wykeham ceased to be Chancellor; the Bishop of Exeter resigned the treasurership. In writings of which the date is doubtful, Wycliffe directly

* "Primo ut persona mea sic ad Romanam curiam diffamata, et aggravatis censuris ab ecclesiasticis beneficiis sit privata."—Apud Lewis, p. 351, where the whole may be read at length.

† Richard Benger, who ought to have stood as proctor for Wycliffe, did not appear: he was declared contumacious. Judgement seems to have gone by default.

inveighs against this abuse:—"Neither prelates nor doctors, priests nor deacons, should hold secular offices, that is those of chancery, treasury, privy-seal, and other such temporal offices in the exchequer; neither be stewards of lands, nor stewards of the hall, nor clerks of the kitchen, nor clerks of accounts; neither be occupied in any secular office in lords' courts, more especially while secular men are sufficient to do such offices." In another passage there is a bitter and manifest allusion to Wykeham:—"Benefices, instead of being bestowed on poor clerks, are heaped on a kitchen clerk, or one wise in building castles, or in worldly business."^a

Wycliffe's position in Oxford was not lowered by his expulsion from the Wardenship of Canterbury Hall. He became Doctor, Professor of Divinity; that is, as Doctor he had the right of delivering lectures on theology. From the public chair he had full opportunity of promulgating his own views; we know not how far as yet from the intrepid antagonist of the Mendicants he had become the open adversary of the wealthier hierarchy; how far he had departed from the established creed. We know not whether Wycliffe had now advanced beyond Oxford, or Oxford advanced as far as Wycliffe. From a man of unimpeachable morals, profound devotion, undoubted sincerity, vigour, and original eloquence, much denunciation against the abuses of the time, the enormous pride, wealth, luxury, loose morals, secular pursuits of the higher Clergy,

^a Apud Vaughan, i. 312. See another striking passage on the incompatibility of such offices with thoughtfulness about heavenly things. Piers Ploughman is strong on this grievance; he says of the higher Clergy:

"Some serven the Kinge, and his selver tellen,
In the Checkkere and the Chauncelrie,
chalengynge his dettes,
Of Wardes and of Wardemotes, wayves
and straves."

—Whitaker's Edition, p. 5.

might be at once so popular and so true, that on the one hand a formidable host of partisans might form themselves around the dauntless Professor, while on the other he might give no hold for specific charges either of hostility to the Church or of heretical pravity. There was a wide field for safe freedom; his enemies in condemning Wycliffe would be pleading guilty to his charges.

The nomination of Wycliffe by the Crown as second in a commission to treat with the Papal Legate at Bruges, in the great questions at issue between the King of England and the Pope, shows his growing importance, his high esteem with some person powerful in Parliament and at Court, probably John of Gaunt, and strong confidence in his courage and ability.^r That the Pope, a Pope of the high character and rigour of Gregory XI., should condescend to negotiations on such subjects, which he was wont to decide by fulminating censures, was in itself a sign of change. John, Bishop of Bangor and two others, a Benedictine monk and a knight, appeared as Edward's ambassadors at Avignon. They complained in no measured terms of the Papal interference with royal patronage, of provisors and reservations, and the citations of the King's subjects in the Court of Rome.^s The Pope, on his side, appealed to the notorious fact, that the Apostolic Briefs were not permitted to be published in England; that his Nuncios were not admitted into the realm, as in every other king-

^r Did Edward consider Wycliffe to come up to the Pope's description of the ambassadors? The King ought to send men "claros scientiâ ac laudandâ virtutis, et cunctâ prudentiâ præditos, cultores justitiæ, sedulosque pacis et concordie zelatores."—MS.,

B. M., May 1, 1374.

^s The Bishop of Lincoln had been cited to Avignon to answer for impeding the collection of the Pope's subsidy from the Clergy. On this subject the Pope was forced to be bold.

dom of the faithful. The meeting at Bruges was to settle those differences by amicable concession; the Pope appointed the Bishops of Pampeluna and Sini-gaglia as his ambassadors.^t

During these disputes between the Crown of England and the Pope throughout the reign of the Edwards, a third party had begun to intervene, and with increasing weight. The Parliament were determined and obstinate in their resistance to the burthens imposed on the kingdom and on the Clergy by the Papal Court; and they were strong, as representing the will of the nation, and sure that their resistance was not disapproved by the King. It was not perhaps the taxation of the Clergy to which they were so resolutely opposed, so much as the continual drain of specie, which was considered as the impoverishment of the realm, and was as yet but imperfectly prevented by the bills of exchange, brought into use chiefly by the Lombard and Italian bankers.^u The old grievance, too, still offended the whole realm, the Clergy as well as the people—the possession of so many of the most wealthy benefices by foreigners, some of whom had never entered the kingdom, some but for a short time; most were unacquainted with the language of the country. These revenues in hard money were transmitted to Rome or to Avignon, to be spent on the luxuries of Cardinals or Papal favourites. Parliament with one indignant voice declared the surrender of the realm by John null and void, as without the consent of

^t There are many papers of Instructions to the Papal Commissioners. The meeting was appointed for St. John Baptist's Day, 1374, by different adjournments postponed to Easter, 1375. It took place in July. All

suits in the mean time were suspended in the Papal as in the King's courts.

^u From the Papal Letters (MS., B. M.) may be gleaned many curious particulars about the agency of these bankers, Siennese and Florentines.

Parliament, and contrary to the King's coronation oath. Both estates, Lords and Commons, asserted their determination to stand by the King against the usurpations of the Pope.^x Parliament was as resolute against the other abuse. The first Statute of Provisors had been passed in the reign of Edward I.^y Twice already in the reign of Edward III. was this law re-enacted with penalties rising one above another in severity. It was declared that the Court of Rome could present to no bishopric or benefice in England. Whoever disturbed a patron in the presentation to a living suffered fine and ransom to the King, and was imprisoned till he renounced the provision. To cite the King to appear in the Court of Rome was highly penal.^z Yet ten years after arose new complaints, embodied A.D. 1373. in an address of the Commons to the King on the subject of provisions and first-fruits. The King answered, that negotiations were proceeding with the Pope for the amicable adjustment of these claims, that a commission of the Bishop of Bangor had been already sent to Gregory XI.—a Pope whose character commanded respect—in Avignon.^a The new commission, in which

^x 40th Edw. III. Blackstone, iv. c. 8, from Selden.

^y 35th Edw. I.

^z 25th Edw. III. (1351); 27th Edw. III. (1353); 38th Edw. III. (1363); Blackstone, iv. c. viii.

^a The milder, it might almost be said the meek, tone of Gregory XI. singularly contrasts with that of his predecessors. The Archbishopric of York was a Papal reservation. On the vacancy the Chapter (forsan ignari of this) elected Alexander Neville. The Pope has the judgement to cede the point, though he still asserts his

right. He annuls the proceedings of the Chapter, but nominates Alexander (April 14, 1374). He presents his nephew, Adhemar de Rupe, Provost of S. Saviour's in Utrecht, to the much-coveted Archdeaconry of Canterbury as a reserve. But his letter to the King is no stern dictate; it is a prayer for the royal favour, which is most powerful in such affairs (1374). A year after he writes to the Bishop of Winchester to instal his nephew (Sept. 20, 1375). There is a very curious letter addressed to William de Lucumer (qu. Lord Latimer) on the

Wycliffe was named, proceeded in the next year to meet the Papal Legates at Bruges.

Wycliffe was at Bruges not quite two months.^b

The result of the conference was reported to Wycliffe Commissioner at Bruges. Avignon. If the discussion at Bruges had any effect on the course of the negotiation, nothing could be finally determined but by the Pope himself. A kind of compact was at length made, rather a suspension of arms than a definitive peace. The Pope A.D. 1376. revoked all the reservations made by Urban V., his predecessor, which had not taken effect. He confirmed the nomination of all presented by the King without first-fruits. The benefices held by the Cardinals were made liable to the repairs of the Church and the buildings belonging thereunto. He quashed all the causes pending in his courts on the subject of Provisors. On his side the King remitted all the fines incurred under the three Statutes of Provisors. Thus each might seem to await better times to renew his claim. The Pope surrendered no right of future reservation or provision.^c The prohibitory Statutes, with all their formidable penalties, remained unrepealed.^d

imprisonment of Roger de Beaufort and another nephew of his own, John de Rupe. He does not peremptorily order their release, but complains that they are ignominiously treated, "præter morem erga nobiles," and only implores more gentle usage in their behalf.—May, 1375.

^b The accounts in the Exchequer show that Wycliffe was absent from July 27 to Sept. 14, 1375. He received 60*l.* for his expenses at 20*s.* a day: for passage 50*s.*, for re-passage 42*s.* 3*d.*, quoted in Preface to Wycliffe's

Bible, Oxford, p. vii.

^c Yet both the archbishoprics, the bishoprics, and rich abbeys continued frequently to be nominated to by the Pope. He ceased only in general to promote foreigners, *i. e.* "eodem anno Papa transtulit dominum Thomas Arundel, Episc. Elien. ad Archiepiscop. Eborac. Alexandro Neville proditore et susurrone translato ad Episcop. S. Andreae in Scotiâ."—Walsingham, 336.

^d In the year 1390 (Rich. II. 15) the Commons extorted the renewal

Whatever were Wycliffe's services at Bruges, or his actions, they did not pass unrewarded. He had already exchanged the Rectory of Fylingham (in the Archdeaconry of Stowe, Diocese of Lincoln) for that of Ludgershall, nearer to Oxford. He now received from the Crown the Prebend of Aust in Worcester, and the Rectory, which he occupied till his death, of Lutterworth.

During the last two years of Edward III.'s reign, the sad and gloomy close of that reign of splendour and glory,^e there is a strange collision and confusion of religious and political interests, from which John Wycliffe emerges, now a dangerous and dreaded heresiarch. The Good Parliament is ejecting from the administration John of Gaunt, the favourer of the new opinions, and filling the council of the King with High Churchmen; at the same time it is presenting petitions against the abuse of the Papal power, such as might have been drawn by Wycliffe himself. Wycliffe is arraigned for perilous doctrines before the Bishop of London, openly protected by John of Gaunt. John of Gaunt is almost the victim of popular fury, which in a short time after appears as violently espousing the cause of Wycliffe. It may not be impossible to find the clue to guide us through this intricate labyrinth. The nation, now for the first time in the history of the constitution represented by the House of Commons, was under the influence of two strong passions. The strongest and the predominant was that of deep attachment and veneration for the Black Prince, the chivalrous hero of the French wars. The only blot on his fame was his cruelty^f

of the Statute of Provisors in the strongest terms. Mr. Shirley, p. xxiii., says that the Statute of Provisors was repealed by royal authority?

^e "And Sorrow's faded form, and Solitude behind."—GRAY.

^f The barbarous massacre at Lamoignon.

in those wars, to them no way odious. The Black Prince had led a King captive through the streets of London; he had not only glutted the English pride with glory, he had won all hearts by his affability, his generous, gracious and noble demeanour. He was the model of perfect chivalry. The love of the Black Prince became jealousy, almost hatred, of John of Gaunt, supposed to be his rival. The Duke of Lancaster, while they were trembling with too well-grounded apprehensions for the waning life of their idol, was thought to be brooding over more sinister schemes of ambition. Their second passion was the old steady determination to emancipate the realm from the abuses of the Papal power, with some growing jealousy of the native hierarchy.

Edward III. was almost in his dotage, absolutely governed, it was believed, by John of Gaunt, by Latimer his partisan, the Lord Chancellor, and by Alice Perrers, who had not only infatuated the old man as a mistress, but was accused of having bewitched him by forbidden sorceries. Dark rumours were abroad that John of Gaunt designed to supplant the young Richard of Bordeaux on the demise of his father. So much was he hated that credence was given to a wild story (attributed, falsely no doubt, to William of Wykeham) that John of Gaunt was but a supposititious child, the son of a Flemish woman, substituted in the place of a dead daughter of the King. The Black Prince, sinking into mortal languor, seemed to rally with a father's energy to maintain the imperilled rights of his infant son. On his party were the powerful Churchmen, Courtenay Bishop of London, and Wykeham of Winchester. But the most intrepid and useful partisan was Peter de la Mare, Speaker of the House of Commons. De la Mare

was steward of the Earl of March, who had married the daughter of Lionel Duke of Clarence, the second (deceased) son of Edward III. From the Earl of March sprang the House of York, hereafter to wrest the crown from the Lancastrian lineage of John of Gaunt. Parliament, for the first time led by the Commons, demanded the dismissal of the King's advisers ^{The Good Parliament,} (against whose maladministration of the realm they presented grievous complaints), and that ten or twelve Prelates and Peers should be called to the royal Council. At the head of this Council were the Churchmen, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London and Winchester. The new Council assumed its powers.⁸ Latimer, John Lord Neville, Sir Richard Stafford, were ignominiously dismissed; Alice Perrers was prohibited, under pain of forfeiture and banishment, from approaching the Court. Popular sympathy denominated this Parliament "the Good Parliament." But these political measures were not their only acts. A petition was presented from which it might seem that in their view the Statutes of Provisors had been altogether inefficient. The taxes paid to the Church of Rome amounted, they averred, to "five times as much as those levied by the King; the Pope disposed of the same bishoprics by reservations four or five times, and received each time the first-fruits."⁹ "The brokers of the sinful city of Rome promoted for money unlearned and unworthy caitiffs to benefices of the value of a thousand marks, while the poor and learned hardly obtain one of twenty. So decays sound learning. They present aliens, who neither see nor care to see their parishioners, despise

⁸ See in Lowth's "William of Wykeham" the names of the Council.

⁹ See the petition in the Parliamentary History. Compare it with Wycliffe's views.

God's service, convey away the treasure of the realm, and are worse than Jews or Saracens. God gave his sheep to the Pope to be pastured, not shorn and shaven, lay patrons are by his example urged to sell their benefices to mere brutes, as Christ was sold to the Jews. The Pope's revenue from England alone is larger than that of any prince in Christendom. The Pope's collector and other strangers have an office in London, from whence are betrayed the secrets of the realm; the collector remits yearly to the Pope 20,000 marks, sometimes more." The Commons insist on the immediate discharge of these traitorous and dangerous strangers. They appear to adopt a return made of the Crown Benefices held by aliens. The Cardinal of S. Sabina held the Deanery of Lichfield with annexed Prebends, worth 580 marks and 20*l.*; the Cardinal of S. Prassede had for twenty-six years held the Deanery of Salisbury, which he never saw, worth 254*l.*, and many valuable benefices annexed to it; the Cardinal of S. Angelo the Deanery of York, worth 400*l.*, with many other Prebends; others were Archdeacons of Canterbury (the richest benefice in England after the Bishoprics), of Suffolk, of York, of Durham; others possessed Prebends and various preferments. They received besides that the 20,000 marks a year.¹

The remedies the Commons proposed were the re-enactment and enforcement of the Statute of Provisors with the utmost rigour. They demanded that no foreign proctor or collector of the Pope should be permitted to remain in England under pain of life and limb; any Englishman residing at Rome in such office to be liable to the same penalty.

¹ The report, which is very curious and interesting to ecclesiastical antiquaries, is in Fox, i. p. 560.

The Good Parliament was dissolved; before its dissolution the Black Prince had died. John of Gaunt resumed the administration. The Council was ignominiously dismissed. Alice Perrers was by the bedside of the King, now worn out with age, infirmity, and sorrow. The Earl of March was ordered to Calais, under the honourable pretext of surveying the castle and town. He surrendered the office of Earl Marshal, by which John of Gaunt bought the support of the Lord Percy, one of the Council. Peter de la Mare was committed prisoner to Nottingham Castle. William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, was impeached on eight articles of maladministration, amounting to treason, or misprision of treason.^k The temporalities of the see were seized into the hands of the King. The Bishop of Winchester was excepted from an act of grace issued on account of the Jubilee, the fiftieth year of the reign of King Edward. At a meeting of the new Parliament, as a further indignity (his temporalities being escheated), no writ was issued to Wykeham as a peer. But he was summoned to Convocation. In Convocation, William Courtenay, Bishop of London, rose and moved that no subsidy should be granted till justice was done to the Bishop of Winchester. The Convocation took the affair up with a high hand. It was an infringement on the jurisdiction of Holy Church. The King, or rather the King's Court, treated remonstrance and petition with contempt. The timid Archbishop, Whittlesey, tried in vain to mediate. The Bishop of Winchester came to his palace in Southwark, and took his seat in Convocation with loud applause. Parliament was dissolved, as

July, 1376.

William of
Wykeham.Feb. 23.
About
March 2.

* Lowth, p. 113.

well as Convocation, without any reconciliation. The King, under the influence of John of Gaunt, attempted to divert the popular mind by granting the temporalities of Winchester to Richard of Bordeaux, now Prince of Wales and proclaimed heir-apparent to the Crown.

But before the death of Edward, almost his last act,^m whether to propitiate Heaven, or still but as a passive instrument in the hands of others, was the restitution of these temporalities to the Bishop of Winchester.ⁿ It was under a condition which shows the vast opulence of that Prelate. He was to furnish three ships of war, with fifty men-at-arms and fifty archers for a quarter of a year, at the wages paid by the King; if the expedition was not undertaken, the amount which this army would cost.^o

Wycliffe, exactly at this time, between the dissolution of the last Parliament and the death of the King, appears summoned to answer at St. Paul's before the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, for opinions deserving ecclesiastical censure. Of the specific charges on this occasion nothing is known; though they may be conjectured from those submitted to the Pope, and afterwards brought against him by the Papal mandate. Wycliffe stood before the tribunal, but not alone. He was accompanied by John of Gaunt and the Lord Percy, now Earl Marshal. There was an immense throng to witness this exciting spectacle; Wycliffe could not make his way through. The Earl Marshal assumed the authority of his office to compel the crowd to recede. The Bishop of London, no doubt indignant at the unlooked for appearance of the

^m June 18. King Edward died June 21. | made a valuable present to Alice Perrers.

ⁿ Dr. Lingard says (note) that he | • Lowth, p. 146.

Nobles, resented this exercise of the Earl Marshal's power in his church. He haughtily declared that if he had known how Percy would act, he would have inhibited his entrance into the Cathedral. The Duke of Lancaster in his pride rejoined that, despite the Bishop, the Earl Marshal would use the authority necessary to maintain order. They reached with difficulty the Court in the Lady Chapel. The Earl Marshal demanded a seat for Wycliffe. "He had many things to answer, he needed a soft seat." "It is contrary," answered Courtenay, "to law and reason that one cited before his Ordinary should be seated." Fierce words ensued between the Earl Marshal and the Bishop. The Duke of Lancaster taunted the family pride of Courtenay. The Bishop replied with specious humility, "that he trusted not in man, but in God alone, who would give him boldness to speak the truth." Lancaster was overheard, or thought to be overheard, as if he threatened to drag the Bishop out of the church by the hair of his head. The populace were inflamed by the insult to the Bishop, the insult to the City of London. The privileges of the City were supposed to be menaced by the Earl Marshal's assumption of authority within the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor.^p A wild tumult began. The proceedings were broken up: Wycliffe, who all along had stood silent, retired. Lancaster and the Earl Marshal had doubtless sufficient force to protect their persons. But throughout the City the populace arose; they attacked John of Gaunt's magnificent palace, the Savoy; his arms were reversed like those of a traitor. The palace, but for the Bishop

^p Lancaster was afterwards accused of a design to abolish the Lord Mayor, and to appoint a captain under the Crown; and that the Earl Marshal's power should be current in the City as in other parts of the kingdom. Lancaster did turn out the Lord Mayor and Aldermen and appoint others.

of London, would have been burned down. A luckless clergyman, mistaken for the Earl Marshal, was brutally murdered. The Duke fled to Kennington, where the Princess of Wales was residing with her young son. The rioters were appeased by a message from the Princess: but they demanded that the Bishop of Winchester and Peter de la Mare should have their fair and immediate inquest before their peers, according to the laws of the land. It is difficult not to trace some latent though obscure connexion between the persecution of William of Wykeham and the proceedings against John Wycliffe.¹ It was the inevitable collision between the old and the new opinions. Wykeham, the splendid, munificent, in character blameless Prelate, was wise enough to devote his vast riches to the promotion of learning, and by the foundation of noble colleges, was striving to continue the spell of the hierarchical power over the human mind. Wycliffe, seeing the more common abuse of that wealth by Prelates of baser and more sordid worldliness, sought the interests of Christ's religion in the depression, in the abrogation, of the mediæval hierarchy. The religious annals of England may well be proud of both.

The accession of Richard II. shook the overweening power of John of Gaunt. The first act under the new reign was the full and ample pardon of Wykeham, hurried through, under the Privy Seal, with the utmost despatch. Peter de la Mare was released from Nottingham Castle; Lancaster condescended to pay humble court to the City of London. Henceforth, John of Gaunt is the less avowed and open supporter of Wycliffe. If, indeed, John of Gaunt had any real love of Christian

¹ Lewis, p. 81. Stowe's Chronicle.

liberty and truth, he had greater love of power. Yet on the accession of Richard appears the same conflict of opinions as under the Good Parliament. The King's Ministers and his Parliament looked with greedy eyes on a considerable treasure levied on the realm, which they knew to be in the hands of the Pope's agents or bankers. They determined to seize it and appropriate it to the public service. But they were desirous to obtain legal sanction for this course. It is probable that among the authorities to which they appealed was the University of Oxford. It was either the function, or imposed on Wycliffe by the University, or he was chosen at the suggestion of the Crown, well knowing the bias of his opinions, to frame the answer. In that answer, as might be expected, he declared boldly that the necessities of the nation have the first and paramount claim to all moneys raised within the realm. He sheltered himself with much ingenuity under the all-venerated name of St. Bernard, and was not sorry to have the opportunity of publicly proclaiming the opinion of that Saint, that Eugenius III. could pretend to no secular dominion as the successor of St. Peter.^r

Information during this interval had been laid at Avignon against the opinions of Wycliffe. The Pope, Gregory XI., despatched his Bulls to England: three addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury Simon of Sudbury and other

Pope orders
proceedings
against
Wycliffe.

Fox, i. 384. Compare the whole very curious paper in Fasciculi Zizaniorum, p. 258 *et seqq.* The possessions of the Church of England were given to the Church of England alone: men may give alms to the

Pope when in want. "Non autem ad fastum sæcularem aut voluptatem carnalem continuandum, nec ad gentes aliquas pro suo sæculari dominio expugnandum."

Bishops; one to the King; one to the University of Oxford, commanding inquiry into the erroneous doctrines of Wycliffe. The Prelates are to investigate the truth of the allegations; if true to commit to gaol and obtain the confession of Wycliffe, and to transmit the same to Rome. Should they not be able to apprehend him, they are to cite him to appear before the Pope. The King is exhorted to render all assistance to the aforesaid Prelates. The University of Oxford is commanded to prohibit the teaching any of the doctrines promulgated by Wycliffe in his detestable madness, to apprehend him and to deliver him to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. The University treated the Bull hardly with cold respect; they debated whether they should receive it: so far they condescended, but for the execution of its mandate they took no measures whatever. The opinions charged against Wycliffe were entirely against the ecclesiastical power, as yet he is not accused of departing from the creed of the Church: they are the opinions of Marsilius of Padua and John of Gaudun, the defenders of the temporal monarchy against the Pope; they are denounced as subversive of civil as of ecclesiastical authority.*

The Archbishop, Sudbury, wrote to the Chancellor of Oxford to cite John Wycliffe to appear in the Church of St. Paul to answer for his errors. Wycliffe appeared not at St. Paul's, but at Lambeth. He had no longer Lancaster and the Earl Marshal at his side, but a more formidable array of partisans, the populace. Among these were citizens of London, now that their privileges were not threatened, on the side of

Wycliffe at
Lambeth.

the Reformer.^t They forced their way into the chapel; their menacing looks and gestures affrighted the Prelates. In the midst of their alarm arrived Sir Lewis Clifford, in the name of the Princess of Wales, now at the head of the administration, prohibiting the Bishops from any further proceeding against Wycliffe. The indignant historian is bitter upon their weakness. "They were as reeds shaken by the wind, became soft as oil in their speech, to the discredit of their own dignity and the degradation of the Church. Panic-stricken they were, as men that hear not, as those in whose mouth is no reproof."^u

Eighteen articles had been exhibited, probably sent from England to the Pope, by the Pope back to England, as the definite charges against the Reformer. Wycliffe drew up three replies to these articles. One he delivered to the Papal Delegates; one more brief was intended, it should seem, for general circulation. The third was in Latin, a fierce recrimination on a nameless assailant, whom he calls the "motley doctor." The first and the more full is calm, cautious, guarded; yet on some of the more momentous questions significant enough. To the first five charges, which turn on subtle and scholastic points (Wycliffe was no contemptible Schoolman), he is subtle and scholastic. In the later articles two great principles transpire without disguise: 1, That the property of the Church is not

^t There is a singular instance of the progress of Wycliffe's opinions. The Mayor of London, John of Northampton, like his puritanical successors in later days, to the great disparagement of the clergy, took the morals of the City under his own care. He arrested a number of loose women, cut off their hair, and exposed them to public derision, openly asserting that he was compelled to this act of authority by the remissness of the clergy, who for money would connive at any debauchery, and even sell licences for incestuous marriages.—Fox, ut supra.

^u Walsingham.

inalienable, indefeasible, but may be forfeited if it be not applied to its proper use, and that it is for the temporal power to enforce that forfeiture; 2, That spiritual powers of censure, excommunication, absolution, are not absolute and unconditional, but depend for their validity, and will be ratified by God, only if uttered or promulgated in strict conformity with the law of God. Wycliffe declares his resolution by God's grace to be a sincere churchman, he by no means declines the jurisdiction of the Church; he is prepared to deliver his opinions in writing, he is ready to defend them to death. They are formed from the Sacred Scriptures and from holy doctors; if they are proved adverse to the faith he is ready and willing to retract them.^v Nothing further was done, beyond an injunction to Wycliffe to keep silence, lest he should mislead the ignorant.

The death of Pope Gregory XI., as it annulled the authority held by the Prelates, stopped all further proceedings. The Schism which followed was not likely to re-establish the awe of the Pope in minds which had either shaken it off, or were ready to shake it off. Wycliffe sent out a tract on the Schism of the Church.

Wycliffe is now the head of a sect; he becomes more and more the antagonist of the hierarchy; as yet only of the higher and wealthier dignitaries, more immediately threatened by his democratic views as to their temporalities; and of the more saga-

^v Dr. Lingard and Dr. Vaughan differ as to the time of publication of these writings. It appears to me that there is no certain evidence on the point; nor is it material. The more violent was a polemic and personal

tract; the other a calm and deliberate reply before a public judicature. I see no evasion or timidity, nothing beyond ordinary discretion, in Wycliffe's conduct.

rious divines, who might discern how rapidly and how far such a mind, once released from the yoke of the ancient theology, would break loose from the established opinions. He appears not as yet to be an object of alarm or unpopularity with the lower clergy; Oxford has not repudiated him. But he is now organising a kind of Order of his own, who travel through the land, preaching, where favoured by the clergy, in the churches, elsewhere in the highways and market-places. These itinerant teachers vied with and supplanted the Mendicant Orders in popularity. How they were maintained appears not; probably they were content with hospitable entertainment, with food and lodging. Such was the distinction drawn by Wycliffe between our Lord and his Apostles and the sturdy beggars whom he anathematised, and whose mode of exaction is so humorously described by Chaucer. There is always a depth of latent religiousness in the heart of the common people, and these men spoke with simplicity and earnestness the plainer truths of the Gospel in the vernacular tongue. The novelty, and no doubt, the bold attacks on the clergy, as well as the awfulness of the truths now first presented in their naked form of words, shook, thrilled, enthralled the souls of men, most of whom were entirely without instruction, the best content with the symbolic teaching of the ritual.

Wycliffe has now at least begun his great work, the Complete English Version of the Scriptures, Translation of Scripture. and as this work proceeds, it more entirely engrosses his mind, and assumes its place as the sole authority for religious belief. It must have been sent out and widely promulgated in different portions, or it could not, before the days of printing, have become so familiar to the popular mind as to give ground to the

bitter complaint of one of Wycliffe's adversaries, that laymen and women who could read were better acquainted with the Scripture than the most lettered and intelligent of the Clergy.*

But as Wycliffe advanced in more exclusive devotion to the Sacred Writings; as by his own work of translation, and the translations of his coadjutors, he became more fully acquainted with the Bible,—he began to question not only the power of the Pope and of the Hierarchy, but some of the doctrines of the Church. He is now examining and rejecting with deliberate determination the materialism of the vulgar Transubstantiation. He is become not merely a dreaded and dangerous Reformer, but, according to the dominant creed, a daring and detested heresiarch. It might almost seem that Rome was in the conspiracy against her own power and sacred authority. "This very year," writes Walsingham (a high Papalist, who not the less dwells with honest energy on the venality of the Court of Rome), "came the Cardinal di S. Prassede into England, to treat of the marriage of the Emperor's sister with the King, and to drain the realm of its wealth. The whole kingdom poured out to him, for there was no grace which he would not sell, none which he would grant without money: he sold indulgences, formerly reserved by the Pope to himself, for two years, for three years, excommunications, absolutions, commutations for pilgrimages. At length, his men grew wanton in their avarice; they disdained silver, would take nothing but gold: he carried off in his bags more than a year's taxes of the realm."†

* "Unde per ipsum fit vulgare et magis apertum laicis et mulieribus legere scientibus, quam solet esse clericis admodum literatis et bene intelligentibus."—Knighton, p. 2644.

† Walsingham, p. 246. In the

At this time also broke out the insurrection of the Commons: six counties at least—Kent, Essex, Hertford, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge—were in furious revolt. Wat Tyler and his rude Kentish peasantry were in possession of London. Among other noble victims, the Archbishop of Canterbury had been cruelly put to death on Tower Hill.² The resolution of the young King, the boldness of Walworth the Mayor of London, seem to have saved the whole realm from anarchy, the upper orders from massacre and ruin. This outburst had no connexion with religion. It was a political and social insurrection; it had its immediate origin in a heavy all-burthening tax, levied in a manner to awaken all the most ardent and generous feelings of the people. Men have borne every oppression, but have been maddened beyond control by insults to their wives and daughters. The popular fury was not against the sacerdotal order: it was against the judges, the lawyers, the jurymen. They did not doom to ruin the churches

13th Richard II. there is a protest of the Archbishops of York and Canterbury, both Papal Legates, in the name of their Suffragans and the Clergy, against any Statutes made in Parliament, so far as tending to restriction of apostolic power, or derogative of ecclesiastical liberty. This probably referred to the petitions of the Commons for the observance of the Statute of Provisors, and against the impositions of the Pope. To these the King had given a favourable answer. Writs were issued to the two Archbishops, other dignitaries, and the Pope's Nuncio, declaring that no impositions of any kind could be levied without the common counsel and assent of the kingdom. The per-

sons employed were prohibited from levying such impositions. — Lords' Report on the Dignity of a Peer, p. 344.

▪ The Monk of St. Denys was in London at this time. "Michi causam Ecclesiæ nostre in hoc regno promoti (had S. Denys still property in England?) cum indignanter audirem ipsa die per ville bivia illius Archiepiscopi capud sacratum plebem pedibus huc illucque projecisse, unusque assistentium diceret, Scias in regno Franciæ abhominabiliora futura et in brevi, hoc solum subjunxi, absit ut Galliæ continuata fidelitas tantc monstro deformatur." This is a singular illustration of the public feeling —P. 134.

or the monasteries, but the courts of law: they would destroy all the archives of the realm, probably esteeming them mere rolls and records of taxation. The Duke of Lancaster was the special object of hatred—Lancaster the patron of Wycliffe. They burned his splendid palace in the Savoy. It was not as Archbishop, but as Chancellor, that they murdered Simon of Sudbury, as one who had called them “shoeless ribalds,” and urged no concession. They beheaded him as a false traitor to the Commons and to the realm.^a At St. Alban’s, at Edmondsbury, at Walsingham, it was the villeins demanding manumission from their lords, not Wycliffe’s disciples despoiling possessioners. Not indeed that such insurrectionists were likely to look with much respect on the exorbitant wealth of the clergy. Some proclaimed that no taxes were to be paid till the whole Church property was confiscated and expended.^b

No popular insurrection, in truth, can take place without stirring up all the dregs of society; all the turbulent, the designing, the political and religious fanatics, are then in their element. Among the first acts of the rebels was to break open the gaols. From the prison of the Archbishop of Canterbury came forth John Ball, who, years before Wycliffe had been heard of, had promulgated among the humblest classes the wildest levelling doctrines. He was a religious demagogue of the lowest order; his tenets are contained in the old popular rhyme, “When Adam delved and Eve span, Where was then the gentleman?” He had been seized and imprisoned; imprisonment was not likely to

^a Knighton. Read the account of Sudbury’s death in Godwin. He was a man of great eloquence, and died, it is said, imploring pardon on his

enemies.

^b Walsingham. He was a monk of St. Alban’s. His account of the revolt against the abbot is prolix and curious

soften his fierce temper. His release by a violent and victorious mob of peasants would offer too tempting opportunities for vengeance on his persecutors,^c and stimulate and seem to justify the propagation of his tenets to the utmost.^d Nor was John Ball alone; there were others who mingled up doctrines of social and religious anarchy. The confession of Jack Straw is that of one of the Fraticelli. He looked forward to the glorious time when the Mendicants should possess the whole earth.^e Walsingham accuses the Mendicants as one of the great causes of the insurrection. Jack Straw's confession was obtained by the Lord Mayor of London, who promised not pardon, but to pay for masses for his soul: he was joined in this posthumous benevolence by other charitable citizens.

This insurrection, nevertheless, had two fatal consequences to Wycliffe and to his tenets. All reformers, even the wisest and most moderate, must make up their minds to bear the odium of the exaggeration of their own opinions. No religious or social innovation can be without its danger. It is the one profound and difficult question whether mankind is to linger on in any depth of darkness, ignorance, oppression, rather than undergo that danger. Wycliffe's enemies of course denounced John Ball as his par-

^c Knighton says that some proposed to make John Ball their Archbishop of Canterbury. Was John Ball present at the beheading of Sudbury, and so wreaking vengeance for his imprisonment? Compare the account of John Ball in Lewis, p. 223, &c. A confession was extorted from John Ball that he had been two years a disciple of Wycliffe.—*Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, p. 273.

^d There is an inhibition by Archbishop Islip against the Mendicants, issued at the same time with that against John Ball.—Wilkins, iii. 64, 5, A.D. 1366. There is another denunciation of John Ball by Archbishop Sudbury, April 21, 1381.

^e "Soli Mendicantes vixissent in terrâ." See Petition of the Four Orders to John of Gaunt, *F. Z.* i., p. 292.

tisan.^f Between the two men there was no connexion, less sympathy. With Wycliffe religion was the sole, exclusive, ultimate aim; with the wilder insurgent teachers the religious was but one part of a wide, universal, social, political revolution. But those to whom all innovation is dangerous, naturally and without dishonesty refuse to discriminate between the darker and lighter shades, the anarchic and the Christian points, in the destructive doctrines which threaten their power, influence, interest, rank, authority. To them every opponent in religious matters is a blasphemer, a heretic; in civil, a demagogue and an anarchist.

But it was not this general suspicion and jealousy alone which darkened the minds of the clergy, and wrought them up to keener vigilance against the doctrines of Wycliffe. To the murdered Simon Sudbury, who seems to have been more gentle and moderate in his ecclesiastic rule,^g succeeded the high-born and High-
Courtenay
Archbishop. Church Prelate, William Courtenay, before whom Wycliffe had already twice appeared, and twice defied or escaped prosecution. Courtenay, with the indignation and terror excited by the terrible sight of his predecessor's headless trunk, was least likely to draw these just, no doubt, but not clearly discernible, distinctions between the opponents of authority. With his birth, education, position, haughty temper, all resistance to ecclesiastical superiority was rebellion, sacrilege, impiety. The first act of Courtenay was to summon a Synod to deliberate and determine on the measures to

^f Compare Lewis, p. 221. The good sense of his observations is marred by his coarse language.

^g Sudbury appears to have been tardy and irresolute, if not unwilling,

in his prosecution of Wycliffe and his doctrines. His death was by some attributed to his guilty laxity in this prosecution.

be taken concerning certain strange and dangerous opinions widely prevalent, as well among the Nobility as among the Commons of the realm.^b The Synod met (a dire and significant omen), not at St. Paul's or Lambeth, but at the Grey Friars (Mendicants) in London. There assembled eight Bishops, fourteen Doctors of Civil and Canon Law, six Bachelors of Divinity, four Monks, fifteen Mendicants (three of these Dominicans, four Minorites, four Augustinians, four Carmelites).¹ Hardly had the Synod taken its seat, when an earthquake shook the Metropolis.^k The affrighted Synod trembled at this protest of Heaven at their proceedings. Courtenay, with no less promptitude than courage, turned it to a favourable prognostic. "The earth was throwing off its noxious vapours, that the Church might appear in her perfect purity." Twenty-four articles were gathered out of the writings of Wycliffe, ten condemned after three days' debate as heretical, the rest as erroneous. Among the heretical tenets were the denial of Transubstantiation; the assertion that the Sacraments administered by a priest in mortal sin were null; rejection of all confession but to God; a reprobate Pope had no spiritual power, only that conferred by Cæsar; there was no lawful Pope after Urban VI.; all Churches were to live like the Greeks, under their own laws; ecclesiastics were not to hold temporal possessions. One tenet ascribed to Wycliffe was that God ought to obey the devil! The

^b Wycliffe asserts that the Bishops of old took part against the mendicants, now "Herod and Pilate have come together."—Fascic. Zizan. p. 284.

See the names in Fox, p. 568. The names in Fox and the Fasciculi are somewhat different. See also the curious Ballad on the Council of

London. Wright, Political Songs, pp. 253, 263. There are other remarkable poems for and against the Lollards.

^k Wycliffe himself compared this earthquake to that at the time of the Crucifixion. Confessio, apud Vaughan, ii. vii. Appendix.

erroneous doctrines from which, with some specious loyalty, it was dexterously endeavoured to show Wycliffe an enemy to temporal as to ecclesiastical authority, were: that a Prelate who excommunicated a person whom he did not know to be really excommunicate, was himself excommunicate; that it is treason to God and the King to excommunicate a person who has appealed to the King; that those who cease to preach, because excommunicated by priests, are excommunicate, and liable to answer in the Day of Judgement; that a Lord is no Lord, a Prelate no Prelate, while in mortal sin; that temporal Lords might take away temporal goods from delinquent ecclesiastics, and the people might aid in this; that tithes are alms to be granted to whom we will. The last article condemns altogether the religious Orders, especially the Mendicants: "He who gives alms to a Mendicant is excommunicate."

Archbishop Courtenay determined to give these decrees the most imposing solemnity. A great procession of clergy and laity walked barefoot to St. Paul's to hear a sermon by a Carmelite Friar. Strong measures were taken to suppress the Preachers. An act was passed by the Lords, and promulgated by the King (the first statute of heresy passed in the realm), commanding the apprehension of all the Preachers, with their maintainers and abettors, and their committal to prison, that they might answer in the Bishops' Courts. But Oxford was still the centre of Wycliffe's influence. A Carmelite, Peter Stokes, no doubt esteemed the most eloquent preacher, was sent down to confute the new opinions.^m Peter Stokes preached in an empty church, while the

^m Article VII. Lewis, ch. vi. p. 107, 9. Wilkins, Concilia, iii. p. 157. Fasciculi Zizaniorum, p. 275. See Courtenay's Letter to Stokes, and Compare on this Mr. Shirley, p. 13; Stokes's Letter, p. 300.

scholars crowded around the University pulpit, where Nicolas Hereford the Vice-Chancellor, and Philip Rypington, openly maintained the doctrines of Wycliffe. The Chancellor, Peter Rigge, notoriously, if not openly, favoured his cause. He answered the Archbishop's mandate to search the Colleges and Halls, and to force all who held such opinions to retract, that it was as much as his life was worth. "Is then the University," answered Courtenay, "such a fautor of heresy that Catholic truths cannot be asserted in her walls?"ⁿ Courtenay assumed the office and title of Grand Inquisitor. The Synod met again. The Chancellor, Peter Rigge, and Brightwell, a Doctor of Divinity, appeared.^o Nicolas Hereford and Philip Rypington were compelled or permitted to recant,^p but their recantation was held evasive and unsatisfactory. They were publicly excommunicated at St. Paul's. They fled to implore the protection of the Duke of Lancaster. John of Gaunt coldly recommended them to submit to their superiors. Rypington afterwards absolutely disowned Wycliffe and his tenets. His apostasy was rewarded by the Bishopric of Lincoln. He became, like most apostates, a violent persecutor of his old opinions. He died a Cardinal. Nicolas Hereford is said boldly to have gone to Rome to defend the opinions of Wycliffe; there he was imprisoned, and died a monk.^q Wycliffe himself appears

ⁿ Lewis, p. 115. Documents, No. 34. Compare F. Z., p. 306. One of the charges against the Chancellor was his naming Hereford to preach the *English* Sermon before the University on Ascension Day.

^o Rigge and Brightwell before the synod at Lambeth, June 12.

^p Another Synod, June 18. Here

Hereford and Rypington demand, Ashton refuses, delay. They sent in their answers June 20. These were declared insufficient, heretical, deceptive. They were excommunicated July 13. Same day was issued the King's Edict to Oxford.

^q Yet he appears, if there is not some mistake or confusion, to have

neither at Oxford nor at Lambeth. He is cited, but no notice is taken of his contumacy. Perhaps he was suffering under his first attack of palsy, expected to be mortal: he was believed indeed to be at the point of death. "I shall not die," he said, "but live and declare the works of the Friars."

In a few months he is not only denouncing the Council of the Grey Friars in London, and haughtily casting back the calumny that he taught "God should obey the devil;" he proceeds to a bolder measure. He presents a petition to the King and Parliament that he may assert and maintain the articles contained in his writings, and proved by authority and reason to be the Christian faith; that all persons, now bound by vows of religion, may follow, instead thereof, the more perfect law of Christ; that tithes be bestowed, according to their proper use, for the maintenance of the poor; that Christ's own doctrine of the Eucharist be publicly taught; that neither King nor kingdom obey any See or Prelate further than their obedience be grounded on Scripture; that no money be sent out of the realm to the Court of Rome or of Avignon, unless proved by Scripture to be due; that no Cardinal or foreigner hold preferment in England; that if a Bishop or Curate be notoriously guilty of contempt of God, the King should confiscate his temporalities; that no Bishop or Curate should be enslaved to secular office; that no one should be imprisoned on account of excommunication.^r

Danger seemed to be gathering around Wycliffe, but Wycliffe shrunk not from danger. The Parliament was

assented at Hereford to the persecution of Walter Brute. Compare the whole article on Hereford, as well as on Rypington and Ashton.—Lewis, p.

267, &c.

^r The petition may be read in its main articles in Vaughan, ii. 97. It was printed by Dr. James, 1608.

summoned to Oxford; the Convocation, as of course, accompanied the Session of Parliament; a collision of mortal strife seemed inevitable. The Duke ^{Nov. 19, 1382.} of Lancaster, though Wycliffite in all that concerned the limitation of the power and wealth of the hierarchy, urged the Reformer to submit to his spiritual superiors in matters purely spiritual. Convocation was afraid to stir those questions which concerned the wealth of the hierarchy, the Papal taxation, and other Papal privileges. Parliament respected the exclusive right of Convocation to judge on points of doctrine. Wycliffe was called to answer, but, as it were by common consent, on one doctrine alone—that of the Eucharist.

Wycliffe, at Lutterworth and in the villages around, before the people, was the plain, bold, vernacular preacher; at Oxford, before the Convocation, he was a school divine of acuteness, subtlety, and logical versatility, in which he was perhaps the greatest and most experienced master in the University. We may imagine that among the Prelates (the high-born Primate the Bishops of London, Norwich, Worcester, Lincoln, Sarum, Hereford, the Chancellor of the University, a host of Doctors), though some may have been, few were men of profound learning. The greater number must have found themselves fairly caught in the meshes of Wycliffe's metaphysic web; at one moment hearing words which sounded like the most rigid orthodoxy, at another trembling at nice distinctions which seemed to threaten the most fatal consequences. So completely does Wycliffe seem to have perplexed and bewildered his auditory, that of the monastic historians one boasts of his speech as a humble recantation; one as a bold confutation of the Doctors of the Second Millenary period of the Church, of all who had taught, after Transubstan-

tiation, in its most materialistic form, had become a doctrine of the Church; as an assertion of the tenets of Berengar of Tours.^s Nor can Wycliffe himself be fairly charged with insincerity, disingenuousness, or even politic art. His view of the Eucharist is singularly consistent, as much so as may be on so abstruse a subject. He is throughout labouring to reconcile a Real Presence with the rejection of the grosser Transubstantiation. The Eucharist is Christ's Body and Blood spiritually, sacramentally; but the bread and wine are not annihilated by transmutation. They co-exist, though to the mind of the believer the elements are virtually the veritable Body and Blood of the Redeemer.^t

That he was condemned by such a Court was matter of course. The condemnation was publicly promulgated in the school of the Augustinian Monks. Wycliffe was sitting in his chair as Professor, and holding, in academic phrase, his Determinations^u on the other side. He is said to have been confounded by his condemnation. He might well be somewhat appalled: all his followers—even Ashton, who till now had adhered to him—had been reconciled or consented to reconciliation.^v Lancaster advised submission. But he soon resumed his intrepidity; he appealed, to their indignation, not to the spiritual but to the temporal authority; not to the Pope

^s Knighton. Walsingham, p. 283.

^t Apud Vaughan, Appendix, vols. ii. vi. and vii. Wycliffe asserts that a third part of the Clergy believed with him, and would die for their belief.

^u "Tota prædicta condemnatio promulgata est publicè in scholis Augustiniensium, ipso sedente in cathedrâ, et determinante contrarium. Sed confusus

est auditâ condemnatione." From the official report, Wilkins, iii. 176. See the condemnation by the Chancellor of the University, William Berton. Spelman, Concilia, ii. 627. Fasciculi Zizaniorum, p. 100.

^v Rypington was reconciled Oct. 30; Ashton, Dec. 27; Laurence Bedemar, earlier.

but to the King.* Lancaster in vain urged him to yield; he refused with calm pertinacity: "On this point all have erred but Berengarius."

Wycliffe retired unmolested to Lutterworth: no one can doubt that he would have shown the dauntlessness of a martyr. But there was as yet no ^{Wycliffe at Lutterworth.} statute in England for the burning of heretics: no officer, without legal warrant, would have obeyed, as in other countries, the mandate of the Church. His adversaries were too wise or too timid to urge extreme measures, such as imprisonment. It is extremely doubtful whether Lancaster and the Parliament would have consented to any act of rigour, and the Primate would not unnecessarily submit to the refusal of the secular power to execute his warrant: his own person had not been safe. Perhaps there was a tacit understanding that Wycliffe should leave Oxford, the most dangerous field of his influence.

In the two years' interval between the appearance of Wycliffe before the Convocation in Oxford and his death, an event occurred not likely with the thoughtful, or with those whose reverence for the Pope and the hierarchy was already shaken, to impair the cause of the Reformers. If the followers of Wycliffe gradually surrendered themselves to a fanatic madness, and became more and more daringly and insultingly hostile to the Clergy, the Clergy might seem under a judicial determination to justify those worst extravagances of hatred.

* "Volens per hoc se protegere regali potestate quod non premeretur vel ecclesiasticâ potestate."—In the report of the twelve judges appointed to examine into his opinions, he is said to have appealed "ad seculare brachium." They compare him to Arius, Peter Stokes, the Carmelite, had now become involved in heresy.

Just at the time when the Schism had shaken the Papacy to its base, and Wycliffe had denounced both Popes alike as Antichrist,¹ and had found strong sympathy in the hearts and minds of men; when the malappropriation of the vast revenues of the Church, which were asserted to be the patrimony of the poor, had been declared in many quarters to demand their confiscation for the public good; when the people had been abused by the fond but captivating notion that by such measures they might be relieved for ever from the burthen of taxation; when motions were entertained in the English Parliament to expel churchmen even from the more peaceful functions in the state; and, indeed, in some quarters notions of the unlawfulness of war were beginning to dawn: for the first time a holy civil war is proclaimed in Christendom, especially in England, the seat of these new opinions; a war of Pope against Pope. The Pontiff of Rome promulgates a crusade against the Pontiff of Avignon. A Bishop (Norwich) is at the head of the English host. Public prayers are put up, by order of the Primate, in every church of the realm, for the success of the expedition into Flanders. The Bishops and the Clergy are called on by the Archbishop to enforce upon their flocks the duty of contribution to this sacred purpose. Money, jewels, property of all kinds, are lavishly brought in, or rigidly extorted; it is declared meritorious to fight for the faith, glorious to combat for the Lord. The same indulgences are granted as to Crusaders to the Holy Land.²

¹ Wycliffe was more inclined to Urban VI.—See Lewis, p. 120, note.

² The preamble to the Archbishop's mandate for public prayers throughout the realm begins with "Rex pacificus,

Jesus Christus." It enlarges on the blessings of peace, and goes on: "Quam meritorium sit pugnare pro fide; quamque decorum pugnare pro Domino." Courtenay's own words!

Spencer, the young and martial Bishop of Norwich, had distinguished himself during the peasant insurrection in Norfolk.^a At the head of eight lances and a few archers, he had boldly arrested one of the ringleaders. A few knights gathered round him. Armed from head to foot, with a huge two-handed sword, he attacked an immense rabble, hewed them down, put the rest to flight, seized the captain, a dyer of Norwich, and reduced his diocese to peace by these victories, and by remorseless executions. This same Bishop set himself at the head of the crusade. The powers entrusted to him by the Pope were enormous: he had full Papal authority. He addressed all the parish priests in the province of York, urging them to compel contributions by every means, by confessions, by indulgences. Parliament murmured that such a vast array of the king's forces should be sent out of the realm under so inexperienced a general: but Hugh Calverly, and some of the old soldiers of the French wars, scrupled not to serve under the mitred captain.^b

But after all, the issue of the expedition, at first successful, was in the end as shameful and disastrous as it was insulting to all sound religious feeling. The crusaders took Gravelines, they took Dunkirk; and this army of the Pope, headed by a Christian Bishop, in a war so-called religious, surpassed the ordinary inhumanity of the times. Men, women, and children, were

^a Spencer figures among the distinguished Henrys in Capgrave's *Liber de Henricis*. There are some curious incidents about his suppression of the rebellion in Norfolk. But even Capgrave, the ardent admirer of Spencer, is obliged to enter into an apologetic discussion about Bishops bearing arms. The Flemings are wretched schismatics.

This passage had been printed in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*.

^b See in the Close Rolls (edited by Mr. Devon) the issue of money for Spencer's crusade by the hands of John Philpot, for wages in the war, and reward for 2500 men-at-arms and 2500 archers, 6266l. 13s. 4d.—9th year of Richard II., 1385.

hewn to pieces in one vast massacre. After these first successes the London apprentices, and the villeins throughout the kingdom, were seized with a crusading ardour. They mounted white cloaks, with red crosses on their shoulders, red scabbards to their swords, and marched off defying their masters.^c Many religious, monks and friars, followed their example.^d The crusaders had neither the pride nor consolation of permanent success. The army of Spencer returned as ingloriously as it had conducted itself atrociously. He had 60,000 men, besides auxiliaries from Ghent. Before Ypres he failed shamefully. At the first approach of the French army he withdrew to Gravelines, and was glad to buy a safe retreat by the surrender of the town.^e

On Innocents' Day, two years after the condemnation at Oxford, during the celebration of the Mass in the church of Lutterworth, Wycliffe was struck again with paralysis. He died on the last day of the year. In the suddenness of his death, in the day of his death, in the fearful distortions which usually accompany that kind of death, nothing was lost upon his adversaries, who of course held him to be a victim of Divine wrath. He died, it was said, on the day of St. Silvester: to the memory of that Saint, as the fatal receiver of the dona-

^c John Philpot, the magnificent Mayor of London, had raised 1000 men-at-arms at his own expense. He took great interest in the Bishop's expedition, and kept ships to give these volunteers free passage.

^d Of these religious, says Walsingham, it was "in magnum personarum suarum dedecus et detrimentum, quia non propter Jesum Christum peregrinare decreverant sed ut patriam

mundumque videant."—P. 301.

^e At a later period, when the Lollards, by preaching against pilgrimages, endangered the interests of our Lady of Walsingham, Bishop Spencer swore that if any of Wycliffe's preachers came into his diocese, he would burn or behead him. "Faith and religion remained inviolate in the diocese of Norwich."—Walsingham, 341.

tion of Constantine, he had ever been implacably hostile. By another account he died on the day of St. Thomas of Canterbury: he was struck while impiously inveighing against that Martyr of the Church.^f

Yet Wycliffe, though the object of the bitterest hatred, even in his own day awed his most violent antagonists into something approaching to admiration. His austere exemplary life has defied even calumny: his vigorous incessant efforts to reduce the whole clergy to primitive poverty, have provoked no retort as to his own pride, self-interest, or indulgence, inconsistent with his earnest severity. His industry, even in those laborious days, was astonishing. The number of his books, mostly indeed brief tracts, baffles calculation. Two hundred are said to have been burned in Bohemia. How much of the translation of the Scripture he executed himself, is not precisely known; but even if in parts only superintended, it was a prodigious achievement for one man, so deeply involved as he was in polemic warfare with the hierarchy, the monks, and the Mendicant Orders.^g He was acknowledged to be a consummate master in the dialectics of the Schools: he was the pride, as well as the terror of Oxford. "He was second to none," so writes a monk, "in philosophy; in the discipline of the Schools, incomparable."^h In this, indeed, appear at once his strength, and the source of the apparent contradictions in the style and matter of his writings. Wycliffe was a subtle schoolman, and a popular religious pamphleteer. He addressed the students of the University

^f Walsingham, p. 312. The historian consigns him to the companionship of Cain.

^g The most curious charge against the translators of the Bible is that it

was the Everlasting Gospel of Joachim and John Peter Oliva which they were publishing. Was this ignorance or malice?

^h Knighton.

in the language and in the logic of their schools; he addressed the vulgar, which included no doubt the whole laity and a vast number of the parochial clergy, in the simplest and most homely vernacular phrase. Hence he is, as it were, two writers: his Latin is dry, argumentative, syllogistic, abstruse, obscure: his English rude, coarse, but clear, emphatic, brief, vehement; with short stinging sentences, and perpetual hard antithesis.¹

His life shows that his religious views were progressive. His ideal was the restoration of the pure moral and religious supremacy to religion. This was the secret, the vital principle of his anti-sacerdotalism, of his pertinacious enmity to the whole hierarchical system of his day. That the caste of the Clergy was then discharging its lofty moral and religious mission, was denied by every pure and holy mind of the time; the charge was admitted by all the wise, even by Councils. The cause of all this evil, Wycliffe, like many others, saw in their exorbitant wealth. He could not but contrast with the primitive poverty of Christ and his Apostles, that wealth, whether in estates held by those whom he called "possessioners," the tithes exacted from the whole realm, and all which was extorted, chiefly in kind, by the sturdy beggars among the Mendicants. The Clergy had a right to a frugal, hospitable maintenance, but no more. This wealth was at once held by a false tenure, being the patrimony of the poor, and was forfeited by misuse, and by the neglect and non-performance of the conditions on which it was held. It was therefore not merely lawful, it was the bounden duty of the State, of the King, or the Emperor, to confiscate the whole of these escheated

¹ See, for instance, the long passage in the tract "Antichrist and his Meynie," published by Dr. Todd of Dublin.

riches; it was the duty of every one to refuse tithe to a priest, who, according to his notions, did not discharge his duty (Wycliffe could not or would not see the wide field he opened, by investing fallible and interested men with this judgement, to avarice, and bad passions). It was a sin, a sin deserving excommunication, to contribute to the rapacious quests of the Mendicants.

Wycliffe is charged with holding and urging in the broadest and most comprehensive form, what is called the doctrine of dominion founded in grace; that is, that the possession of anything whatever, even of a wife, depended on the state of grace in which a man might be. Wycliffe no doubt maintained in theory, that all the gifts of God (God, as it were, the One great feudal Suzerain), and of Christ, on account of his original righteousness,^k were held on the condition of holiness.^m But I have never read, nor seen adduced, any sentence of his writings, in which he urges the application or enforcement of this principle. He recognises civil possession as something totally distinct, as a full and legal right. This notion of dominion is diametrically opposed to all his arguments for the right to the resumption of ecclesiastical property by the State. But the ecclesiastics, to whose possessions, as held by sinful and unworthy men, Wycliffe remorselessly applies this rule,

^k "Titulo autem originalis justitiæ habuit Christus omnia bona mundi, ut sæpe declarat Augustinus, illo titulo, vel titulo gratiæ justorum sunt omnia, sed longè ab illo titulo civilis possessio. Unde Christus et sui Apostoli spretâ dominatione civili, fuerunt de habitatione purâ, secundum illum titulum contentati," &c. &c. See the whole curious passage (strangely misprinted)

in Vaughan, ii. 235. Compare too Mr. Shirley (p. lxxviii.) who has arrived at the same conclusion.

^m So he seems to interpret the "saints shall inherit the earth."

ⁿ "Si Deus est, domini temporales possunt legitimè ac meritoriè auferre bona fortunæ at ecclesiâ delinquente."—Fasciculi Zizaniorum, p. 248. Compare 251-2, where "excommunicatio propter

had the sagacity to see that this was a logical inference, an inference which Wycliffe himself may, in his incautious intrepidity, not always have avoided. They argued upon, refuted, condemned it, as if it were in truth, his favourite, fundamental maxim. A demagogue so dangerous to their order must be made out a demagogue dangerous to all orders. The religious reformer must be convicted on his own principles, as a political and social anarchist. Nor in their view was this difficult, hardly dishonest. Their property, they averred, was that of God, or at least of his Saints; it boasted a far higher, and a more sacred title than civil possessions: to despoil them was sacrilege, impiety, the spoliation of others only the less heinous crime of robbery: one was an outrage on the divine, the other but a breach of human law.^o

Wycliffe, after all, was not merely premature as a Reformer of Christianity, he was incomplete and insufficient. He was destructive of the existing system, not reconstructive of a new one. In the translation of the Latin Scripture, and the assertion of the sole authority of Scripture, he had laid the foundation, but he had built on it no new edifice. He had swept away one by one almost all the peculiar tenets of mediæval Latin Christianity, pardons, indulgences, excommunications, absolutions, pilgrimages; he had condemned images, at least of the Persons of the Trinity; he had rejected Transubstantiation. But Teutonic Christianity had to await more than two centuries and a half before it

negationem temporalium," is no excommunication, and 254-5. Ecclesiastics subject to lay tribunals.

^o This is among the singular facts, which appear from the refutation by

Woodford (apud Brown, Fasciculus), one of the most instructive documents concerning Wycliffism. This was the doctrine also of Armachanus, Fitz Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh.

offered a new system of doctrine to the religious necessities of man. Lutheranism, Anglicanism, Calvinism, are forms of faith ; from Wycliffism it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to frame a creed like that of Augsburg, Articles like those of the Church of England, or even those of Westminster.

CHAPTER VII.

The Lollards.

WYCLIFFE left no heir to his authority or his influence ; he had organised no sect. But his opinions, or some of his opinions, had sunk into the hearts of multitudes. Knighton (but Knighton wrote at Leicester in the immediate neighbourhood of Wycliffe) declares, in his bitterness, that every second man you met was a Wycliffite. Under the vague name of Lollards, they were everywhere ; bound together by no public, as far as is known, by no secret association ; only by common sympathies and common jealousy of the clergy. Many of them no doubt were more, many less, than Wycliffites. They were of all orders, ranks, classes ; they were near, and even on, the throne ; they were in the baronial castle, in the city among the substantial burghers, in the peasant's hut, even in the monastery. Wycliffe's own personal influence had cast a spell over some of the highest personages in the realm. His doctrines were looked on with favour by the widow of the Black Prince, by John of Gaunt, above all by the Queen of Richard II., Anne of Bohemia. The Good Queen Anne,* as she was popularly called, if not in doctrine,

* It is an observable indication of popular feeling that "good" seems to be the especial appellative of those most hostile to the Clergy. The "good" Queen Anne ; the "good" Parliament, though its popularity rose no doubt much out of its attachment to the Black Prince ; the "good" Duke Humphrey, the adversary of Cardinal Beaufort, who had been the

in the foundation of her doctrine, reverence for the Scripture, was a Wycliffite. She had the Gospels at least in Bohemian, in English, and in Latin.^b It was through her attendants that grew up not only the political, but the close and intimate religious connexion between Bohemia and England. Through them these doctrines passed to John Huss and Jerome of Prague. Not only does the Council of Constance denounce these teachers as disciples of Wycliffe; in repelling and anathematising Wycliffe, it assumes that it is repelling and anathematising the Bohemian Reformers. An Englishman, Peter Payne,^c throughout the Hussite War, is one of the leaders of religion, one of the great authorities of the Bohemian faith. Among the Wycliffite noblemen the Earl of Salisbury is claimed by Fox, and branded by Walsingham as an obstinate and shameless Lollard, a despiser of images, a scoffer at the Sacraments.^d His fate will ere long appear. A list of ten or twelve knights of property and influence has been preserved, who openly avowed the Wycliffite opinions: among these was the hero and martyr of Lollardism, Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham.^e London was their stronghold. The

Anne Queen
of Bohemia.

most distinguished general in the Anti-Hussite wars. I suspect, too, some latent connexion between the Lollard party and Duke Humphrey.

^b "Nobilis regina Angliæ, soror Cæsaris, habet Evangelium, in linguâ triplici, exaratum, scilicet in linguâ Bohemicâ, Teutonicâ, et Latinâ." I translate "Teutonicâ" English.—Wycliffe, apud Lewis. Anne of Bohemia died 1392.

^c On Peter Payne, Lewis, p. 229. Compare Palacky, Geschichte von

Böhmen, especially iii. 2, p. 485.

^d "Lollardorum fautor in totâ vitâ, et imaginum vilipensor, contemptor canonum, sacramentorumque derisor."

^e See ch. x., Lewis's Life of Wycliffe. Sir Thomas Latymer, Sir Lewis Clifforde, Sir John Peeche, Sir Richard Story, Sir Reginald de Hylton, Sir John Trussel, with Dukes and Earls. Lewis is quoting Knighton. Lewis gives an account of these men. To these he adds (p. 242) Sir William Nevvill, Sir John Clenbourn, Sir John

sober and wealthy citizens were advancing in intelligence and freedom, jealous no doubt of the riches of the clergy gained without risk or labour, and spent with splendour and ostentation which shamed their more homely and frugal living.^f Nor were they without active proselytes in the lower and more unruly classes. Peter Patishull, an Augustinian Monk, though appointed one of the Pope's chaplains (a lucrative and honourable office, which conferred great privileges, and was commonly bought at a great price), embraced Wycliffism. He preached publicly on the vices of the clergy, at St. Christopher's in London. The Augustinians burst into the church, and served an interdict on the unsilenced teacher. The Lollards drove them out. Patishull affixed a writing on the doors of St. Paul's, "that he had escaped from the companionship of the worst of men to the most perfect and holy life of the Lollards."^g The midland towns, rising into opulence, were full of Wycliffism, especially Leicester. There the Primate Courtenay took his seat in full Pontificals on the trial of certain heretics, who seem to have been of note; their accusers were the clergy of the town. They were anathematised with bell, book, and candle, and read their recantation.^h But the strength of the party was in the lower orders of society. Among them the name of Lollard, of uncertain origin (it is doubtful whether it was a name adopted by themselves or affixed as odious and derisive by their enemiesⁱ),

A.D. 1387.

Mountague (p. 243), and Sir Laurence de St. Martin (p. 244).

^f Among Walsingham's reproachful appellations heaped on the Londoners is "Lolardorum sustentatores." Compare Lewis's account of the reforming Mayor, John of Northampton, p. 255.

He was connected with Chaucer.—*Life of Chaucer*, and Note forward.

^g Fox, i. p. 661, from Chronicle of St. Alban's.

^h Wilkins, iii. 208.

ⁱ I cannot satisfy myself on this point.

comprehended no doubt, besides the religious, a vast mass of the discontented and revolutionary. In the latter years of his reign the King, Richard II., was hastily summoned from Ireland by the urgent solicitations of the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London. An outbreak of the Lollards was said to threaten the peace of the realm. London was placarded with menacing sentences; they were affixed on the doors of St. Paul's and of St. Peter in Westminster. A remonstrance was addressed to the Houses of Parliament. This expostulatory petition showed that the grave and more prudent influence of the master was withdrawn; that his opinions had worked deeply down into a lower region. It does not appear that the more noble or distinguished followers of Wycliffe were concerned in the movement, which was an outburst of popular fanaticism. It was vehemently, in every point, anti-papal, anti-Roman. It was Wycliffite, but beyond Wycliffism. "Since the Church of England, fatally following that of Rome, has been endowed with temporalities, faith, hope, and charity have deserted her communion. Their Priesthood is no Priesthood; men in mortal sin cannot convey the Holy Ghost. The Clergy profess celibacy, but from their pampered living are unable to practise it. The pretended miracle of Transubstantiation leads to idolatry. Exorcisms or Benedictions are vain, delusive, and diabolical. The realm cannot prosper so long as spiritual persons hold secular offices. One who unites the two is an hermaphrodite. All chantries of prayer for the dead should be suppressed: 100 religious houses would be enough for the spiritual wants of the realm. Pilgrimages, the worshipping images or the Cross, or reliques, are idolatry Auricular confession, indulgences, are mischievous or

Petition of
Lollards.

mockery. Capital punishments are to be abolished as contrary to the New Testament. Convents of females are defiled by licentiousness and the worst crimes. All trades which minister to pride or luxury, especially goldsmiths and sword-cutlers, are unlawful.”^k

These murmurs of a burthened and discontented populace were lost in the stir of great political events, the dethronement of the King, his death, and the accession of the Lancastrian dynasty.

The son and successors of John of Gaunt inherited neither the policy nor the religion, if it was the religion, of their ancestor. Henry IV. to strengthen himself on his usurped throne, Henry V. to obtain more lavish subsidies for his French wars, Henry VI. from his meek and pious character, entered into close and intimate alliance with the Church. Religious differences are but faintly traced in the Wars of the Roses.

The high-born Arundel had succeeded the high-born Courtenay in the See of Canterbury. It is remarkable to see the two Primates, Canterbury and York, on adverse sides in the revolution which dispossessed Richard II. of his throne. Arundel was already before the landing of Henry at Ravensperg, deep in conspiracy against King Richard. His brother, the Earl of Arundel, had been executed before his face; himself had fled, or had been banished to France. Neville of York had once adhered to Richard's fortunes, and suffered degradation, or a kind of ignominious translation to St. Andrew's in Scotland.^m The name, rank,

^k See the Petition in F. Z. p. 300. singular boldness and force, defended the deposed monarch.—See Collier, i. p. 616. See above reference to Pope's letter, p. 197.

^m The northern prelates seem to have adhered to Richard II. Marks, Bishop of Carlisle, in a speech of

influence, bold character of Arundel contributed more than all other adherents to the usurpation of Henry Bolingbroke. The Archbishop of Canterbury received the abdication of Richard. Scrope, who succeeded Arundel after Neville as Archbishop of York, was one of the King's Proctors on his renunciation of the crown. Arundel presented Henry to the people as their king. Arundel set the crown on his brow. When the heads of the Earls of Kent and Salisbury (the famous Lollard) and of six knights after their vain insurrection and their defeat near Cirencester, were sent to London to be exposed on the bridge, they were received and accompanied by the Bishops and Clergy in solemn procession, in full pontificals, chanting *Te Deum*.ⁿ Arundel might seem to have forgotten, in his loyal zeal, that he was the successor of Becket. In that insurrection two clergymen were hanged, drawn, and quartered without remonstrance from the Primate.^o When Archbishop Scrope, after the revolt of the Percies, is beheaded as a traitor, Arundel keeps silence.

Archbishop Arundel was to be propitiated or rewarded by all concessions which could be demanded by a partisan so unscrupulous and of so much influence. Almost the first act of Henry IV., notwithstanding these

ⁿ So writes the Monk of St. Denys, as if present. "Aderant et præcedentes, qui capita comitum Cantia et de Salisberry, sex quoque aliorum militum, longis lanceis affixa defferabant cum lituis et instrumentis musicis, ut sic cives ad horrendum spectaculum convenirent. Cumque Pontifices cum Cleo sacris vestibus induti processionabantur, *Te Deum* laudamus altis vocibus cantando obviam scelesti (o?) muneris processissent, tandem ad introi-

tum pontis suspensa sunt capita, membra quoque per campestria sparsa sunt, feris et avibus devoranda."—L. xx. c. 16, p. 738. When the quarters of these unhappy men were brought to London, no less than 18 bishops and 32 mitred abbots joined the populace, and met them with the most indecent marks of joy and exultation. See, too, the conduct of the Earl of Rutland.—Hume, Henry IV.

^o Walsingham, p. 363.

bold infringements on the personal sanctity of consecrated persons, was to declare himself the champion of the hierarchy against her dangerous enemies. In the first Convocation a welcome message was delivered, that the new King would be the Protector of the Church. The Prelates were urged to take measures for the suppression of itinerant preachers; the Crown promised its aid and support. The King, in his first speech in Parliament, announced the same deliberate determination to maintain the Catholic faith. The Commons returned their humble thanks for his Majesty's zeal in the assertion of the Catholic faith and the liberties of the Church.

A.D. 1399.

In England alone a Statute was necessary to legalise the burning of heretics.^p In all other parts of Christendom the magistrate had obeyed the summons of the clergy. The Sovereign, either of his own supreme authority, or under the old Roman Imperial Law, had obsequiously executed the mandates of the Bishop. The secular arm received the delinquent against the law of the Church. The judgement was passed in the Ecclesiastical Court or that of the Inquisition; but the Church, with a kind of evasion which it is difficult to clear from hypocrisy, would not be stained with blood. The Clergy commanded, and that under the most awful threats, the fire to be lighted and the victim tied to the stake by others, and acquitted themselves of the cruelty of burning their fellow-creatures.

King Henry IV. and the Parliament (even the

^p Blackstone indeed says (B. iv. c. 4) of the writ de hæretico comburendo that "it is thought by some to be as ancient as the common law itself. Compare Hales' Pleas of the Crown. The king might issue such a writ. But is there any instance of such writ actually issued in England?"

Commons, now affrighted no doubt by the wild and revolutionary tenets ascribed to all the Lollards, and avowed by some) enacted the Statute A.D. 1400. which bears the ill-omened appellation, "for the burning of heretics." The preamble was directed in the most comprehensive terms against the new preachers.^a It was averred that in their public preachings, in their schools, through their books, they stirred up and inflamed the people to sedition, insurrection, and other enormities too horrible to be heard, in subversion of the Catholic Faith and the doctrine of Holy Church, in diminution of God's honour, and also in destruction of the estate, rights, and liberties of the Church of England. These preachings, schools, books were strictly inhibited. The Bishop of the diocese was empowered to arrest all persons accused or suspected of these acts, to imprison them, to bring them to trial in his court. "If he shall refuse to abjure such doctrines, or, having abjured, relapse, sentence is to be recorded: a writ issued to the sheriff of the county, the mayor or bailiff of the nearest borough, who is to take order that on a high place in public, before the face of the people he be burned."

Nor was this Statute an idle menace; the Primate and the Bishops hastened to make examples under its terrible provisions.

William Sautree is the protomartyr of Wycliffism. But the first victim, while he displays most fully the barbarity of the persecutors, does not lead the holy army with much dignity. His sufferings alone entitle him to profound commiseration. He was chosen perhaps as an example to overawe London, and as one whose fate would not provoke dangerous sympathy.

William
Sautree.

^a But see Hallam, Middle Ages, i. p. 221.

William Sautree had been Priest of St. Margaret's in King's Lynn: he was now a preacher at St. Osyth in the City. He had been already arraigned and convicted before that model of a Christian Prelate, the warlike Bishop of Norwich. On his trial in London, he not only recanted and withdrew his recantation (a more pardonable weakness), he daringly denied that he had ever been on trial before. The record of the Court of Norwich was produced before him. He had already been condemned as a heretic for the denial of Transubstantiation. He was now doomed to the flames, as a relapsed heretic. The ceremony of his degradation took place at St. Paul's, with all its minute, harassing, impressive formalities. He was then delivered over, and for the first time the air of London was darkened by the smoke of this kind of human sacrifice. The writ for the execution of Sautree distinctly stated that the burning of heretics is enjoined by the law of God as well as of man, and by the canons of the Church. The act was that of the King, by the advice of the Lords and Commons. The burning was in abhorrence of the crime, and as an example to all other Christians.^r

Yet if the Commons had assented (if they did formally assent to the persecuting Statute), if they had petitioned for its rigid enforcement against the Lollards, and those who rejected the Catholic doctrines, there was still great jealousy of the more unpopular abuses in the Church. In the fourth year of Henry petitions were presented,^s that all Monks of French birth should be expelled from the country, all priories held by foreigners seized, every benefice have its vicar bound to reside,

^r The account is in Fox. Compare House of Lancaster, p. 35.

^s Rot. Parliament. iii. 459.

and to exercise hospitality; that no one should be allowed to enter into any of the four Mendicant Orders under the age of 24. The King assented to limit the age to 18.[†] The next session the King, by his Chancellor, as though to awe the boldness of Parliament, again declared it to be his royal will to maintain the Church, as his ancestors had maintained it, in all its liberties and franchises. He compared the realm and its three estates to the human body. The Church was the right side, the King the left, the Commonalty the other members. The answer of the Commons was an address to the King to dismiss his Confessor and two others of his household. Henry not merely submitted, but declared that he would retain no one about his person who had incurred the hatred of his people. Nothing could equal the apparent harmony of the King and his Parliament. He entreated them not to be abashed or to refrain from giving their good counsel. They desired that he would notify to them the honourable and virtuous persons whom he named for his household, and that he would appoint no foreigners. The King again graciously assented: he even promised to live upon his own. "The King is willing so to do, as soon as he well may." But the Commons were well aware of the weakness of Henry's title. So far as that the Commonalty might relieve themselves from taxation by throwing the burthen on the wealth of the Church, they were all Lollards. They represented that while the knights were worn out in service against the King's

[†] Walsingham gives a whimsical illustration of the feeling about the Mendicants. He says that Owen Glendower's dealings with devils were instigated and aided by the Friar

Minors. But he is shocked at his own words. "*Absit ab hominibus tam sanctam professis regulam ut cum dæmonibus tantam contraherent familiaritatem.*"—P. 366.

enemies, the clergy sat idle at home. Primate Arundel answered that their vassals followed the King to his wars; that they paid their tenths more promptly than the laity their fifteenths, besides the potent aid of their prayers. The Speaker (he was a knight, John Cheyne,* who had been in deacon's orders, and thrown them off without licence) betrayed in his voice and look something of heretical or knightly disparagement of the value of their prayers. Arundel broke out, "No kingdom ever prospered without devotion; nor think thou to plunder the Church; so long as there is an Archbishop of Canterbury, thou wilt do it at thy peril." The Primate fell on his knees before the wavering

Strife in
Parliament.

A.D. 1407.

King, imploring him to respect his oaths, and to protect the rights of the Church. The obstinate Commons persisted in their unwelcome representations. They urged from a schedule, with tempting and nicely-calculated particulars, that the temporal possessions of the Bishops, Abbots, Priors, now idly wasted, would furnish to the realm 15 Earls, 1500 Knights, 6200 Squires. The King forbade them to discuss such high matters. They began still more to show their anti-hierarchical spirit. They demanded a mitigation of the statute against the Lollards. The King answered that it ought to be made more severe. But for some unexplained reason a subsequent answer to the same petition was in milder terms, yet, "this relaxation was not to be alleged as an example."

In the midst of these significant struggles between the King and the Commons—the King pledged by gratitude and by his interests to maintain the hierarchy to the utmost; the Commons, if not in open assertion

* Walsingham, p. 572.

of religious liberty, looking with greedy and jealous eyes on the estates of the clergy: the second victim on record of the sanguinary law was sent to public execution. He was but a humble tailor of the diocese of Worcester. Why, among all the Lollards, who boasted that they were 100,000, this poor man was chosen for this melancholy distinction does not appear. John Badbee had already been tried and condemned in the Court of the Bishop of Worcester. His crime was the ordinary one, the denial of Transubstantiation; and this, excepting that in one respect it was coarsely expressed,^x from the usual objections which formed part of the Wycliffite creed. He was summoned to London before a more dignified and solemn tribunal. The Primate sat with the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London, Winchester, Norwich, Salisbury, Bath, Bangor, St. David's. Edmund Duke of York, the Chancellor, and the Master of the Rolls. The poor man's answers were given with courage and firmness in words of simplicity and plain sense. He said that he would believe "the Omnipotent God in Trinitie," and said, moreover, "if every Host being consecrated at the altar were the Lord's body, that then there be 20,000 Gods in England. But he believed in one God Omnipotent." Every effort was made to incline him to retract. Arundel the Primate condescended to urge him in the strongest terms to submission. He was condemned in a second great Court, held in St. Paul's. He was led forth to be burned in Smithfield. The Prior of St. Bartholomew's, as if to overawe him, brought out the Sacrament. The

March 1,
1409.

badbee
burned.

^x He said that John Bates of Bristol had as much power and authority to make the like body of Christ as any priest had.—Fox, i. 679.

Prince of Wales, Henry, chanced to be present. At the first sensation of the fire, the poor man cried out "Mercy!" The Prince ordered the fire to be removed. But it was to the mercy of God, not of man, that Badbee appealed. Neither persuasions nor the promises of a yearly maintenance could subdue his quiet but inflexible courage; he was thrust back into the blazing cask, and perished in the flames. Did Prince Henry turn away his eyes?*

William Thorpe, arraigned before this time, was a man of higher station and character. He was tried before Arundel; his trial lasted a considerable time; it almost appears that it was protracted for more than a year. But it is most remarkable that, after all, it is not known what was his fate. He lived to write an account of his trial; it is probable that he was kept in prison.²

On the accession of Henry V., the religious conduct of the gay and dissolute Prince might have been an object of apprehension; the Lollards might hope that at least, notwithstanding his doubtful conduct at the execution of Badbee, he would not be the slave of the hierarchy. These apprehensions and these hopes were speedily dissipated (whether by any acts or words of Henry) by the early betrayal of his ambitious designs, into which the sagacious Church afterwards threw itself with the most loyal ardour; or from the no less sagacious prescience of his character among the Lollards. The Lollards might well mistrust the son of Henry IV.; and such men, among many of whom fanaticism was the height of virtue, were not

* Walsingham as well as Fox relates his death.—P. 379.

² This is the conjecture of Fox. The trial is curious. The trial or arraignment began in 1407

likely to disguise their mistrust, or to refrain from taking measures perhaps for their safety, perhaps for more than safety. Whatever the causes of this mutual jealousy, the Lollards seem to have begun the strife. On the doors of the churches in London appeared menacing notices, that to the number of 100,000 men, they were prepared to maintain their opinions by force of arms.

The head of the Lollards was Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, a man of the highest military ^{Oldcastle,} reputation, who had served with great dis- ^{Lord Cobham.} tinction in the French wars. His whole soul was now devoted to his religion. Through his influence unlicensed preachers swarmed through the country, especially in the dioceses of London, Rochester, and Hereford. The Primate Arundel was not a man to shrink from bold and decisive measures in his own diocese, or not to force to issue the King's yet undeclared opinions on this momentous question. He summoned the Convocation of the Clergy. Lord Cobham was accused as having spoken contemptuously of the power and authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury, of holding heretical opinions on the Eucharist, on Penance, Pilgrimages, the Power of the Keys. On these crimes he was denounced to the King. Henry honoured the valiant knight, the skilful general, who had already distinguished himself in the wars of France, who might hereafter (for Henry's ambitious schemes were assuredly within his heart) be of signal service in the same fields. He had no doubt that his own arguments would convince so noble a subject, so brave a soldier, so aspiring a knight. But Henry was just emerged from his merry life; at least, with all mistrust of the potent enchantments of Shakspeare, Henry's

youth can have been no school for serious theology. He knew not much of the depth of religious feeling which possessed the disciples of Wycliffe. He resented the more the unexpected resistance of Cobham; his disobedience was almost treason. Cobham, as it is related, protested the most submissive loyalty. "You I am most prompt and willing to obey: you are a Christian King, the Minister of God, that bears not the sword in vain for the punishment of wicked doers and the reward of the virtuous. To you, under God, I owe my whole obedience. Whatsoever you command me in the name of the Lord, that am I ready to fulfil. To the Pope I owe neither suit nor service: he is the great Antichrist, the son of perdition, the abomination of desolation in the holy place."

Lord Cobham^a retired to his strong castle of Cowling, near Rochester. He treated the citations, the excommunications of the Archbishop with utter contempt, and seemed determined to assert the independence of a bold baron, and to defend his house against all aggressors. The summoners, one after another, were repelled: letters citatory affixed on the doors of Rochester Cathedral, three miles off, were torn down and burned. The Summoner at length found his way into the castle accompanied by a King's officer. To the royal officer Cobham was too prudent or too loyal to offer resistance. He was committed to the Tower. There (perhaps

^a He was Lord Cobham by right.

^a Hit is unkindly for a knight, that should a kynge's castel kepe,
To babie the bible day and night in resting time when he sholde slepe;
And carefully away to crepe for all the chief of chivalrie,
Well ought him to waille and weepe that swych lust hath in lollardie.

An old castel and not repaired, with wast walls and woves wide,
The wages ben full yoel with ~~such~~ a capitayn to abide;
That rereth not to ride agayne the kyng and his clergie,
With pryve pene and pore pride, there is a pound of lollardie."

—Quoted from a satirical song, MS. Cotton, by Pauli, *Geschichte Englands*, v. p. 297.

shortly before) he published a full confession of his belief. Its language was calm, guarded, conciliatory. If the Clergy had chosen to be satisfied, they might have been satisfied. Cobham was again admitted to the King's presence. He offered one hundred knights as his compurgators. He offered wager of battle; he would fight for life or death with Christian or heathen, on the quarrel of his faith, saving the King and his Counsellors.^b

But Arundel was determined to crush his antagonist, He admitted that Cobham's confession contained much which was good. Articles were framed declaring Transubstantiation in its grossest form, the absolute annihilation of the material bread and wine; Confession in the most rigid terms, obedience to the hierarchy, the worship of images, and pilgrimages. Cobham was arraigned before the Primate, the Bishops of London and Winchester (the Bishop of Bangor joined the tribunal), with a number of Doctors of the Canon and Civil Law.^c The Archbishop's language was mild, his purpose stern and inflexible. Cobham knelt down and spake: "Many have been my crimes against man; for the breaking of God's commandments they never cursed me, for breaking their laws and traditions I and others are thus cruelly entreated." He was committed, and appeared a second time in the Dominican convent. He was submitted to a long, weary, intricate, scholastic

^b It is said, but most improbably, that he appealed from the Archbishop to the Pope.

^c During the search for Wycliffe's writings, which were publicly burned at Paul's Cross, a book was found at a linner's, where it had been left to be illuminated, belonging to Oldcastle.

The King read a few pages, and declared that he had never read such dangerous doctrines. Oldcastle owned the book to be his property, but asserted that he had read only two or three pages of it, and could not be answerable for its contents.

cross examination. He gradually lost his calm self-command. The suppressed enthusiasm burst out into a wild prophetic denunciation of the Pope and the Prelates. He denounced the wealth of the Church as the venom of the Church. "What meanest thou," said Arundel, "by venom?" "Your possessions and your lordships. Then cried an angel in the air, as your own chronicles witness: 'Woe, woe, woe! this day is venom poured into the Church of God.' Since that day Pope hath put down Pope; one has poisoned, one has cursed, one has slain another. Consider ye this, all men. Christ was meek and merciful; the Pope haughty and a tyrant. Christ was poor and forgave; the Pope is rich and a homicide. Rome is the nest of Antichrist: out of that nest come his disciples. The Prelates, the Priests, the Monks are the body; these shaven Friars the tail." "That is uncharitably spoken," said the Prior of the Augustines. The blood of Cobham was on fire; he went on in his fierce declamation. He soon resumed his calm courage, and argued with close precision. After his sentence, he said: "Though ye judge my body, ye have no power over my soul." He knelt and prayed for his enemies. He was condemned, adjudged a heretic, and committed to the Tower.^d

He made his escape from the Tower, and from that time became an object of terror to the government, who dreaded a general rising of the Lollards under a man of such known intrepidity, valour, and military science. Rumours of conspiracies, of insurrections, of designs on the person of the King, spread abroad. A royal proclamation, subsequently issued, accused the Lollards of a deliberate, wide-spread plot to destroy

^d Fox. The sentence passed by Arundel may be read.

the hierarchy, to suppress all monasteries, to confiscate the estates of the Church, to proclaim Cobham Protector of the realm. Cobham is said to have instigated a Scottish invasion.^e

It must be remembered that the title of Henry V. was at this time by no means generally acknowledged; his throne not secure. Reports that Richard II. was still alive in Scotland were credited by many; the elder line of Lionel Duke of Clarence (as appears by the conspiracy of the Earl of Cambridge, Scrope, and Grey of Heton, during the next year) had its partisans. Henry was known, till the battle of Agincourt, only as a wild and dissolute, if gallant, generous, and active youth, accused of having designed to seize his father's crown in his lifetime. The lower orders, till they were intoxicated into loyalty by the French conquests, cherished the memory of Richard II., hated the usurper, loved not his main support, the Church. The levelling doctrines of the peasant insurgents under Richard cannot have been entirely crushed. Of the more fanatic Lollards some may have embraced those tenets. The whole sect may have begun to madden into despair at this close and manifest alliance between the Lancastrian Kings and the hierarchy. It is not improbable that wild schemes may have been formed, it is certain that they were dreaded and suspected.

The King, with his bold military decision, suddenly moved from his palace at Eltham, in which it had been rumoured that the conspirators were preparing to surprise him and put him to death. He appeared in Westminster. Immediately, St. Giles's Fields, the place of assembly, as it was bruited abroad, for the

• Walsingham.

whole host of the Lollards, was on a sudden surrounded by the royal troops. It was given out, that in the dusk of that very evening, or in the night, countless armed men were seen creeping along the lanes and under the hedges to the place of rendezvous. A few persons were seized, Sir Roger Acton, Sir John Browne, and J. Burnley, a rector. Their excuse was that they came to hear Burnley preach. From others was extorted a confession that they expected the Lord Cobham. The King had ordered the City gates to be closed, for it was further rumoured that 50,000 servants and apprentices were prepared to sally forth.

No outbreak took place; there was not the least commotion or resistance. Nine and thirty persons were instantly put on trial and executed.^f Confessions, whether voluntary or extorted, true or false, were announced, of the vast and formidable conspiracy. After the execution, a new and violent Statute was passed for the suppression of Lollards.

The royal proclamation and the indictment of Oldcastle Lord Cobham, Sir Roger Acton, and others, announced to the nation, which had hardly time for amazement and terror from the rapidity of the King's movements, the menaced insurrection, the secret conspiracy, the gathering together of the conspirators, the 20,000 men said to be ready in arms. It declared their object to have been the utter abolition of the State, the abrogation of the office of Prelate, the sup-

^f The meeting was on the night of the 7th Jan. (Sunday). Was a preaching to take place? was it to cover the movements of the conspirators? or was it a pretext seized by the government? On Monday (8th) the prisoners had been taken and sent to gaol. The bill was preferred against the 27 (or 39) prisoners on the 9th. On that day and the 10th, all, including three peers, were tried and condemned for treason and heresy. On the 12th they were executed. Compare House of Lancaster, note xxviii.

pression of all religious orders, the slaying of our Lord the King, his brothers, the Prelates, and other nobles of the realm; the proscription of all monks and friars, the despoiling and destruction of all Cathedral churches, of many other churches and holy monasteries; they designed to raise Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, to be Regent of the realm.^g

How far were the fears of the government real? On what were they grounded? How far was the proclamation intended to strike terror into the Lollards and their abettors, to arouse the hatred of all loyal subjects and lovers of order against them? The whole was an affair of four days: the pretended insurrection, its suppression, the trial, the execution of at least between twenty and thirty men, some of high rank.^h And where all this time was the terrible and mysterious Cobham? Of his agency, still less of his presence, there is neither proof nor vestige. It is only known that he was proscribed; that for three years he lay concealed from all the keen bloodhounds who were induced to trace him by honest hatred of his treasons, or by the baser hope of favour or reward.

At the end of this period (yet this is but a doubtful rumour) he suddenly appeared near St. Alban's. If

^g The indictment is in Fox. "Et licitum Johannem Oldcastle regentem ejusdem regni constitnere, et quamplurima regimina secundum eorum voluntatem intra regnum prædictum quasi gens sine capite in finalem destructionem tam fidei Catholicæ et cleri, quam status et majestatis dignitatis regal. infra idem regnum ordinare."

^h In the Close Rolls at this time appears an entry: "To John Maihewe and others, his companion jurors upon

an inquest held for the King at Westminster upon certain traitors and rebels against the King's person, the money paid by the hands of the said John in discharge of 6*l.*, which the Lord the King ordered them of his gift, by writ 6*l.*: also for a breakfast to others, including the Lord Mayor, 2*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*" There is another to Thomas Burton (the King's spy), for watching the Lollards, 100 shillings.

accidental, this apparition was singularly ill-timed. It was during an invasion of the Scots, with whom he had before been charged as being in secret correspondence. Again he was lost to the keen sight alike of his admirers and his enemies. At length he was taken, after a vigorous resistance, by Sir Edward Charlton, Lord of Powis. Such importance was attached to his arrest, that Charlton received 1000 marks as reward.

Cobham suffered at once the punishment of a traitor and a heretic. This punishment was inflicted in St. Giles's Fields, with all the blended barbarity of both modes of execution. He was hung on a gallows, with a fire at his feet, and slowly consumed. He was said to have declared himself a faithful subject of his liege Lord, Richard II., thus avouching, as though in secret intelligence with the Scots, the wild tale, unquestionably current, that Richard was still living in that kingdom. These and other strange rumours rest on slight authority. His conduct was throughout (this we would believe more fully) that of a noble religious man. Before his execution he fell on his knees, and implored forgiveness on his enemies. He addressed the multitude in a few words, urging them to obey the law of God in the Scripture, to reject all evil in their lives. He refused the aid of a priest: "to God only, now as ever present, he would confess, and of him entreat pardon." His last words, drowned by the crackling flames, were praise of God. The people wept and prayed with him; they heard in contemptuous silence the declarations of the priests, that Cobham died an enemy of God, an heretic to the Church.¹

¹ Though rapid in my relation, I have been slow, if I may say so, faltering, in all this history of Cobham. All is obscure and contradictory, especially the St. Giles's Fields insurrection. To all Roman Catholic writers

We have followed English Wycliffism to the martyrdom of Lord Cobham. It is singular that it was not in a Teutonic but a Slavonian kingdom, not in a language kindred to the English, but in one of a totally different stock, dissonant in most of its words and ideas, that the opinions of Wycliffe were to be received with eager zeal, and propagated with cordial acceptance. In Bohemia, the Reformer's works—jealously watched, trampled under foot, burned by the hierarchy—were received, multiplied, translated, honoured as the exposition of the true and genuine Gospel. The apostles, the heirs, of Wycliffism, were John Huss and Jerome of Prague; we must return to Constance to witness their influence, their death-defying strength, their unextinguishable vitality: the death of Huss preceded that of Cobham two years.

Oldcastle is a turbulent, dangerous rebel, as well as a heretic; to Protestants, a loyal subject, as well as a martyr. The authorities are heaped together, but require most diligent and suspicious sifting, in Fox. The abjuration which he is said to have made (Fas. Z. 414), and to which Mr. Shirley

seems to give some credit, may possibly have been the form offered to him; but if he had abjured before, he would have been executed at once as a relapsed heretic; if just before his death, why was he burned as a heretic? I believe it to be a forgery.

CHAPTER VIII.

Council of Constance.

THROUGHOUT Christendom all eyes, all minds were centered on the German city of Constance. There for the first time was to meet the great Universal Council, the representative assembly of Latin Christianity. The older Œcumenic Councils had been Eastern and Greek, with a few, a very few, delegates from the West. The more famous Latin Councils, as those of the Lateran, of Vienne, of Lyons, were assemblages of prelates, whom the Pope condescended to summon, in order to take counsel with him, and under him, on the affairs of the Church. The Council of Pisa had been hardly more than a college of Cardinals, with the advice and support of certain prelates and ambassadors of sovereign princes. The Council of Constance assumed more than the power of judging on the claims of rival Pontiffs; the supremacy of the Pope over a General Council, of a General Council over the Pope, was now an inevitable question. The Council placed itself at once above the three contesting Popes, each with a doubtful and disputed title; each with some part, though but a small part, of Christendom adhering to his obedience. If such a Council, sweeping away these ignoble rivals, might create a new successor of St. Peter, they might impose conditions and limit his autocracy. Who could foresee the power which they would assume, the power which they would have the ambition, the strength to exercise? Nor was

the one absorbing paramount question the election of the Pope: it was not only from its anarchy but its sunken state that the Church must be vindicated and re-established. The reformation of the Church in its head and in all its members, was among the avowed objects, it was the special function, of the Council; the maintenance of the unity of the Church against formidable heresiarchs; the suppression of heresies, which had ceased to be those of rebellious sects, had become those of rebellious nations. In Constance would be seen of the monarchs of Christendom perhaps one only, but he the greatest, the Emperor, who stood higher than any successor of Charlemagne since the Othos, the Fredericks, or Rodolph of Hapsburg. But there might be three Pontiffs, each of whom had worn, each boasted himself the rightful wearer of the Papal tiara. There would certainly be the whole College of Cardinals; the most famous and learned churchmen from every kingdom of the West; even those dreaded heresiarchs, the heirs and successors of the English Wycliffe, who had nearly severed the kingdom of Bohemia from Latin Christendom.

In June the quiet streets of ancient Constance were disturbed by the first preparations for the great drama which was to be performed within A.D. 1414. her walls. The Bishop elect of Augsburg and Count Eberhard of Nellenberg entered the city to choose quarters for the Emperor. Hopes began to spread, to strengthen, that the high contracting parties were in earnest; that the Universal Council, so often announced, so often eluded, would at length take place. In August came the Cardinal of Viviers, the Bishop of Ostia, with a distinguished suite, to take order for the accommodation of the Pope John XXIII. and of his Cardinals

From that period to the Feast of All Saints, the day named for the opening of the Council, and for several months after, the converging roads which led to this central city were crowded with all ranks and orders, ecclesiastics and laymen, Sovereign Princes, and Ambassadors of Sovereigns, Archbishops and Bishops, the heads or representatives of the great Monastic Orders, theologians, doctors of Canon or of Civil Law, delegates from renowned Universities, some with splendid and numerous retainers, some like trains of pilgrims, some singly and on foot. With these, merchants, traders of every kind and degree, and every sort of wild and strange vehicle. It was not only, it might seem, to be a solemn Christian Council, but an European congress, a vast central fair, where every kind of commerce was to be conducted on the boldest scale, and where chivalrous or histrionic or other common amusements were provided for idle hours and for idle people. It might seem a final and concentrated burst and manifestation of mediæval devotion, mediæval splendour, mediæval diversions: all ranks, all orders, all pursuits, all professions, all trades, all artisans, with their various attire, habits, manners, language, crowded to one single city.

On the steep slope of the Alps were seen winding down, now emerging from the autumn-tinted chestnut groves, now lost again, the rich cavalcades of the Cardinals, the Prelates, the Princes of Italy, each with their martial guard or their ecclesiastical pomp. The blue spacious lake was studded with boats and barks, conveying the Bishops and Abbots, the knights and grave burghers, of the Tyrol, of Eastern and Northern Germany, Hungary, and from the Black Forest and Thuringia. Along the whole course of the Rhine, from Cologne, even from Brabant, Flanders, or the farthest

North, from England and from France, marched Prelates, Abbots, Doctors of Law, celebrated Schoolmen, following the upward course of the stream, and gathering as they advanced new hosts from the provinces and cities to the east or west. Day after day the air was alive with the standards of Princes, and the banners emblazoned with the armorial bearings of Sovereigns, of Nobles, of Knights, of Imperial Cities; or glittered with the silver crosier, borne before some magnificent Bishop or mitred Abbot. Night after night the silence was broken by the pursuivants and trumpeters announcing the arrival of some high and mighty Count or Duke, or the tinkling mule-bells of some lowlier caravan. The streets were crowded with curious spectators, eager to behold some splendid prince or ambassador, some churchman famous in the pulpit, in the school, in the council, it might be in the battle-field, or even some renowned minnesinger, or popular jongleur. The city almost appeared to enlarge itself to welcome week after week the gathering strangers. The magistrates had taken admirable measures to maintain order. Every one seemed to glide into and settle down in his proper place. Everywhere were gathering crowds, yet no tumult: among these crowds now a low deep murmur, now a hush of expectation, no clamour, no confusion, no quarrel, no riot. Constance might seem determined to support her dignity, as chosen for a kind of temporary capital of Christendom. The awfulness of the great subjects which were to be discussed had, as it were, enthralled the mind of man to a calm seriousness; even amusements and diversions were under sober discipline. Whatever there was, and doubtless there was much, of gross and licentious, was kept out of sight.

Of all those vast multitudes there was no one whose

fate might seem so to tremble on the balance; who could look on this wonderful scene with such profound emotions of hope and fear; to whom the Council was at once so full of awe, yet at the same time, to his yet unextinguished ambition, might eventually prove such a scene of pride, of triumph, as John XXIII. The Pope had every imaginable guarantee, notwithstanding some dubious words,^a not only for his person, but for his dignity. His right, in concurrence with the Emperor, to summon the Council had been admitted by Sigismund. The Imperial Edict asserted his plenary jurisdiction; the magistrates of Constance had taken a solemn oath on the direct demand of the Emperor, to receive him with all befitting honours as the one true Pope, to protect him to the utmost, to give him free liberty to enter, to remain, or to depart from their city.^b He was to have entire independent authority over his own court: his safe-conduct was to be respected by all the officers of the city.

Yet had the Pope, notwithstanding all these solemn guarantees, notwithstanding his wealth, and the array of Cardinals attached, as he hoped, to his interests, with the Italian Bishops, almost in number enough to overrule the Council,^c strong and sad misgivings. He sought to make friends in every quarter in his hour of need. Frederick, Duke of Austria, was the hereditary enemy of the House of Luxemburg. His territories almost

^a "Ne exinde occasionem non veniendi habeat." Such is the suspicious language of Sigismund.

^b "Ita quod semper et omni tempore, licebit ei stare in dictâ civitate et ab eâ recedere, non obstante quocunque impedimento." See the oath in Von der Hardt, l. v. p. 5. The

Emperor's stipulations to the Pope were not of much more value than those to John Huss.

^c "Johannes venit Constantiam, cum multis Prælatiis Italiae, ut per votorum pluralitatem se conservaret in Papatu."—Ebendorfer in *Pez Script. Austriae*, ii. 825.

surrounded the city of Constance; his strong castles crowned many of the hills around, which might be seen from the borders of the lake; the Tyrol and the Black Forest were among his possessions. Frederick, as if to show the utmost respect to the Pope, met him at Trent. The Pope was lavish of honours, gifts, and promises. At Meran he named the Austrian Gonfalonier of the Church, and of his privy council. He assigned him as stipend for these functions 6000 florins a year. Frederick, besides these advantages, looked to the support of the Pope in certain feuds with the Bishops of Trent, Coire, and Brixen. He swore fealty to the Pope; he promised all aid and protection on the road, and in the city of Constance, and to secure his free retreat from that city.^d Frederick of Austria was closely allied with the Duke of Burgundy; the Duke's sister was the widow of Frederick's brother, Leopold of Austria; she resided on her dowry lands in the Austrian States. The Duke of Burgundy had strong reasons for courting the favour of the Pope. Among the causes to be judged by the Council of Constance was that of Jean Petit, whose atrocious defence of the atrocious murder of the Duke of Orleans by Burgundy or his partisans, was to be arraigned in the face of Christendom. An alliance with Austria was almost an alliance with Burgundy, now, whether on the French or English side, almost commanding France. The Marquis of Baden, too, and the Count of Nassau received significant presents from John XXIII.; and if the Emperor should show hostility to the Pope, the Pope seemed sure of a partisan in

^d Gerhard de Rio asserts, from Austrian documents, that the Pope communicated this treaty to Sigismund: probably the articles which could not be concealed; the honours and dignities conferred on the Austrian, not the secret stipulations for protection.

the mightiest Prelate of the empire, the Archbishop of Mentz. As John descended towards Constance he invested the Abbot of S. Ulric at Kreuzlingen with the mitre, the usual privilege of Bishops alone. Thus, even at the gates of Constance, he would secure a powerful friend.

Yet, despite of all these precautions, there were
Oct. 26. dismal moments of despondency. As he came
down the steep Arlberg his sledge was over-
set; his attendants crowded round to know if he was
hurt. "In the devil's name what do I lying here?"
As he wound round the last declivity, and Constance
lay below in her deep valley, washed by the lake, the
Pope looked down and exclaimed, "A trap for foxes!"

Constance received the Pope with every sign of respect
and spiritual loyalty. The magistrates and
Oct. 28. the clergy attended him through the streets,
and to the venerable Minster. Nine Cardinals, about
six hundred followers, formed the pompous retinue of
his Holiness. The great Festival of All Saints had been
named as peculiarly appropriate for the opening of the
saintly Council; but from various causes, of the Prelates,
except those of Italy, few had arrived. Though the
Council was opened by the Pope in person on the 5th
November, the first public session was adjourned to
November 16. In the mean time certain preliminaries
were arranged. Twelve auditors of the Rota were
named to judge ecclesiastical causes. Congregations
were held to regulate the order of the sittings and to
appoint officers. At one of these congregations the
Pope issued his inhibition to all members of the Council
that no one might depart without permission. On the
2nd December six more Cardinals had arrived; these
with the nine present formed a fair College. But on

the 3rd another arrival caused still greater excitement. There entered the city a pale thin man, in mean attire, yet escorted by three nobles of ^{John Huss.} his country, with a great troop of other followers from attachment or curiosity; he came under a special safe-conduct from the Emperor, which guaranteed in the strictest and amplest terms his safe entrance and safe departure from the Imperial City. This was the famous heresiarch of Bohemia, John Huss. Nothing could be more opportune than his early arrival for the Papal policy.

The Council had been summoned for three principal objects. I. The union of the Church under one acknowledged Pope. II. The reformation of the Clergy in its head and in its members. III. The extirpation of erroneous and heretical doctrines. Other subordinate questions were to be submitted to the supreme tribunal of Christendom: the examination of Jean Petit's defence of the assassination of the Duke of Orleans, the proceedings of the Flagellants, and some less important matters. On the order in which the Council should proceed as to the three great leading topics depended the influence, the title, perhaps the fate of the Pope. The vital question of all, not deliberately proposed, but at the root of all the other questions—the superiority of the Council to the Pope, of the Pope to the Council—might be postponed; if postponed, eluded. This would be the case if the Council could be occupied by matter on which Pope and Council might agree, which might inflame the common passions, and direct their almost maddening zeal against one common foe, one common victim. Let, then, the suppression of heresy be the first paramount absorbing subject of debate. All precedent was in the Pope's favour; it had ever been the

first act of Œcumenic Councils, from that of Nicæa, to guard the faith and to condemn heresy. So, too, the Council of Constance, commencing at this point, might be held a continuation, hardly more than a prorogation, of the Council of Pisa. And this to the Pope was life or death. For if the Council of Pisa was thus even tacitly recognised, his title among the three claimants to the Papacy, his absolute title, resting on the solemn decree of that Council, was irrefragable. Could he not, begirt with his Cardinals (their common interest might guarantee their fidelity), and with the overpowering suffrages of the Italian Prelates, centre the whole attention of the Council on this one subject? Could he not set the whole host in full cry on the track of this quarry? At least during this discussion he and his Italians would have been gaining a preponderating influence; he, for months, would have been permitted to guide and rule the Council. What if he should render the signal service of condemning, still better of inducing these dreaded heresiarchs to recant, could the ungrateful Church then cast him off? Then he would return to Italy the recognised Pope of the Council of Constance. If not, some time having been thus occupied, a thousand accidents, dissensions, plague, famine, the opportune death of some important personage, might dissipate the Council before they could enter on more dangerous ground.

Nor was this an unwarranted, ungrounded hope; the policy had every promise of success. The doctrines of Wycliffe, which Huss and his followers were accused of propagating in the villages and cities of Bohemia, even in the University of Prague, were generally odious. Those who knew least of them, looked on them with the terror of ignorance; those who knew them best saw that

they struck at the root of the whole hierarchical system, in the common view the whole religion of Christ. The foremost Reformers, D'Ailly, Gerson, Zabarella, and the few Cardinals in that party, would behold perhaps with greater horror, as crossing their more moderate and sober designs, those innovators who laid their hands not on the corruptions of the Clergy only, but on their possessions, their rights, their immunities, their privileges, their spiritual powers, and even on the accredited orthodox doctrines of the faith. They, too, might be tempted to assert this suppression of heresy, which they dreaded with such profound dread, hated with such unmitigated hatred, to be the first, preliminary, inevitable duty of the great Council.

This insurrection, moreover, against the sublime autocracy of the Latin hierarchy; this appeal from the traditional Christianity of the West, the growth of ages, with all its mythology, legendary history, law, philosophy, ritual, venerable usages, and with all its vast system of rights and obligations and its tenure of property, to the primal and simpler Christianity of the Lord and his Apostles; this first attempt to substitute for an obedience to an outward law, and to an all-embracing discipline enforced by ecclesiastical penal statute, the religion of the inward conscience, self-dependent rather than dependent on the ghostly adviser: this assertion of the freedom of thought, limited only by the boundaries of the human faculties and the plain written word of God; this dawning moral and religious revolution, though it had begun in Teutonic England, and had been first embodied in the vernacular Anglo-Saxon of Wycliffe's Bible and Tracts, and in the poetry of Langland and of Chaucer, was not yet taken up by the Teutonic mind. It was propagated only under most

unfavourable auspices, in a remote corner of Christendom, among a nation which spoke an unformed language, intelligible to themselves alone, and not more akin to German than to Latin; a nation, as it were, intruded into the Teutonic Empire, thought barbarian, and from late circumstances held in hostile jealousy by the Teutonic commonwealth.

Bohemia was thus an insulated stranger among the German principalities, a stranger with a right of suffrage for the Imperial crown, but striving to preserve her Slavonic nationality against the Teutonic element which, from her connexion with the Empire, was forcing itself into her territory, her usages, and even pressing on her language. Bohemia, too, laboured under the unpopularity of having given to the Imperial throne a Sovereign, Charles IV., of whom the German annals speak with bitter hatred and contempt, but who had been beloved, and deservedly beloved, for his wise laws, admirable institutions, and for his national policy in his native kingdom. His father, John of Bohemia, that restless chivalrous adventurer who fell at Crecy, was a German in manners and in heart; Charles a Bohemian who might seem to sacrifice the ungrateful and intractable Empire to his hereditary Kingdom. As King of Bohemia, Charles was the creator of the realm; to him she owed equal laws, sound institutions, magnificent cities, at least Prague, which Charles adorned with splendid churches, noble palaces, stately bridges, her famous University.*

Charles IV. had at least not discouraged the first Reformers, who before the time of Huss protested in the

* Read the glowing description of the reign of Charles IV., in *Palassy Geschichte von Böhmen*, ii. p. 2, p. 328 *et seqq.*

strongest terms against the vices of the clergy, and the abuses of the Roman Court. The Prelate Conrad Strickna, during his reign, had denounced the progress of these opinions. The Reformer, Milecz von Kremsar, was the King's Court Preacher.

The deposition of King Wenzel, the son of Charles, from the Empire by the Electors on the Rhine, was at once a sign and an aggravation of the jealousy of Teutonism against Bohemia. During the reign of Wenzel, a still more stirring teacher, Matthias von Zanol, had advanced the bolder axiom that it was gross superstition to reverence the edicts of the Pope on articles of faith, equally with the words of Christ and his Apostles. The Church, to resume her dignity, must be entirely renewed in the spirit of the Gospel.^f The marriage of King Wenzel's sister, Anne of Bohemia, to Richard II. of England, had brought the two realms into close connexion, exactly at the time when the doctrines of Wycliffe were making their most rapid progress. The Queen herself, as has been said, was strongly impressed with the new doctrines. Bohemian scholars sat at the feet of the bold professor of theology at Oxford; English students were found at Prague. The writings of Wycliffe were brought in great numbers, some in Latin, some translated into Bohemian, and disseminated by admiring partisans.

John of Hussinetz, a Bohemian village, was a man of eloquence and an accomplished scholar, of severe morals, but gentle, friendly, accessible to all. He became Preacher in the University chapel called Bethlehem, and Confessor to the Queen Sophia. So long as his fervid sermons denounced the vices of

A.D. 1400.
King Wenzel
(Wenceslaus).
A.D. 1394.

John Huss.

^f Weissenberg, ii. p. 121

the world, the Clergy, the Monks and the Friars were among his most admiring hearers; but as he began to condemn the luxury, the pride, the licentiousness of the Clergy and the abuses of the Church, their admiration turned to animosity. He would have been persecuted, if he had not been protected by the Court; for such doctrines were not the less heard with favour by the Court because they were repulsive to the Clergy. The Schism in the Papacy had shaken the awe of the hierarchy to its base, and King Wenzel had strong grounds for personal hostility against that hierarchy. The Archbishop-Electors had been the leaders in the defection, the prime movers in his deposal from the Empire. The Pope, Boniface IX., had sanctioned their haughty proceedings. For many years, too, the sale of benefices had been so notorious by both Popes, that Wenzel in Bohemia, Sigismund in Hungary,^g had not only prohibited the exportation of money to Rome, but had broken off all intercourse with the Papal Court.

Just at this time a scholar of John Huss^h returned from his studies in Paris and Oxford: he brought many writings of Wycliffe. These writings not merely inveighed against the idleness and corruptions of the Clergy and of the Monks, but broke in at once on more perilous ground. Wycliffe had been already condemned by the Church as an heresiarch. Huss shrunk at first from the infection: he read the books with suspicion and dislike, so much so that he had nearly committed the godless volumes to the flames. He found, on more careful study, deeper and neglected truths. Still, however much of Wycliffe's doctrine could not command

^g Aschbach, Kaiser Sigismund, ii. 24.

^h He had the ill-sounding name of Faulfiscn.

his assent, but much worked by slow degrees into his mind and into his teaching.

The Archbishop Sbinko of Prague had looked on Huss with favour; he could neither be ignorant of the change in the Preacher's views, nor of the cause of that change. He issued his sentence of condemnation; he threatened all who should promulgate the tenets of Wycliffe with the heretics' death, the stake. Huss was at first appalled; he was quiet for a time; but the Confessor of the Queen, and the idol of one-half the University of Prague, could not long hold his peace, for he was not the champion of Wycliffe's free opinions alone, now forcing themselves into a slow popularity, but of the Bohemian against the German students; and, extraordinary as it may seem, on a subject which stirred the hearts of the scholars to as great a depth, of the Realist against the Nominalist philosophy. This strife hurried on the conflicting parties to the inevitable schism. The deposition of their King Wenzel from the Empire had wounded the Bohemian pride: they held the Germans as strangers and aliens in their national University. The German Professors had taken part with the Archbishop in the implied censure of Huss. By a singular revolution, the Realistic philosophy, which had been the sworn ally of orthodoxy, the philosophy of Lanfranc and Anselm against Abélard, of Aquinas against Ockham, had changed sides. The great French divines, Gerson, D'Ailly (perhaps partly from their French perspicacity), the Germans in general, from the more exclusive study of the Aristotelian Scholasticism, had warped round to the more rationalistic Nominalism. The University of Prague was rent with feuds; students met students, not in the schools of disputation, but in the streets and on the bridges, and fought out the battles of Churchmen and

Wycliffites, of Germans and Bohemians, of Nominalists and Realists. At length the Bohemian faction, with Huss at their head, obtained from the King the abrogation of the privileges of the Germans in the votes for academic offices. The sullen Germans, and with them the Poles, abandoned the city. Of thirty thousand, a great part wandered to Leipsic, and founded a rival University. Huss became Rector of the University of Prague. His popularity triumphed even over the interests of the citizens, which suffered severely from the departure of the German students.

A.D. 1409.

Huss now preached boldly and without reserve the Wycliffite doctrines, at least as far as denunciations, not only against the corruptions, but against the wealth of the Clergy. The King heard with satisfaction the grateful maxim that the royal power was far above that of the hierarchy; the Archbishop and the Clergy were constrained to murmuring silence, while all Bohemia seemed falling off to these fearful opinions.

The Council of Pisa had uttered its sentence of deposition against Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. The Archbishop of Prague adhered to Gregory; the King, Huss, and the Bohemians to the Council. Huss was emboldened to assail the Papal power itself. The King answered to the complaints of the Archbishop, "So long as Master Huss preached against us of the world, you rejoiced, and declared that the Spirit of God spoke in him. It is now your turn." But the accession of Alexander V., whom Bohemia, having acknowledged the Council of Pisa, could not refuse to accept, gave the Archbishop courage. He obtained a Bull from the Pope for the suppression of the Wycliffite doctrines. He threatened the refractory teachers. He collected no less than two hundred writings of the odious English

heresiarch, and committed them publicly to the flames; but the King compelled him to pay the value of the books to those from whom he had seized them by his arbitrary ecclesiastical power. Huss continued to preach. He appealed from the Pope to Christ himself, the one final unerring Judge: "I, John Huss, offer this appeal to Jesus Christ, my Master and my just Judge, who knows, defends, and judges the just cause."¹

The pious Alexander was succeeded by Balthasar Cossa, John XXIII. Among the first acts of Pope John was a citation to John Huss, the man of irreproachable morals, to appear before the tribunal of a Pope charged at least with every imaginable crime. The Bohemian King and the nation would not permit Huss to cross the Alps; they alleged fear of his German enemies; a pompous embassy of three theologians appeared in his stead. The Archbishop, from prudence or more generous feeling, received from Huss a confession of faith, with which he declared himself satisfied. He announced to the Roman Court that heresy no longer contaminated his diocese.

No answer came from Rome, but there came the vendors of indulgences for the war of the Pope against King Ladislaus of Naples. The vendors abstained from none of those insolent exaggerations of the value of their wares which were so obnoxious to sounder piety. Huss broke out in a torrent of eloquent indignation. His scholar, Jerome Faulfisch, burned the Bull of Indulgences under the gallows. The preachers of the Indulgences were exposed to insult, outrage, persecution. The magistrates interfered; some rioters were seized and executed; the people rose; the town-house was

¹ Opera, John Huss, i. 17. *L'Enfant. Concile de Constance*, i. p. 73.

stormed; the remains of the rioters taken up and venerated as reliques. News arrived that the ambassadors of Huss, of the University, and of the King, had been thrown into prison at Rome; that Huss was under the ban of excommunication, Prague under interdict. The timid King shrunk from the contest. Huss withdrew for a time from the city, but only by his eloquent preachings all over the country to influence now not Prague alone, but all Bohemia, with indignation against the abuses of the hierarchy. His writings, some in Latin, some in his native dialect, spread with rapidity. If in these he maintained some prudent or perhaps indeterminate ambiguity on the established doctrines, he struck boldly at all the bearings of those doctrines on Papal and on priestly authority.

John Huss then was no isolated teacher, no follower of a condemned English heretic: he was more even than head of a sect; he almost represented a kingdom, no doubt much more than half of Bohemia. King Wenzel and his Queen were on his side, at least as against the Clergy.

The Emperor Sigismund aspired to restore peace to the Church. The Council of Constance had been summoned to reform the Church in its head and in its members; its proclaimed object was the extirpation of all abuses throughout Christendom. It was not for Huss to stand aloof in fear or suspicion. He had appealed to a Council. If his opinions were just and true, he could not shrink from bringing their justice and truth before a Council which comprehended not the high dignitaries alone, but also the most consummate theologians of Christendom. As yet, however some of his opinions might seem to lean to speculative Wycliffitism. he was, like others of great name, avowedly no more

Why Huss
appeared at
Constance.

than an ardent reformer of abuses. He obtained from the University of Prague, from the Estates of Bohemia, from Conrad Archbishop of Prague, and even from Nicolas Bishop of Nazareth, the Grand Inquisitor, testimonials to his orthodoxy and irreproachable life. Yet he was not, he could not be, without dark misgivings. He left a letter only to be opened in case of his death at Constance: it contained his last will and his confession.^k His valedictory address to his followers enjoined them to maintain their faith, to pray earnestly for his safe return. "He expected to meet as many enemies at Constance as our Lord at Jerusalem—the wicked Clergy, and even some secular Princes, and those Pharisees the Monks."

The fame of Huss travelled before him: curiosity or interest in his doctrines triumphed over the German aversion to the Bohemian. In many towns he held conferences even with the clergy, and parted from them on amicable terms. At Nuremberg he was met by three Bohemian nobles, who bore from Spires the Imperial safe-conduct, couched in the strictest and fullest terms, guaranteeing his safe entrance and his safe return from Constance.^m John of Chlum, Wenzel of Duba, Henry of Lazenbach, were charged to watch and keep guard over their countryman, who travelled under the special protection of the Emperor.

Not many days after the arrival of the Pope, John Huss, as has been said, entered Constance. He was graciously received by the Pope himself. Nothing was

^k Among the sins that burthened his conscience was playing at chess and losing his temper when beaten.

^m The safe-conduct may be seen

in many publications, L'Enfant, Von der Hardt; the latest and perhaps most accurate version in Aschbach, Kaiser Sigmund, ii. 29.

Huss sets out for Constance. Oct. 21.

said of the ban of excommunication which still hung over him: it is doubtful whether it was not legally annulled by his reception before the Pope. Strong expressions are attributed to the Pope: "If he had slain my brother, I would not permit, as far as is in my power, any harm to be done to him in Constance."^a The Pope, on whom religion hung so loosely, may not have had that deep aversion for, he may not fully have comprehended, the bearing of the Wycliffite tenets; still less could he comprehend the stern, stubborn conscientiousness which would not swerve from, and which would boldly assert such opinions in the face of danger or death. Noble religious fanaticism has constantly baffled the reckoning of the most profound worldly sagacity. He might fondly suppose the possibility of the Bohemian's submission to Papal arguments, impressed by Papal majesty; and the submission of so famous a heretic to his milder admonitions would give him overweening weight in the Council. But with the more keen-eyed and inflexible Italian Cardinals, Huss was only a barbarian and a heretic. They could not but discern (for they had nothing to blind their instinct) the vital oppugnancy of his views to the hierarchical system. Huss himself could not remain in modest and inoffensive privacy. Partisans, admirers, would crowd around him; his zeal would not permit him in base timidity to shrink from the avowal of his creed, whether by preaching in his house or among his followers. The Bishop of Constance admonished him, but in vain, and forbade his celebrating Mass while yet unabsolved.

^a "Etiansi Johannes Huss fratrem | in ipso situm est, ut aliqua ei fiat
sibi germanum occidisset, se tamen | injuria, quamdiu Constantiæ esset."—
nullo modo commissurum, quantum | Von der Hardt, iv. p. 11.

The arrival of Stephen Palecz and Michael de Causis, the bitter and implacable adversaries of Huss, with whom he had been involved in fierce controversy, changed the suspended state of affairs. These men stood forward openly as his accusers: they swept away all the fairer, milder, or more subtle interpretations by which Huss reconciled his own doctrines with the orthodox creed, especially as regarded the clergy. Huss had declared wicked Popes, wicked Cardinals, wicked Prelates, to be utterly without authority, their excommunications void, their administration of the Sacraments as only to be valid by some nice distinction. Palecz and De Causis cast all these maxims in their naked, unmitigated offensiveness before the indignant hierarchy. Huss was summoned, yet by a deputation which still showed respect, the Bishops of Augsburg and Trent, to appear before the Consistory of the Pope and Cardinals. He obeyed, protesting, nevertheless, that he came to render account to the Council, not to the Consistory. The charges of heresy were read. Huss quietly declared that he had rather die than be justly condemned as a heretic. "If convinced of error, he would make full recantation." He retired, but his lodging was encircled from that time by watchful sentinels.^o A monk was let loose upon him, to ensnare him with dangerous questions. Huss had the shrewdness to detect in the monk, who affected the utmost simplicity, one of the subtlest theologians of the day.

Four weeks after his arrival at Constance, notwith-

^o Aschbach (p. 30) here inserts the attempt of Huss at flight, which the two authors (perhaps they are but one authority), Reichenthal and the author in D'Achery, assign to a much later period. To my judgement, Aschbach's view is utterly improbable; and on such points Reichenthal, who does not care much for religious questions, is worthy of full confidence.

standing his appeal to the Imperial safe-conduct, notwithstanding the protest of his noble Bohemian protector, John de Chlum, Huss was committed to prison in the Bishop's palace. To De Chlum the Pope protested that it was done without his authority. The Pope might find it expedient to disclaim such an act. A congregation was summoned to hear eight articles promoted by the Bohemian, Michael de Causis, against John Huss. Three Commissioners had been named by the Pope. A more numerous Commission of Cardinals, Bishops, and Doctors was appointed to conduct the inquiry. From his first prison he was conducted to a closer and more safe one in the Dominican Convent.^p There he fell ill, and was attended by the Pope's physicians. He recovered, and in his prison wrote several works, which were eagerly dispersed among his brethren.

John de Chlum took bold and active measures for the release of Huss. He communicated this insolent violation of the Imperial safe-conduct to Sigismund, who was on his way from his coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle. The Emperor broke into wrath: he gave orders, that if the Pope and Cardinals did not obey his mandate, the doors of the prison should be opened by force. But no one ventured to invade the Dominican cloister, and the Council yet respected the ordinances of the Pope and Cardinals. De Chlum affixed writings on all the church-doors in Constance, declaring, in strong language, the imprisonment of Huss to be an outrage against the Emperor; that all who had presumed to violate the Imperial safe-conduct, and still presumed to resist the demands of the Imperial Ambassador for his release, would be called to account.

^p L'Enfant, i. p. 64.

So far, even up to the arrival of the Emperor, Pope John had maintained uncontested supremacy in the Council. His Bull had been read at the first Session, as the authority for its proceedings. Zabarella, the all-honoured Cardinal of Florence, in his opening speech, assumed throughout the presidency of the Pope. Pope John supreme in the Council. The Pope named all the officers, and distributed the functions which were submitted to and accepted by the Council. One incident alone threatened his sole dignity. The Archbishop of Ragusa, and other legates of Gregory XII., had made their entrance. On the same night the Archbishop affixed over the gates of his lodging the Papal arms of Gregory XII., with the keys and the triple crown. John resisted this daring invasion in the name of a Pope deposed by the Council of Pisa. The Council, after some stormy debate, pronounced in favour of the Pope, thus again recognising the acts of the Council at Pisa. The obnoxious arms disappeared.

On Christmas Eve tidings arrived that Sigismund, now having received the Imperial crown at Aix-la-Chapelle, had reached Oberlingen, on the northern shore of the lake. Before morning-dawn he entered Constance. Among his first acts was attendance at the Mass. The Emperor, according to usage, in the dalmatic of a deacon, read the Gospel—the Gospel which sounded ominous in the ears of the Pope: “There went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus.” The sermon preached three days after by Peter d’Ailly, Cardinal of Cambray, must at times have sent a cold shudder of dismay to the heart of John. The text was, “There shall be signs in the Sun, and in the Moon, and in the Stars:” a text literally applicable to the last advent of Christ, spiritually to his advent in an Œcumenic Council. The Sun was the spiritual power, the Pope; the Moon

the temporal, the Emperor; the Stars, the Cardinals, Prelates, and Doctors in the firmament of the Council. But the Sun, for the plenitude of his power, must fulfil certain conditions. If the supreme Pastor shall have risen by bad means, by unjust and reprobate ambition; if he shall have led a scandalous and dishonest life; if he shall have ruled negligently or tyrannically, he is but the phantom of a sun. "Oh! that the Omnipotent Trinity would dash down these three statues in the Sun's house, the Church of Rome. . . . The Holy Trinity of the Divine Persons is not more adorable than a trinity of Popes abominable." But the lofty churchman kept the Moon, the temporal power, in its due subordination. To the Emperor himself he uttered no words but those of high honour; "yet the Imperial power must not think to preside in the Council, but to execute her decrees." The Council, he distinctly avers, derived its legitimate authority from being summoned by the Pope; but once met, its power was above the Pope. St. James, in the first Great Council in the Acts, did not publish its decrees in the name of St. Peter, but in that of the Council. "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us"⁹

There was no outward disturbance in the seeming amity between the Emperor and the Pope; they appeared together in public; all was mutual deference and respect. The Pope knew the necessities of the Emperor. The great weakness of the Empire was the utter inadequacy of the Imperial revenues to the dignity of the station. The more magnificent or ambitious the Emperor, the more difficult, often degrading,

⁹ "Ubi non ait, placuit Petro, sed placuit nobis collectis in unum; et requiritur, 'Visum est Spiritui Sancto et nobis.'"—Read the sermon, in Von der Hardt. i. 436, 450.

was the struggle with his narrow finances. Sigismund aspired to be amongst the most splendid of sovereigns; his enemies scoffed at the mean artifices to which he was reduced to maintain that splendour. The Pope made a skilful attempt to avail himself of his weakness; he offered him a grant, or donative, or subsidy of 200,000 florins. But Sigismund was too deeply pledged, too resolutely determined; he had set his fame on the union and reform of the Church. He could not but refuse the tempting lure.^r From the lordly prelates of Germany he might easily raise such a sum.

The Council at first had been hardly more than an assemblage of Italian Cardinals and Prelates; it had filled gradually, but rapidly, from all parts of Europe. The first to appear before the arrival of the Emperor had been the Cardinal of Cambray, Peter d'Ailly, accompanied by many French prelates; others came soon after. The Cardinal of Cambray took the lead of all the Transalpine prelates, as Zabarella, Cardinal of Florence, of the Italian. All the rest did homage to their superior learning, abilities, and virtues. It was not till three months afterwards that the more learned and not less pious Chancellor Gerson appeared at the head of the deputies from the University of Paris. The French prelates and divines formed, in modern phrase, the constitutional party: they adhered with the severest orthodoxy to the Catholic doctrines; they admitted the supremacy of the Pope, but not an absolute autocracy

^r Sigismund came "mit Warnung, er soll, von Johann die 200,000 Gulden ja nicht nehmen: diese Summa könne man von den reichen Bischöfen Deutschlands leicht bekommen."—J. Müller, Geschichte von Schweiz, aus Handschriften der Bibliothek von

Wien. John de Monterolis, a bitter enemy of Sigismund, ascribes his hostility to John to the Pope's refusal of this sum. John was not likely to refuse it.—Apud Martene et Durand, t. ii. p. 1444

That supremacy was limited, not only by the College of Cardinals, but by the universal voice of the Church. A General Council was above the Pope. Beyond this the Church of France stood on some of her peculiar rights and privileges, which the Pope could not infringe or abrogate. There was a law and prerogative superior to the Pope. The Gallican Church is already asserting her liberties; her antagonism is hardly yet on distinct or defined grounds, but still it is antagonism. And all this bold assertion of superiority or independence was while a lunatic was on the throne of France; while Henry of England was in the heart of the land, one year before the battle of Agincourt.

The English, at least Robert Hallam, Bishop of The English. Robert Hallam. Salisbury, the representative of their Church and of the insular character, were likewise as yet rigidly attached to the old traditional faith. With him the Teutonic independence of thought had not advanced farther than the strong impatience, which had long brooded in England, of the Papal tyranny, and its encroachment on the power of the State and of the nation. Throughout Hallam was the right hand of the Emperor, as asserting the civil supremacy. He alone took a high moral tone: to him a wicked Pope was but a wicked man. There was an unconscious Wycliffism in the Bishop, who would perhaps hardly have hesitated to have burned Wycliffe himself.

The powerful hierarchy of Germany did not hold its Germans. proper rank in the Council of Constance. Of the three great electoral prelaties, Cologne was vacant and contested. Treves was still in the obedience of Gregory XII.⁵ Mentz appeared, but

⁵ Cologne and Treves were, it seems, present by deputy.

Archbishop John of Nassau was more fitted to shine in a camp than in a Council. He entered Constance at the head of a splendid and numerous retinue, in military attire, with helmet, cuirass, and boots of iron. His jealousy of the Emperor attached him recklessly to the cause of Pope John. The more remote kingdoms, Prussia, Poland, Hungary, sent their Archbishops, Posen, Riga, Gnesen, Colocz, and Canitz. There were two Danish Bishops, Kypen and Schleswig.

The total number of Clergy, not perhaps all present at one time,^t was four Patriarchs, Constantinople, Grado, Antioch, Aquileia; twenty-nine Cardinals, Italians by birth, excepting five Frenchmen, chiefly of the creation of Benedict XIII., and one Portuguese; thirty-three Archbishops; about one hundred and fifty Bishops,^u including thirty-two titulars; one hundred and thirty-four Abbots; two hundred and fifty Doctors; one hundred and twenty-five Provosts, and other superiors. With their whole attendance the Clergy amounted to eighteen thousand.

If the German hierarchy were less fully or rather less effectively represented, Germany alone sent her Princes to this Diet-Council, the Prince Palatine, Louis of Heidelberg, the Dukes Louis and Henry of Bavaria. The Palatine headed the embassy of France. The Burgraves John and Frederick of Nuremberg, the latter Margrave of Brandenburg; Rodolf, Elector of Saxony, the Margrave of Baden.

All the great Free Cities sent their deputies. Over their doors the arms of their cities were ostentatiously displayed, as taking rank among sovereigns.^x

^t The numbers vary, perhaps on | Hereford, Salisbury, Bangor; later,
that account. | Winchester, London, Lichfield, Norwich

^u The English Bishops were Bath, ^x See Reichenthal (Augsburg, 1483)

Ordinarily 50,000, at certain periods at least 100,000 persons and 30,000 horses were kept in ease and plenty; 30,000 beds were provided by the city. Four Imperial Commissioners regulated the price of provisions, which throughout were abundant, and at moderate cost. The police regulations were excellent; the garrison was but of 2000 men; to the last, as at first, no disturbance, no riot took place during the Council. This is the universal testimony.

reprinted in latter collections, a kind of King-at-Arms. He has left a chronicle of what may be called the State proceedings. See on Reichenthal, L'Enfant, Preface, p. xxii.

CHAPTER IX.

Council of Constance. John XXIII. John Huss.

POPE JOHN opened the year with a magnificent religious ceremony; he appeared amid the assembled myriads in the most solemn function of the Church as the acknowledged head of Christendom, almost for the last time! The sermon of the Cardinal of Cambray had not been the only sign of the danger that was looming over him. In the first General Congregation the Emperor had solemnly sworn to take the Pope under his sovereign protection.^a So far the Pope and the Cardinals had heard with satisfaction; but he also avowed his expectation that the Legates of the two rival Pontiffs would be admitted to the Council. This was to sever the link which bound the Council of Constance to the Council of Pisa; it disclaimed the authority of Pisa, if it recognised as Popes those who had been there deposed. A Parisian divine, Matthew Roder, had delivered a sermon in which he suggested the election of a new Pontiff.^b

A.D. 1416.

Threatening
signs against
Pope John.
Dec. 29.

But that act of the Emperor, which might seem least connected with the fate of Pope John, was in fact, no doubt to his own sagacity, at once the direst omen and the immediate cause of his fall. The Emperor consented to violate his own safe-conduct, to abandon John Huss. The Bohemian was, with the

The Emperor
abandons
John Huss.^a Von der Hardt, iv. p. 31^b L'Enfant, i. p. 79.

consent of Sigismund, committed to closer custody. It was understood that he was to be tried by the Council, doomed by the Council, and that whatever might be the sentence of the Council, it would be carried into execution by the secular arm. The Council was thus relieved from all further debate on that question: it was out of the way of their ulterior proceedings; the rock on which they might have split was avoided; their onward course was straight, clear, open.

Breach of faith admits no excuse; perfidy is twice perfidious in an Emperor. Yet it is but justice to Sigismund fairly to state the inextricable difficulty of his position. He had to choose between the violation of faith to one whom he himself no doubt esteemed a dangerous and turbulent heretic, and, it might be, the dissolution of the Council. With the Council he abandoned all the hopes on which he had rested his fame, his influence, his authority, the restoration of peace to the Church, the reformation of the Church. Huss was already arraigned as a heretic; the Pope, the Cardinals, the Council, had committed themselves to that arraignment. According to the view of almost the whole hierarchy, and the prelates of every nation, the suppression of heresy was their first imperious duty: it was the deepest and most passionate vow of every high-churchman; and which of them on such a point was not a high-churchman? Arguments were ready, which, on the principles dominant and long admitted in those days, it was not easy to parry or confute. The Emperor had no right to protect heretics, over whom throughout the world, and in every part of it, the hierarchy, especially such a council of the hierarchy, had indefeasible cognisance, could proceed, and were bound to proceed, according to the canons of the Church. And the fatal

doctrine, confirmed by long usage, by the decrees of Pontiffs, by the assent of all ecclesiastics, and the acquiescence of the Christian world, that no promise, no oath, was binding to a heretic, had hardly been questioned, never repudiated.

Had Sigismund with a high hand released the prisoner; had he in the slightest degree infringed on the recognised province of the hierarchy, their sole adjudication in causes of heresy, Pope John might either have lengthened out an interminable discussion, or, if he had broken up the Council, or left it himself, he would have carried with him probably all the Italian Cardinals, and thrown an irreconcilable schism among the rest of the prelates. He would have become the champion of a great cause, a cause popular with the whole hierarchy, and with all under the immediate influence of the hierarchy.

Sigismund yielded, perhaps not without self-reproach, certainly not without remonstrance which must have galled a man of his high feeling to the quick. The Bohemian lords, the Burgrave of Prague and others, had already written a strong demand, which arrived about this time, for the liberty of John Huss. He had been proclaimed, as they averred, by Conrad Archbishop of Prague, under his seal, guiltless of the slightest word of heresy. A second still more vigorous protest had followed, on his removal from the Dominican Convent, against this flagrant violation of public faith. "They would deeply grieve if they should hear that his august Majesty was polluted by such an enormous iniquity. Every one hereafter would spurn and despise an Imperial safe-conduct." ^c

^c Von der Hardt, iv. v. 33.

The sacrifice of Huss (and now that perfidious sacrifice was resolved) established perfect harmony between the Emperor and the whole reforming part of the Council. Notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the Pope and his partisans, it was immediately determined to receive the ambassadors of the Antipopes, if armed with full powers, and to admit them with full recognition of their dignity into the Council.

Those of Benedict presented themselves first, but not being provided with full powers, they were contemptuously rejected by the Emperor.^d Their proposal, however, that Benedict XIII. and the King of Arragon should hold a conference with the Emperor at Nice, was not absolutely discarded. A few days after presented themselves the Archbishop of Ragusa and the other Legates of Gregory XII. They had been preceded by Louis Count Palatine, the delegates of the Archbishop of Treves, and the Bishops of Worms, Spire, and Verden, who still adhered to his obedience. The ambassadors, under this powerful support, were received with courteous honour; they declared their master, Gregory XII., prepared at once to resign the Papacy on condition that Benedict and John did the same; that no one of the three should preside in the Council.^e

The demand for the cession of John, which had been at first a low and timid murmur, became the general clamour. Notwithstanding intrigues, bribes, promises, menaces, his partisans fell off daily.^f Some appealed to his higher feelings; some uttered more or less disguised threats. The ambassador of Poland, Andrew Lascaris, Archbishop elect of Posen,

January.
Reception of Deputies from Antipopes.
John's cession demanded.

^d "Da ward der König zornig, und sprach zu ihnen, den Boten des Peter Luna, nescio vos."—Justinger, Berner

Chronik, 291, cited by Aschbach, p. 46.

^e Aschbach, p. 47.

^f Von der Hardt, ii. 478, 479.

urged his free abdication as a generous sacrifice for the peace of the Church. The Cardinal of St. Mark, in a writing communicated to the Council, the Emperor, and the Pope, urged upon John XXIII., that the stronger his grounds to be recognised as lawful Pope, the greater was his obligation to make this noble oblation for the good of the Church.^g He more than hinted the power of the Council to enforce abdication.^h John's Italian Cardinals raised a loud cry, that it was almost, if not absolute, heresy to put the Pope on the same footing with those deposed at Pisa.ⁱ The Cardinal d'Ailly at length summed up the whole in the fatal sentence, "The Universal Church, represented by a General Council, has full power to depose even a lawful Pontiff of blameless character, if it be necessary for the welfare of the Church."^k

But these two Cardinals, Cambray and St. Mark, were preparing a measure still more disastrous to the Pope. The right of suffrage in an Ecumenic Council was by no means fixed and certain. In most of the later Councils the aristocratic principle had prevailed. No one below the Bishop or the Abbot had presumed to the right of voting on such high and mysterious matters. The Council of Pisa had admitted the right of professors and doctors of theology. The Pope, who knew his own strength, in the first session of the Council of Constance had rejected this claim. The Cardinal d'Ailly, in a memorial to the Council, not only asserted the right of these learned men to free suffrage, but demanded it for princes and ambassadors in all matters not directly concerning the faith. The Cardinal of St. Mark went still

^g Von der Hardt, ii. 178 *et seqq.*

^h *Ibid.* ii. 209.

ⁱ *Ibid.* ii. 213.

^k L'Enfant, i. p. 105.

further; he asserted the right of the lower clergy. "Was the Council not to profit by the profound learning of doctors in civil or canon law, and the wisest of the clergy?" "An ignorant prince or prelate," he said in coarse phrase, "is but a crowned ass. Is one entrusted with the cure of souls in a large parish less able to judge than the abbot who rules a few monks?"

The first proposition wrested the superiority in the Council from the hands of the Pope. The Italian Bishops were numerous and poor. Fear, interest, nationality, contempt of Transalpine barbarians, bound them to the service of the Pope. But this was not the worst or most menacing proposal. Already, according to the usage of most Universities, the Congregations, which prepared the business for the general Sessions of the Council, had met in Nations. The prelates, doctors, and ambassadors of the four great powers assembled each in a separate chamber, with a President changing every month, a secretary, notaries, and other officers. The Nations were; I. The Italians; II. The Germans, comprehending the Poles, Hungarians, Danes, and Scandinavians; III. The French; IV. The English. At a later period the Spaniards, who had not yet joined the Council, formed a fifth Nation. It was proposed

Feb. 7. to vote by Nations; and this decree, which reduced the Italians to a single suffrage, notwithstanding the Pope's remonstrance, passed with irresistible acclamation.

Pope John was in the toils; his most obstinate struggles only drew around him more closely the galling meshes. The subtle Italians found themselves circumvented by the steady aggression of the Tramon-
 Charges against the Pope. montanes. Now came a more tremendous blow. A memoir was secretly presented to the Council, it was

presumed by an Italian, with a full and darkly-coloured statement of the detestable wickedness, the vices and crimes of the Pope's whole life.¹ The more noble-minded of the Germans and the Poles recoiled from the scandalous exposure. They refused the public inquisition into these articles, as degrading to the Roman See, as throwing a fatal slur on all the Prelates and dignitaries promoted by the Pope. They generously insisted on its suppression. But these sinister tidings did not escape the Pope, who had his secret intelligence of the most trivial proceedings in the Council. He was struck with utter consternation.^m He summoned the Cardinals: he denied much, but he admitted some of the charges. He heaped upon them gifts and promises: he proposed desperately to confront the Council; to make ample confession and to stand on the great principle, that a Pope could not be deposed but for heresy. The Cardinals coldly advised him not to be precipitate, but to take some days to mature his determination.

His adversaries pursued their advantage. While the Pope was quailing under this peril, deputies appeared before him to persuade him to the cession of the Papacy. To their surprise and joy, the Pope consented; he drew up himself a form which was submitted to the Nations. But every word of the

The Pope determines to abdicate. Feb. 16.

¹ "Quidam, ut præsumitur, Italicus, multos articulos valde famosos, et omnia peccata mortalia, nec non *impacta* quodammodo abominabilia continentes, contra eundem Balthasarem, in eodem Concilio exhibuit in scriptis tamen secretè, quod super illis contra eundem Balthasarem fiet inquisitio, et provideretur instanter per Concilium memoratum."—A Niem, p. 25.

^m "Quibus etiam interim clanculo

et proditorie ad notitiam dicti Balthasaris deductis, illico mente consternatus est, et cœpit valde tremere et timere ac etiam quosdam sibi secreto Cardinales, et de quibus fiduciam habuit donis ac promissis alicere et consulere quid esset in eâ parte pro ejus honoris conservatione factururus, asserens, quod quædam in ipsis articulis *descripta*, tanquam homo, peccando commisiisset et aliqua non."—Ibid.

Papal form was scrutinised with the most suspicious jealousy. It was thought vague and ambiguous; doubtful pretensions, doubtful meanings lurked under its artful phrases. There was a long discussion. The Pope presented a second form; it was rejected. A third, proposed by the Emperor, was repudiated by the Pope. At that instant arrived the Delegates from the Uni-

Feb. 18. versity of Paris, with the famous Gerson at their head. All did homage to the high

authority of this learned body, and their world-renowned Chancellor. A new form was prepared, it was supposed under the direction of Gerson, and presented by the Emperor with more peremptory demand of acceptance. The Pope stifled his grief, tried every subterfuge, raised every subtle objection; but the three Nations, the Germans, the French, and the English, held resolutely together; the Italians supported him with but feeble fidelity. The one alteration admitted only made the words more stringent, severe, not to be eluded. In his despair he assumed a kind of sullen magnanimity. A

March 1. general Congregation was summoned: the Emperor and the Deputies of all the Nations

were present. The form was offered to the Pope by the Patriarch of Antioch. He read it to himself, and seemed to ponder over it. None of the bitterness of his heart betrayed itself in his countenance. With a calm clear voice he read publicly the irrevocable words: "I,

Pope John XXIII., for the repose of the whole
 Pope's
 cession.

Christian people, profess, engage, promise, swear, and vow to God, the Church, and this holy Council, willingly and freely to give peace to the Church, by the way of my simple cession of the Papacy; to do and to fulfil this effectually, according to the determination of this present Council, when and so soon

as Peter di Luna and Angelo Corario, called in their respective obediences Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII., shall in like manner cede the Papacy, to which they pretend, by themselves or by their lawful Proctors: and even in any case of vacancy by decease or otherwise, in which by my cession unity can be restored to the Church of God through the extirpation of the present Schism."

Ere he closed, the whole Assembly broke out into a paroxysm of rapture. The Emperor, the Cardinals, the Deputies of the Nations and of the University of Paris crowded round the throne, all rendering thanks. Te Deum was sung; the chant was interrupted by tears of joy; more wept than sang.ⁿ

The next day was the second public Session. The Pope himself celebrated Mass. At its close he took his seat before the altar, with his face March 2. to the Council, and read the same form handed to him by the Patriarch of Antioch. At the words, "I swear and vow," he knelt before the altar, clasped his hands together, and uttered the words "Thus I promise," with profound solemnity. He returned to his chair, and concluded the service. The Emperor advanced, took off his crown, threw himself at the feet of the Pope, and kissed them, expressing his fervent gratitude. So did the Patriarch of Antioch in the name of the Council.

Two days had hardly passed, when dark mutual suspicions began to transpire. Each party had ulterior views. Pope John had manifestly the hope that by his frank and full confession he might propitiate the Council; perhaps be able to throw on his competitors the odium of refusing these equal terms; or he might delude

ⁿ Von der Hardt and L'Enfant throughout.

himself with fonder expectations. The Council felt that he was at their mercy, and were disposed to clench rather than relax their iron grasp. They had determined to press the conditional into an absolute abdication. This dire reality broke gradually but rapidly upon the Pope. First they demanded a Bull, declaring his abdication according to the customary form. The Pope treated this proposition as an insult, and haughtily repelled the Prelates from his presence: they dared not venture again on this perilous subject. But to the Emperor he was less intractable. Sigismund extorted from him a Bull, still, indeed, guarded in its language.

March 5. John renewed his sacred promise; but his abdication yet depended on the simultaneous abdication of his rivals. The next demand was more insidious, more imperious, more embarrassing. Of the two rival Popes, most respect was paid to Benedict XIII. He had still a King, the King of Arragon, for his partisan. It had been proposed that the Emperor and the King of Arragon, accompanied by Benedict, should meet at Nice. John was required to invest ambassadors with full powers to execute his abdication at the same instant with that of Benedict. Of these ambassadors the Emperor was to be one. With such irrevocable powers Pope John would have delivered himself bound hand and foot into the hands of Sigismund.

This proposal was made in a full Congregation by the Germans, French, and English, it was indignantly rejected by the Pope, supported by the Italian Prelates. The Italians threatened to leave the Council if such rigorous demands were urged further.

March 9. Yet there was still the most bland and respectful outward amity. The next day the Pope presented to the Emperor the Golden Rose. That mysterious gift,

according to Pope Innocent III.,^o represented by its gold, its odour and its balm, the Godhead, the Body and Soul of the Redeemer. It was only bestowed by Popes on Sovereigns the most loyal servants of the Church. The Emperor received it with words of the most devout gratefulness. They dined together. The Emperor offered the consecrated Rose in the Church of the Virgin Mary.

The very next day, whether there was a deep latent hypocrisy under this seeming amity; whether the Emperor had discovered treachery in the Pope, and that he already meditated flight; or that he thought it no longer worth while to dissemble his uncompromising hostility, the proposal was openly made to elect a new Pope. This proposal in itself proclaimed John XXIII. no longer Pope; it assumed the power in the Council of deposing him, and of proceeding to another choice. Among the vague, fond hopes of John had been that he himself might be re-elected to the Pontificate. Such had been the design of his more steadfast partisans. The warlike Archbishop of Mentz declared that he would never render allegiance but to John. Words ran high; the suppressed charges against the abominable life of the Pope were revived in their unmitigated blackness Robert Hallam, Bishop of Salisbury, at the head of the English, had already espoused the Emperor's cause, and had urged unswervingly the searching reformation of all orders in the Church. The honest islander broke out in righteous indignation, "that the Pope deserved to be burned at the stake."

March 10.

Proposal for
a new Pope.

^o Innocent III., Prædicatio, see Hurter. Compare also Durand, Rationale vi. 121.

All confidence was now at an end. It was notorious that Pope John meditated escape : and should he escape would boldly appeal to Christendom against the decrees of a headless Council. The Council was determined that he should not leave the city. An attempt was made by the Cardinal St. Angelo to pass the gates ; he was rudely arrested by the burgher guard. The Pope loudly complained of the violation of the Imperial safe-conduct, that safe-conduct which in the case of John Huss he had trampled under foot. The Magistrates of Constance threw the blame on the orders of the Emperor. Frederick of Austria alone declared that he at least would respect the person and liberty of the Pope.^P

Another Congregation of the Nations was held ; the
 March 15. Italians stood aloof. It was resolved to urge the Pope at once to appoint plenipotentiaries to execute his abdication, and that the Emperor should be one of these plenipotentiaries. They further required the Pope to give security that he would neither leave the Council, nor adjourn it to any other place. The Emperor excused the rigid watch, now avowedly maintained at the gates of the city, by declaring that it was on account of the notorious design of many Cardinals clandestinely to leave Constance. It was his duty to prevent this unauthorised dissolution of the Council.

The Pope yielded to this last demand, the promise not to dissolve or adjourn the Council till the end of the Schism, and to do everything he could to promote the restoration of unity. This was a promise which, were it in his power, he could without difficulty violate or elude. But the immediate fatal step of authorising

^P Cerretanus, apud Von der Hardt, iv. 55.

others to execute his abdication, he refused with stubborn obstinacy. "He had no proof that Angelo Corario had resigned; he had only heard that Peter di Luna would resign."

The gloom which was gathering round John was broken by a faint but transient gleam of hope. The French Cardinals began to relent, to murmur at his harsh usage. The Italians seized the opportunity, and endeavoured to detach them from the hostile league. They began to revive the question of voting by voices, not by Nations. The Germans and the English adhered to each other in resolute hostility to the Pope. In the French, the hatred and jealousy of the English, fostered by their long, cruel, and humiliating wars, struggled with their zeal for the unity and for the reform of the Church. The Cardinals, as Italian Prelates, sat with the Italian nation. The Five, the Cardinal of Cambray at their head, were deputed to persuade the French nation to milder measures. The Germans and English held only the more closely together, and were more inflexibly resolved by this opposition. The Bishop of Salisbury boldly proposed that if the Pope refused to appoint his Procurators, he should be put under arrest. The Emperor and his supporters of the other two nations presented themselves in the French Congregation, and laid before them the result of their deliberations. The French insisted that they should withdraw. Sigismund broke out in a wrathful menace: "Now will be shown who are for the unity of the Church and for the Empire." The Cardinal of Cambray indignantly retired: the other four Cardinals protested against the violation of the liberty of debate. The Emperor answered that the word had escaped him in passion, that the

Quarrel
in the
Council.

March 19.

French had perfect liberty, but the Cardinals were Italians, not French ; if they withdrew not to their own chamber, he threatened them with imprisonment.

The quarrel, the Pope's last desperate hope, was appeased by the skilful influence of the ambassadors of France, especially by Duke Louis of Bavaria.

Late the following evening, after vespers, Sigismund visited the Pope ; he found him reclining on his bed, somewhat indisposed. John complained of the oppressive air of Constance, he required change.^a The Emperor earnestly dissuaded him from leaving Constance before the close of the Council, above all not clandestinely. "This would be to his eternal dishonour." He declared himself prepared to maintain his safe-conduct inviolable, but he had not power to permit him to depart from the city. The Pope answered in ambiguous phrase, that he would not quit Constance till the dissolution of the Council.^r Many other rumours spread abroad of what took place at this memorable interview. The Emperor had demanded, or the Pope had offered, large sums for his liberty, under pretence of the great expense of maintaining the Council. The Pope, by one account, refused to buy the Emperor or to sell the Council. The Bishop of Salisbury, said to have been present, asserted to the face of the Pope the superiority of the Council over the Pope. The Pope kept no reserve. As soon as the Emperor had departed, to his attendants he taunted Sigismund as a drunkard, a fool, a madman, and a beggar.^s

All this time the plot for his escape had been laid

^a Theodoric à Niem here breaks into praise of the salubrity of Constance.

^r "Credens forte, quod eo recedente, abhinc illud dissolveretur omnino."--
A Niem, 27. ^s A Niem, *ibid.*

and fully matured. Frederick, Duke of Austria, had been a month in Constance, a month of humiliation and aggravation of his hatred towards the Emperor. He had been compelled to do homage for all his fiefs. He had attempted to delude the Emperor into favouring a breach of the peace which he had sworn to the Swiss Cantons. The Emperor, more crafty than himself, had betrayed him to the Swiss. Delegates from the cantons and cities had exposed the Duke's perfidy before the Emperor. That Frederick of Austria was in secret communication with the Pope, all suspected. The Emperor admonished the Duke concerning the peril of these intrigues. Frederick solemnly protested his innocence.

The afternoon of the very day after the interview with the Pope, the Duke of Austria had proclaimed a splendid tournament without the gates of the city. Himself was to joust with the young Count of Cilly, brother of the Empress. All Constance thronged forth to the spectacle; the streets were a desert. Pope John, in the dress of a groom, with a grey cloak, and a kerchief wrapt close over his face, mounted a wretched ill-accounted horse, with a cross-bow on the pommel of his saddle. He passed the gates unperceived, unchallenged, and rode about two hours to Ermatingen, at the efflux of the Rhine from the Lake of Constance. A boat was ready, he glided down the rapid stream to Schaffhausen, the castle of which was a stronghold of the Duke of Austria. Tidings were whispered in the ear of the Duke in the very act of his tourney. He continued the contest a short time, then courteously ceded the prize to his adversary De Cilly; in the evening he rode with a few attendants to Schaffhausen.

The news of the Pope's flight spread like wildfire.* The streets of Constance were thronged with prelates, priests, and populace, some in dismay, some in undisguised joy. A few Italians and Austrians stole out of the gates, and took to flight. The rabble broke into the palace from which the Pope had fled, to assert their privilege of plunder. The goldsmiths, money-changers, traders shut their shops.^u The Burgomaster called the inhabitants to arms; the imperial soldiery occupied the principal streets and squares. The adversaries of the Pope were appalled. Some declared the Council actually dissolved by the departure of the Pope. The superstitious shuddered at the ban which no doubt the Pope would hurl at the devoted city and the contumacious Council. Five Cardinals in the confusion stole away to the Pope.

In the morning the Emperor rode through the streets with the Count Palatine, Louis of Bavaria, and a long retinue of princes and nobles. He allayed the tumult among the people by the assurance of his protection to their liberties and properties. He summoned the Princes, Cardinals, Prelates, Ambassadors; he declared his resolute determination, with all his power, and at the hazard of his life, to maintain the authority of the assembly. He exhorted them not to disquiet themselves on account of the Pope's flight. The fathers of the Council resolved to send ambassadors to summon the Pope to return, and to commission plenipotentiaries for his absolute cession. These ambassadors were the Cardinals Orsini, St. Mark, Saluces, with the Archbishop of Rheims.

* Von der Hardt. Almost all the authorities are collected, and references made to the rest.—Vol. iv. pp. 59, 66.

^u This can hardly be called a riot, or a breach of the boasted peace in Constance.

Pope John, almost immediately on his arrival at Schaffhausen had written letters to the Council. "By the grace of God Almighty I have arrived at Schaffhausen, where I enjoy liberty and breathe ^{The Pope's Letter.} air suited to the state of my health. I have come hither without the knowledge of my son, the Duke of Austria,* not to dispense myself from the promise of abdicating the Papacy in favour of the Church of God, but to execute it with greater freedom, as well as for the recovery of my health."

The letter of the Pope was treated as an audacious falsehood. On the walls of the palace at Constance was affixed a terrible writing, proclaiming the Pope Antichrist, denouncing his base and perfidious arts and cajoleries, and those of the Cardinals, in order to dissolve the Council, recounting all his crimes, tyrannies, murders, simonies, sordid merchandise of the Church; calling on the Council to proceed against him, and to depose him at once from his throne. The Emperor in a full assembly arraigned the Duke of Austria as a perfidious traitor to the Church, the Council, and the Empire. Not a voice was raised in his defence.

The Council was now to proclaim itself the supreme, indefeasible, independent authority of Christendom. In the assertion of these new prin- ^{The Council supreme.} ciples, which changed the Church from an autocracy to an aristocracy, the lead was taken by the French Nation, by the Chancellor Gerson, the voice of that Nation; but with the full concurrence of the Germans, the English, even of the Italians except the Cardinals. The Cardinals, as the Privy Council of the Pope, refused to

* "Inscio filio meo Duce Austriæ." Schaffhausen, March 21.

be present, and to sanction doctrines liminary if not subversive of the Papal power.

Gerson laid down twelve great revolutionary maxims.

Gerson's maxims. Among them that Jesus Christ himself was

the one primal and perfect Head of the Church, the Pope so only in a secondary sense; the union of Christ as the Spouse with his Church was alone indissoluble, that of the Pope might be dissolved; a Pope is necessary to complete the Church, but any particular Pope may be removed; the Church, or an Œcumenic Council representing the Church is under the direction of the Holy Ghost, it may enact canons which the Pope is bound to obey, and cannot annul; a Council can be assembled in some cases without the authority even of a legitimate Pope; the Council can command the cession of a Pope for the welfare of the Church, or the termination of a schism; the reformation of the Church both in faith and discipline rests ultimately with the Council; Councils ought to be held from time to time, as the one supreme, irrefragable representative of the Church.⁷

⁷ Gerson had already promulgated these doctrines in a more contemptuous and offensive form. He had raised the Imperial power high above the Papal. "If an hereditary monarch may be deposed, how much more an elective! If an Emperor descended from a long unbroken royal lineage, how much more the son of a Venetian fisherman, whose father and grandfather had not beans enough to fill their stomachs! The Pope ought to be more easily deposed than another prelate. If the Pope sins, all partake of his sin; not so if a bishop. The canons on which rests the Papal authority were framed by fraud and

craft." Gerson throws disdainfully aside the 6th book of Decretals and the Clementines. "What is a Pope? A man! the son of a man! clay of clay! a sinner, liable to sin! Two days before the son of a poor peasant, he is raised to be Pope. Is he then above repentance, confession, contrition? a sinless angel? a saint?" Wycliffe himself gives not a more awful catalogue of Papal crimes than this doughty churchman. "He is not above the Gospel."—Apud Von der Hardt, i. p. 76 *et seqq.*; et Oper. vol. ii. p. 162 *et seqq.* Tractatus pertinentes ad Concilium Constantinense.

The Pope was not idle at Schaffhausen ; he summoned all his officers and the whole Papal Court to attend upon him.² He published an appeal The Pope at Schaffhausen. addressed to the French ; he hoped to touch their pride and their jealousy of the Germans and English. Among his first and bitterest charges was their refusal to proceed at once to the extirpation of heresy in the person of John Huss. He complained of the division of the Council into four Nations, by which the French and Italians—by far the most numerous and learned—were reduced to the level of the English and the Germans ; of the extension of the suffrage, which had ever been confined to Cardinals, Prelates, and the Hierarchy ; of its usurpation by laymen as by priests, married and unmarried, ignorant and erudite. This turbulent rabble had hissed down grave Cardinals. His undoubted presidency of the Council had been usurped by the Emperor. He complained of the tyranny and force exercised by the Emperor ; the insults to his person—jousts had been celebrated under his windows, with intolerable clang of trumpets. He complained of the insolence of the English, who had threatened him with arrest, especially Robert Hallam of Salisbury. The most extraordinary paragraph was that in which he gave himself the lie, and now asserted that his flight was with the aid of the Duke of Austria.^a He wrote to the King of France and to the Duke of Orleans in the same strain ; it was his hope to enlist them in his cause against the Emperor, whom he represented as exercising a cruel tyranny over the Council.

The Pope at Schaffhausen was almost as much at the mercy of his enemies as at Constance. Could he have

² Von der Hardt, ii. 153.

^a Apud Von der Hardt, ii. 257.

crossed the Alps, followed as he would have been by some of the Cardinals, and appealed to the loyalty and anti-Ghibellinism of some of the Guelfic cities, he might possibly have maintained the contest. But he had neither strength nor courage. A Gregory VII. or a Gregory IX. would instantly have issued his ban against the perfidious Emperor, who had violated his own safe-conduct, and the contumacious Council. He would have declared the assumption of supreme power by the Council an impious affront to St. Peter, a denial of Christ in his Vicar: he would have laid half Christendom under an Interdict, and placed before the hierarchy the alternative of forfeiting or endangering their own authority, or asserting that of the Pope. But John XXIII.

John's conduct. wanted faith in himself and in his office. The truth, no doubt, of some of the damning charges against his life weighed heavily on his spirit, and no one could discern with more sagacity how much in the course of things, and through the long Schism, the old awe had fallen away from the name of the Pope. He was embarrassed, too, by the services of his now avowed ally, the Duke of Austria. The Emperor eagerly seized the opportunity of crushing his refractory and hated vassal. The Pope could not abandon Frederick to his wrath, his only refuge was an Austrian castle. His other great partisan, the Archbishop of Mentz, had not dared to own his complicity in the flight; he had retired to his own city, and Mentz was too far from Italy, too deep in Germany to offer an asylum. The whole conduct, therefore, of John was that of timidity, vacillation, tergiversation. His object was to detach the Cardinals from the Council, to gather them round himself, and to obtain for the Pope and the Sacred College that respect which the Pope alone had irre-

coverably lost. The Archbishop of Rheims returned before the other ambassadors of the Council, with a proposition to appoint the Cardinals collectively, with four Bishops, one of each Nation, Bath, Lebus (in Poland), Narbonne (the Italian was not named), the Procurators for his absolute cession.

The proceedings of the Council, on the other hand, were resolute, aggressive, imperious. Congre-^{Proceedings}gation after Congregation, and two Sessions of ^{of the}Council. the whole Council, were held between the Pope's flight and the end of the month. At every meeting there was the same scornful rejection of all the Pope's advances, the same inflexible determination to vindicate their own superior authority. The Cardinals were divided, perplexed; they could not support, they would not abandon the Pope; with his integral authority fell theirs; they could not acknowledge, they dared not defy the Council. Hence at the First General Session after the flight two only were present, ^{March 26.} one French, the Cardinal of Cambray, one Venetian, St. Mark.

Yet the Council without the Cardinals appeared wanting in dignity. After much stormy discussion in the Congregations, the memorable Fourth Session of the Council was summoned for the 31st March. The President (the Cardinal of Naples, an Orsini) took his seat: on one side was Sigismund the Emperor, and the hierarchy in their ranks; on the other the great laymen. Ambassadors, Princes, Dukes, and Counts. The resolutions, the final fatal resolutions, agreed upon the day before, or averred by one party to have been agreed upon at a full Congregation of the Nations, were placed in the hands of Zabarella, the Cardinal of Florence. He read in calm tone the Preface and the Decree:—

“The said Council of Constance, lawfully assembled in the name of the Holy Ghost, an Œcumenic Council, which represents the Catholic Church Militant, has received immediately from Jesus Christ power which every one of every estate and dignity, even Papal, is obliged to obey in all which regards the faith and the extirpation of the present Schism.” Here the voice of the Cardinal faltered at the unexpected or unwelcome words. He either refused to read on or read imperfectly, with faint and trembling accents, “and the reformation of the Church in its head and in its members.” In the tumult which rose the two other resolutions were hardly heard. These declared that the Pope should not adjourn the Council from Constance to any other place, nor summon his Court to attend him elsewhere; that all promotions made by him from that time were null and void.

The Council would not permit the Cardinals to elude their stern determination. At a Fifth General Session, notwithstanding much altercation and strife with the Cardinals, the three Decrees were read fully, distinctly, dictatorially, by the Archbishop of Posen.^b The Pope had not awaited this act: he had dropped down the Rhine to another strong fortress, Laufenburg. But his Cardinals and most of his Court refused to follow him; they returned in shame and contempt to Constance.

The rapid, total, and unpitied humiliation of the Duke of Austria left the Pope a miserable defenceless fugitive. On April 7th the ban of the Empire, the excommunication of the Council, were promulgated against this capital traitor. All his vassals

April 10.

Further flight of the Pope.

Humiliation of the Duke of Austria.

^b Von der Hardt iv. 105.

were released from their sworn fealty; all treaties, contracts, oaths, vows, concerning the man excommunicated alike by the Church and by the Empire, were declared null and void. Whoever could conquer might possess the territory, the towns, the castles of the outlaw. The Swabian Princes fell on his possessions in *Alsace*; the Swiss Cantons (they only with some reluctance to violate solemn treaties) seized his hereditary dominions, even *Hapsburg* itself. The Duke of Upper *Bavaria*, the Bishops of *Augsburg* and *Coire*, the Patriarch of *Aquileia*, the Archbishop of *Saltzburg*, *Albert of Austria*, the Count of *Cilly*, overran the *Tyrol*. Before the month had expired, this powerful Duke was hardly permitted to humble himself April 30. in person before the Emperor, whose insatiate revenge spared nothing that could abase his ancient foe. It was a suppliant entreating pardon in the most abject terms, a Sovereign granting it with the most hard and haughty condescension. *Frederick* surrendered all his lands and possessions to be held at the will of the Emperor, until he should deign to reinvest the Duke with them under the most degrading tenure of allegiance and fealty.

The Pope in the mean time had fled again in mean disguise to *Fribourg* in the *Brigau*, a pleasant The Pope at
Fribourg. city, which still owned the dominion of the Duke of *Austria*. He had sent certain articles to the Council from *Laufenburg*; he sent others more ambiguous and unsatisfactory from *Fribourg*. The Council, while the Pope was thus sinking into despicable insignificance, was still rising in pretensions and power. An address to all Christendom vindicated their proceedings towards the Pope. "The King of the Romans (the Emperor), only at their request, had closed the

gates to prevent some faithless Prelates from leaving the Council." "The Pope had deserted the Council after having deliberately sworn to maintain it. He had summoned his Cardinals and his Court to follow him in his ignominious flight, in order to dissolve the Council." As yet, however, there was no acrimonious persecution of the Pope. A mandate was issued by the Council prohibiting scurrilous and abusive libels against the Pontiff and the Court of Rome. A motion to refuse the Cardinals admission and the right of suffrage was rejected.

The Pope had one wild hope: he had looked to France, to the King; he now looked to the Duke of Burgundy. Under his protection he meditated an escape to Avignon; to be nearer the Rhine he removed to Brisach; but the Duke of Burgundy had his reasons for declining to offend the Council. His own cause, Jean Petit's defence of his assassination of the Duke of

Orleans, rested on their decision. Even
 April 17. Frederick of Austria was compelled to the hard terms of surrendering the Pope to the Council. At the Sixth Session instructions were given to deputies from the Council to compel the surrender of
 April 19. the Pope. They found him not at Fribourg;
 April 23. they followed him to Brisach. He promised an answer the next day; the next day he had disappeared.

The ensuing Session determined to cite the Pope, and proceed to the utmost extremity. The
 May 2. citation was fixed on the gates of the city, on the doors of all the churches. It summoned Pope John XXIII. to answer for the maintenance of the Schism, for heresy, simony, maladministration and notorious dilapidation of the estates and possessions of the Papacy; for the scandals and notorious criminalities

of his life and conversation. A body of three hundred armed men, under Frederick of Nuremburg, were sent to seize the fugitive. In vain the Pope sent full powers to the Cardinals of Cambray, St. Mark, and Florence, to act in his behalf; the Cardinals refused to undertake the trust. The next day, the time assigned to the Pope for his appearance having expired, the Council proceeded in its course. Seventy articles were exhibited: never probably were seventy more awful accusations brought against man than against the Vicar of Christ. The Cardinal of St. Mark made a feeble attempt to repel the charge of heresy; against the darker charges no one spoke a word. Before the final decree, sixteen of those of the most indescribable depravity were dropped, out of respect not to the Pope, but to public decency and the dignity of the office. On the remaining undefended fifty-four the Council gravely, deliberately, pronounced the sentence of deposition against the Pope.^c

May 13.

May 14.

Eleventh
Session.
May 25.

Weary, deserted by all, conscience-stricken, betrayed perforce by the Duke of Austria, pursued by the Imperial soldiers, John in his fall was without courage as without dignity. He had already been brought to Rodolfzell, and imprisoned in the castle under an Hungarian guard. On the first demand he yielded up the insignia of universal spiritual power, the

Surrender
and imprisonment
of the Pope.
May 27.

^c Among the sentences was "suis detestabilibus inhonestisque vitâ et moribus ecclesiam Dei et populum Christianum scandalisantem, ante ejus assumptionem ad Papatum et post usque ad ista tempora."—Apud Von der Hardt. I give one class of charges in the words of Göbelinus: "Item

ipse graviter fuit infamatus, quod cum uxore fratris sui concubuerit; cum sanctimonialibus incestum, cum virginibus stuprum, et cum conjugatis adulterium perpetraverit, nec non alia flagitia, propter qualia ira Dei descendit in filios diffidentiae."—P. 341. See the 6th article.

Papal Seal, the Fisherman's Ring, the Book of Petitions.^d His sentence was read to him by two Cardinals. He acknowledged its justice, protested that he surrendered of his free will the Papal dignity, and would never attempt to resume it. This one vow John XXIII. religiously observed: he had neither opportunity nor temptation to break it. He was brought to the strong Castle of Gotleben, without the walls of Constance. To his sentence of deposition had been subjoined a sentence of imprisonment, at least for safe custody. He was afterwards committed to the charge of the Elector Palatine. The Castle of Heidelberg was assigned as his residence and his prison.

There was another prisoner in Gotleben, a man against whose life his worst enemies brought no word
John Huss. of reproach. John Huss had been for some months in irons pining in a dungeon of this fortress, under custody of the Bishop of Constance. To Huss the fall of the Pope, though it might seem to deliver him from his most implacable enemy, was fatal. His friends had fondly supposed that he would meet with more calm and equable justice, if not with favour, before a Council of which all the leading members had concurred in denouncing ecclesiastical abuses, the vices and ignorance of the clergy in terms as strong and uncompromising as the Reformers of Bohemia, as Wycliffe himself: a Council which had ventured on so bold an innovation, a heresy so manifest according to the principles long dominant in Christendom, as to set itself above the Pope, to assume the power of deposing a Pope. Now too would appear in his proper character an Emperor whose noble ambition seemed to be the

^d Liber Supplicationum.

restoration of the Church to purity as well as to unity, under whose safe-conduct he had to come to Constance. Sigismund had reluctantly yielded to the violation of that safe-conduct, and might now redeem his pledge, which the Pope had almost compelled him to forfeit.

So entirely were the friends of Huss under this delusion, that Jerome of Prague, the second in influence and character among the Bohemian Reformers, Jerome of Prague. had thought it a favourable opportunity to join his friend. Jerome, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Huss, had set out from Prague to share the dangers and to support the cause of his brother teacher of the truth. He entered Constance secretly, without a safe-conduct. The Council issued a summons to him to appear within fourteen days. They offered full freedom of entrance into Constance; his departure must depend on their judgment in his cause. Jerome turned his face back towards Prague; but at Hirschau, in the Upper Palatinate, he rashly broke out, in the presence of many clergy, into denunciations against the Council. He was seized and sent prisoner to Constance.

Huss and his followers, in their infatuated expectations of leniency, or of respect for the freedom of such opinions as theirs, showed their ignorance of mankind, of the hierarchy, as well as of the bounds beyond which it was premature to attempt the emancipation of the religious mind of Europe. The leaders in the Council of Constance, the Cardinal d'Ailly, Gerson, still more the better Italian Cardinals, St. Mark and Zabarella of Florence, had no conception beyond a purely aristocratic and hierarchical reformation, which should restore its strength to the ecclesiastical system by raising the morals of the corrupt clergy and the ignorant monks and friars. But they would have shuddered with horror and indignation

at the examination of any established doctrine, or even of any ancient ritual observance. They had not only the pride of ecclesiastical rank, but the pride of that learning which consisted in a laborious and masterly command of the vast and voluminous theology, and of the Canon Law, the established code of Christendom. They were conscientiously convinced that there was no knowledge, at least of religious things, beyond this circle. The most far-sighted might not perceive the full bearings, but they had an instinctive sagacity which shrunk from the democratic doctrines which had been preached by Wycliffe, and were partially, at least, embraced by the Bohemian Reformers: their mistrust was more likely to exaggerate than diminish the danger. These doctrines without doubt called in question, and submitted to bold inquiry, some which were thought the fundamental articles of the dominant creed, withdrew in fact the ritual and the instruction of the Church from the sacred Latin, and vulgarised it into the national language. They already spoke of an authority to which all the theology of the Church, which had been accumulating for centuries, and all the law of the Church (their proud possession), must submit, that of the Bible—the Bible translated and popularised for general use. Above all, they owned the great vital principle of Wycliffism, that the wicked or unworthy priest was no priest. Be he Pope, Cardinal, Bishop, Curate, or Friar, his vices absolutely annulled all his privileges, his immunities, his rights to his estates, his claim to tithes or church-dues. The efficacy of the Sacraments which he administered, perplexed or divided the teachers of this bewildering doctrine.

It was in truth, in its broad enunciation, a specious and noble theory; but to the calmest, still more to the

interested, the objections raised against Wycliffe could not but occur in appalling force. Without an infallible tribunal, without an omniscient Judge to pronounce sentence against the whole hierarchy or any individual priest, how impracticable, how iniquitous! Was this sentence to be intrusted for its award and execution to Kings coveting the wealth of the Church; to an ignorant populace, who knew not the difference between unchristian arrogance or the calm and holy severity of good Churchmen; or even to the honest but fanatic teachers of purer doctrines, usually as intolerant as those against whose intolerance they have risen up? In such a strife must fall law, order, property, government, the salutary restraints of religion.

John Huss and Jerome of Prague, as among the first distinguished martyrs for Christian liberty, and as condemned by a Council in the face of Christendom, have obtained perhaps importance, not fully recognised in their own day, assuredly not till after the Bohemian war. It could not be supposed that a great hierarchical Senate from the four most powerful kingdoms, indeed from all Europe, with the Emperor, who took a pride in exalting its authority, at its head, a Council which had deposed Popes, would be bearded and defied by two or three contumacious priests from a remote, obscure, and half-barbarous land. The burning of heretics was now so completely part of the established usage of the Church, as to cause, if compassion, none of that revulsion of feeling which has happily grown into our Christianity. And it is but justice to the "Fathers of Constance," as they are called, to admit that they tried all milder means of persuasion. Even the bitterest opponents of Huss, Michael de Causis and Stephen Palecz, earnestly besought him to make disavowal of his errors. The course of the Churchman seemed to him

Views of the Council.

clear and determinate, and unavoidable. In the Emperor his pride and his honour, and even his interest, The Emperor. came into perilous collision with these opponents. Was he to recede before a simple Bohemian?—and Sigismund had an old hereditary grudge, as well as a German aversion, to Bohemia. He was beset on all sides. The Churchmen pressed him with the argument that he had gone beyond his powers in granting security to a heretic over whom the Church alone has jurisdiction. “He that is false to God, has no right to appeal to truth or faith.”^e The King of Arragon addressed a letter to Sigismund, taunting him with his manifest favour to a notorious heretic, and avowing astonishment that he had not long before done justice upon Huss. Yet, on the other hand, there still was his safe-conduct, full, distinct, not to be disavowed. He looked too, hereafter, to the succession to the throne of Bohemia. That kingdom had already sent another petition, almost imperious, expressing the sentiments of the magnates of the realm, and demanding the release of John Huss.

The affair of Huss had been revived almost simultaneously with that of the deposition of Pope John. The Council seemed resolved, while it proceeded to extremities in one direction, to show to Christendom that it had no disposition to dangerous latitude on the other. Early in May, in a numerous Session of the Council (the Eighth), came forth a full condemnation of Wycliffe and his doctrines. During the imprisonment of Huss the controversy concerning the administration of the Cup to the laity had been renewed in Prague. The

^e See Andrew Ratisbon Chronic. Eccard, i. p. 2146; and Pez, *Thes. Anecd. Novissim.* ii. 3, 626.

Curate of St. Michael in that city, James von Mies, commonly called Jacobel, had embarked in violent warfare with the opponents of this innovation. The Bishop of Lieutomysse had denounced the proceedings of Jacobel at Constance; and this denunciation could not but exasperate the general animosity against Huss.

On the last day of May the Bohemians presented a memorial to the Council. They expostulated on the neglect of their former petition: they recited the declaration of faith which had been disseminated throughout Bohemia by the friends of Huss, asserting his full belief in all the articles of the Creed, his determination to defend them to death, and the testimonial of the Grand Inquisitor, the Bishop of Nazareth, acquitting him of all heterodox opinions. They demanded his release from his noisome prison, by which his health was affected, and that he should be heard before the Council against his calumnious enemies. The Patriarch of Antioch answered coldly in the name of the Council, that the testimonials were of no avail, till they should have undergone close examination before themselves; they had no faith in his statements. Yet they would condescend, as an act of grace, to grant him a public hearing; for this end he would be removed from his present confinement. Sigismund so expressed his approbation of that resolution to grant a hearing, that the partisans of Huss weakly concluded that the royal favour would protect their teacher.

The Council would willingly have avoided the notoriety of a public examination. Huss was visited in his cell at Goleben by the Patriarch of Antioch, by Michael de Causis, and Stephen Palecz. He was urged to retract. They now, however, interrogated him, as he complains, with the captious and en-

Bohemian
memorial.

June 1.

snaring severity of Inquisitors, adducing against him words culled out of all his letters and discourses; Palecz adduced phrases uttered in frank and careless conversation.^f The Patriarch reproached him with the wealth he had obtained: "Have you not seventy thousand florins?" His answers were brief and cautious: "I will retract when convinced of my error."

He was removed to the Franciscan cloister. In the mean time, the utmost industry had been employed in collecting obnoxious passages from all his writings, and from adverse witnesses. The Cardinals sat in Council on these in order to frame articles of accusation. Sigismund required that these articles should be communicated to Huss. The Cardinals deigned to accede, not as of right, but as of favour. The partisans of Huss were prepared, on the other hand, with authenticated copies of all his writings to confront false citations, or contest unjust inferences.

On the 5th of June John Huss was brought in chains into the Council. His works were presented Huss before the Council. to him; he acknowledged them for his own. The articles were read; but either the indignation of his adversaries, or the zeal of his partisans, or both, raised such an uproar, that silence could hardly be enforced. Huss calmly declared himself ready to maintain his opinions by Scripture and the Fathers. Another outburst of abuse and mockery compelled the Council to adjourn its proceedings.

On the morning of the 7th of June, Constance was Second appearance. darkened by an eclipse of the sun. At Prague the eclipse was total, a sinister omen to the followers of Huss. Two hours after the darkness had

^f Compare L'Enfant, . p. 306, with references to the letters of Huss.

passed away, John Huss stood again before the Council. All the more distinguished Fathers sat in their order. The Emperor was on his throne; a strong guard attended to keep order. Wenzel de Duba and John de Chlum, Nobles, and other Bohemians watched the course of things with grave solicitude. The accusers began on the perilous article of Transubstantiation. But the answer of Huss was clear, distinct, unimpeachable. The Cardinal of Cambray alone, as jealous for his nominalist philosophy as for his orthodox religion, endeavoured by a syllogism about universals, intelligible only according to the scholastic jargon,⁸ to prove that Huss must assert that the material bread remained after consecration. Huss extricated himself with address and triumph. "His philosophic doctrine was that of S. Anselm." He averred Transubstantiation to be a perpetual miracle, and so exempt from all logical form. An English Bishop took up the Cardinal's cause. "A boy in the schools," said Huss, "might answer such puerility." To the other more general charges, that he had preached Wycliffite doctrines; that he officiated as priest when under excommunication by the Pope; that he had spoken with contempt of some of the most learned Prelates of the day, even the Chancellor Gerson; that he had excited tumults in Bohemia; he replied with admirable presence of mind and perfect self-command. Once, indeed, he admitted that he had said, "Wycliffe, I trust, will be saved; but could I think he would be damned, I would my soul were with his." A burst of contemptuous laughter followed this avowal, of which, however, it is not difficult to see the hidden meaning. After some hours of turbulent discussion, he was ordered to with-

⁸ "Credisne universale a parte rei?"

draw, under custody of the Archbishop of Riga, Keeper of the Seals to the Council.

Before he was removed, the Cardinal of Cambray rose and demanded, whether he had not boasted that, if he had not come to the Council of his own free-will, neither King nor Emperor could have compelled his appearance. "There are many nobles in Bohemia," answered Huss, "who honour me with their protection. Had I not willed to come to the Council, they would have placed me in some stronghold beyond the power of King or Emperor." The Cardinal lifted up his hands in amazement at this insolence; a fierce murmur ran through the assembly. Thereat arose John de Chlum: "John Huss speaks truth; I am one of the least of the nobles of Bohemia; in my castle I would have defended him for a year against all the forces of Emperor or King. How much more, Lords mightier than I, with castles far more impregnable!" The Cardinal said in a lower tone, "Huss, I admonish you for your safety and your honour to submit to the Council, as you have promised in prison." All eyes were turned upon the Emperor. Sigismund rose; the purport of his speech was that he had issued the safe-conduct in order to give Huss an opportunity of rendering account of his faith before the Council. The Cardinals and Prelates (he thanked them for it) had granted him this favour; though many asserted that it was beyond his power to take a heretic under his protection. He counselled Huss to maintain nothing with obstinacy, but to submit to the Council on all articles charged and proved against him. So doing he might return in the good graces of the Council to his home, after some slight penance and moderate satisfaction. "If not, the Council will know how to deal with you. For myself, far from defending you in your errors and

in your contumacy, I will be the first to light the fire with my own hands." Huss began to thank the Emperor for his clemency in granting him safe-conduct. The friendly interruption of John de Chlum reminded him that the Emperor had charged him with obstinacy. He protested in God's name that he had no such intention. "He had come of his own free will to Constance, determined, if better instructed, to surrender his opinions." He was conducted back to prison.

The next day Huss stood the third time before the Council. Thirty-nine articles were exhibited June 8.
Third ap-
pearance. against him, twenty-six from his book on the Church, seven from a controversial Tract against Stephen Palecz, six from one against Stanislaus of Znaym. Huss, like most Reformers, held the high Augustinian notion of Predestination. "None were members of the true indefeasible Church, but those predestined to eternal life." On these points he appealed triumphantly to the all-honoured name of Augustine. None dared to answer. But when this theory was applied to Churchmen, to Prelates, to the Pope himself; and when their whole authority was set on their succession not to the titles, but to the virtues of the Apostles, the Council sat amazed and embarrassed. "The Pontiff, who lives not the life of Peter, is no Vicar of Christ, but the fore-runner of Antichrist." A citation from S. Bernard seemed to confirm that dread sentence. "The slave of avarice is the successor not of Peter, but of Judas Iscariot." The Churchmen looked at each other and smiled, no doubt some a bitter smile. In an evil moment Huss pressed his fearless logic. "A King in mortal sin is no King before God." Sigismund was looking out of a window: "There never," he was saying, "lived a more pernicious heretic." The Cardinal of Cambray roused

his attention to this last perilous conclusion. Huss repeated his words aloud. The Emperor only answered, "There is no man that sinneth not." "What!" burst out the Cardinal, "art thou not content with degrading the ecclesiastical power, wouldst thou thrust Kings from their thrones?" "A man," argued Palecz, "may be a true Pope, Prelate, or King, though not a true Christian." "Why, then, have you deposed John XXIII.?" The Emperor answered, "For his notorious misdeeds." Huss had been guilty of the rashness of discomfiting and perplexing his adversaries. The Cardinals were most indignant at what Cambray denounced as an unjust and overdrawn appeal to popular animosity against them. They constantly urged that the articles gave but a mild and mitigated notion of the language of Huss. Huss was arraigned for this assertion: "No heretic should suffer more than ecclesiastical punishment, none be delivered to the secular arm to be punished by death." Yet even Huss, and Huss at that moment, shrank from the full avowal of that simple Evangelic maxim. "The heretic was first to be instructed fairly, mildly, humbly, out of the Scriptures and by reason; if he refused to desist from his errors, to be punished according to St. Augustine, in the body."^b He acknowledged a sentence in his works, which likened those who gave up a heretic to the secular arm unconvicted, to the Pharisees. "Whom," cried the Cardinals, "meanest thou by the Pharisees?" "Those who deliver an innocent man to the civil sword."ⁱ

At the close of the Session the Cardinal of Cambray urged Huss, who had heard the atrocious charges adduced

^b "Corporealiter puniri debere."

ⁱ Von ~~de~~ Hardt, p. 319. The fullest report of the whole trial.

against him, to make unqualified submission to the Council, and to abjure all his errors: "if he persisted, the Council would know how to proceed." The Emperor condescended to argue with him in the same tone. His two accusers, Palecz and De Causis, appealed to Heaven, that they were actuated by no personal hostility towards Huss.

Huss replied with firm humility, that he sought instruction; he could not abjure errors of which he was not convinced. Many things charged against him were forged, many perverted from their true meaning; he could not abjure those, he could not sin against his conscience. He was remanded to prison; the faithful Bohemian Knight, John de Chlum, followed to console his weary friend.

The Emperor rose: "You have heard the charges against Huss proved by trustworthy witnesses, Speech of the Emperor. some confessed by himself. In my judgement, each of these crimes is deserving of death. If he does not forswear all his errors, he must be burned. If he submits, he must be stripped of his preacher's office, and banished from Bohemia: there he would only disseminate more dangerous errors. . . . The evil must be extirpated root and branch. . . . If any of his partisans are in Constance, they must be proceeded against with the utmost severity, especially his disciple, Jerome of Prague." Sigismund had wrought himself, no doubt as an excuse to his remonstrant conscience, to a fanaticism of obedience to the Church.

Huss heard in his prison the Emperor's declaration. "I was warned not to trust to his safe-conduct. I have been under a sad delusion; he has condemned me even before mine enemies."

The fatal hour had now come. 'The Council which

asserted itself to be under the actual inspiration of the Holy Ghost, could not recede without the impeachment of indifference to doctrines which itself had declared to be deadly heresy, or without disavowing the right established by the terrible usage of centuries, of awarding capital punishment for that which the Church had been so long teaching the world was a mortal crime; a crime which it was the most sacred duty to God and man in the Priest to avenge, in the temporal Sovereign, at the demand of the Priest, to punish by fire. Huss could not retract without perjury to his own conscience; without base treachery to his followers, whom he had instructed, whom he had kindled to a fanatic faith in that which himself had believed, which he still believed, to be the saving Gospel of Christ; and this from the fear of death, death which, as he himself was assured, as his partisans had no less confidence, would secure him the martyr's crown.

A form of recantation was drawn by Cardinal Zabarella, studiously mild in its terms, but of necessity an explicit renunciation of his errors, a humble submission to the determinations, to the definitions of the Holy Council. He was to abjure, retract, revoke all his errors, and undergo whatever penance the Council might decree for his soul's health.

The answer of Huss was a prayer to God Almighty for everlasting life, through Christ Jesus. He thanked the reverend Father, Zabarella of Florence, for his pious and paternal kindness. "But if Eleazar under the Old Law refused to eat forbidden food, lest he should sin against God, and leave a bad example to posterity, how can I, a Priest of the New Law, however unworthy, from fear of a punishment so brief and transitory, sin so heinously against the law of

Answer of
Huss.

God, first by departure from truth, secondly by perjury, thirdly by grievous scandal to my brethren? It is better for me to die, than by avoiding momentary punishment to fall into the hands of God, and perhaps into everlasting fire. I have appealed to Jesus Christ, the One All-powerful and All-just Judge; to Him I commit my cause, who will judge every man, not according to false witnesses and erring Councils, but according to truth and man's desert."*

Persons of the highest rank, Cardinals, Prelates, the Emperor, even his adversary, Stephen Palecz, again entreated him, and with tears, to de-^{Attempt to persuade him to yield.} part from his stubborn resolution. His answer was calm, unboastful, with nothing of the vehemence or contemptuousness of fanaticism; he acknowledged how hardly his soul was tried; at the same time, in his letters to Bohemia, some of which were publicly read in the Bethlehem Chapel at Prague, and in others addressed to the University of Prague, he declared that he could forswear no one of his doctrines. He had not been convinced out of the Scriptures, he awaited in tranquillity the judgement of the Lord.

The Council proceeded in full Session to condemn the doctrine of Jacob de Mies concerning the Cup: an omen and a warning! The writings of Huss were ordered to be publicly burned. The Council itself sent another deputation to urge submission. The Emperor had been a short time absent; the day before the final judgement, he sent four Bishops, Wenzel of Duba, and John de Chlum, with a still mitigated form of recantation. Huss was only to retract those tenets which he acknowledged to be his

* Von der Hardt, iv. 329.

own. Even John de Chlum endeavoured to move, or rather to strengthen him. "I am but an unlettered man, unfit to counsel one so learned. If you are conscious of error, be not ashamed to confess it to the Council. If not, I cannot advise you to act against your conscience. Bear any punishment rather than renounce the truth." Huss answered, that he would abandon any opinion on proofs adduced from the Holy Scriptures. A Bishop reproached him with arrogantly setting up his opinion against the whole Council. "Let the lowest in the Council convince me, I will humbly own my error." The night before his condemnation Huss made confession, and, it is asserted, received absolution from a monk.

The Council met in the Cathedral; the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia presided. Sigismund and the Princes of the Empire were present. While Mass was celebrated, Huss, as a heretic, stood in the porch. The Bishop of Lodi preached from the text, "That the body of sin might be destroyed."^m It was a fierce declamation: it suggested that Huss was as "bad as Arius, worse than Sabellius." The preacher closed with adulatory praise of the Emperor. "It is thy glorious office to destroy heresies and schism, especially this obstinate heretic." He pointed to Huss, who was kneeling in an elevated place and in fervent prayer.

A Decree of the Council was read, inhibiting all present, without exception, Prelates, Princes, Kings, Emperors, under pain of excommunication and two months' imprisonment, to speak without permission, to reply, to interrupt the proceedings, to give any sign or murmur of applause or disapprobation either with the

^m Rom. vi. 6. The sermon may be read in *Von der Hardt*, iii. 1

hands or feet. Certain tenets of Wycliffe were here recited and condemned; afterwards thirty articles containing the doctrines of Huss." Often, while these articles were read, Huss attempted to speak; as often he was put to silence. At length, while he was arraigned as believing that the material bread remained after the consecration, he broke out, "That I deny, so I have never believed or taught." He renounced with equal vehemence a charge that he had added a fourth person to the Trinity; he defied them to produce their nameless witness. His appeal to Christ was treated as an impious error. "Oh, blessed Jesus!" he uttered with a loud voice, "This thy Council condemns us, because in our afflictions we have sought refuge with Thee, the One just Judge." He added, "This I constantly affirm, that the surest and most safe appeal is to the Lord Jesus; Him none can pervert or bribe by gifts, none deceive by false witnesses, or beguile by craft. He will render unto every one his own." He justified himself for having continued to officiate as Priest after his excommunication by the Pope. "Freely came I hither under the safe-conduct of the Emperor." He turned and looked steadily at Sigismund. A deep blush passed over the face of the Emperor.

The Bishop of Concordia, an aged, bald Italian Prelate, rose to read the two sentences, one condemning the writings, the other the person of John Huss to the flames; his writings, as propagating the tenets of the heresiarch Wycliffe, and as containing many things erroneous, scandalous, offensive to pious ears, some notoriously heretical; all, both in Latin and Bohemian, were adjudged to be publicly and solemnly burned.

▪ Von der Hardt; more briefly in *L'Enfant* p. 403.

Huss was commanded to kneel and hear his own sentence. The Council, having God before its eyes, declared Huss a real and manifest heresiarch, who had advanced doctrines offensive, rash, seditious, had trampled under foot the power of the Keys and the censures of the Church, had scandalised all true Christians, by his appeal to Jesus Christ. "This John Huss, being thus obstinate and incorrigible, who has refused to enter into the bosom of the Church, and abjure his errors." Huss broke in, "I have ever desired, and still desire, to be instructed out of the Holy Scriptures." The Bishop concluded with condemning him to be degraded and despoiled of his Orders. Huss rose from his knees; he uttered a fervent prayer to God to pardon his enemies. Some of the older Priests, even Bishops, looked sternly at him, and laughed his prayers to scorn. The Archbishop of Milan, the Bishops of Bangor, Feltre, Ast (in Hungary), Alexandria, and Lavaur were designated for the office of degradation. Huss was clad in all the attire of the Priesthood, and led with the cup in his hand to the high altar, as if about to celebrate Mass. As they put on the alb, he said, "They put a white robe on our Lord to mock him, when Herod sent him to Pilate." Once more the Bishops implored him to recant. He declined for the same reasons alleged before. "Behold," said the Bishops, "how obstinate he is in his malice." The cup was taken from his hand: "Accursed Judas, thou hast deserted the way of peace, thou hast entered into counsel with the Jews. We take away this cup in which the blood of Christ is offered for the redemption of souls." Huss said, "I trust that I shall drink it this day in the kingdom of heaven." He was stripped one

by one of his robes, on each a curse was pronounced. "These mockeries I bear with equal mind for the name and the truth of Christ." The tonsure was now to be effaced. They disputed whether it was to be done with scissors or with a razor. "Lo! they cannot agree," said Huss, "how to put me to shame." It was done with scissors; the hair cut in the form of a cross; a high paper crown, daubed over with devils, was set on his head. "We devote thy soul to the devils in hell." "And I commend my soul to the most merciful Lord, Christ Jesus." So the Church made over the heresiarch to the secular arm. The Emperor delivered him to Louis, Elector Palatine, the Imperial Vicar; the Elector to the Magistrates of Constance, the Magistrates to the executioners.

Huss was led away with two of the headsman's servants before him, two behind. Eight hundred horse followed, and the whole multitude from Execution. the city. Over a narrow bridge they went in single file, lest it should break with their weight. They stopped before the Bishop's palace, that Huss might gaze on the pile on which his books lay burning. He only smiled at this ineffectual act of vengeance. As he went along he addressed the people in German, protesting against the injustice of his sentence, "His adversaries had been able to convince him of no error." The place of execution was a meadow without the walls. He knelt, recited several psalms, with the perpetual burthen, "Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me. Into thy hands I commend my spirit." "We know not," said the people, "what this man may have done, we only know that his prayers to God are excellent." They asked if he would have a confessor. A Priest on a stately horse, and richly attired, protested that no con-

fessor should be granted to a heretic. But Reichenthal, as himself relates, called forth Ulric Schorand, a man of piety and wisdom. Ulric required that Huss should first retract the errors for which he was condemned. Huss declined to confess on such terms. "I have no need, I am guilty of no mortal sin." He endeavoured to address the people again in German. The Elector Palatine refused permission. Then Huss prayed aloud, "Lord Jesus, for thy sake I endure with patience this cruel death. I beseech thee to pardon mine enemies." As he spoke, the paper mitre fell from his head. The rude soldiers replaced it: "He shall be burned with all his devils." He spoke gently to his guards. "I trust that I shall reign with Christ, since I die for his Gospel."

He was then tied fast by an old rusty chain to the stake affixed on a platform. The Elector Palatine and the Marshal Oppenheim advanced, and again urged him to recant. Huss replied, that he willingly signed his testimony with his blood. All he had taught and written was to save men's souls from Satan, and from the dominion of sin. The fire blazed up; it is said that an old woman was busy in heaping the wood. "Oh, holy simplicity!" said Huss. With the last feeble sounds of his voice he was heard to chant verses of the Psalms, and to pray to the Redeemer. All the remains of the body were torn in pieces, even his clothes thrown into the fire; the ashes were gathered and thrown into the lake, lest his disciples should make reliques of them. But their faithful piety scraped together the earth around the pile, and carried it to Bohemia.^o

^o The whole description of the last hours of Huss is from Reichenthal and the two nameless biographers of Huss, who all were eye-witnesses. Compare L'Enfant, and Aschbach, Kaiser Sigmund.

So perished John Huss as an obstinate incorrigible heretic, but his heresy has never been clearly defined. It was not a denial of any of the great doctrinal truths of universal Christianity, nor any of those tenets of belief rejected afterwards by the German and English Reformers. On Transubstantiation (notwithstanding the subtleties of his adversaries), the Communion in one kind, worship of the Saints and of the Virgin Mary, Huss was scrupulously, unimpeachably orthodox. He was the martyr to the power of the hierarchy, not the power of the Pope, which the Council itself had renounced in its extreme theory; his testimony was against that supreme ecclesiastical dominion, which had so long ruled the mind of man.

Bohemia, at the news of the burning of Huss, seemed to rise with one impulse of sorrow and indignation. National and religious zeal animated Proceedings in Bohemia. all ranks, all orders. The King openly denounced the treachery of Sigismund and the barbarous injustice of the Council. The Bishop of Lieutomyssel had been commanded by the Council to communicate their act, and to exhort the Bohemians to extirpate the heresies which were teeming in the kingdom. The Magnates of Bohemia met in the Chapel of Bethlehem, Sept. 2. whose walls might still seem to sound with the eloquent preachings of Huss. An address to the Council was framed and signed by sixty of the greatest names, nobles, barons, knights, gentlemen, denouncing the execution of Huss, as inflicting perpetual infamy and disgrace on the kingdom of Bohemia and the Marquisate of Moravia. They protested that Huss was a good Catholic Christian, of the holiest conversation and most Evangelic doctrine; a man who detested and never taught error or heresy, whose life was devoted to

the edification of the people. They complained of the imprisonment, perhaps the death of the eloquent Jerome of Prague, that "illustrious philosopher," like Huss convicted of no crime, but accused, like Huss, by wicked and treacherous informers, the enemies of Bohemia. They declared that whoever averred heresies to prevail in the kingdom of Bohemia lied in his throat; they concluded with leaving the redress of their injuries to God, who will punish the proud, being determined when the Church should be united under one supreme and undisputed pastor, to prosecute to the utmost this violation of the rights and dignity, this execution of the innocent subjects, of their realm. Strong measures were taken in a subsequent meeting to protect the

Sept. 5. Hussite priests against their Bishops. The popular fury had broken out in acts of persecution against the old clergy, and against the monks. The Emperor addressed the Bohemians in a letter, half-rebuke for their turbulent proceedings, half-apology for his own unroyal weakness in surrendering Huss to his enemies. "It was with inexpressible grief, after having more than once threatened to leave Constance, only to avert the dissolution of the Council, that he had submitted to the decree of Christendom, represented by the whole hierarchy, and by the ambassadors of all Christian Sovereigns." ^P

But neither did the sacrifice of one victim satiate, nor the dread of the revolt of a whole kingdom arrest the severe determination of the Council to suppress by these terrible means the growing resistance to ecclesiastical rule. They would break the yoke under which

^P "Neque etiam licuit nobis ulterius pro hoc negotio loqui, quia exinde concilium totaliter fuisset dissolutum." This most remarkable letter in the Appendix to L'Enfant.

themselves groaned, that of the Pope; but the more resolute were they that their own yoke should not be broken. Robert Hallam, Bishop of Salisbury, stood almost alone in assertion of the great maxim, "God willeth not the death of a sinner, but that he should be converted and live." He almost alone condemned the punishment of death for heresy.^a The Emperor had left Constance; had he remained, Jerome of Prague could show no safe-conduct on his part. Jerome of Prague, to the short relief of the more moderate, displayed not the stubborn courage of John Huss. Four months of weary imprisonment, in chains, in darkness, on meagre diet; the terror, as himself owned, of the stake; sickness; the bland promises of some, the awful threats of others; the persuasions of weaker friends, broke his spirit. In a public Session of the Council, Jerome of Prague appeared and made a full retractation of all errors against the Catholic faith, especially those of Wycliffe and John Huss.

Jerome of
Prague.

Recants.
Sept. 23

Instead of opening the prison doors and sending forth the strong man shorn of his strength; if insincere or repentant of his weakness with the burthen of apostasy on his conscience; under the suspicion, if not the contempt of his partisans, who could not but contrast his pusillanimity with the unbroken resolution of Huss; instead of placing him, as they might, in safe custody, the Council, with vengeance not less impolitic than unchristian, loaded itself with the crime of another inhuman execution, and compelled Jerome of Prague to a martyrdom hardly less noble than that of Huss. It was asserted by his implacable enemies, Michael de

^a Aschbach, p. 202, with authorities.

Causis and Stephen Palecz, that the recantation was ambiguous.

New articles were exhibited against him. The Cardinals of Cambray, Aquileia, Orsini, and Florence

(Zabarella had drawn the form of retractation)
 April 27. withdrew in indignation from the commission

of inquiry. But different Commissioners were named at the instigation of his two implacable adversaries. The Patriarch of Antioch and (it is sad to write) the Chancellor Gerson urged this virtual breach of faith.

Fresh charges were accumulated. Thrice was
 May 23. Jerome again arraigned before a General Congregation. The last time he was permitted to

pour forth a long declamation in his defence,
 May 26. he dwelt on all the great men who had been the victims of false accusation, Socrates, Seneca, Boethius, Plato, the Prophets, the Protomartyr Stephen. He ascribed his persecution to the hereditary unforgiving hatred between the Germans and Bohemians. He acknowledged some concern in the tumults in the University of Prague, when certain Germans had lost their lives. He confessed his flight from Constance, and still further, "I confess that, moved by cowardly fear

of the stake, against my conscience, I have
 Recants his recantation. consented to the condemnation of the doctrines of Wycliffe and John Huss. This sinful retractation I now fully retract, and am resolved to maintain the tenets of Wycliffe and of John Huss to death, believing them to be the true and pure doctrine of the Gospel, even as their lives were blameless and holy."

From that moment Jerome of Prague resumed all
 his calm intrepidity. He was speedily con-
 May 30, 1416. demnation. demned as a relapsed heretic. The Bishop of Lodi, doubtless as supposed to be gifted with most im-

pressive eloquence, was again called upon to preach the funeral sermon of the heretic. His text was, "He reproached their unbelief and hardness of heart." On his own charity and that of the Council, their charity to the heretic himself, and to the rest of Christendom, for whose sake heresy was to be extirpated, the preacher was unctuous and self-adulatory. He laid down as irrefragably just the ordinary, the rightful course of procedure against all commonly reputed heretics. There should be diligent inquisition for them; they should be apprehended, placed in strong prisons. Articles should be exhibited against them, witnesses admitted, even the most infamous,—usurers, ribalds, common prostitutes. The heretics should be sworn to speak the truth. If they refuse to speak, they are to be put upon the rack, and subjected to various tortures. None should be admitted to visit them, but under strong necessity; they ought not to be heard in public. If they shall recant, they are to find mercy. If obstinate, they are to be condemned and made over to the secular arm. This brief and frightful and authoritative statement of the dominant usage is contrasted by the preacher with the magnanimous mercy of the Council to Jerome of Prague.^r

Jerome was permitted to answer; he answered with boldness bordering on scorn. He ended thus: "You are resolved to condemn me in this wicked and iniquitous manner, without having convicted me of any crime; but after my death I will be in your consciences an evergnawing worm. I appeal to the Supreme Judge, before

^r The whole sermon is remarkable. It is in Von der Hardt, iii. p. 35. There was a lofty burst of feudal indignation, that two men, vile plebeians of the basest sort, of unknown birth, should have convulsed the whole kingdom of Bohemia.

whom ye will appear with me, ere a hundred years are passed." ^s

An accomplished Florentine, Poggio Bracciolini, present at the trial, has left an account of the demeanour of Jerome, which impressed him as a display of power and eloquence, almost unrivalled at any time. Emerging from a fetid dungeon, after the depression of a long confinement, with the weight of his recantation upon him, against an adverse Court, he stood his ground, with wonderful copiousness, fluency, and readiness of language, and with consummate dexterity, now deeply pathetic, now with playful wit or taunting sarcasm, confounding, bewildering, overpowering his adversaries. His voice was sweet, clear, sonorous, with a certain dignity; his gesture admirably fitted to express indignation, or to move that commiseration, which he neither sought nor cared to obtain. He stood fearless, intrepid, like another Cato, not only despising, courting death. ^t

His death was as surprising for its calmness and courage. Two days were left to permit him ^{Execution.} to retract again. The Cardinal of Florence attempted to persuade him to submission. His countenance was constantly not only composed but cheerful. ^u He was bound naked to the stake; he continued to sing hymns with his deep untrembling voice. The executioner offered to light the fire behind him, lest he should see it. "Light it before my face," said the martyr; "had I the least fear, I should not be standing in this place."

There remained one case of criminal jurisprudence for the decision of this great Senate of Christendom.

^s L'Enfant is inclined, I think on insufficient grounds, to doubt the authenticity of these last words.

^t Poggio Bracciolini Oper.

^u Von der Hardt, iii. 64.

Before the Council of Constance were arraigned, for different violations of the law of God and man, three persons, all, somewhat singularly, bearing the name of John. Pope John XXIII., according to the articles exhibited against him, and those articles supported by undoubted testimony, and so affirmed by the Council and put forth as the accredited foundation of their judgement, had been guilty from his youth, and during his whole life, of the foulest crimes, being a priest, of licentiousness which passes belief, promiscuous concubinage, incest, the violation of nuns; of the most atrocious cruelties, murder, massacre, the most grinding tyranny, unglutted avarice, unblushing simony. He had rarely celebrated the solemn rites of the Church, the Holy Sacraments, and then with contemptuous neglect and indifference.* Against some of these charges John made no defence; in some he seemed to acquiesce, only resting on the plea that they were no heresies, and that the Pope could be judged for heresy alone. John XXIII. was deposed from his Pontifical office, having fled from the Council in violation of his own most solemn protestations; he was ignominiously apprehended, and cast into prison; he was detained in dishonourable but not harsh captivity till the close of the Council. Afterwards, having ceased to be dangerous to the ruling Pope, and having humbled himself beneath his feet, he was permitted to close his days in peace, even

* "Unus Articulus qui fuit in ordine sextus plura vitia conclusit sub hâc formâ. Item quod dictus Johannes fuit et est pauperum oppressor; justitiæ persecutor; iniquitatum columna; Simoniacorum statua; carnis cultor; vitiorum fex; a virtutibus peregrinus; infamiæ speculum et omnium mali-

tiarum profundus admonitor; adeo et in tantum scandalizans ecclesiam Christi, quod inter Christi fideles vitam et mores cognoscentes vulgariter dicitur Diabolus Incarnatus."—Thus speaks a Council of a Pope! Gobelius, p. 341.

in honour, for he was raised again to the rank of a Cardinal.

The second, John Huss, of life blameless to austerity, absolutely unimpeachable in his morals, charged only with some indirect connexion with turbulent proceedings in Bohemia, with an acquittal of all heresy from the Archbishop of Prague and the Grand Inquisitor, with a safe-conduct from the Emperor, was accused of erroneous belief in Transubstantiation and the Administration of the Cup to the Laity. These charges he distinctly denied, and repelled to the satisfaction of most present: he was likewise accused of having denounced the corruptions and vices of the clergy; yet his denunciations, not to speak of those of Nicolas of Clemangis, Henry of Hessa, Theodoric à Niem, Theodore de Vrie, could hardly have surpassed in severity those of men who sat in judgement upon him, Gerson and Peter d'Ailly Cardinal of Cambray. It is difficult to define or to apprehend the precise remaining delinquencies or errors of which he was found guilty, as having adopted and propagated the condemned doctrines of Wycliffe, treated with derision, or undermined the Power of the Keys, and the absolute irrepealable authority of the clergy, and making that authority dependent not on their succession or ordination, but on their personal holiness. For these offences, notwithstanding the Imperial safe-conduct, John Huss was seized, imprisoned, burned at the stake.

The third, Jean Petit, in an acknowledged, and published, and unambiguous writing, had vindicated as just and lawful a most foul and treacherous murder. In this vindication he had laid down principles utterly subversive of human society—principles which would let loose mankind upon each other, like wild beasts; principles in direct violation of one of the Commandments of God.

and in plain, bold opposition to every precept and to the whole religion of Christ.^y

Jean Petit had escaped by death all personal penalty.^z The condemnation of his book by the Council of Constance, through the awe and influence of the Duke of Burgundy, was postponed, debated, at length eluded. For to condemn Jean Petit for his abstract propositions, was to condemn the act of the Duke of Burgundy. From the first the partisans of Burgundy, with the acquiescence, the servile admission of those who dared not be his enemies, acquitted the Duke of all personal participation in a crime of which all believed, all knew him to be guilty. But the Council of Constance, to its close, hesitated to pass that censure demanded and uttered by the shuddering abhorrence of mankind against the book of Jean Petit. A Council of Faith at Paris, under the Archbishop and the Grand Inquisitor, had condemned the Eight Verities asserted by Jean Petit. The Council of Constance would not affirm this censure; it was even annulled on account of informality by the Cardinal Orsini and others of the same rank. The world eagerly awaited the decree of the supreme authority in Christendom on the momentous question, the legality of murder. Session after session dragged out in illimitable length. Bishops, Abbots, theologians, the Bishop of Arras, the Abbots of Clairvaux and Citeaux, Jean de la Roche, a learned Dominican, did not scruple to undertake the contest, to allege every kind of captious objection, every subtlety of scholastic logic. These monstrous tenets were declared to be only moral and philosophical opinions, not of faith, therefore out of the province of

^y See in Monstrelet the Eight Principles of Jear Petit, li. c. xxxix.

^z He died 1411; it is said repenting of his book

the Church and of the Council. Gerson, the prosecutor in the name of the University of Paris, not avowedly, though known to be in secret supported by the King of France, could not but perceive the monstrous incongruity between the condemnation of John Huss for his anti-hierarchical tenets as of Faith, and the dismissal of questions which concerned the first elements of religion and the Commandments, as beyond the province of Faith. Gerson himself was involved in charges of heresy by the advocates of Jean Petit, determined at all hazards to silence their powerful antagonist. With difficulty a condemnation was extorted of one broad and general proposition. "It is lawful and even meritorious in any vassal or subject to kill a tyrant, either by stratagem, by blandishment, flattery, or force, notwithstanding any oath or covenant sworn with him, without awaiting the sentence or authority of any judge."^a Yet even this censure was annulled, as wanting in form, by the new Pope. Nothing could induce Martin V. to condemn in full Council either the propositions of Jean Petit, or kindred doctrines which had been published in Poland.^b Even the memory of the third John escaped unscathed from any authoritative proscription by Council or by Pope. But Gerson, the learned, pious Gerson, dared not return to Paris, now in the power of Burgundy and the English; he lay hid for a time in Germany, lingered out a year or two at Lyons, and died a proscribed and neglected exile; finding his only consolation, no doubt full consolation, in the raptures of his Holy Mysticism.^c

^a Von der Hardt, v. 442; L'Enfant, p. 408.

^b L'Enfant, ii. 212; Gerson. Opera, v. 1014.

^c "Synodo finitâ Joannes Gersonius,

tot laborum suorum, insignisque pietatis, ac in justitiam ac verum ardentissimi amoris, non aliud præmium consecutus est, quam perpetuum exilium."—Dupin, Vit. Gerson, p. xxxvi.

CHAPTER X.

Close of the Council of Constance. Pope Martin V.

YET by these acts (the affair of Jean Petit dragged on to its close) the Council of Constance had only commenced its proper work, the Reformation of the Church and the election of a Pope. Nor had the Fathers approached the solution of the great difficulty, which of these was to take precedence. This question involved another perhaps of higher moment. Could the Church legally reform itself without a Pope? Was it complete, invested in full power of action, without a head? Nor, though John XXIII. was removed, was the ground clear for the election of a new Pope. There were still two Popes, who had not absolutely abandoned their claims; and whose ambassadors had been admitted by the Council. Gregory XII., friendless, worn out, made no resistance; indeed, before the election of the new Pope he had relieved the Council by his death. But the Spaniard, Benedict XIII., was impracticable. Month after month for above a year he fought with firmness which might have been admired in a better cause. The Emperor met at Perpignan the Kings of Arragon, Castile, and Navarre. Benedict refused a safe-conduct addressed to him only as a Cardinal; he would appear but as Pope in his Pontifical robes. He appeared, fled, appeared again. His demands were as exorbitant as if he still divided the world. He would

Two great questions.

Benedict XIII.

Aug. 31.

have the Council of Pisa annulled, the Council of Constance broken up, a new and more impartial tribunal summoned. He would cede, and he would not cede;

Nov. 2. he would dictate, not receive laws of reform.

Again he fled to Collaria, a strong fortress near the sea. He was besieged by the deputies of the Spanish cities. He withdrew to the more impregnable Peniscola.

At Narbonne certain capitulations were framed; according to which the Kings of Arragon, Castile,

Dec. 13. Navarre, and the Count de Foix renounced their obedience to Benedict. The Spaniards joined the Council, they formed a fifth Nation. Benedict, deserted

by his Cardinals, cited again and again, declared Jan. 1417. contumacious, accused, condemned, deposed, to the last adhered to himself. Two Benedictine monks

March 8. brought him the summons of the Council.

April 3. "Are ye the ravens returned to the Ark? No wonder that the ravens gather where the dead body is!"

He received the sentence with the utmost impatience, threw back on the Council the charge of schism, and broke out, striking his chair with violence, "Not at Constance, the Church is at Peniscola." He created two new Cardinals, maintained the forms of state, and not till some years after died at Peniscola as obstinate and unyielding as he had lived.

The deposition of Benedict brought the two contending parties into direct conflict. On the all-important but undecided question, the Cardinals, on one side, insisted that no reform could be valid, authoritative, complete, unless by the Church in her full and perfect capacity, with a Pope at her head. The Emperor, supported by the Germans and English, was determined not to let slip the golden opportunity for reform, unembarrassed if not by the natural repugnance,

Divisions in
the Council.

by all the forms and difficulties inseparable from the Papal assent. They maintained the imperious necessity of reform in the head as well as in the members. The Pope himself must submit to the salutary restrictions imposed on the rest of the hierarchy; and could that be expected, could it be extorted from an actual ruling Pope? Menacing and ominous signs of division began to appear. The Cardinals protested against proceeding to any reform unauthorised by a Pope; August. September. the Germans and the English were accused of heresy, for promulgating such dangerous doctrines. Sept. 16. The Emperor took the strong measure of prohibiting the separate meetings of the Cardinals.

At this juncture, the death of Robert Hallam, Bishop of Salisbury, changed the whole state of affairs. Sept. 4. Death of Robert Hallam. On his wisdom, on his resolute firmness, the Emperor had relied; his authority held together the Germans and the English. The French, from hatred of the English, had somewhat cooled in their ardent zeal for reform; they had even contested the right of the English to vote, especially after the arrival of the Spaniards, as one of the Nations. In D'Ailly the Cardinal prevailed over the Reformer. Two of the more distinguished German Prelates were bought over. Wallenrod of Riga received the wealthy Bishopric of Liège, with its principedom, Abondi of Coire, the Archbishopric of Riga.^a Only a few days after Hallam's death the English fell off to the Italian party; the Emperor was compelled to assent to the election of a Pope, upon the specious but precarious resolution that the Pope should stipulate to reform the Church before

Von der Hardt, iv. 1432-1440. Probably, after the consent to the election, as a reward.

the dissolution of the Council. The angry feud between the Emperor and the Cardinals was allayed by the good offices of Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester (uncle of King Henry VI.), on his return from the Holy Land, and so invested with a kind of holy influence.

Great bodies are apt, when weary of the tardy and encumbered progress of affairs, to rush on in headlong precipitation, and to accomplish in reckless haste what might seem to require the most grave and slow deliberation. They waste years in debate, and then do desperately in a few days or hours the most important acts. The hard-wrung consent of the Emperor was given on the last day of September. The inevitable contests as to the form of election were over in one month. On the 30th of October (at its Fortieth Session) the Council made its last effort for independent life. It declared that it was not to be dissolved till the Pope had granted reform. On the 8th of November those who were to be joined with the Cardinals in the privilege of election (this concession the Council had demanded and obtained) were named. Twenty-three Cardinals and thirty Delegates of the Council entered the Conclave. The strife was sharp but short. On the 11th of November, an Italian, a Roman, a noble of the house of Colonna, had united the suffrages; the Cardinal Colonna, elected on St. Martin's day, took the name of Martin V.^b

Election of
Martin V.

The election of the Pope woke the whole Council to

^b "Quod autem in Papam electus est ille, qui de Collegio Cardinalium obedientiæ Urbani Papæ descendit, Spiritus Sanctus quodam mysterio singulari egiisse præsumitur: cum id quod prius ira, odium, insidia et protervitas et ultio dubium facti temporis

diuturnitate abortum, de Papatus justa possessione discerni non siverant, hoc jam totius mundi consensus simpliciter in cordibus veritatem et justitiam diligentium scintillarunt."—Gobelinus, p. 344.

a paroxysm of joy. He was at once invested in the Papal robes, and placed on the altar, where eager throngs hastened to kiss his feet. The Emperor prostrated himself before the Pontiff, and paid that act of reverential homage. Throughout the rest of the ceremonial of the inauguration Constance vied with Rome in its pomp, and in its adherence to the ancient formularies, as far as could be done in a strange city. The immense multitudes, which might more fairly be supposed to represent Christendom, made up for the sacred emotions inseparable from Rome. If the Minster of Constance but poorly represented the time-hallowed Lateran, the fantastic S. Maria Maggiore, the Apostolic Church of St. Peter, yet the inexhaustible crowds of all nations, Kings, Princes, Burghers, Prelates, Clergy of all the kingdoms of Europe, might add even greater dignity to the ceremony than the so-called Consuls, Senators, Magistrates, and populace of Rome.

The Cardinal Otto Colonna was a man in elevating whom conflicting parties might meet without the humiliation of a compromise. Of the highest birth, irreproachable morals, with the reputation of learning in the Canon Law, in only two points he had departed from the most calm moderation, in both with the full sympathies of the Council. He had been strenuous for the condemnation of Huss; he had adhered to, had even followed Pope John in his flight; but this would find excuse as an act of generous fidelity to the ruling Pontiff and to a falling friend. In all other respects he had held a middle course with great dignity; no stern adversary of reformation, no alarming fanatic for change. He was courteous in manners, short and sententious in speech, quick and dexterous yet cautious in business, a strict and even ostentatious lover of justice. His enemies

could only assert that much craft lurked under his moderation; later in life his prudence degenerated into avarice. The conduct of the Pope, until the dissolution of the Council, the dissolution of the Council without any great general measure of reform, while he avoided all serious offence to the Emperor or to the more formidable advocates of reform, display the great sagacity, the consummate policy of Martin V.

Yet in his first act Martin might seem to throw off his moderation, and to declare hastily and imperiously his determination to maintain all the existing abuses. The Papal chancery had been the object of the longest, loudest, and most just clamour. The day after the election, the Pope published a Brief confirming all the regulations established by his predecessors, even by John XXIII.^c All the old grievances, Reservations, Expectancies, Vacancies, Confirmations of Bishops, Dispensations, Exemptions, Commendams, Annates, Tenths, Indulgences,^d might seem to be adopted as the irrevocable law of the Church.^e The form was

^c On the regulations of the Roman Chancery, see Eichhorn, iii. p. 511, note. To the Chancery belonged the preparation and expedition of all Briefs and Bulls, appeals, negotiations. The Dataria was originally a branch of the Chancery; from the Dataria came all grants, gifts, appointments to benefices. The head of the whole was the Protonotarius or Primicerius, called also Corrector of the Papal Letters. There was a College of Abbreviators, 12 de parco majori, 22 de parco minori (from these were the Rescribendarius, the Taxatores who fixed the price of Briefs or Bulls, and the Plumbator who held the seal); the rest, making up 72,

might be laymen or married men, and were called examiners. The first wore the violet dress of bishops. There were three courts of justice, the Rota, the Signatura Justitiæ, and Signatura Gratiæ. All this vast incorporation was maintained by the fees of office.

^d The decree is in Von der Hardt, i. p. 955 *et seqq.*, L'Enfant, ii. 415-426 countersigned by the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, Nov. 12, 1417, published, with severe penalties for its infringement, Feb. 26, 1418.

^e The right of the Holy See to appoint to all benefices, out of which gradually grew up all these abuses of Reservations, Provisions, Dispensations,

not less dictatorial than the substance of the decree. It was an act of the Pope, not of the Council. It was

Annates, Commendams, Pluralities, was unknown till the twelfth century. The prerogative might seem necessarily vested in the universal Bishop, enabling him, by his higher episcopal authority, to place the worthiest men in every office or function of the Universal Church. Its first exercise appears to have been, when on the removal, the deposition, or degradation of any unfit, criminal, or heretical dignitary, the right might devolve* on the supreme arbiter (these were mostly cases of appeal) to substitute some worthier prelate. Hadrian IV. began to recommend spiritual persons to the bishops for preferment. These *prayers* with his successors grew into mandates: the haughty Alexander III. not merely issued those mandates, but sent his officers to enforce their execution.† It was an early usage, too, that when a prelate or high dignitary died at Rome, the Pope and the Roman Court in their abundant charity would send a successor from Rome for the consolation of the widowed Church.‡

Innocent III. first asserted for the Supreme Pontiff the plenary power of disposing of all benefices, for the advantage of such persons as should have deserved well of the See of Rome.§ From this time Bulls for the appointment of such prelates bear the significant words of "our plenary authority:" and the more sweeping "notwith-

standing," which at once annulled all existing rights, privileges, prescriptions of rightful patrons. The Papal Legates were invested in the same high powers; || in them, if they deemed it necessary to put forth their power, was the derivative authority to summon any ecclesiastic to any office or dignity. As yet it was the haughty assertion on special occasions only, and occasions in many cases such as might seem to justify the Papal interference and the exercise of this all-embracing prerogative. We have seen Stephen Langton seated on the throne of Canterbury by this title, in vain contested by the King, admitted by the world. Clement IV. fifty years later specially reserved for the Papal nomination all benefices of which the possessors died at Rome.¶ That which was a proud prerogative, exercised so far with some modesty, and with some respect for the high purposes for which it was assumed, with the Avignonese Pontiffs and their successors became a wanton and arbitrary authority, exercised for the aggrandisement of the Pope's power and the Pope's wealth. Already Clement V. reserved for himself, out of his love for his former see the archbishopric and certain abbeys in Bordeaux. John XXII. not only extended the special reservation to whole dioceses, Aquileia, Milan, Ravenna, Genoa, and Pisa, but as we have seen, pro-

* This was called "jus devolutionis,"

† See Eichhorn, iii. p. 507, *Preces, Mandata.*

‡ "In consolationem de obitu defuncti."—*Ibid.*

§ Planck, iv. p. 721.

|| "De officio Legati."—*Regest.* c. 6, x

¶ "Licet . . . beneficiorum . . . plenaria dispositio ad Romanum noscatur Pontificem pertinere . . . collationem tamen . . . beneficiorum, apud Sedem Romanam vacantium, specialius ceteris antiqua consuetudo R. P. reservavit."—B. Clement. IV.

throughout the Pope who enacted and ordained; it was the absolute resumption of the whole power of Reforma-

claimed the Papal reservation of all benefices vacated by promotions through the grace of the Roman See. We have seen, too, that John XXII. endeavoured by one sweeping edict to strip all pluralists of their execrable and unholy accumulation of preferments, and to secure their spoils, as Reserves, for himself and the Holy See. We have seen how out of the Reservations arose the *Expectatives*, granted with such lavish prodigality by the Italian Popes who succeeded to those of Avignon; with the not less lucrative creation of *vacancies*.

With the reservation of benefices, and still more with the right of confirmation of bishops—a right asserted, and more or less rigidly exercised, since the twelfth century—was closely connected the right of the taxation of benefices. The tax assumed the name of Annates, as calculated on the annual revenue of the benefice. It was levied as a fee on consecration upon every bishop confirmed in Rome. At first it was confined to prelaties. Clement V. extended this privilege of paying a year's income to all benefices in England. John XXII. extended it throughout Christendom for three years only, on account of the pressing necessities of the Roman Church;* but those necessities ceased not to be urgent: the three years grew into a perpetuity.† Towards the end of the fourteenth century it became a tax, the fees on confirmation must be paid over and

above. Thus the Papal Chancery held a roll of assessment of the value of almost all benefices in Christendom: this ecclesiastical valuation was raised from time to time, as not only the annates, the first-fruits, but the tenths which were occasionally commanded or granted were collected according to this cataster.‡ In the same manner the Pope seized, what Kings had claimed, the possessions left by the clergy, and the produce of vacant benefices.

The plenary power which could bestow, could *dispense* with the duties of all benefices. It could permanently unite contiguous and poor benefices: it could excuse, on the pretext of higher duties, the duties of the member of the Capitular Body, of the parish Priest, even of the Bishop. Who but the Head of the Church could judge what was for the benefit of the Church? If this could be done in benefices with cure of souls, how much more when it was only the rule of a monastery, the seat in or the presidency of a Chapter, the stately and almost inactive charge of the Abbot, or the regular and ritual duty of the Canon or the Prebendary? Here the Prior, there the Vicar, might go through with sufficient decency the scanty or the mechanical services in the church, dream in the cloister, chant in the choir. The Pope would therefore less scruple to accumulate such benefices on his Cardinals, his officers, his courtiers, his favourites, whom he

* Compare vol. vii. p. 435; Eichhorn, iii. p. 507.

† They were likewise called "*servitia communia et minuta*."

‡ Extravagant. Cap. ii. de Prebend.

tion, so far at least as the Papal Court, into his own hands. Whatever he might hereafter concede to the Church in general, or to the separate nations of Christendom, was a boon on his part, not a right on theirs. Did the secret of this bold measure really lurk in this—that it appeared to be and was received as a declaration against all reform?

The Council saw its fatal error. In creating a Pope of high character, it had given itself a master. It might dictate to a John XXIII., it must submit to a Martin V. The Emperor himself had fallen into the second rank; the Pope took his seat as of course President of the Council. They were at the Pope's mercy. Their only hope was that his magnanimity, his gratitude, or his zeal for religion might prevail over his jealous care of his supremacy, that precious trust which had been handed down by so many generations of Popes, the unlimited Vice-gerency of God.

Yet the Nations would not abandon or relax their strenuous efforts for reform. The Germans presented a strong memorial; it contained eighteen articles, limiting the number of Cardinals, placing the Papal power under severe restrictions as to collation of benefices, Annates, Reservations, Appeals, the abuses of the Chancery and the Penitentiary, Exemptions, Unions, Commendams.¹ The French had been at first the most bold and earnest in their denunciations against the abuses in the Church.

could commend to the formal election of the Chapter or the Monks, and permit to hold (in commendam), without once having visited the Convent or the Chapter, the Prebend, the Deanery, the portion of one or more monks, the Priorate, the Abbacy.

Thus was all bound together in one complicated but subtly-interwoven system; and now wrested by the dexterous craft of Martin V. out of the hands of the spoiler.

¹ L'Enfant gives the articles, iii p. 186 *et seqq.*

Gerson, the Cardinal D'Ailly, Nicolas Clemangis,^g had uttered terrible truths in language hardly less violent than Wycliffe or Huss. They had entreated the Emperor to enforce reform. Sigismund bitterly replied, "When we urged that reform should precede the election of a Pope, you scorned our judgement and insisted on first having a Pope. Lo, you have a Pope, implore him for reform. I had some power before a Pope was chosen, now I have none."^h The Spaniards even threatened to return to the obedience of Pope Benedict; but they exhausted all their indignation in violent satires, which obtained great currency and vogue, were laughed at, and forgotten.ⁱ

The Pope acted with perfect address. He seemed to yield in the amplest manner. He submitted to the Nations a counter plan of Reformation, each article of which might have occupied the weary Council for months

^g De Clemangis, from Clemange, a village in the diocese of Chalons. See life prefixed to his Works, by Dupin, Gersoniana. Also his works *passim*, more especially his 'Declamatio de Corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu.' This must be read as a declamation. Clemangis begins with a golden age of the Church and of the world; as brilliant as their state in his own day was blackly coloured. His remorseless scourge spares neither Pope, nor Cardinals, nor Bishops, nor Priests, nor Monks, nor Friars, nor Nuns. No one can judge what things were written, and not by heresiarchs, but by pious churchmen, who does not read this work of Clemangis, the scholar of Gerson. "Si quis hodie desidiosus est, si quis a labore abhorrens, si quis in otio luxuriari volens, ad sacerdotium con-

volat, quo adepto, statim se ceteris sacerdotibus voluptatum sectatoribus adjungit, qui magis secundum Epicurum quam secundum Christum viventes, et cauponulas seduli frequentantes, potando, commessando, pransitando, convivando, cum tesseriis et pilâ ludendo tempora tota consumunt. Crapulati verò et inebriati pugnant, clamant, tumultuantur, nomen Dei et Sanctorum suorum pollutissimis labris execrantur. Sicque tandem compositi, ex meretricum suarum amplexibus ad divinum altare veniunt."—Oper. t. xvi. p. 16. See further on the corruption of French morals by the Papal court at Avignon; and the Pluralities of the Cardinals.

^h Gobelinus Persona, vi. p. 345.

ⁱ L'Enfant, ii. p. 190.

of hot debate. In the mean time, on the old maxim of ruling by the division of the adverse forces, he entered into negotiations for separate Concordats with each of the Transalpine nations. Italy had acquiesced at once in the Papal autocracy. Each of the other Nations had its usages, its institutions, its national character; each Nation, therefore, ought to have its peculiar ecclesiastical regulations, as concerned its relations to the Papacy. Thus it was no longer Christendom, no longer the whole Church, no longer the Council, the representative of the Church, which was confronted with the Pope. Each kingdom stood alone to make the best terms in its power. So, too, the infringement, neglect, abrogation, of any of these articles, was no longer a breach of the great Canonical Law of Christendom, it became a matter of quarrel with one King, or one Nation, it concerned none other; it awoke no general indignation, was no breach of faith to the world at large. The League of Christendom for its common rights, common interests, common religion, was broken in pieces.

The Concordat with Germany (limited to five years) was vague, ambiguous, and left almost everything to the interpretation of the Pope. Cardinals were to be elected in moderate numbers. Some limitation was placed, but that indefinite, on the Pope's right of nominating to and confirming the larger vacant Benefices. Annates were to be levied according to the ancient taxation; Commendams were to be bestowed, Dispensations issued, Indulgences granted in more sparing and prudent measure.^k

Concordat
with Ger-
many;

That with England contained six even more meagre

^k Art. de Indulgentiis. "Cavebit Romanus Papa in futurum nimiam Indulgentiarum effusionem, ne vilescant."

articles. Two of these stipulated that the inferior Prelates were not to wear the decorations of ^{with England;} the higher—the mitre and sandals; that Englishmen should be admissible to offices in the Roman Court.

Nor was that with France, though more diffuse, more full or unambiguous. No one of the nations ^{with France.} by any authoritative act accepted these Concordats. France, by a royal edict, by a decree of her Parliaments, rejected hers with contempt.^m It was presented by Martin, Bishop of Arras, before the Parliament of Paris, repudiated with unanimity.ⁿ The Parliament proclaimed the maintenance of the liberties of the Gallican Church, especially as to the collation of benefices, though prepared to contribute to the maintenance of the Popedom by moderate and necessary payments: it prohibited with the utmost rigour all payments whatever for Provisions, Annates, Vacancies, and such usurped powers.

It does not appear that the King or the Parliament of England deigned to notice the treaty passed in her name; her stern limitary laws stood unshaken, unrepaled.^o

The work of the Council was done, or rather it had now no work to do. The Council was as anxious to be released from its weary imprisonment as the Pope to

^m Preuves des Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane, c. xxii. No. 16.

ⁿ Von der Hardt, iv. 1567.

^o Compare the treatise of Clemangis, "De Annatis non Solvendis." He lays down the axiom, "Quia nullo statuto, privilegio, consuetudine, præscriptione, aut alio titulo potest induci, quod propter conferre aut consentire pro-

motioni, aut electioni alicujus Monasterii vel Ecclesiæ Cathedralis, sive ut præficiatur administrationi prælaturæ, beneficio, sive Ecclesiæ, aliquid posset vel debeat peti vel exigi, eo quod secundum Apostolicas et Canonicas traditiones, clarissime foret *Simoniacum*." It is curious that there is frequent appeal to English usage.—Oper. p. 85.

release it. The Council felt itself baffled, eluded, fallen under the inextricable dominion of the Pope. The Emperor was conscious that he had sunk to a subordinate position ; his majesty was eclipsed. On the occasion of his solemn farewell the bitterness of his heart seemed to creep out. He declared his full obedience to the Pope ; his submission to all the decrees of the Council. But if the Council had fallen into error he disclaimed all concern in it.^p These significant words would bear various meanings, and were variously interpreted as alluding to the execution of Huss, the refusal to condemn Jean Petit and John of Falkenburg who in Poland had asserted the same execrable doctrines, the failure in the reformation of the Church. That miserable failure was admitted in all quarters.^q The Pope kept up to the last his grave and stately dignity. On Whitsunday he officiated in the Cathedral with high pomp ; countless multitudes thronged all night around the Episcopal Palace to receive his benediction : he showered indulgences on the enraptured thousands. The next day he set off for Geneva escorted by the Emperor, the whole city, and all the hierarchy who had not already taken their departure. He had refused the Emperor's pressing invitations to remain longer in Germany. The Council of Constance was at an end.^r

The Council of Constance threatened to shake, might seem to have shaken, the Papal supremacy to its foundations ; but for a time it strengthened rather than enfee-

^p Von der Hardt, iv. p. 1563. L'Enfant, ii. 248.

^q "Sunt tamen quædam reformata, quamvis respectu conceptorum pauca, verbis quidem et scriptis quæ propter humanæ mentis mutabilitatem, divinitatis excusantem se sub umbrâ,

hic inserere non præsumo."—Gobelinus Persona, p. 355.

^r The Council had sat for three years and six months without a tumult in the streets, without rise in the price of provisions, without any epidemic or contagious malady.

bled its authority. It compelled the election of a Pope, whose character, irreproachable, if not imposing from learning and sanctity, recovered the waning reverence of Christendom. Nor was it till the next century, when the Popes had become powerful temporal sovereigns, when the Italian wars had almost quenched the last awe of religion, when the struggle for dominion between the great conflicting powers of Europe, France, the Empire, Spain, England, made Italy the battle-field of the world ; it was not till then that the Popes sank again to the moral level, or lower than the level of Italian Princes or temporal potentates, and that an Alexander VI. could be endured on the throne of St. Peter. It had been established indeed that there was a tribunal which in extreme cases might depose a Pope. But then it must be during a schism among contending Popes, each with a doubtful title, or at farthest a Pope flagrantly defective in faith or morals. But the right in the Council to reform the Church in its head as well as its members, to impose restrictions on the all-enacting, all-abrogating, all self-executing power of the Popedom, this right, which there can be no doubt was asserted by the Council, remained a barren, abstract proposition, to be again asserted, but asserted in vain, in the Council of Basle. Still the Pope claimed, he exercised the prerogative of issuing Canons for the universal obedience of Christendom, and of giving to Papal Decrees the infallible authority of the Gospel, of God himself. Pope Martin quietly resumed all the unrevoked authority which the Christian world had yielded to Innocent III., or even to Boniface VIII. No single Canon, not one of the Extravagants of Boniface, not one even of the Clementine Decretals was annulled ; every precedent remained in force. The Concordats granted by the will of the

Pope, feeble guarantees as they were for the liberties of national churches, or against abuses, might be abrogated or fall into desuetude. Of what force were they against what was averred to be the ancient, immemorial, irrevocable privileges of the Roman See?

The Council had given its sanction, its terrible sanction, to the immutability of the whole dominant creed of Christendom, to the complete indefeasible hierarchical system. It had declared implacable war against all who should revolt, not only from the doctrine but from the discipline of the Church. One part of the sacerdotal order might aspire to greater freedom, but the slightest emancipation of mankind from the rule of the sacerdotal order entered not into the thoughts, hardly into the apprehensions, of the Fathers of Constance. In the execution of Huss and Jerome of Prague there had been awful unanimity. Few foresaw, still fewer had they foreseen would have shrunk from, the horrors of the Bohemian war, in which it was first shown in a whole nation, how much more dreadful is the collision of hostile fanaticisms than the worst strife of temporal interests or principles. Bohemia as a province of the Christian world in insurrection against the unity of the Church, was even more beyond the pale of mercy than a heathen land. The Christian duty, the Christian justice, of enforcing belief in the Gospel on the wild and yet unconverted races in the North of Germany was debated, and with strong resistance, by the more tolerant. Few of those who fought, or drove others to fight, with Ziska and Procopius, doubted the holiness, the imperative obligation of battling against these heresiarchs to the death.

Martin V. travelled slowly through Italy. He accepted the splendid hospitalities of Florence, now at

the height of her power, and proud to receive the Supreme Pontiff as her guest. The grateful, yet poor or parsimonious Pope, had no other return to make but the elevation of Florence to an Archiepiscopate. At Florence John XXIII. having, by the Pope's desire, been transferred from a German to an Italian prison, though he had once made his escape, now quieted the apprehensions of his rival by throwing himself at his feet, expressing the deepest contrition for all his sins, and abdicating his last hold on the Papacy in the most full and humiliating terms. Martin felt the policy as well as the generosity of mercy. Balthasar Cossa, after a few days of austere penance, was named Cardinal and the Head of the Sacred College. But his eventful life drew to its end: he died, worn out; it was said that his last humiliation preyed on his weary spirit. He was buried with great pomp at the expense of the Republic. His tomb is still seen under the noble dome of Florence. Benedict XIII. closed at length his stubborn career at Peniscola. He had still two partisans, whom he dignified with the name of Cardinals; faithful to the memory of their patron the two Cardinals proceeded to elect a successor, a canon of Barcelona. Martin was wise enough to dispel this phantom of a Pontiff by mild measures. The Antipope sank willingly into the Bishop of Majorca.

Martin was undisputed Pope; but in the Papal territory he was not master of a single city. Besides the kingdoms and dukedoms, Naples and Milan, the Republics, Venice and Florence, the independent lords of other cities, a new Power had arisen to still greater height—the Captains of the Free Companies, who had carved themselves out principalities, which they main

Martin at
Florence,
Feb. 26, 1419.

May 13.

Death of
John XXIII.;

of Benedict
XIII.

tained by the bands of their mercenary followers. Braccio Montone occupied the greater part of the Papal dominions.^s Pope Martin had recognised the title of Joanna II., the inheritress of the name, the throne, the licentiousness, the misfortunes of Joanna I., to the throne of Naples. In return the famous Condottiero, Ludovico Sforza, hereafter to be more famous, now at the head of his own bands and those of Naples, advanced as Gonfalonier of the Church to expel Braccio Montone from the territory of St. Peter. But Sforza, or rather Sforza's ally Tartaglia, whom he had seduced from Braccio, suffered a disastrous defeat; the Pope was compelled to make terms, through the mediation of Florence, with the triumphant Braccio.^t To Florence Braccio came; the fickle city contrasted the magnificence, the frank bearing, the lavish expenditure, the feasts and tournaments of the adventurer, with the cold and severe dignity, the poverty of the Pontiff. Popular songs were current to the glory of the soldier, the shame of the Pope. The children sang two verses under the window, which taunted at once his worthlessness and his penury." Martin made haste to reconcile the powerful Braccio with the Church. Braccio restored Orvieto, Narni, Terni, and Orta to the Pope; he held as a fief under

^s Of Braccio Montone, Æneas Sylvius writes that one side of his body was palsied. He was eloquent and facetious. "Blandus eloquio, crudelis opere. De clavibus Ecclesiæ, de Christo, de Deo nihil timuit, ut qui animam cum corpore extingui Epicurea dementia credidit."—Vit. Freder. III. apud Kollar, ii. p. 1541.

^t Muratori, sub ann. 1419. Braccio affected to become a sort of Cæsar. He was reported to have said that he

would reduce Pope Martin so low that he would say six masses for a piece of silver. A Florentine reproached Braccio with this speech. "Six masses for a piece of silver! I would not give him a piece of copper for a thousand." See the account of his death and burial.—Æneas Sylvius, *ibid.*

^u "Papa Martino,
Non vale un quattrino,"
Pope Martin,
Not worth a farthing.

Muratori, *Ann. sub ann.*

the sovereignty of the Church Perugia, Assisi, Iesi, Todi, and other towns. He compelled Bologna to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Pope, and to admit a Papal garrison.

It was not till late in the following year that Pope Martin ventured to return to his native city and to the palace of the Popes. The Roman and the Pope might behold with the profoundest sorrow the state of the Eternal City. It was difficult to say during many late years whether the presence or the absence of her Pontiffs had been most disastrous. On every side he beheld tottering houses, churches in ruins, deserted streets, the whole city a mass of filth and rubbish, the inhabitants wasting away with poverty and dearth of provisions.^x The citizens looked like strangers, or like an immigration of the dregs of all people. An inundation of the Tiber, of more than usual height and violence, soon after his arrival, added to the wretchedness; the waters came up to the high altar of the Pantheon. If there were great discontents in the Papal territories at the heavy taxation; if the Pope was accused, and too justly accused, in his later days of avarice, and of having left a vast treasure in the hands of his kindred;^y if he infringed,

^x Platina, Vit. Martini V.

^y Voigt has printed, in the *Historisches Taschenbuch* for 1833, a very curious paper called "Stimmen aus Rom über dem Papstlichen Hof im 15ten Jahrhundert." It is compiled from more than 100 inedited letters from the ambassadors or procurators of the Teutonic Order at Rome. They were mostly written by persons who had long resided there, and are confidential, business-like, passionless let-

ters. These ambassadors at first lived in great state; had 2000 ducats income; they had nine horses and a mule (the Cardinals were constantly borrowing their horses). In 1430 they were cut down to six, to the great diminution, as they remonstrated, of their influence. The ambassador of the Hospitallers had but three horses, and their affairs could not get on at all. The ambassador of the Teutonic Order was always in special connexion with

for the sake of filling the Papal coffers, on the Concordats extorted from him at Constance; in Rome if he treated the Cardinals with overbearing haughtiness, even harshness,² Martin V. was honoured during his life, and after a pontificate of fourteen years followed to his splendid sepulchre by the whole people of Rome, by the clergy of all ranks, lamenting the Father of the city. Rome under him had risen from her ruins, populous, prosperous, again the capital of the Christian world.

During the whole of this period the Colonna, of one of the old princely houses of Italy, the lord of a great

some one Cardinal, the protector of the Order (p. 89, &c.). The protector was to be propitiated and kept to his duty by perpetual and very costly presents in money, plate, jewels, horses. On those gifts there are many very curious particulars. So, too, on the venality of all, from the Pope and Cardinals downwards. One, after many others in like tone, sums up in one brief sentence: "Wer da mehr giebt der hat auch mehr recht" (p. 97). "How is it," writes one ambassador, "you inquire, 'that the Poles have every thing their own way?' Because they spend more money. This year" —1411, before the Council of Constance—"they have spent 20,000 ducats. . . . The Pope has yearly from the Order 400 ducats." . . . In 1420 (Pope Martin is on the throne), "the Pope has said thrice to me, 'Come to me alone, without your Cardinal; I will be protector of the Order.' I knew well what he meant, and sent him a handsome present, as a welcome on his return to Rome. He took it most willingly" (p. 101). In

1429 the Pope claimed the right of appointing a Master of the Order, as every one saw, to bring more money to himself. "One or two Cardinals can do nothing; we must reach the Pope himself, which cannot be done without money and presents." The Pope was very jealous of the presentation to all the benefices in Prussia and Livonia possessed by the Order: he would have them or their worth in money. See, too, the list of Christmas-boxes to the Pope, Cardinals, and others (p. 107): —A blue velvet cloth for the Pope, 88 ducats; a gold cup, 64 ducats; 13 silver spoons for the Pope's chamberlains, 117 ducats . . . Comfits for the Cardinals and Auditors, 70 and 31 ducats . . . for the Pope's groom, 3 ducats; a horse for a present, 30 ducats. Each Pope had his favourite, who was bribed at a higher price; with Martin V., first, the Patriarch of Grado—later, Herman, his Protonotary (p. 128). The whole correspondence is very unfavourable to Martin V. to his pride and rapacity (p. 171).

² See on, p. 377.

territory, the Pope, could not but be mingled up in the intricate, versatile, and treacherous politics of ^{Italian} Italy. Martin, not more embarrassed than ^{politics.} the other temporal sovereigns, or the ambitious Republics, by gratitude to allies or fidelity to treaties, in the renewed strife between the houses of Arragon and Anjou for the throne of Naples, in the long wars between the Visconti, Duke of Milan, and Venice and Florence, calmly pursued his own interests and those of his See. The Papal territories, if heavily burthened with imposts, at least escaped the ravages of foreign war, and were no longer desolated by the wanton pillage of the Free Companies. Bologna alone rose for her freedom; but the signal was not hailed by the neighbouring cities. The Bentivogli came into power, but were obliged to acknowledge at least the restricted lordship of the Pope. They were goaded to a second insurrection by the massacre of some of their house by the Legate, and a second time under Eugenius IV. reconciled to the Church.

Towards Transalpine Christendom Martin V., safe on his throne at Rome, resumed all the haughty demeanour and language of former Pontiffs. He interfered in the disposal of the wealthy benefices of Germany. In England he heard with indignation, and endeavoured by the most vigorous remonstrances to repress, the growing spirit of independence. The Church in England had plunged headlong into the wars of France. If the Primate Chicheley* did not instigate, he urged, he

* Archbishop Chicheley was ambassador to Gregory XII. at Sienna; at Lucca he was appointed by the Pope, by way of provision, Bishop of St. David's. He was at the Council of Pisa, and asserting to the degradation

of Gregory XII. He was Archbishop of Canterbury 1414. The Pope claimed the right of provision, but named the prelate designated by the crown, and elected by the Monks.—Life of Chicheley. London, 1789.

justified the iniquitous claim of Henry V. to the throne of France. The lavish subsidies of the Church were bestowed with unexampled readiness and generosity for these bloody campaigns. It was more than gratitude to the House of Lancaster for their firm support of the Church, and the statute for burning heretics; it was a deliberate diversion, a successful one, of the popular passions to a foreign war, from their bold and resolute aggressions on the Church.^b What torrents of blood could be too deep, what amount of misery too great to avert such danger! But the Church in England had enough to do to look to itself; it could not be equally vigilant or self-sacrificing for the interests of the Pope Henry V. like his predecessor, and his Parliament, held the law in their own hands. The nation fully concurred, or had rather enforced the constitutional opposition to the Papal power. The Statute of Præmunire remained among the laws of the realm. It could no longer be overlooked by the Church of Rome. To Chicheley, still Archbishop of Canterbury, Martin addressed a grave missive, reproving in the harshest terms his criminal remissness, his treacherous cowardice.^c "By this execrable statute the King of England has so entirely usurped the spiritual jurisdiction, as if our Saviour had constituted him his Vicar. He makes laws for the Church and the Order of the Clergy; draws the cognisance of ecclesiastical causes

^b Shakespeare in the first scene of Henry V. speaks the language of the chronicles, the chronicles the language of history. The allusion to the famous petition, which the poet makes a bill (see vol. v. p. 527), is curious. Is there Parliamentary authority for this?—

"That self-same Bill is urged,
Which in the eleventh year of the last
king's reign
Was like and had indeed against us passed,
But that the scrambling and unquiet time
Did push it out of further question."

Henry V., Act I. Scene 1.

^c Raynaldus, sub ann. 1426. Collier, E. H. B. vii. p. 633. Henry VI. was on the throne.

to the temporal courts; makes provision about clerks, benefices, and the concerns of the hierarchy, as if he held the keys of the kingdom of heaven, as if the administration of these affairs were with the King, not with St. Peter. Besides these hideous encroachments he has enacted terrible penalties against the clergy: Jews and Saracens are not treated with so much severity. People of all persuasions, of all countries, have the liberty of coming into England; except those who have cures bestowed upon them by the Supreme Bishop, by the Vicar of Christ Jesus. Those only are banished, arrested, imprisoned, stripped of their fortunes. Proctors or notaries charged with the execution of the mandates or censures of the Apostolic See, if they venture to set foot on English ground, and proceed in the fulfilment of their commission, are treated as the King's enemies, cast out of the King's protection, exposed to the extremest hardships. . . . Is this a Catholic kingdom? If any discipline or Apostolic censure is urged against this usage it is treated as a capital offence." The Archbishop is reminded that he is the successor of the glorious martyr St. Thomas. In the fol-

A.D. 1427

lowing year the Pope addressed the Parliament of England; and in a second letter to the Archbishop accused him of having irreverently and wickedly declared in public that the Apostolic See sought the abolition of that statute only from sordid pecuniary motives.

But Martin V., perhaps inadvertently, had wounded the pride and infringed on the dignity of the Anglican Primate. Henry of Beaufort, it has been seen, the King's uncle, on his return from the Holy Land, had done good service at the Council of Constance^d

Cardinal
Beaufort.

^d Dr. Lingard has inadvertently written Basil.—Hic. of England.

by his mediation between the conflicting parties. The Pope had rewarded him by creating him Cardinal of Winchester and Apostolic Legate in England. This usurpation on the Legatine power, of late held by Chicheley, and on the undisputed Primacy of the Archbishop of Canterbury, could not be tamely endured. Chicheley had obtained from Henry V. a prohibition to the Bishop of Winchester to exercise Legatine power in England. The Regency, during the minority of Henry VI., would not receive Beaufort with the honours due to his rank, and demanded that he should surrender his Bishopric of Winchester, vacated by his acceptance of the Cardinalate. This Churchman had been appointed Captain-General of a crusade against the Hussites in Bohemia. The iniquity of this act, the employment of such a man in such a service (what said the Lollards in England?), brought its own shame and punishment. Beaufort raised money and troops in England for the crusade.^e By a scandalous and intricate fraud these troops were poured into France to consolidate, defend, or advance the progress of the English arms under the Duke of Bedford. The King of France sent the bitterest complaints to Rome; Pope Martin was compelled to condemn this act of the Cardinal as injurious to the cause of religion, highly dishonourable to the See of Rome;† but Henry of Winchester did after all better service in Bohemia than all the Princes and Generals of the Empire. The English churchman, by his courage, put to shame the whole panic-stricken host.^g Beaufort returned to plunge into the politics of England, the implacable antagonist of him who was called the good Duke of Gloucester. Beaufort is that Cardinal

• Rymer.

† Compare Lingard, Hist. of England.

‡ See on, page 344.

consigned—in some degree perhaps unjustly consigned—to everlasting torment by a decree, as far as the estimation of mankind, more powerful than Papal. His death of despair, described by Shakespeare, painted by Reynolds, is indelibly imprinted on the mind of man.^h

Archbishop Chicheley strove to maintain a middle course. He could not defy the Pope; he knew that he could not annul the law of England. He urged on a Parliament at Westminster the terrors of a Papal interdict on the land. The Parliament paid no further regard to these terrors than to petition the Pope to restore the Primate of England to his favour.¹

Martin V. by no means openly rejected the yet imperious demand for reformation, which beyond the Alps had not relaxed its importunity; nor was he disposed altogether to elude that regular convocation of General Councils, at stated intervals, to which he had agreed before the dissolution of that of Constance. By the decree of Constance, confirmed by the Pope, Councils were to be held every five years. Pavia had been appointed as the seat of the next meeting. Accordingly, in the year 1423, a Council opened at Pavia, but it was attended only by Italian Prelates. The Transalpines either were afraid or unwilling to trust themselves and their cause on Italian ground; or perhaps they had intimation of an affair, to them comparatively of less interest, but which the Pope

^h Compare the House of Lancaster. The sensible author concludes in favour of Beaufort, "that he was not much better nor much worse than the other Romish dignitaries of the fifteenth century." This as regards England is not quite fair in the times of Wykeham and Hallam. I cannot in Chicheley forget the magnificent founder of All Souls, Oxford.

¹ Wilkins, *Conclia*.—Collier, i. 656.

intended, as of more vital importance, at least to Papal Christendom, to supplant the general Reformation—the reunion of the Greek with the Latin Church. The Greek Emperor, pressed by the Ottoman Turks almost to the utmost, was inclined to buy the aid of the West by the surrender of his religious freedom: the Pope contemplated with lofty expectation the whole world reposing under his supremacy. Martin V. ere long evoked the Council of Pavia to Sienna: there he might take part in the proceedings, and urge on more vigorously the reconciliation of the Greeks. At Sienna appeared only five German prelates, from France six, from Spain not one; but even this Council, after renewing the condemnation of Wycliffe, Huss, and their doctrines, came to an unwelcome resolution, that internal Church union by reform ought to take precedence of external union. The suffrages of the Nations were so decidedly in favour of this decree that the Pope took alarm at the dangerous spirit of innovation universal throughout Christendom: “that the Supreme Pontiff should be called to account was a perilous thing.”^k Martin seized the specious pretext that so few Prelates could not pretend to represent the Church, as an occasion for the dissolution of the Council.^m It was prorogued for seven years, then to meet in the German city of Basle.

Martin V. just lived to see the opening of the Council

^k “Noverat oculatus Pontifex omnem multitudinem novitatis cupidam esse, iniqua in Romanos Pontifices judicia plebis, invidos patres, nihil periculosius quam maximi præsulatus reddere rationem. Arte igitur usus est,” p. 34.—Æneæ Sylvii Comment.

This work of Æneas Sylvius was first published at Rome by C. Fea, 1823. It is of great importance; I owe the use of it to my excellent friend the Chevalier Bunsen.

^m Bull of Dissolution, March 12, 1424.

of Basle. An apoplexy carried him off suddenly,
and left to his successor that conflict with
A.D. 1431. the Council which might perhaps have been
avoided or mitigated by the experience, dexterity, and
conciliatory manners of Pope Martin.

CHAPTER XI.

Eugenius IV. The Hussite War.

MARTIN V., by the aggrandisement of his family, had not established a predominant influence in the Conclave for the house of Colonna, nor even for the Roman clergy. The Cardinals met; they had been unduly depressed as they thought, doubtless kept in stern subordination, by Martin V.^a Their first business was to erect themselves into a standing Council, superior to the Pope, so that without their advice the Pope could do nothing. They solemnly pledged themselves, whoever should be elected to the Popedom, to reform the Roman Court, in its head and in its members, with the Council of the Cardinals; not to remove it from Rome; to hold a General Council at intervals according to the decree of Constance; not to create Cardinals, or to do any important act without the advice of the Cardinals; to the Cardinals was to be assigned one moiety of the whole Papal revenue. All took this oath without hesitation, and kept it as the Cardinals were wont to keep such oaths.^b They then proceeded to the election.

^a They (five Cardinals well disposed to the Teutonic Order, Orsini, Arles, De Comte, Rouen, Novara) dare not speak one word to the Pope but what he would willingly hear; for the Pope has so repressed the Cardinals that they never speak except according to his sentiments, and while they speak turn red and pale.—Voigt, *Stimmen*, p. 74. When Martin fled from Rome to Ferentino on account of the plague, he would not let a single Cardinal come near him.

^b Raynald. *sub ann.* 1431.

The contest lay between a Spaniard and a French prelate. Neither would make concessions. Both parties threw away their suffrages on one whom none of the College desired or expected to succeed: their concurrent votes fell by chance on the Cardinal of Sienna.* Gabriel Condolmieri, Cardinal of Sienna, was the nephew, on a sister's side, of the abdicated Gregory XII. :
 March 3, 1431. Eugenius IV. he took the name of Eugenius IV.^d Bred a monk of the rigid Cœlestine Order, Eugenius had the narrow virtues of a monk, austere morals, rigorous discharge of the offices of devotion. He had likewise the hardness, self-sufficiency, stubbornness of a monk. His sudden elevation gave him overweening confidence in his own judgement: he implicitly believed in his own supremacy, and that he was invested by that supremacy in wisdom to maintain it. This was to him his one great duty, one paramount virtue. He was not averse to the reformation of the Church; he would willingly have submitted the whole clergy to the same austere discipline to which he had subdued his own person; but it must be reformation issuing from himself, granted by himself, regulated by himself; nor would he make any concession which would detract from the Papal power, hardly from the Papal wealth. To this all considerations of policy, humanity, fidelity to engagements, must be subordinate. He had the singular praise that he religiously observed all compacts, except those which it was for the advantage of his See

* Andreas Billius, Hist. Mediolan. Sismondi has represented Eugenius IV. as the most insignificant of all the Cardinals. Yet he had filled offices of high trust. He had been Legate in Romagna.—Platina, in Vitâ.

^d The ambassador of the Teutonic Order deplores the parsimony of the Order, which will not enable him to vie in his gifts with other sovereigns. "The Venetians are used to gifts."—p. 110.

to violate.^e In policy, indeed, Eugenius IV. was a Venetian. He broke up at once the alliance maintained so successfully, as regarded the peace of Rome and the Roman territory, with the Visconti and Milan, and joined Florence and Venice with all his power. To war against his own refractory subjects, or against the enemies of his allies in Italy, Eugenius IV. had no scrupulous aversion. His panegyrist acknowledges his love of war,^f but it was above all war against heretics, an exterminating war, war which admitted of no treaty. Against heretics it was religion to annul, infringe, tread under foot any compact; against them cruelty was mercy, perfidy justice. Yet there were those who, to their admiration of the beauty of the person of Eugenius, added that of his virtue and his equanimity.^g

Eugenius began his Pontificate with an act of resolute violence, perhaps unavoidable, but which ungraciously exposed the one great vice of his predecessor, and ended in the most offensive condemnation of his memory. The vast wealth accumulated by Martin was in the hands of the Colonnas, the Cardinal Prospero, Antonio Prince of Salerno, Edward Count of Celano. The Pope demanded the surrender of these treasures, the inalienable inheritance of the See. He stood in need of them, for all Romagna was in revolt; Perugia had driven out the Legate; Viterbo, Civita Castellana, Spoleto, Narni, Todi, were in arms. The Colonnas refused to disgorge their treasures. They fortified their castles; they proclaimed the Pope only

First acts of
Eugenius IV

^e "Constans præterea in pactis servandis est habitus, nisi quid pollicitus fuisset quod revocare quam perficere satius esset."—Platina.

^f "Bella autem ita amavit, quod

mirum in Pontifice videbatur."—Vit. Eugen. apud Muratori, S. R. I.

^g Antoninus of Florence; see also Æneas Sylvius, Europa, i. 48. Compare Weissenberg, ii. p. 280

a servile instrument in the hands of their enemies the Orsini; they broke with armed bands into the fiefs held by the Orsini, and laid all waste; but Rome was still in that state of loyal excitement which always followed for a short time the election of a new Pope. The love and reverence of Pope Martin were buried with him in his grave: it adhered not to his house. The Pope had power enough at his command to seize all the Colonnas in Rome. His vengeance was unscrupulous: he tortured Otho, the treasurer of Pope Martin, an aged man, till he expired; two hundred Roman citizens perished on the scaffold;^b the palace of Martin V. was razed to the ground; his arms effaced from all public monuments. Florence and Venice, the new Pope's new allies, sent aid. The Prince of Salerno was attacked sept. 22, 1431. on all sides; his garrisons were ignominiously driven from the forts which he had seized; he was compelled to humiliating submission; all that remained of the treasures of Pope Martin, 75,000 golden florins, was surrendered to the Pope.ⁱ These vigorous measures secured to Eugenius the peaceable possession of Rome for two years, the last of which witnessed the coronation of the Emperor Sigismund.

This first success was followed by the subjugation of the Roman States. City after city yielded to the combined troops of the Free Companies in the pay of the Pope, of Florence, and of Venice, until the implacable and inexhaustible intrigues of the Duke of Milan raised again the banner of revolt. These triumphs at Rome were not likely to disenchant Pope Eugenius from his

^b Muratori, *Ann. d' Italia*, sub ann. 1431; *Vita Eugenii Papæ*, S. R. I. iv.

In the *Stimmen aus Rom*, Eugenius is favourably contrasted with

Martin V. On the occasion of a favourable decree, the ambassador writes, "I must have paid Pope Martin 1000 ducats more for this."—p. 114.

full faith in himself and in his Pontifical power. So plunged he at once into that long irreconcilable contest with Transalpine Christendom, from which, however he might seem to emerge conqueror, and to bear down all resistance by stubborn resolution, his victory was dearly won, though its results might wait almost another century to come to maturity.

Now for the first time a Council beyond the Alps, that of Basle, stood up boldly on democratic principles, first against the Pope alone, afterwards against the Pope with a rival Council. At length the Transalpine Council set up its own Pope, and two Popes at the head of two General Councils distracted the worship and divided the obedience of Christendom.

The Hussite war had already almost filled the whole period of more than thirteen years, from the close of the Council of Constance to the opening of the Council of Basle. It lasted during all the Pontificate of Martin V., who contemplated it far aloof, if with horror and dismay, it is to be hoped, not without some commiseration, though he might think it his duty to stimulate it and keep it alive with all his authority. Safe in Rome, he heard but from a distance the thundering roll of Ziska's chariots, the shrieks of cities stormed, the wail of armies mowed down by the scythe. The war was still raging at the accession of Eugenius, and at the meeting of the Council of Basle.^k They were years of terrible and fatal glory in the history of Bohemia, of achievements marvellous as to valour, military skill, patriotism, and the passion for civil and

^k Compare in Palacky (Geschichte Böhmens) references to the MS. Histories of John of Ragusa and John of Segovia, iii. p. 518. Also in Martene and Durand, viii. 48, the Articles placarded in Rome demanding the Council, as the only means of putting an end to the Hussite war.

religious freedom ; to the Empire, to the Teutonic nation, beyond all precedent disastrous and ignominious. Had Bohemia possessed a race of native Sovereigns ; were it not in the nature of profound religious fanaticism to awaken differences irreconcilable under the most favourable circumstances ; could Bohemia have consolidated her own strength within herself, and not carried fire and sword into the Empire, she might have been the first nation which threw off the yoke of the Pope and of the hierarchy, the centre of Slavonian independence. But that Slavonian Reformation might perhaps have retarded, from the hostility of the two races, embittered by the long contest, the later, more successful, more irrevocable Teutonic emancipation.

Of all wars none was so horribly, remorselessly, ostentatiously cruel as this—a war of races, of languages, and of religion. It was a strife of revenge, of reprisal, of extermination considered to be the holiest of duties. On one side no faith was to be kept, no mercy shown to heretics : to cut off the spreading plague by any means was paramount to all principles of law or gospel. On the other, vengeance was to be wreaked on the enemies of God's people, and therefore the enemies of God ; to root out idolatry was the mission of the Bohemians ; mortal sin was to be cut off with the righteous sword ; and the whole priesthood, all monks, friars, nuns, were so utterly depraved, according to their sweeping condemnation, that it was only to fulfil the Divine commandment to extirpate the irreclaimable Order. These terrible theories were relentlessly carried into more terrible practice. Kuttenberg, the second city in the realm, the rival of Prague, Catholic and German as Prague was Hussite and Bohemian, burned, beheaded, hanged all who would not retract their

Atrocious of
the war.

opinions. They bought the prisoners taken in war for a few groschens a head (five times as much for a preacher as for a common man), and executed them without trial, without mercy. They are charged with having put to death sixteen hundred men.^m The Hussites, wherever they could, perpetrated horrible reprisals; for so many of their brethren as were burned, they hanged as many monks or friars.ⁿ The names assigned to their fortresses, and assumed by the more fanatic Hussites, Taborites, Horebites—show from which part of the Bible they drew their prevailing principles. Some of the preachers proclaimed the approaching end of the world. Christ was already coming, already come. The enemies of truth were to be exterminated; the good alone preserved, and put in the five faithful cities.^o Bohemia boasted, beyond all kingdoms of Europe, of her magnificent religious buildings, not in her cities alone, but in her villages. Fanaticism, maddened by persecution and by its own blind fury, warred on all that was splendid. The sky-aspiring churches, of vast length and width, on their pillars and arching vaults of stone, the stately altars, where the reliques of the saints were enshrined in gold and silver, the embroidered vestments inlaid with precious stones, the gorgeous vessels, the rich painted windows—all was demolished—all was ruin, havoc, desolation.^p

^m Palacky, iii. 74-5.

ⁿ For the atrocity of the war, see the revolting account of the taking of Prachalic by Ziska, Palacky, p. 171.

^o Palacky, from Brezowa.

^p Thus writes Æneas Sylvius who had visited Bohemia: "Nullum vero regnum ætate nostrâ in totâ Europâ tam frequentibus, tam augustis, tam ornatis templis ditatum fuisse quam

Bohemicum reor. Tempia in cœlum erecta, longitudine atque amplitudine mirabili fornicibus tegebantur lapideis; altaria in sublimi posita, auro et argento quo sanctorum reliquiæ tegebantur onusta; sacerdotum vestes margaritis textæ; ornatus omnis dives, pretiosissima suppellex, fenestræ altæ atque amplissimæ vitro et admirabili opere lucem præbebant. Neque hæc tantum

The execution of John Huss and Jerome of Prague had aroused a general access of national as well as religious indignation. But so long as King Wenzel lived, the Bohemian insurrection had not attained its height. For Wenzel was a Bohemian in heart, as a Bohemian beloved by the people, and supposed, though he outwardly supported the old religion, not to be unfavourable to, at least he had taken no decided or violent part against the new doctrines. But on the death of Wenzel, the hereditary claim of Sigismund to the throne of Bohemia was undoubted — of Sigismund who had allowed his safe-conduct to be violated, and so was guilty of the death of the martyrs, even if he had taken no more active share in the murder. The act had been a breach of faith, an outrage to the Bohemian nation. Sigismund attempted to awe the reluctant kingdom to obedience. At Breslau he revenged an insurrection with such terrible severity, that Prague might stand aghast at the peril of resisting, or of receiving such a master. He burned without scruple all the heretical teachers that fell into his hands. John Kincha, a member of the town Council at Prague, was dragged at horses' tails, and, after all this savage usage, died on the scaffold with the recklessness of a martyr. Two days after this, the Pope's Legate, Ferdinand of Lucca, published the Bull for the Crusade.

Bohemia, following the example of Prague, rose at once and repudiated the sovereignty of Sigismund. She had no native Prince to fight her battles. Hussinetz,

in oppidis atque urbibus sed in villis quoque admirari licebat."—Hist. Bohemica, c. 36. Bohemia bears sad witness to this revolution. Except the

St. John Nepomuk on the Hradshin, all her churches are of the later Jesuit style.

who secretly aimed at the throne, perhaps fortunately for his country, died at an early period. Some-
 what later the crown was accepted and worn The war.
 by a Lithuanian Prince, Sigismund Korybert, finally deposed and expelled the land by the common consent of the nation.^q But the armies of Bohemia needed no royal leaders. We must pass with rapidity, we cannot altogether avert our eyes from those terrible but noble scenes, the victories of Ziska and Procopius. The first crusade ended with the disgraceful defeat, with the shameful flight of the Emperor from the walls of Prague,^r and the disastrous battle of Wyschebrad.^s The Battle of Wyschebrad, Nov. 1, 1420;
 second campaign saw the German army break up in panic flight from Saaz, with the now renowned and irresistible Ziska in the rear, bearing down of Saaz, Sept. 1, 1421;
 whole squadrons, and revenging the unspeakable barbarities inflicted on his countrymen. The third year Sigismund advanced into Moravia at the head of the Hungarian forces; they too fled at once at the approach of Ziska with his wild war-chariots; of Deutschbrod, Jan. 1422.
 they were overtaken at Deutschbrod, and massacred rather than routed by the remorseless conqueror. Bohemia seemed to be severed, and for ever, Jan. 1422.
 from Latin unity. Conrad, the Archbishop of Prague, accepted, to the utter astonishment and dismay of the Church, the four articles of Prague.^t

Internal feuds were sure to break out immediately that the enemy was beyond the borders of Bohemia.

^q In 1427.

^r Aschbach, iii. 47; compare his authorities with Palacky, iii. 91. The camp broke up July 30. Sigismund had gone through the idle ceremony of coronation.

^s The spirited poem in Palacky taunts

Sigismund with personal cowardice:

“Wie ein Has vor Hunden lief er,
 Hätte Flügel er besessen
 Wär furwahr er fortgeflogen;
 Solch ein tapfres Herze hatt' er,
 Herr von sieben Königreichen.”

—p. 163

^t Palacky, page 218.

The wealthy burghers of Prague (the nobles had entered the strife with reluctance) would have accepted a moderate share of religious independence. The four articles of Prague stipulated, I. For freedom of teaching by their own ministers throughout the realm. II. Communion in both kinds. III. That the clergy should not hold estates, nor mingle in secular affairs. IV. The punishment of deadly sins by the magistrates, with the suppression of indulgences for money. Whoever should compel them to abandon either of these articles they declared to be a most cruel tyrant, an Antichrist.² They were called the Utraquists, as insisting on the Eucharist in both elements. Ziska^x and the Taborites had wilder and loftier views: the national independence, far harsher measures to the clergy. There were among them, millenarians, communists. They swept away every vestige of traditional religion; everything but the barest, most unadorned worship. But to the old creed they still adhered with stern fidelity. Martinet Hauska and his followers were burned by both parties for denying Transubstantiation, or the Real Presence.^y But neither these divisions, nor the death of Ziska by the plague, weakened the indomitable resistance of the Bohemians to their foreign foes. No sooner had the crusading army again crossed the borders, than the nation was one; the din of polemic strife was silent. The moderate party followed the Taborites to the field under their new general, almost the equal of Ziska in military skill. The blind Procopius, the shaven Procopius,^z had been a

Oct. 12, 1424.

^x See Articles.—Palacky, 190.

^y Laurent Bzov. p. 175. The character of Ziska in Palacky (p. 360, &c.) is just and striking. He was as

stern a bigot for Christian virtue as his enemies for their Christian creed or discipline. ^y Palacky, 236.

^z Palacky writes of Procopius:—

priest; ^a under him the old Taborites, and the Orphans, the followers of Ziska, their lost father, as well as his own peculiar religious and political faction, met together in fierce, unconflicting unity. Under him the third crusade, which had lingered on for two or three years, was discomfited in the final battle of Aussitz. So total was the rout, that the Germans, not without cause, dreaded the irruption of these formidable conquerors into their own territories. Erfurt, Jena, Halle, even Magdeburg, already saw the fierce Procopius, and heard the rattlings of his waggons under their walls.^b

Procopius.

Battle of
Aussitz.
June 16, 1426.

Shame, indignation, terror, prudence, demanded a better-organised, better-disciplined army, than those which had been hastily raised in different parts of Germany. The banner of the Empire was unfurled. From the Danube and its Hungarian shores up to the Black Forest—from the Alps to the border of Flanders, contingents were required; temporal and spiritual powers, nobles and bishops, knights and burghers, crowded to the Imperial standard; 200,000 men were in arms.^c A new Order was instituted; the banner bore the Virgin and the Infant Saviour.^d All this magnificent preparation ended in almost incredible disgrace. The three divisions of the vast army, or rather the three armies, fled without striking a blow, abandoning all their treasures, munitions, carriages,

July 12 and
following
days.
Great flight,
Aug. 4, 1427.

“ Wenn er Ziska in kriegerischer Genialität nicht glick, ihm doch an Geist und politischen Umblick übertraf.”—P. 432.

^a Procopius solemnly declared before the Council of Basle that he had never shed a drop of blood with his own hand. He had commanded in many

battles: but Bohemia had been compelled to war by the Pope and the Cardinals: to them belonged all the guilt.

^b Palacky, p. 414.

^c Herman Corner, p. 1278.

^d Raynald. sub ann. 1427. Palacky, p. 439.

cannon. Henry of Winchester alone, at the head of a band of English crusaders, endeavoured, but in vain, to arrest the utter rout.

The Crusades against the Hussites had made the Hussites what the Saracens had long been to the Christian world, and they became as Saracens to the whole of Bohemian invasion of Germany. Germany. They would no longer wait to be assailed. They assembled on the White Mountain near Prague, 50,000 foot, 20,000 horse, with their impregnable waggons which they built up as a fortress at a few hours' warning, a garrisoned citadel in the enemy's land. On every side they broke out unresisted, except by the stronger cities. Austria, even as far as Hungary, Lausitz, Saxony, were a waste. Leipsic escaped only through her fortifications. Cobourg and Bayreuth were in flames. Nuremberg, Bamberg, closed their gates in terror. The Marquis of Brandenburg, the Bishop of Bamberg, bought the retreat of the Bohemians at great cost. Everywhere revenge, religious hatred, fierce fanaticism, marked their way with unspeakable horrors. They thought it but compliance with the Divine command to dispeople the lands of the Philistines, the Edomites, and the Moabites.

Sigismund at length attempted milder measures; Negotiations. pacific negotiations began, but the religious question could not be reconciled. The Emperor demanded the unqualified submission of the Bohemians to the decrees of a General Council, to which they were to be admitted in perfect freedom. The Taborites, who might well mistrust, would contract no such obligations. The Orphans, Ziska's section of the milder party, promulgated the new doctrine, that a free people needed no king.

Nothing remained but a fifth crusade. An army of

100,000 men crossed the Bohemian frontier. In the battle of Taass the Bohemians won a victory no less signal and complete than on former fields. Again the Pope's Legate, the Cardinal Julian Cæsarini, alone conducted himself with courage he was at last constrained to fly; he hardly escaped in the disguise of a common soldier, and left behind him the Papal Bull for the Crusade, his cardinal's hat, and his pontifical robes. These trophies remained in the church of Taass for two centuries; the banners were hung in the Tron Church in Prague.^e

^e There is a fair general view of these wars in Aschbach, Kaiser Sigmun., vol. iii.; but the more full, careful, and accurate one from MSS. as well as printed authorities in Palacky Geschichte von Böhmen

CHAPTER XII.

Council of Basle.

SUCH was the state of the Hussite or Bohemian war on the opening of the Council of Basle under John of Polcmar and John of Ragusa, delegates of the Cardinal Julian Cæsarini. On July 23 the Council held A.D. 1431. its first sitting; in the beginning of August was fought the crowning victory of Procopius, the battle of Taass. Bohemia might seem lost for ever to King Sigismund, to the Pope, to Latin Christianity. The Cardinal himself had witnessed the valour, with difficulty had fled out of the hands, of the unconquerable Taborites. The intelligence of the defeat struck the Council with the utmost consternation; the Fathers began to take even more serious views of the absolute and inevitable necessity of reformation in the Church.*

Eugenius IV. was obstinately ignorant, imperfectly informed, or contemptuously regardless of the state of affairs beneath the Alps. The calamities which Germany had suffered in this internecine war for nearly fourteen years were beneath the consideration of a Pontiff whose one principle was no peace with heretics. Eugenius had no intention to venture his sacred person beyond the Alps; but a Council not under his own immediate con-

* "Quibus auditis, omnibus postpositis, consternati omnes patres de concilio . . . recesserunt, multa in animo ruminantes, et nihilominus fortius accensi ad reformationem Ecclesie." —John de Ragusio, MS. quoted by Palacky, iii. 3, 6.

trol was a dangerous experiment, which he would, if possible, avert. Of all things he was affrighted by the manifest determination to enter into peaceful negotiations with the Hussites, with whom he had already declared all treaties null and void, with whom no treaties on any account, ought to be respected, with whom to negotiate was to suffer a rehearing of questions already decided at Constance and at Sienna, and to admit the possibility that such heretics might have a good cause. A treaty with heretics (according to the language of the Pope's Bull) confirmed, as it was said to have been, with mutual oaths, was an insult to God, a blasphemy against the Pope's authority. Without faith salvation was impossible. The Pope therefore abrogated all such treaties, should they exist, in all their articles; he absolved from their oaths princes, prelates, knights, soldiers, magistrates of cities; he commanded them, notwithstanding any such treaty, to rise in a mass, and besiege, slay, exterminate heretics, so that their heresy might perish for ever.^b

Without delay, without consideration, almost without consultation with the Cardinals, Eugenius issued his Decree, commanding the dissolution of the Council of Basle and the assembly of another after two years at Bologna. The reasons which he deigned to allege were that as yet but few prelates had appeared at Basle; that the roads to Basle were insecure on account of the war between the Dukes of Burgundy and Austria; above all, the greater convenience of the ambassadors from Constantinople. The Byzantine Empire, in its growing agony of dread at the approach of the Turks, had made still more urgent overtures to purchase aid from

^b Raynald. p. 88, sub ann. 1431.

the West by the submission of the Greek Church to the Pope and to Latin Christianity.

The Legate, Julian Cæsarini, at first so far respected the decree of the Pope that he declined to take his seat as President of the Council. But Cæsarini was a wise and experienced man, he knew well the state of Germany. Even before the arrival of the final Papal mandate for the dissolution, he had addressed a remonstrance, remarkable for its firmness, vigour, dignity; above all, for its weighty and authoritative statement of the sound and just policy of maintaining the Council. "Germany is ready for another campaign in Bohemia; they only await aid and money from Rome. I thought you would have sold your crosses and chalices for such an object. I wait five months; instead of succour I receive an order to dissolve the Council, which is the only hope of union and success." Cæsarini's personal remonstrances to the Pope lest he should stand in the way of the reform of the clergy are most solemn and earnest—"he will be suspected of the grossest hypocrisy as to his own virtue."

In his answer to the Bull,^c the Cardinal Legate Dec. 13, 1431. almost scornfully disposes of the reasons of the Pope for the prorogation of the Council. "There were few Bishops at the first session, now they are gathering from all quarters. The Emperor has declared the Council under his protection; the Dukes of Burgundy and Austria have suspended their feud, and grant safe-conduct to the Holy Fathers. The peace of Germany is not to be sacrificed for the old song, which has rung in the ears of Western Europe for three centuries and ended in nothing, the reconciliation of the Greek and

^c These two letters are in the Works of Æneas Sylvius, at the close of his Hist. Consil. Basil.

Latin Churches. The Bohemians have been deliberately, formally invited to the Council; arms have been tried in vain; this is the only way in which they can be restored to the Church. What will the heretics say if the Council be dissolved? Will they not, in their insulting and warrantable pride, proclaim that the Church dares not confront them? Will it not be held a confession of weakness? 'Behold, their armies have fled (how often!) from before our face, and now the Catholic Church flies again before us.' Such will be their boast. They are unconquerable in controversy as in war; the hand of God is with them: they hold the truth, we falsehood.

"What will the world say? Council after Council and no reformation! The incorrigible clergy will submit to no amendment. The whole laity will fall upon us like the Hussites.^d Terrible rumours are abroad. Men's minds are in travail; they are ready to vomit forth their deadly venom: they will think it a sacrifice to God if they shall murder or despoil the clergy. The priesthood will become odious to God and man; the slight reverence which now remains will die away. Already Magdeburg has expelled her archbishop and clergy, and is preparing waggons to wage war like the Hussites; it is rumoured that they have sent for a Bohemian general. It is greatly to be feared that Magdeburg is the head of a league among the neighbouring cities. Passau has expelled her Bishop, who was lord of the city; they are even now besieging his castle. In Bamberg there is war between the city and the Bishop and Chapter. Yet not only is the Council to

^d "Propter quod valde timendum est, nisi se emendent, ne laici in more Hussitarum in totum clerum irruant ut publice dicunt."—P. 66.

be prorogued to Italy, but to be adjourned for a year and a half. In a year and a half I fear that the whole clergy of Germany will be in a state of ruin. If the news spreads throughout Germany that the Council is dissolved, the whole clergy will be given up to pillage and massacre. 'We shall lose our temporalities.' So said the Jews, 'If we let him go, the Romans will come and take away our place and nation.' And thus say we, 'If we permit the Council to sit, the laity will come and take away our temporalities.' But as by God's justice the Jews, who would not let Christ go, lost their place, so by God's justice if we allow not the Council to sit, we shall lose, not our temporalities only, but our bodies and our souls." The Cardinal ends with earnest supplication that the Pope will at least wait till July, when the heretics were to appear, to frame some canons for the reformation of the German clergy. "If I refuse the Presidency," he concludes, "they will at once proceed to elect their own President."

Magdeburg, Passau, and Bamberg were not the only cities in which the burghers had risen against their bishops, or were prepared to rise. In Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne, Erfurt, Spire, Wurtzburg, Strasburg, feuds were raging; the burghers called in the neighbouring princes who were ready to aid them in throwing off the ecclesiastical rule. Was then the crisis so perilous? If the Council of Basle had offered no resistance, and submitted at once to be prorogued to Bologna, is it possible that Germany (worn out by the long war, and exasperated at her own disgrace and misery, of which all would throw the blame on the clergy) might not have disdained to follow the guidance of Bohemia, that the Slavonian might have become a Teutonic movement, and thus a Wycliffite Reformation

State of
Germany.

anticipated by a century that of Luther, Melancthon, and Calvin?

But the Council of Basle now boasted the avowed support of the Emperor and of the Duke of Milan, and scrupled not to send ^{Council send} ambassadors _{ambassadors.} to all the other courts of Europe. Their envoys asserted that the Council was lawfully assembled under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost; that all men, even the Roman Pontiff, were bound to render their obedience; that the dissolution of the Council by Eugenius IV. was absolutely null. The Bishop of Novara was sent to Charles King of France; the Bishop of Lodi to Henry of England; the Bishop of Parma to Poland and Prussia; the Abbot of S. Ambrogio in Milan to Alfonso of Arragon; the Abbot of Beauvale to Castile. The Abbot of Clairvaux was to address that great Prince, the Duke of Burgundy.

Already the Council began to administer the affairs of Christendom as the great Christian Senate. But at Basle there was a fatal departure from the usage established at Constance. The voting by nations was abrogated, partly, it should seem, in jealousy of the admission of England as the fifth nation; Spain claimed to rank as the fourth. Four deputations were formed. I. Of faith. II. Of pacification. III. Of reformation. IV. Of other matters. Magistrates were appointed to examine and to distribute those ^{Right of} _{voting.} who claimed the right of seat and suffrage among these deputations. No dignitary of the Church was rejected

* There was great strife for precedence between the ambassadors of Spain and England. The Bishop of Parma writes to the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order: "Hic fuit magna discep-

tatio super modo sedendi inter ambasciatores regis Hispaniarum et regis Angliæ; tandem operante Deo, sedata est."—Compare Voigt, *Stimmen*, p. 64.

who was not a criminal or of evil fame. The result of this was the enormous preponderance of the German and French clergy: being nearer to Basle they poured in with overwhelming numbers. Comparatively few would undertake the long, perilous, and costly journey from Italy, Spain, England, Hungary. The second innovation was even more serious—the annulment of the dominant episcopal authority. The Bishops lost their prerogative, their influence. Bitter complaints were made that the meanest and most ignorant (the Universities, the Doctors of Canon and Civil Law do not appear prominently), the very dregs and lees of the clergy, carried all questions with a total forfeiture of dignity and utter confusion. It became a fierce democracy.^f

The Emperor Sigismund, abandoning for the present all hope of reconquering Bohemia, and wisely leaving the negotiations with the Council to work their effect,

chose this time for a descent into Italy to receive the Imperial Crown. Philippo Maria Visconti had made magnificent promises of aid. The Duke of Milan now stood almost alone against Florence, Venice, and the Pope. Sigismund came down the Alps with not more than 2000 German and Hungarian horse. Milan welcomed him with a splendid display of feudal honours. He received the Iron Crown of Lombardy from the Archbishop of Milan in the Church of S. Am-

^f “Sic turba inconsulta confusaque, cum docti atque indocti passim admitterentur, tantaque multitudo plebeiaz facis implevit synodum ut nulla vox esset, nullaque potestas episcoporum: quia non ratione sed numero vota congregationis aestimabantur.” — Æneas Sylvius, Fea, p. 46. In a speech re-

ported in Mansi, p. 231, it is said: “Inter Episcopos ceterosque patres conscriptos vidimus in Basiliâ coquos et stabularios orbis negotia judicantes.” This is no doubt aristocratic, probably Italian exaggeration, but it shows the prevailing jealousies.

brogio. The Duke of Milan alone, notwithstanding his own words, stood aloof in sullen suspicion. He shut himself up in his castle of Abbiate ^{in Milan;} Grosso. He remembered, perhaps, the seizure of his ancestors by the predecessor of Sigismund, the last Emperor who had entered Milan on his descent into Italy.

Sigismund passed onward to the south. If his allies looked on his progress with ungracious and inhospitable coldness, the Guelfic republics ^{in Sienna. July 11, 1432.} hardly abstained from molesting his march; but all parties were exhausted with the wars of the latter years. Sigismund reached Sienna, till then nowhere welcome; he hardly escaped being besieged in Lucca by the Free Companies in the pay of Florence. Sienna received him with some show of joy and pride. His father, Charles IV., had entered Sienna soon after his marriage; the Siennese hailed the Emperor as a fellow-citizen begotten within their walls. At first they were lavish in their contributions, but during eight long months of subtle negotiation with the Pope the weary city was overburthened with his costly and unprofitable maintenance.

And still the Council of Basle, emboldened by the controversy of Cæsarini with the Pope, emboldened by increasing numbers, went on rising in its loftier assumption of authority. The first act was to adopt the extreme assertion of the Council of Constance as to the supremacy of a General Council over the Pope. The doctrine of Gerson and of Hallam found a new, a bold, and an eloquent advocate in Nicolas of Cusa, a man of the most fervent piety and commanding blamelessness of life. The Council constantly received letters of adhesion from Kings, Princes, Bishops, Universities, Cities. The

number of Prelates was steadily on the increase; Cardinals, not merely two or three from personal animosity to Eugenius IV., but in considerable numbers, began to fall away from the Pope, to approach, singly and at intervals; ^g though some still hesitated to appear in the Council. The Cardinal of St. Peter, John Cervantes, fled in the disguise of a servant from Amelia. At length not more than four Cardinals remained with the Pope. In vain Eugenius sent forth his inhibitory letters denouncing the Council as the Synagogue of Satan, declaring all excommunicate who went to the Council or aided others in going; that these infected sheep ought to be exterminated; that those would please God who should rise up against, plunder, slay these rebels against the Apostolic See, the fautors of schism, the abettors of division. "It is marvellous but true," that the more Eugenius threatened, the more all flocked to Basle; the inhibition of the Pope had more effect than the summons of the Council.^h The Council, in this

third Session, issued its citation to the Pope and to the Cardinals, and threatened them with further proceedings if they did not appear in three months. In a subsequent Session they declared that in

case of the decease of Eugenius IV. the election of the Pope was in the Council. They prepared a Great Seal, they sent the Cardinal of S. Eustachio to take possession of Avignon and the Venaisin. The Pope's four Legates, who appeared with the Archbishops of Tarento and Colocza at their head, were not permitted to assume the Presidency. Their

April 20,
1432.

June 20.

^g Voigt, Stimmen.
^h Æneas Sylvius, Fea. "Nec pauciores, ut mea fert opinio, Eugenii prohibitio viros adduxit, quam vocatio

conciiliaris." The historian adds: "Quia vetitum quicquid est, magis optamus, insistimusque negatis."--P. 48.

protestations that all which had been done without the Pope's consent was null and void, were treated with contempt. On the Pope was thrown back the guilt of schism. On September 6 the Pope and seventeen Cardinals were proclaimed in contumacy, because they had not appeared, and because they had issued the Bull for the dissolution of the Council.

Sigismund was still at Sienna, in a situation at once proud and humiliating;¹ he was formidable, yet, as he described himself, through the treachery of the Duke of Milan, like a wild beast in a cage; a mediator without power to enforce his mediation; courted by all, yet fully obeyed by none; hoping to receive the Imperial crown, yet dependent on extorted or almost eleemosynary contributions for his daily subsistence. The Council looked up to him, yet not unjustly mistrusted him. The Pope feared, yet, until the coronation, had him to a certain extent in his power. Sigismund in honour and in interest could not abandon the Council; in honour, for he was a high-minded, generous man, pledged by years of consistent determination to the reform of the Church; in interest, for only through the conciliatory demeanour of the Council to the Bohemians could he regain the crown, which by the inflexible obstinacy of the Pope he must irrecoverably lose. The Pope had endeavoured to extort as the price of Sigismund's coronation (that coronation he could not, he dared not longer refuse) the dissolution of the Council of Basle. May 30, 1433

The coronation was celebrated at Rome in the spring; but the Emperor would not yield. The Reformation of the Church had been the declared, ostentatious object

¹ Aschbach, Kaiser Sigmund. The residence of Sigismund at Sienna is minutely detailed in Rascia, Hist. Senen, Muratori, S. R. I. v. xx. p. 48.

of his whole reign. All that the Pope could obtain was the promised intercession of the Emperor with the Fathers of Basle not to proceed to any harsh decree against the Pope.^k Sigismund returned over the Alps, he descended towards Basle. The Council, even the Cardinal Julian, would listen to no terms; Sigismund must acquiesce no doubt, with but seeming reluctance.

At length Eugenius IV. was compelled to yield. Already before the Emperor's coronation he had admitted, in a limited way, the legitimacy of the Council. There was still much jealous, ungenerous, dilatory disputation as to the terms in which he should make the concession. But at length, after more than two years' strife and negotiation, the Council of Basle was declared a lawful Œcumenic Council from its commencement.^m

The Bull of Dissolution was absolutely re-
Dec. 15, 1433. voked. Sigismund had the satisfaction, before he left Basle,ⁿ to see the Council established in full authority, and to take his place at its head.

Before the Emperor left the Council, he submitted for the consideration of the Fathers the all-important question, the marriage of the clergy. John of Lubeck was to demand in the Emperor's name, in the name of the public morals, the abrogation of their fatal celibacy. John of Lubeck is described as a man of wit, indulging in jests on every occasion. But nothing could be more fearfully serious than the representation on this subject, which John was to lay separately before each deputa-

^k "Ne quid adversus eum durè decernerent."—Æneas Sylv. p. 54.

^m "Decernimus et declaramus . . . Concilium Basiliense a tempore prædictæ inchoationis suæ legitimè continuatum fuisse et esse." The full

recognition was no doubt influenced by the insurrection at Rome. See on.

ⁿ He was at Basle, almost without interruption, from Oct. 11, 1433, to April 12, 1434.

tion, and urge in the strongest manner. After centuries of strife, after all the laws of Hildebrand and his successors, the whole clergy are declared to be living with concubines, in adultery, or worse. They were hated by the whole laity as violating their marriage-beds; confession was become odious. There was strong fear lest the wealth of the clergy should be alienated to their legitimate children; even were it so, better the loss of wealth than of chastity. The Greek Church admitted marriage. The priests of the Old and New Testaments were married. The greater part of the Council were favourable to the change,^o except only some of the old, whose days of marriage had gone by, and the Monks, jealous lest the secular Clergy should have privileges denied to themselves. Yet one, a Cardinal, declared in the spirit, almost in the words, of old Paphnutius at Nicæa, that though himself aged, he earnestly desired that wives should be *restored* to the Priesthood.^p The

^o "Res erat complurimis accepta, sed tempori non convenire."

^p The Cardinal of St. Peter said: "Quamvis senio gravor, neque mentem habeo ad conjugium, sanctum tamen arbitror, uxores *restitui* sacerdotibus: quia non est omnibus gratia Dei concessa, ut legi lumborum resistant, ut de Paulo legimus." There is a very curious passage on this subject in the *Nemus Unionis* of Theodoric à Niem (Tr. vi. c. 35) about the clergy of Norway and Ireland. The Norwegians, both lay and clergy, were great drinkers of ale, and would drink against each other till neither could stand. But in both countries bishops and priests publicly kept their concubines: and when the bishops went on their visitations, the clergy insisted that they should

take their own "*amasia*" with them, lest they should be tempted by the superior beauty of those of the clergy. If the clergyman had not a "*focaria*," he paid double procurations ("ut prævaricator paternarum traditionum Episcopo visitante proinde procuraciones duplices ministrabat"). The wives (?) of the clergy in Ireland took rank: "Ac etiam presbyterorum *amasia* seu uxores in eisdem partibus, statu et gradu in ecclesiâ, in mensis, eundo, sedendo, et stando, cæteris dominabus *etiam militaribus* præponuntur." The same marriage or concubinage, with the advancement of the children ("ex fædo complexu nati") to benefices, prevailed in Germany, Spain, and Portugal. It must be remembered that this is from Theodoric à Niem.

question, as unsuited to the time, was eluded, postponed, dropped.^a

The Council of Basle had thus obtained an unlimited recognition of its authority, but the Fathers of that Council could not but know that it was an extorted recognition, and that from a most reluctant Pope. For the Council of Basle stood in very different relation to the Pope from those of Pisa or of Constance. Pisa was a Council of Cardinals, driven into revolt by the tergiversations of the two rival Pontiffs; the Italians by the abominable cruelties of Urban VI. As Cardinals, these Prelates assumed at least the lead in the Council; declared their right to depose the two contesting Popes, and to fill the vacancy by a creation of their own. At Constance, the Fathers of the Council sat as arbiters between three contending Pontiffs, one of whom, a despised and almost forgotten exile, had with difficulty found refuge in his native land of Venice; one was shut up in a fortress in Spain; one had rashly delivered himself, bound hand and foot by the crimes of his former life, into their hands. He had tried, but in vain, to break his bonds; he was abandoned by all Christendom. No sooner was there a Pope, Martin V., than he was acknowledged by the Council and by the whole West. He resumed at once the full supremacy over the Church. But the Council of Basle, if summoned by a Pope, and duly convened according to the decrees of former Councils, sat on one side of the Alps, and the Pope on the other; neither had any force to compel submission to its decrees. Eugenius IV. had so far been in uncon-

shall hereafter refer to unanswerable evidence on this repulsive subject from records of Visitations.

qui *hoc tempore tantum opus aggrediendum negavere.*" See the whole very curious passage in *Æneas Sylvius*, Fea, p. 55.

^a "Vicit tamen sententia illorum

tested possession of Rome and of the throne of St. Peter if embroiled in Italian politics, with no apprehension that either the Italian potentates or the Italian clergy, still less that any formidable majority among the Cardinals, would take the part of the Council against the Pope.

A sudden insurrection had compelled Eugenius to fly in a mean disguise from Rome. The Romans had thrown his nephew, the Cardinal of Venice, into prison, chosen a Senate, installed magistrates. They sent an embassy to Basle to arraign Eugenius; "they had cast out the proud Tarquin." Rome, in their language, was a city of Bruti, Scævolaë, Horatii, Catones.^r The Pope was received in Guelfic Florence. The Patriarch of Alexandria, John Vitelleschi, a ferocious and able Condottier (he had already hanged the famous Antonio of Pisa for violating the Papal territory), appeared with his terrible troops under the walls of Rome. Not a Brutus nor a Cato would lay down his life. The people submitted ignominiously to return to their allegiance. But the Pope, as a punishment for their unruliness, or in mistrust, now honoured Bologna as his residence.^s Behind the strong walls of Bologna, secure in the succour of Venice and of Florence, he was beyond the reach of the intrigue or violence of his deadly enemy, Philippo Visconti of Milan; and he might watch with serene composure the proceedings at Basle, ready to seize every opportunity of advantage or of revenge.

The Council of Basle, on the other hand, might as yet pursue its deliberations in dignified security, but no

^r This may be the classic irony of Æneas Sylvius, p. 61.

^s Muratori, sub ann. 1436. Till this time he had remained in Florence.

more. There was no great monarch to espouse their cause or give weight to their decrees. The Emperor Sigismund's final act of imposing power was his appearance in the Council. The two last years of his reign were more than inglorious, ignominious. He was succeeded for two disturbed years by his son Albert. Fre-

derick III., the new Emperor elected on the Feb. 2. 1440. death of Albert, surrendered himself to the treacherous guidance of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, at first the bold asserter of ecclesiastical freedom in the Council, then skilfully preparing his own way, first to Bishoprics, Cardinalates, finally to the Popedom, by calming down Germany to an undignified neutrality. Charles VII. governed hardly half of France. The King of England for the time ruled in Paris, and that king was the feeble, devout Henry VI. The only sovereign who seemed to take much interest in the proceedings of the Council was Alfonso of Castile, in virtue of his Sicilian or Neapolitan connexions.

Thus, then, the Pope and Council sat at first in disguised, before long in open, oppugnancy, but their hostility was confined to Declarations and Acts which neither could maintain but by words. Each asserted his prerogative to the utmost; the Council its own supremacy over all Christendom, including the Pope—its function was to reform the Church in its head and in its members; the Pope averred that the Council sat only by his permission, derived from him its limited authority, was guilty of ecclesiastical treason by any invasion of the all-comprehending Papal supremacy.

If the Council of Basle was wanting in the presence or the support of the great royal powers, as an Ecclesiastical Senate it was august enough. Though the most learned Fathers of Constance had passed away—

D'Ailly, Gerson, Zabarella, the Cardinal of St. Mark, Hallam—it boasted representatives of the Church from almost every quarter of Christendom. Among these was the Cardinal Louis, Archbishop of Arles, the President after the secession of the Cardinal Julian Cæsarini to Ferrara. His lofty independence and resistance to the Papal See did not prevent his subsequent canonisation.[†] Among the Prelates from Spain was the Archbishop of Palermo. From France came Thomas de Corcelles; from Deventer in Holland, Nicolas de Cusa, whose fame stood almost the highest among the theologians of the day. Nicolas de Cusa, a conscientious zealot for the reform of the Clergy, was afterwards decoyed from the Council by the adroit flattery of Pope Eugenius. "His peerless learning was absolutely necessary to conduct the negotiations with the Greek Church, now returning into the bosom of Rome." He went to Florence; and once within the magic circle, he left not the Papal Court during the sittings of the Council.[‡] Last and most important was Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, an Italian, the most elegant writer of Latin, the historian of the Council—at one time its ruling authority, at another its most dangerous, because secret, foe.

The Council of Basle stood firm on the unshaken ground of the established theology; not a whisper of suspicion attainted the doctrinal orthodoxy of its Fathers. The concessions to the Bohemian insurgents were avowedly extorted in order to save Germany from their inroads. It was a far-sighted policy, a policy conducted by the Fathers of Basle (especially the President Car-

[†] Æneas Sylvius describes Louis as "homo multarum parabolarum, liberalitate insignis, sed odio erga Eugenium veteri et novo accendissimus."—P. 67.

[‡] I have read a prolix and laborious life of Nicolas of Cusa by G. M. Dax, Regensburg, 1847.

dinal Cæsarini) with dignity and moderation which might command the admiration and gratitude of Christendom. According to the compact of Eger
A.D. 1433. the ambassadors of Bohemia appeared at Basle.

The theological questions arising out of the four Articles of Prague were discussed on the whole with singular sedateness, and with an earnest, almost an affectionate desire for union. On the side of the Bohemians stood Rokycana, now the acknowledged head of the Utraquists; Peter Payne, the Englishman; the Priest-warrior Procopius, as ready in theological dispute as in battle; on the other the most learned theologians of France, Germany, some of Italy. Julian Cæsarini presided with gentle dignity. The occasional outbursts of irresistible scorn and oppugnancy were repressed by common consent.* The concession of Communion in both kinds seemed determined, at least to a certain extent. The other Articles were eluded or compromised.

But these concessions, and the long-protracted negotiations which ensued, were fatal to the unity, and so to the strength of Bohemia. Dissensions arose: they could not but arise. The concessions were ambiguous, variously interpreted, received with eagerness, rejected with passion. The dragon's teeth were sown, the armed men sprang up. Nobles and Burghers, Utraquists and Taborites, were in open, deadly feud, or in secret counter-working hostility. The war, never entirely discontinued, broke out again. The disastrous battle of
May 30, 1434.

Lepan broke for ever the spell of Bohemian invincibility. Procopius the Great fell in the field; with Procopius fell the military glory, the religious inflexibility of Bohemia. After some time Sigismund (he still

* Palacky, iii. 3, ch. ii.

lived) ascended the throne ; he was received in Prague. Rokyšana was permitted to accept the barren dignity of Archbishop of Prague. The able ^{Aug. 24, 1436} Philip, Bishop of Coutances, then Legate of the Council of Basle, exercised the real ecclesiastical authority. On Sigismund's death, the crown of Bohemia was the object of a fierce contest between his son, the Austrian Albert, and Casimir of Poland. But it was a strife of Slavonian and German. The religious interest, the religious passions, were well-nigh burnt out. Tabor, Sion, were besieged and fell. The great Slavonian Reformation was at an end ; it lived only in its impulses, its glorious reminiscences, its opinions, the clang of its debates, which still rang in European remembrance ; hereafter disembarrassed of some of its wilder tenets, to wake to final victory in the more sober, steadfast, reflective Teutonic mind. The Council of Basle had perhaps averted doctrinal reformation for above a century.

The ostensible and paramount purpose of the Council of Basle was the Reform of the Clergy. From all quarters the solemn admonitions, the grave expostulations of the more devout and rigid, the bitter satire of the wits of the day, the denunciations of the enemies of the Clergy had been deepening since the Council of Constance had eluded this perilous question. Still there was no thought of a religious revolution ; a revolution, in modern phrase strictly conservative, was its utmost aim. Its highest ambition was to reduce the arbitrary autocracy of the Pope to a constitutional monarchy, in order to strengthen not to overthrow that monarchy. The Pope was to take a solemn oath on his inauguration to respect certain rights and liberties of the Church : the College of Cardinals was to be restricted to a certain number, but they were to be the standing Council, in

some degree an authoritative Council, to the Pope ; the Senate of the Church. On the other hand, against the concubinage of the Clergy the Council were now as rigid as Gregory or Innocent. For the first conviction the offender incurred deprivation of all emoluments for three months ; for obstinate disobedience, degradation.

Yet the reform of the hierarchy must begin with the Head. The immoderate taxation of the Roman Court ; the Annates and other charges ; the usurpations of the Popes as to the promotions to the richer benefices, lay at the root of many of the abuses. The axe must strike boldly and relentlessly at the heart of the evil. Here began the open, obstinate, irreconcilable collision. The Council on these points would not yield, the Pope would not for a moment relax his grasp. Against each usurpation, as he declared it, on the inextinguishable rights of the successors of St. Peter, so soon as the decree reached him he protested with the most uncompromising haughtiness. Papal power had never been advanced in more undisguised or peremptory language. In the Pope was the absolute right of conferring all benefices ; from him emanated all spiritual power ; he was the Bishop of Bishops, the sole fountain, the arbiter, the dispenser, the distributor, of ecclesiastical authority. So was warfully declared between the Pope and the Council ; their utterly irreconcilable pretensions had come into direct conflict. The Council would limit the Pope ; the Pope would endure no limitation.

CHAPTER XIII.

Council of Ferrara. The Greeks.

THE Pope had appealed to Christendom on his original inherent irresponsible autocracy, even before the affair of the reconciliation of the Greek Church, now become more urgent, gave him a special pretext for evoking the Council to some city of Italy. This act was in truth the dissolution of the Council of Basle. For the Teutonic Council of Basle with all its aspirations after freedom, the substitution of an Italian Council, if not servilely submissive, in interests and views closely bound up with the Pope, had been from the first the declared policy of Eugenius IV. And now the union of the Churches of the East and West, so long delayed, so often interrupted, might seem an inevitable necessity; it was imminent, immediate, at the will and the command of the West, which might dictate its own terms. The Emperor, and even the Patriarch of Constantinople seemed driven, in their death-pang of terror at the approach of the victorious Turks, to accept the aid of the West at any cost, at any sacrifice. The Emperor John Palæologus was hardly master of more than the Imperial city. Constantinople was nearly the whole Byzantine Empire.

Nothing, however, shows more clearly that the Council and the Pope divided the allegiance of Chris- Reconciliation
tendom than that ambassadors from the Eastern of Eastern
Empire appeared in Basle as well as in Rome. Nego- Empire.

tiations were conducted by the Emperor and Patriarch as well with the Council as with the Pope.^a Legates from the Council as from the Pope were sent to Constantinople. Contracts were entered into for galleys, Negotiations with Pope and Council. if not hired, promised both by Pope and Council to convey the Byzantine and his Clergy to the West. The crafty Greeks seemed disposed to bargain with the highest bidder, and with him who could give best security. The difficulties and advantages seemed singularly balanced. The Pope might admit the Easterns to unity, but Transalpine Christendom alone could pay the price of their laudable apostasy. Effective aid could be expected not from Italy, but from the Emperor (Sigismund was still on the throne) and from a crusade of all Europe. If the Greeks were unwilling to appear at Basle, the Council would consent to adjourn for this purpose to Avignon. And Avignon, it was thought, would purchase the high honour of becoming the seat of the Council for this glorious object, at the price of 70,000 pieces of gold for the convoy of the Emperor and his retinue. Avignon declined, or at least was not prompt in the acceptance of these terms.

The Pope during the preceding year had offered the choice of the great cities of Italy—Bologna, Ancona, Ravenna, Florence, Pisa, Mantua, even Rome. He now insisted on the alternative of Florence or of Udine in

^a Syropulus (p. 17), the Greek, describes the Council as assembled to remedy the monstrous evils which had grown up in the West, and for the limitation of the Pope's power, and that of his court: ἐπὶ διορθώσει τῶν ἀτόπων τῶν ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς Ἰταλίας παρεισφραδέτων, καὶ μα-

λίστα ἐπὶ τῇ συστολῇ καὶ ὑποσυνέψει τοῦ Πάπα καὶ τῆς κύρτης αὐτοῦ. Of the three ambassadors to Basle, two were Demetrius, the great Stratopedarch, and Isidore, afterwards Metropolitan of Russia. See the account of their reception—Syropulus p. 23 et seqq.

the Friulian province of his native Venice. Florence, his faithful ally, would open her own gates; Venice would admit a Council into her territory, not within her lagunes. If the reconciliation of the Greek and the Latin Church, the tardy and compulsory submission of Constantinople to the See of Rome, had been the one paramount, transcendent duty of Christendom,—if it was to swallow up and supersede all the long agitated questions of the reform in the hierarchy, the reinstatement of the sacerdotal Order not only in its power but in its commanding holiness—the Pope might urge strong reasons for the transplantation of the Council to Italy. The Greeks might well be alarmed at the unnecessary difficulties of a journey over the snowy Alps, the perils of wild roads, of robber chieftains. The Pope felt his strength in resting the dispute on that issue alone. At all events it might create a schism at Basle. The Transalpine party still adhered to Avignon, or some city of France. But if the Greeks also were to be considered, there could be no doubt of the superior convenience of Italy.^b

The Papal Legate, the Archbishop of Tarento, appeared at Basle to propose the removal of the Council for this great end to Florence or to Udine. The President of the Council was still the Cardinal Julian Cæsarini. Up to this time Cæsarini had stood firm and unshaken on the rights of the Council, but now with other Italian Prelates inclined towards obedience to the Pope. But the large number of the Transalpine Clergy, especially of the lower clergy, knew

March 3,
1437.

^b On one occasion the Patriarch said with simplicity that he had no inclination to be food for fishes: ἐμὲ δὲ οὐκ ἄξιοι κρίνετε φεῖδεσθαι ἔμαντου,

μήποτε καὶ ἐν τῷ πελάγει ριφεῖς κατὰβρωμα γένωμαι τῶν ἰχθύων.—Syropulus, p. 22. The magniloquent Latin translator makes the fishes whals.

that, once evoked to Italy, the Council, as an independent assembly, was at an end. The debate was long and turbulent. They came to the vote. Above two-thirds of the Council rejected the prorogation to Florence or Udine. The Duke of Milan, still opposed to the Pope in Italian politics, on his part desirous of having the Council in his dominions, offered a third alternative, the city of Pavia. Æneas Sylvius, in an eloquent speech of two hours (it was a convenient resting-place for Æneas ere he passed from the interests of the Council to that of the Pope), urged this middle course. He wrought on the ambassadors of Castile, but the Council was obdurate; it would not pass the Alps. The decree of the majority was publicly read, ordered to be engrossed, and confirmed with the seal of the Council. To the indignation of most, a Bishop arose and published aloud the decree of the minority as that of the Council.^c Nor was this all; at night the Bull of the Council was stolen from its box, the silken thread which attached the seal had been cut, the seal appended to the substituted decree of the Papal party. The fraud was openly charged, it was believed to be brought home to the Legate, the Archbishop of Tarento. His officer was treated with contumely, even with personal violence. The Archbishop with inconceivable effrontery avowed and gloried in the crime. He had advised, ordered, aided in the theft. He had done it, and would do it were it to do again. Must he not obey the Apostolic See rather than a rabble?^d He fled from the city (he was

^c Æneas Sylvius, p. 73. *L'Enfant*, i. p. 481, &c.

^d "Tarentinus alti cordis vir, intrepidus, audax. Quid vos, inquit, tantopere factum vituperatis? Rectum

est et laude dignum, quod reprehenditur. Suasi ego rem, fieri mandavi, operam dedi, et nisi fecissem, hodie facerem. Apostolicæ Sedi magis quam vestræ turpi obnoxius sum. Verum

threatened with imprisonment) under an armed escort. The Emperor heard of this unworthy artifice; he declared that the crime should not pass unpunished. Europe rang with the guilt of the Legate. July 5, 1437.

Eugenius loudly protested against this insolent impeachment of his Legate. He denounced the violence threatened against his sacred person, the rude usage of the Archbishop's officer: he afterwards rewarded the Archbishop with the Cardinalate. His protest and denunciations were heard with incredulity or indifference at Basle.

The Pope was more successful in his dealings at Constantinople. The Assembly, he urged, was but a small knot of unruly spirits, usurping the name of a Council; their sole object was to diminish the power of the Pope, the Pope who alone had the right to summon a Council and control their proceedings. He warned the Byzantines against trusting to their promises; they had no money to transport the Greeks to the West, none for ulterior purposes. Venice had already prepared her galleys for the convoy of the Emperor. Of Venice the Greeks well knew the power and the wealth. Yet the crafty Greeks might well smile at the zeal of the Pope for the unity of the Church, which made him hold up their reconciliation as the one great object of Christendom, while in the West the unity was thus broken by the feud of Pope and Council.

That feud was growing more violent and irreconcilable. The Council issued their monition to the Pope and to the Cardinals to appear before them at Basle within sixty days, and answer for their July 31.
Sept. 26.

ego decretum plumbavi, vos adulterinum. Vi nos impediistis plumbare: cur arte non vindicabimus, quod nobis | vi rapitur? nolo negare quod feci et recte feci."—Æn. Sylvius, p. 74.

acts. They annulled his creation of Cardinals. At the
 expiration of the sixty days they solemnly
 Oct. 31. declared the Pope contumacious. He had promulgated his Bull for the Council of Ferrara. That Bull they declared void and of none effect. After some delay they proceeded to the suspension of the Pope.
 Jan. 24, 1438. Other resolutions passed, limiting appeals to the Roman See, abolishing expectatives, gradually unfolding and expanding their views of Church Reformation.

The union of the Greek and Latin Churches, as it was understood in the West by the Pope and the high Papalists, the unqualified subjection of the East to the successor of St. Peter, by the Council the subjection to the Western Church represented at Basle, seemed to acquire more paramount importance from the eager and emulous exertions of the Council and the Pope to secure each to itself the Imperial proselyte. The Emperor, John VI. Palæologus, might at first appear to balance with lofty indifference their conflicting claims; to weigh the amount and the certainty of their offers, in which they vied against each other; and to debate which would be the most serviceable ally against the terrible Ottoman, and therefore best reward the sacrifice of the religious freedom of the East. Those were not wanting who advised him to dismiss the ambassadors of both, and declare, "when you have settled your own quarrels" it will be time for us to discuss the terms of union." Friar John, the Legate of the Council, as he began to despair of conducting the Emperor to Basle, would at all hazards keep him away from Italy. He urged this

The Emperor
 John Palæo-
 logus.

* Laonicus Chalcondylas. By a Council at Basle, and makes it a great anachronism he antedates the test between the rival Pontiffs,—lvi. election of the Antipope Felix by the p. 287. Edit. Bonn.

dignified course; the more important adviser, the Emperor Sigismund, gave the same counsel.^f But the Byzantine was now resolutely, as far as a mind so feeble was capable of resolution, determined on his journey to the West. He could not hope to hold a Council in Constantinople in which the West would be but partially represented, if it condescended to be represented,—or in which his own Church dominant in numbers, if required to make the slightest concession, would render obedience. His fears and his vanity had wrought him to desperate courage. He could not but know that the Turks were still closing round his narrowing empire, though there was for the moment some delay or suspense in their movements. Amurath had hardly consented to a hollow and treacherous delay,^g and who could know when they might be under the walls of Constantinople? Yet had Palæologus strange notions of his own grandeur. The West would lay itself at his feet; he might be chosen the successor of Sigismund, and reunite the great Christian commonwealth under one sovereign.^h

But he had great difficulty in persuading the heads of his Church to embark on a perilous voyage to a distant and foreign Council, where their few voices might be overborne by multitudes. Joseph the Patriarch was old, infirm, of feeble character: he yielded with ungracious reluctance,ⁱ but scrupled not to compel the attendance of his more prudent and far-sighted clergy. They too found consolation to their vanity, food for their ambition.

^f Syropulus, p. 57.

^g The treaty in Phranza, p. 118.

^h Syropulus, p. 36.

ⁱ See his speech (Syropulus, p. 16) in the time of Pope Martin, in which he predicts the inevitable humiliation

from attending a Council in Italy, at the expense of the Westerns. *ἐν γούν τῷ ἀπελθεῖν οὕτω καὶ ἐκδέχεσθαι καὶ τὴν ἡμερεσίαν τροφῆν ἐξ ἐκείνων, ἤδη γίνονται δούλοι καὶ μισθωτά, ἐκείνοι δὲ κύριοι.*

“The barbarous and ignorant West would bow before the learning and profound theology of the successors of Basil, the Gregories, and Chrysostom.” Nor were they without some vague notions of the prodigal and overflowing wealth of the West: they would return having achieved a victory by their irresistible arguments, and at the same time with money enough to pay their debts.^k If the Latins should stand aloof in stubborn obstinacy, they would return with the pride of having irradiated Italy with the truth, and of having maintained in the face of Rome the cause of orthodoxy; at the worst, they could but die as glorious martyrs for that truth.^m The Patriarch laboured under still more extravagant illusions. “When the Eastern Emperor should behold the pomp of the Pope, the lowly deference paid to their ecclesiastical superiors by the great potentates of the West, he would take lessons of humility, and no longer mistake the relative dignity of the spiritual and temporal Sovereign.”ⁿ These strange and chimerical hopes blinded some at least to the danger of their acts, and even mitigated for a time their inextinguishable hatred of the Latins; for the Latin conquest of Constantinople still left its deep indelible animosity in the hearts of the Greek Churchmen. They had been thrust from their Sees; Latin Bishops speaking a foreign tongue had been forced upon their flocks; they had been stripped of their revenues, reduced to poverty and contempt. On the reconquest of Constantinople, the Cantacuzenes and Palæologi had resumed the full temporal sovereignty,

^k Syropulus, p. 63. Καὶ ἀπελευ-
σόμεθα καὶ ὑποστρέψομεν νικητὰ
τροπαιοῦχοι.

^m Syropulus, *ibid.*

ⁿ Syropulus, p. 92. Καὶ διὰ τοῦ

πάπα ἐθάβρει ἐλευθερῶσαι τῇ
ἐκκλησίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπιθείσης
αὐτοῦ δουλείας παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως.

—κ. τ. λ.

but the Church had recovered only a portion of its influence, wealth, and power. Even in Constantinople, still more in many cities of the Empire, the Latin Bishops still claimed a co-ordinate authority, refused to be deposed, and, where the Franks were in force, maintained their thrones. There were at least titular Latin Bishops of most of the great Eastern Sees.

The Emperor and the Patriarch determined to accept the invitation of the Pope, and to reject that of the Council. Vague and terrible notions of the danger of surmounting the Alps, or of the interminable voyage to Marseilles, if Avignon should be the seat of the Council; the more doubtful, less profuse promises of money for the voyage from the Council; the greater dexterity and address of the Papal Legate, wrought powerfully on their minds. The fatal and insulting declaration of the Council—"They had subdued the new heresy of the Bohemians, they should easily subdue the old heresy of the Greeks"^e—had been industriously reported, and could not be forgiven. More politic Rome made no such mistake: her haughtiness could wait its time, could reserve itself in bland courteousness till the adversary was in her power, at her feet.

Emperor
accepts the
offer of
Rome.

Eight Papal galleys, furnished in Venice and in Crete, entered the harbour of Constantinople. They had not long arrived when it was heard that the fleet of the Council was drawing near. The Council had at length prevailed on the city of Avignon to furnish the necessary funds; the ships had been hired and manned at Marseilles. The Roman Admiral, the Pope's nephew Condolmieri, produced his commission to burn, sink, or

Rival fleets.

^e Syropulus, p. 27.

destroy the hostile fleet. He gave orders to his squadron to set sail and encounter the insolent enemy. It was with great difficulty that the Emperor prevented a battle between the fleets of the Pope and of the Council:^p an edifying proof to the Turks, who occupied part of the shores, of the unity of Christendom!—to the Greeks a significant but disregarded warning, as to the advantages which they might expect from their concessions to Western Christendom, itself in such a state of fatal disunion!

After nearly three months' delay—delay afterwards bitterly reproached by the Pope against the Greeks, as having involved much loss of time and needless expense—the Emperor and the Patriarch embarked on board the Venetian galleys. The Emperor was accompanied by his brother, the Despot Demetrius, whom it might be dangerous to leave behind at Constantinople; and attended by a Court, the magnificence of whose titles might make up for their moderate numbers. The Church made even a more imposing display. The Patriarch was encircled by the Bishops of the most famous Sees in the East, some of them men of real distinction. There were those who either held or were supposed to be the representatives of the three Patriarchates now under Moslem dominion—Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem; the Primate of Russia, whose wealth excited the wonder and envy of the Greeks; Bessarion Archbishop of Nicæa, and Mark of Ephesus, the two most renowned for their learning; the Prelates of Cyzicum, Heraclea, Nicomedia, Trebizond, Lacedæmon, and other famous names. The greater monasteries were represented by

^p μόλις οὖν διὰ πολλῶν λόγων καὶ ἀνηνυμάτων κατέπεισε τὸν καντλου-μέρη, καὶ ἡσύχασε. — Syropulus, p. 55. The Papal Legates had persuaded the Greeks that the Council of Basle was dissolved.

some of their Archimandrites. The Patriarch was attended, in his person, by all the high officers and the inferior dignitaries of S. Sophia, the cross-bearers, the whole choir of singers, the treasurer, the guardian of the books, the guardian of the vestments, the guardian of those who claimed the right of asylum, the expounder of the Canon Law, and Syropulus, the Ecclesiast or the Preacher. The last avenged the compulsion laid upon him to follow his master to Ferrara and Florence by writing a lively and bold history of the whole proceedings.⁹ The preparations, both of the Emperor and the Patriarch, made an incongruous display of pomp and poverty. The Emperor, that he might appear as the magnificent Sovereign of the East, to the indignation of the Church appropriated and lavished the sacred treasures, which had been sent as votive offerings by rich worshippers, on his own adornments, on a golden chariot, and cloth of gold for his bed. It was proposed that the Patriarch alone should appear in becoming state; the Bishops without their useless copes and dalmatics, in the coarse dress and cowls of simple monks. It was answered that the haughty Latins would scoff at their indigence. Notwithstanding the prodigies which remonstrated against their removal, the sacred vessels of S. Sophia were borne off, that the Patriarch might everywhere be able to celebrate Mass in unpolluted patens and chalices, and without being exposed to the contemptuous toleration of the Latins. When, however, on the division of the first Papal subsidy (15,000 florins), the Emperor assigned only the sum of 6000 to the clergy, the Patriarch resolutely declared that he would not

⁹ This remarkable work of Syropulus is the chief and trustworthy authority for the voyage, personal adventures, and personal feelings of the Greeks.

proceed to the Council. The Emperor was no less stubborn: he gave the Patriarch 1000 for his own use, and distributed the 5000 among the clergy; to the richer less, to the poor more.^r

An earthquake (dire omen!) shook the city as they set sail. The voyage was long, seventy-seven The voyage. days. The timid landsman, the Ecclesiast, may have exaggerated its discomforts and perils. It was humiliating alike to the Emperor and to the Patriarch. As they passed Gallipoli they were saluted with showers of javelins from the Turkish forts. In another place, though there was no declared war, the Hagarenes would scarcely allow them to take in water. The Emperor hardly escaped falling into the hands of some Catalan pirates. The Patriarch, when he landed, had to endure the parsimonious courtesy and the niggard hospitality of the Latin Prelates who occupied Greek Sees on the coast.^s

Nothing, however, could equal the magnificence of Arrival at Venice. their reception at Venice. The pride of the Republic was roused to honour, no doubt to dazzle, so distinguished a guest. As they approached the Lagunes, the Doge rowed forth in the Bucentaur, with twelve other galleys, the mariners in silken dresses, the awnings and flags of silk, the emblazoned banners of St. Mark waving gorgeously above. The sea was absolutely covered with gondolas and galleys. "You might as well number the leaves of the trees, the sands of the sea, or the drops of rain." The amazement of the Greeks at the splendour, wealth, and populousness of Venice

^r Syropulus, 63.

^s See the voyage in Syropulus at length, with many amusing incidents by land and sea, 69 *et seqq.* Gibbon

justly says that "the historian has the uncommon talent of placing each scene before the reader's eye."—Note c. lxxi. p. 99.

forcibly shows how Constantinople had fallen from her Imperial state:—"Venice the wonderful—most wonderful! Venice the wise—most wise! The city fore-shown in the Psalm, 'God has founded her upon the waters.'"^t

The respectful homage of the Doge to the Emperor was construed by the Greeks into adoration.^u He was conducted (all the bells of the city loudly pealing, and music everywhere sounding) up to the Rialto. There he was lodged in a noble and spacious palace: the Patriarch in the monastery of St. George. The Patriarch visited the church of St. Mark. The Greeks gazed in utter astonishment at the walls and ceilings glittering with mosaics of gold and precious stones, and the carvings in precious woods. The great treasury, shown only twice a-year, flew open before them: they beheld the vast and incalculable mass of gold and jewels, wrought with consummate art, and set in the most exquisite forms; but amid their amazement rose the bitter thought, "These were once our own: they are the plunder of our Santa Sophia, and of our holy monasteries."^x

The Doge gave counsel to the Emperor—wise Venetian counsel, but not quite in accordance with the close alliance of Venice with the Pope, or her respect for her

^t Phranza, ii. 15, p. 181, 6. Edit. Bonn.

^u Phranza says, *προσεκύνησε τὴν βασιλέα καθήμενον*.

^x Syropulus. There was one splendid image wrought entirely out of the gold and jewels taken in Constantinople: *τοῖς μὲν κεκτημένοις καύχημα καὶ τέρψις ἐγένετο καὶ ἡδονή, τοῖς δ' ἀφαιρεθεῖσιν εἰ ποὺ καὶ παρατύχοιεν, ἀθυμία καὶ λύπη καὶ κατή-*

φεια, ὡς καὶ ἡμῶν τότε συνέβη Syropulus is better authority than Ducas, and would hardly have suppressed, if he had witnessed the wonder of the Venetians at the celebration of the Mass by the Greeks according to their own rite. "'Verily,'" writes Ducas, "they exclaimed in wonder, 'these are the first-born of the Church, and the Holy Ghost speaks in them.'" —Ducas, c. xxxi

mitted son, Eugenius IV.^y He might take up his abode in Venice, duly balance the offers of the Pope and the Council of Basle, and accept the terms most advantageous to himself or his Empire.

If the Emperor hesitated, he was determined by the arrival of Cardinal Cæsarini, deputed by the Pope, with the Marquis of Este, to press his immediate presence at Ferrara. Julian Cæsarini had now abandoned
 Jan. 9, 1438. the Council of Basle: his desertion to the hostile camp might indicate that their cause was sinking towards desperation. He was now the Legate of the Pope, not that of the majority, it might be, but dwindling, more democratic, almost discomfited, majority at Basle.^z

Early in March the Emperor set forward to Ferrara. He travelled (it was so arranged) partly by water, partly by land, with greater speed than the aged Patriarch, who was highly indignant, as the Church ought to have taken precedence. In the reception of the Emperor
 The Emperor at Ferrara. at Ferrara all was smooth courtesy. He rode a magnificent black charger; another of pure white, with trappings emblazoned with golden eagles, was led before him. The Princes of Este bore the canopy over his head. He rode into the courts of the Papal palace, dis-

^y Syropulus, p. 85.

^z There is however considerable difficulty, and there are conflicting authorities as to the time, at which Julian Casarini, the Cardinal of St. Angelo, left Basle (see Fea's note to Æneas Sylvius, p. 128): and also whether, as Sanuto asserts, he appeared before the Emperor of the East, not as representative of the Pope, but of the Council. Cæsarini seems to

have been in a state of embarrassment: he attempted to mediate between the more violent and the papalising parties at Basle. He lingered for some months in this doubtful state. Though accredited by the Pope at Venice, he may have given himself out as representing the sounder, though smaller part of the Council of Basle. This was evidently the tone of the Eugenians.

mounted at the staircase, was welcomed at the door of the chamber by the Pope. He was not permitted to kneel, but saluted with a holy kiss, and took his seat at the Pope's right hand. The attendants had indeed lifted up the hem of the Pope's garment, and exposed his foot; but of this the Greeks took no notice. The Patriarch moved more slowly: his barge was splendidly adorned,^a but there ended his idle honours. March 4.

He had still cherished the fond hope that the Pope would receive him as his equal. He had often boasted that the Patriarchate would now be delivered from its base subjection to the Empire. He was met by a messenger with the tidings that the Pope expected him to kneel in adoration and kiss his foot. March 8.
A.D. 1438.

This degrading ceremony his own Bishops had declined.^b "If he is the successor of St. Peter," said the Patriarch in his bitterness, "so are we of the other Apostles. Did they kiss St. Peter's feet?" No Cardinals came out to meet him, only six Bishops, at the bridge. His own Bishops, who were with him, reproached the Patriarch: "Are these the honours with which you assured us we were to be received?" The Patriarch threatened to return home. The Pope, disappointed in the public humiliation of the Patriarch at his feet, would grant only a private audience. In the morning they all mounted horses furnished by the Marquis of Este, and rode to the gates of the Papal palace. All but the Patriarch alighted. He rode through the courts to the foot of the staircase. They passed through a suite of chambers, through an array of attendants with silver wands of office. The doors closed behind them. They were admitted only

^a Phranza compares it to Noah's Ark. He was astonished with its sumptuousness and accommodation.—P. 189.

^b Syropulus, p. 95.

six at a time to the presence of the Pope. Eugenius was seated with only his Cardinals around. He welcomed the Patriarch with a brotherly salute. The Patriarch took his seat somewhat lower, on a level with the Cardinals. His cross-bearers did not accompany him: they came last, and were permitted to kiss the hand and the cheek of the Pope. Now as afterwards, in their more private intercourse, the Pope and the Patriarch being ignorant, the one of Greek, the other of Latin, discoursed through an interpreter.^c

The Greeks had not been many days at Ferrara ere Discontent of the Greeks. they began to suspect that the great object of the Pope was his own aggrandisement, the strengthening of his power against the Council of Basle. They looked with jealousy on every artful attempt to degrade their Patriarch from his absolute coequality with the Pope, on his lower seat, and the limitation of the honours paid to him; they reproached the Patriarch with every seeming concession to the Papal pride.^d Before they met in the Council, they had the prudence curiously to inspect the arrangements in the great church. They found a lofty and sumptuous throne raised for the Pope in the midst: the rest were to sit, as it were, at his feet. Even the Emperor was roused to indignation. After much dispute it was agreed that the Pope should occupy a central throne, but slightly elevated. On his right, was a vacant chair for the Emperor of the West, then the Cardinals and dignitaries of the Latin Church; on his left, the seat of the Eastern Emperor, followed by the Patriarch and the Greek clergy. But the affairs dragged languidly on. The Pope affected to expect the

^c Syropulus, p. 96.

^d The Bishop of Trebizond was usually the spokesman. Syropulus, p. 166

submission of the Fathers of Basle. The Italian Prelates were by no means imposing in numbers; of the other Latin clergy were very few. The only ambassadors, those of the Duke of Burgundy. The Greeks perhaps knew not in what terms the Western clergy had been summoned. "If the Latins had any parental love they would hasten to welcome the prodigal son, the Greek Church returning to his father's home." The appeal to the charity of the Latins had no great result. The Patriarch had joined with the Pope at the first Session in an anathema, if they should contumaciously remain aloof from this Council. Awe was as powerless as love.

The Emperor retired to a monastery about six miles from Ferrara, and abandoned himself to the pleasures of the chase. The husbandmen in vain remonstrated against his wanton destruction of their crops, the Marquis of Ferrara^e against his slaughter of the pheasants and quails which he had preserved at great cost.^f The Patriarch and the clergy were left to suffer every kind of humiliating indignity, and worse than indignity. They were constantly exposed to endure actual hunger; their allowance in wine, fish, meat, was scanty and irregular; their stipends in money always many months in arrear. They were close prisoners;^g rigid police watched at the gates of the city: no one could stir without a passport.^h The Bishop of Ferrara refused them one of the great

* Nicolas III. of Este. Laonicus Chalcondylas takes the opportunity of telling of the Marquis the dreadful story which is the groundwork of Lord Byron's "Parisina."—P. 288, &c.

^f Raynald. sub ann.

^g This ancient Italian usage, that

no one could leave a city without a passport from the authorities, astonished the Greeks.—Syropulus, p. 141.

^h Syropulus, *ibid.* He is indignant: οὕτως ὁ Πνευματικὸς ἀνὴρ τιμᾶν ἔγνω τοὺς τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ὑπηρέτας.

churches to celebrate Mass according to their own rite : he would not have his holy edifice polluted. Three of them made their escape to Venice, and were ignominiously brought back. A second time they contrived to fly, and found their way to Constantinople. The indignant Patriarch sent home orders that the recreants should be suspended from their office, and soundly flogged.^l Tidings in the mean time arrived, fortunately exaggerated, that the Ottoman who had condescended to grant a precarious peace, threatened Constantinople ; the Pope evaded the demand for succour. He, indeed, himself was hardly safe. The bands of Nicolas Piccino, Captain of a terrible Free Company, had seized Forlì and Bologna.

The miserable Greek clergy urged the Patriarch, the slow and irresolute Patriarch at length urged the Emperor, too well amused with his hunting, to insist on the regular opening of the Council. "We must wait the arrival of the ambassadors from the Sovereigns and Princes, of more Cardinals and Bishops ; the few at present in Ferrara cannot presume to form an Œcumenic Council." Autumn drew on ; with autumn the plague began to appear. Of the eleven Cardinals only five, of the one hundred and sixty Bishops only fifty remained in Ferrara. The Greeks escaped the ravage of the pestilence, all but the Russians : they suffered a fearful decimation.^k

Not, indeed, that the whole of this time had been wasted in inactivity. Conferences had been held : private Synods, not recognised as formal acts of the Council, had defined the four great points of difference between the Greek and Latin Churches. Scandalous

^l Syropulus, p. 125.

^k Id. p. 144.

rumours indeed were disseminated that the Greeks were guilty of fifty-four articles of heresy; these charges were disdained as of no authority; but the Greeks were not less affected, and not less despised and hated by the mass of the people for such disclaimer. The Council was at length formally opened; but throughout it was skilfully contrived that while there was the most irreverent confusion among the Greeks, the Patriarch was treated with studied neglect, the Emperor himself, with reluctant and parsimonious honours; the Pope maintained his serene dignity; all the homage paid to him was skilfully displayed. The Greeks were jealous of each other; the courtly and already wavering Prelate of Nicæa was in constant collision with the ruder but more faithful Mark of Ephesus; they could not but feel and betray, they knew not how to resent, their humiliation.^m Their dismay and disgust was consummated by news of the intended adjournment of the Council to Florence. They would not at first believe it; the Emperor was obliged to elude their remonstrances by ambiguous answers. The terrors of the plague, which Syropulus avers had passed away for two months; the promises of better supplies, and more regular payments in rich and fertile Tuscany; the neighbourhood of commodious havens, where they might embark for Greece; above all, starvation, not only feared, but almost actually suffered: all were as nothing against the perils of a journey over the wild and unknown Apennines, perhaps beset by the marauding troops of Piccinino, the greater distance from Venice, and, therefore, from their home. Already the Bishop of Heraclea, the homophylax, and even Mark of Ephesus, had attempted flight, and had

^m See all the latter part of the 6th section of Syropulus.

been brought back by actual force or by force disguised as persuasion.^a

The clergy with undissembled reluctance,^o or rather under strong compulsion, the Emperor with ungracious compliance, yielded at length to the unavoidable necessity. The Emperor and the Patriarch, the Pope and his Cardinals found their long way to Florence, not indeed by the ordinary roads, for the enemy occupied Bologna, but, according to the Greeks, with the haste and secrecy of flight; to the Latins, with the dignity of voluntary retirement. The Pope travelled by Modena; the Emperor and the Patriarch by Faenza, and thence in three days over the savage Apennines to Florence.^p

In Basle, meantime, the Nations continued their sessions, utterly despising the idle menaces of the Pope, and the now concurrent anathemas of the Greeks. The Cardinal Louis Archbishop of Arles, a man of all-respected piety and learning, had taken the place as President, on the secession of Cardinal Julian Cæsarini. But not only Cæsarini, the Cardinal of St. Peter's and many others had fallen off from the Council; the King of Arragon, the Duke of Milan menaced away their Prelates. None, it was said, remained, but those without benefices, or those from the kingdoms of which the Sovereigns cared nothing for these religious disputes. Amadeus of Savoy compelled his Bishops to join the Council, to make up

^a Syropulus, 151.

^o Καὶ πάντες τὸ τῆς μεταβάσεως δεινὸν ὁμονῶς ἐκτραγωδοῦντες καὶ ἀποσειόμενοι, καὶ πρὸ ἐμποδισμῶν ταύτης πάντα ὅσα ἐνῆν λέγοντες.— Syropulus, p. 184

^p There is now a noble road from Forlì to Florence; but before this road was made it must have been a wild and terrific journey, especially to the sedentary Greek of Constantinople.

a sufficient number to depose the Pope.^a The death of the Emperor Sigismund, whose presence in the Council had no doubt raised its credit in the minds of men, was a fatal blow to the cause of Reformation. His son-in-law, Albert, was chosen at Frankfort King of the Romans; but Albert's disposition on this momentous subject was undeclared; his power not yet confirmed. The German Diet now took a lofty tone of neutrality; they would not interfere in the quarrel (it had sunk into a quarrel) between the Pope and the Council. In vain the Archbishop of Palermo, in the name of the Council, urged that it was the cause of ecclesiastical freedom, of holy religion. Even the great German Prelates heard in apathy.^b

Dec. 9, 1437.

At Frank-
fort.
A.D. 1438.

Not so the kingdom of France. On the 1st of May the Gallican Hierarchy, at the summons of the King, assembled in a national Synod at Bourges. The Kings and the clergy of France had seldom let pass an opportunity of declaring their own distinctive and almost exclusive independence on the Papal power. At the same time that they boasted their titles, as inherited from Pepin or Charlemagne as the defenders, protectors, conservators of the Holy See, it was with reservation of their own peculiar rights. They would leave the rest of the world prostrate at the Pope's feet, they would even assist the Pope in compelling their prostration; in France alone they would set limits to, and exercise control over, that power.

France.
Pragmatic
Sanction.

^a Aeneas Sylvius, p. 76.

^b These verses are of the time:—

“ Ut primum magni cœpit discordia cleri
Dicunt Germani, nos sine parte sumus.
Hoc ubi non rectum docti docuerunt magistri
Suspendunt animos, guttura non sapiunt.”

Even St. Louis, the author of the first Pragmatic Sanction, in all other respects the meekest Catholic Christian, was still King of France. The King, or rather the King's advisers, the Legists and the Counsellors in the Parliament, saw that it was an inestimable occasion for the extension or confirmation of the royal prerogative. The clergy, though they had attended in no great numbers, were still in general adherents of the Council of Basle. The doctrines of Gerson and of the University of Paris were their guides. At the great Synod of Bourges the King proposed, the clergy eagerly adopted the decrees of the Council. Yet though they fully admitted the Assembly of Basle to be a legitimate Œcumenic Council, to which all Christians, the Pope himself, owed submission, they virtually placed themselves above Pope or Council. They did not submit to the Council as Legislator of Christendom; their own consent and re-enactment was necessary to make the decree of Pope or Council the law of the realm of France. The new Pragmatic Sanction, as now issued, admitted certain of the decrees in all their fulness, from the first word to the last; others they totally rejected, some they modified, or partially received. The Synod of Bourges assumed to be a co-ordinate, or, as regarded France, a superior Legislature. It asserted the rights of national churches with plenary authority, a doctrine fatal to the universal monarchy of Rome, but not less so to the unity of the Church, as represented by the Pope, or by a General Council. The Pragmatic Sanction encountered no opposition. It enacted these provisions: the Pope was subject to a General Council, and such General Council the Pope was bound to hold every ten years. The Pope had no power to nominate to the great ecclesiastical benefices,

except to a few specially reserved; the right of election devolved on those to whom it belonged. The Court of Rome had no right to the collation to inferior benefices; expectatives or grants of benefices not vacant were absolutely abolished. Appeals of all kinds to Rome were limited to very grave cases. No one was to be disturbed in his possession who had held a benefice for three years. It restricted the number of Cardinals to twenty-four, none to be named under thirty years of age. Annates and first-fruits were declared simoniacal. Priests who retained concubines forfeited their emoluments for three months. There were some regulations for the performance of divine service. The Mass was to be chanted in an audible voice: no layman was to sing psalms or hymns in the vulgar tongue in churches. Spectacles of all sorts, plays, mummeries, masques, banquets in churches were prohibited. The avoiding all commerce with the excommunicated was limited to cases of great notoriety. The interdict was no longer to confound in one sweeping condemnation the innocent and the guilty.*

Thus, then, while Germany receded into a kind of haughty indifference, France, as far as France, had done the work of the Council. The Pragmatic Sanction was her reform; the dissolution of the Council by the Pope, the deposition of the Pope by the Council, she did not condescend to notice. England, now on the verge of her great civil strife, had never taken much part in the Council, she had not even resented her non-admission as a Nation. Even Spain and Milan had

* Concilium Bituricense, apud Labbe. Ordonnances de France, xiii. p. 267, 291. L'Enfant, Hist. dt. Concile de Bâle. Compare Sismondi, Hist. des Français, xii. p. 327.

to a certain extent withdrawn their sanction. But still the Council of Basle maintained its lofty tone; it must have had deep root in the reverence of mankind, or it must have fallen away in silent, certain dissolution.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Council of Florence.

FLORENCE received the strangers from the East with splendid hospitality. The Emperor, after some contest allowed the Church on this occasion her coveted precedence.^a The Patriarch arrived first; he was met by two Cardinals and many Bishops. But at Florence curiosity was not highly excited by the arrival of an aged Churchman: he passed on almost unregarded. Three days after came the Emperor; the city was in a tumult of eager wonder; the roofs were crowded with spectators; trumpets and instruments of music rang through the streets; all the bells pealed; but the magnificence of the pomp (so relates the Ecclesiast, not without some ill-suppressed satisfaction) was marred by deluges of rain.^b The gorgeous canopy held over the Emperor's head was drenched; he and all the spectators were glad to find refuge in their houses.

The Council of Florence began with due solemnity its grave theological discussions, on the event of which might seem to depend the active interference of the West to rescue her submissive and orthodox brethren

^a Laonicus Chalcondylas describes Florence as the greatest and richest city after Venice. Ἡ δὲ Φλωρεντία πόλις ἐστὶν ὀλβιωτάτη μετὰ γὰρ τὴν Οὐνετιῶν πόλιν, ἐπὶ ἐμπορίαν ἄμα καὶ γεωργοῦς παρεχομένη ταῦτε

ἄστους. This union of agriculture with trade is, I presume, to distinguish them from the Venetians. He enters into the constitution of Florence.

^b Syropulus, p. 213.

from the Mohammedan yoke, or the abandonment of the rebellious and heretical race to the irresistible Ottoman. It began with solemn order and regularity. The champions were chosen on each side; on the Latin, the most distinguished were the Cardinal Julian Cæsarini, the late President of the Council of Basle, not less eminent for learning than for political wisdom; and John, the Provincial General of the Dominican Order in Lombardy, esteemed among the most expert dialecticians of the West. On the side of the Greeks were Isidore of Russia, the courtly Bessarion, who might seem by his temper and moderation (though not unusual accompaniments of real learning) not to have been without some prophetic foresight of the Cardinalate and the quiet ease of a Western Bishopric; and Mark of Ephesus, whose more obstinate fidelity aspired to be the Defender, the Saint, the Martyr of his own unyielding Church. If legend were to be believed (and legend is still alive, in the full light of history) the Greeks were indeed incorrigible. Miracle was wasted upon them. St. Bernardino of Sienna is said to have displayed the first recorded instance of the gift of tongues since the Day of Pentecost; he disputed fluently in Greek, of which he could not before speak or understand one word.*

Already at Ferrara the four great questions had been proposed which alone were of vital difference to the Greek and Latin Churches. I. The Procession of the Holy Ghost, whether from the Father alone, or likewise from the Son. II. The use of leavened or unleavened bread in the Eucharist. III. Purgatory. IV. The Supremacy of the Pope. At Ferrara the more modest discussion had chiefly confined itself to the less momen-

* Raynaldus sub anno.

tous questions, those on which the passions were less roused, and which admitted more calm and amicable inquiry, especially that of Purgatory. At Florence they plunged at once into the great absorbing difficulty, the procession of the Holy Ghost. This, though not absolutely avoided at Ferrara, had been debated only, as it were, in its first approaches. Yet, even on this point,^d where the object with the Latins, and with the more enlightened and best courtiers of the Greeks, was union not separation, agreement not stubborn antagonism, it began slowly to dawn upon their minds that the oppugnancy was in terms rather than in doctrine; the discrepancy, as it was calmly examined, seemed to vanish of itself. The article, however, involved two questions, one of the profoundest theology, the other of canonical law. I. Which was the orthodox doctrine, the Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone, or from the Father and the Son? II. Even if the latter doctrine were sound, by what right had the Latin Church of her sole authority, in defiance of the anathema of one or more of the four great Œcumenic Councils, presumed to add the words "and the Son" to the creed of Nicæa? Which of these questions should take precedence was debated with obstinacy, not without acrimony. The more rigid Greeks would stand upon the plain fact, which could hardly be gainsaid, the unauthorised intrusion of the clause into the Creed. To the Latins, the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father alone (the Greek doctrine) was an impious disparagement of

^d The Greeks were manifestly bewildered by the scholastic mode of argument, the endless logical formularies of the Latins (Syropulus, *passim*). They were utterly unacquainted with

the Latin Fathers; could not distinguish the genuine from spurious citations; or even understand their language.—Syropulus, p. 218.

the co-equal, co-eternal Godhead of the Son; to the Greeks the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son also, was the introduction of two principles—it ascribed the incommunicable paternity of the Father to the Son.^e It was discovered at length that neither did the Latins intend to deny the Father to be the primary and sole fountain of Godhead, nor the Greeks absolutely the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son. They all acquiesced in the form “of the Father through the Son;” yet on the different sense of the two Greek propositions, “from and through,” Mark of Ephesus and the rigid Greeks fought with a stubborn pertinacity as if their own salvation and the salvation of mankind were on the issue.^f But the real difficulty was the addition to the Creed. As a problem of high speculative theology, the article might be couched in broad and ambiguous terms, and allowed to sink into reverential silence. The other inevitable question forced itself upon the mind, the popular mind as well as that of the clergy, almost in every service. Whenever the Nicene Creed was read or chanted, the omission of the words would strike the Latins with a painful and humiliating void; it was an admission of their presumption in enlarging the established Creed—the abasing confession that the Western Church, the Roman Church, had transcended its powers. To the Greek the unusual words jarred with equal dissonance on the ear; the compulsory repetition was a mark of galling subjection, of the cowardly abandonment of the rightful independence of his Church, as well as of truth and orthodoxy.

^e The Latin argued, *εἰ δὲ ὁμολογούντες ἡμεῖς οἱ Λατῖνοι μίαν ἀρχὴν καὶ αἰτίαν καὶ πηγὴν καὶ βίξαν τὸν Πάτερα τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος,* *μή ποιούντες δύο ἀρχάς, τις ἢ χρεῖα τοῦ ἀπαλείφειν προσθήκην*—Ducas c. xxxi.

^f Syropulus, p. 237.

On this point the Latins suffered the humiliation of having produced a copy of the Acts of the Second Council of Nicæa, which included the contested words. It was a forgery so flagrant that they were obliged to submit to its rejection without protest.^g The Greeks drew the natural conclusion that they would not scruple to corrupt their own documents.^h The Latins were more fortunate or more skilful in some citations from S. Basil and other writers of authority. Their authenticity could not be disproved without awaiting the arrival of other copies from Constantinople. Throughout, the dispute rested on the Greek Fathers; the Greeks somewhat contemptuously avowed their ignorance of the Latin saints.

The Latins had the strength of strenuous union, the Greeks were weakened by discord. Already at Ferrara the more rigid Greeks had seen the accomplished Bessarion of Nicæa desert the faithful Mark of Ephesus. On the question of Purgatory they had differed more widely than the conflicting Churches. Their quarrel now degenerated into coarse and personal altercation. "Why do I dispute any longer" (Bessarion so far forgot himself) "with a man possessed by an evil spirit?"ⁱ Mark, in return, denounced Bessarion as a bastard and an apostate.

The Pope and the Emperor^k were resolutely determined upon the union. Every art, all influence and

^g The interpolation was traced up to the time of Charlemagne, no higher.

^h ἐλέγομεν γὰρ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ, ὡς ἤδη ἔχομεν ἐλέγχειν αὐτοῦς ἐκ τούτου ὅτι ἐνοθεύθησαν καὶ τὰ ῥητὰ τῶν δυτικῶν ἁγίων.—Syrop. p. 171.

ⁱ Syropulus, p. 157.

^k The Emperor burst out into a

furious invective against the Bishop of Heraclea, who had presumed to refute the Imperial arguments: οὕτω καὶ νῦν ἀναισχυντῶν λέγεις ἄπερ σοὶ οὐκ ἔξεστι. διότι ὑπάρχεις ἰδιώτης ἀνθρώπος, καὶ ἀπαίδευτος καὶ βάνανσος καὶ χωρίτης.—P. 224.

authority, were put forth to compel the more refractory to obedience. If the Cardinalate was not yet bestowed or promised to the more obsequious Prelates, Bessarion of Nicæa and Isidore of Russia, the appointments and allowances to the more pliant were furnished with punctuality and profusion, those to the contumacious parsimoniously if at all. The arrears of the disfavoured again extended to many months; they were again threatened with starvation. Christopher, the Pope's former Legate at Constantinople, proposed altogether to withdraw the allowance from Mark of Ephesus, the Judas who ate the Pope's bread and conspired against him.^m Rumours were spread that Mark was mad. It was skilfully suggested, it was plain to the simplest understanding, that the liberties of the Greeks, perhaps their lives, in a foreign land, were not their own; their return depended on the mercy or the generosity of their antagonists. They might be kept an indefinite time, prisoners, despised, starving prisoners. Their own poor resources had long been utterly exhausted; the Emperor, even the Patriarch, could make or enforce no terms for refractory subjects, who defied alike temporal and spiritual authority.

The Greeks met again and again in their private synod. The debates were long, obstinate, furious; the holy councillors were almost committed in personal violence; the Emperor mingled in the fray, overawing some to adulatory concessions, but not all.ⁿ The question of the Procession of the Holy Ghost was proposed for their accordance in the mildest and most disguised form; that of the addition

^m Syropulus, p. 251.

ⁿ The Bishops of Mitylene and Lacedæmon almost fell tooth and nail

on Mark of Ephesus: *καὶ μόνον οὐκ ὀδοῦσι καὶ χέρσιν ὄρων διασπαράξαι αὐτὸν.*—P. 236.

to the Creed altogether eluded. There were twenty who declared themselves in favour of the union, twelve not content. But in subsequent meetings (every kind of influence was used, menaces, promises were lavished to obtain suffrages) the majority was gradually swelled by the admission of certain "Grammarians" to vote: the minority dwindled away by the secession of some Bishops through fear or favour, the disfranchisement of three of the cross-bearers and some obstinate monks, as not in holy orders. The Emperor determined that suffrages belonged only to Bishops and Archimandrites.^o At length Mark of Ephesus stood alone, or with one partisan, Sophronius of Anchialus; even Sophronius seems to have dropped away; but in vain the Patriarch wasted all his eloquence on the adamantine Ephesian.

June 3.

Yet the Emperor would not surrender the liberties of his Church without distinct stipulations as to the reward of his compliance.^p His sole motive for submission had been the security of his empire, of Constantinople now almost his whole empire.^q A treaty, negotiated by Isidore of Russia, was duly ratified and signed with these articles. I. The Pope bound himself to supply ample means, ships and provisions, for the return of the Emperor and the Greeks. II. The Pope would furnish every year two galleys and three hundred men-at-arms for the defence of Constantinople. III. The ships which conveyed the pilgrims to the Holy Land were to touch at Constantinople. IV. In the Emperor's need the Pope should furnish twenty galleys for six

June 2.

^o 'Ηγούμενοι.

^p Gibbon has noted with his usual sarcasm the protest of the Emperor's dog, who howled fiercely and lament-

ably throughout his master's speech.— Syropulus, 266.

^q Syropulus, 261.

months or ten for a year. V. If the Emperor should require land forces, the Pope would use all his authority with the Princes of the West to supply them.

The temporal treaty was signed. With weary haste they proceeded to perfect, to ratify, and to publish the spiritual treaty, which pretended to unite the East and West in holy communion. The Patriarch, who had long been suffering from age and sickness, just lived to see and to sign this first article of his great work. He died

June 9. suddenly, almost in the act of urging his followers to submission. He had already sent

off some of his effects to Venice, and hoped to return (happily he did not return) to Constantinople. His obsequies were celebrated with great pomp; and in the Baptistery of Florence the stranger wonders to find the tomb of a Patriarch of Constantinople.

The strife seemed to be worn out with this more momentous question. The discomfited and discordant Greeks had no longer courage or will to contest further. The three other points had already been partially discussed; even that perilous one, the supremacy of the Pope, was passed, reserving only in vague and doubtful terms the rights of the Eastern Patriarchate. Death had silenced the remonstrant voice of the Patriarch. The final edict was drawn by common consent. One only difficulty remained which threatened seriously to disturb the peace. In whose names, on whose authority, should it address the world, as a law of Christendom, that of the Emperor the heir of Justinian, or the Pope

* There is a remarkable passage, in which Beszarion of Nicæa took the opportunity, to the perplexity and astonishment of the Greeks, of asserting their absolute unity with the Latins as to the sole power of the hierarchy to consecrate the Eucharist and to ordain the clergy.—Syropulus, p. 295; but compare p. 278.

the successor of St. Peter? The Emperor yielded to a compromise, which seemed to maintain his dignity. It spoke in the name of the Pope Eugenius IV. with the consent of his dear son John Palæologus, Emperor of the Romans, and the representatives of his venerable brethren the Patriarchs. Earth and heaven were summoned to rejoice that the wall had fallen which had divided the Churches of the East and West. The Greeks and Latins are now one people. I. The Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son, but as from one principle, by one operation. The words "from the Son" have been lawfully and with good reason inserted in the Creed. II. In the use of leavened or unleavened bread, each Church might maintain its usage. III. The souls of those who die in less than mortal sin are purified in purgatory, by what fire was not determined, but their sufferings may be shortened or alleviated by the prayers and alms of the faithful. IV. The Roman Pontiff, as successor of St. Peter, has a primacy and government over the whole Catholic Church, but according to the Canons of the Church.* The rights and privileges of the other four great Patriarchs, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, are inviolate and inviolable.

The Acts of the Council of Florence boast the signatures, on the part of the Latins, of the Pope, eight Cardinals, two Latin Patriarchs, of Jerusalem and Grado, two Bishops, Ambassadors of the Duke of Burgundy, eight Archbishops, forty-seven Bishops, four Heads of Orders, forty-one Abbots, and the Archdeacon of Troyes. Among the Greeks were the Emperor, the Vicars of

* About this there was a dispute, on which the Emperor threatened to break off the treaty. The Pope proposed "according to Scripture and the writings of the Saints."—P. 282.

the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, nineteen Archbishops and Bishops by themselves or by their proctors, the great Dignitaries of the Church of Constantinople, the Head of the Imperial Monastery, and four Abbots. Of these some were compelled to set their hands, the Ecclesiast fairly owns, speaking no doubt of himself among others, from fear. Such were the representatives of the Christian world. The Despot Demetrius still sternly refused: he was to reap his reward in popularity, hereafter to be dangerous to his brother's throne. He retired to Venice in sullen dignity.

The Act was published with imposing solemnity in the Cathedral of Florence. Nothing was wanting to the splendour of the ceremony, to the glory of the Pope. After *Te Deum* chanted in Greek, Mass celebrated in Latin, the Creed was read with the "*Filioque*." Syropulus would persuade himself and the world that the Greeks did not rightly catch the indistinct and inharmonious sounds. Then the Cardinal Julian Cæsarini ascended the pulpit and read the Edict in Latin, the Cardinal Bessarion in Greek. They descended and embraced, as symbolising the indissoluble unity of the Church. The Edict (it was unusual) ended with no anathema. Bessarion and Isidore, with the zeal of renegades, had urged the condemnation of their contumacious brethren: they were wisely overruled. Even Mark of Ephesus, whom the Pope would have visited for his stubborn pride (the brave old man adhered to his convictions in the face of the Pope and his Cardinals), was protected by the Emperor. The service in the Cathedral of Florence was in the Latin form, the Pope was on his throne, with his Cardinals, in all his superiority. Greek vanity had expected to impress the

Latins by the more solemn majesty of their rites.[†] They proposed the next day a high Greek function, with the Pope present. The Pope coldly answered, that before they could be permitted in public, the rites must be rehearsed in private, in order that it might be seen whether there was anything presumptuously discordant with the Roman usage. The Greeks declined this humiliating mode of correcting the errors and innovations of the Roman ritual.[‡]

Five copies of these Acts were made, and duly signed, that authentic proof of this union might never be wanting to perpetuate its memory to the latest time.

Thus closed the first, the great, Session of the Council of Florence. The Emperor with the Greek Clergy returned to Venice, and, after a long and fatiguing navigation, to Constantinople[‡] there to be received, not as the Saviour of the empire from the sword of the Turks, not as the wise and pious reconciler of religious dissension and the peacemaker of the Church, but as a traitor to his own imperial dignity, as a renegade, and an apostate. Already in Venice signs of rebellion had appeared. The Bishop of Heraclea and the Ecclesiast, compelled to officiate in St. Mark's, revenged themselves by chanting the Creed without the obnoxious interpolation, and by refusing to pray for the Pope.[‡] During the voyage the Emperor encountered bitter complaints from the Greeks of the tyranny and exultation of the

[†] The only superiority which the Latins seemed obliged to own, was the splendour of the Greek dresses of silk. "A la maniera degli abiti Greci, pareva assai più grave, e più degna che quella de' Prelati Latini."—Vespasiano, Vit. Eugen. IV. Muratori, xxv. p. 201.

[‡] ἡμεῖς ἐθαρροῦμεν διορθῶσαι πολλὰ σφάλματα τῶν Λατινῶν — Syropulus, p. 299.

[‡] He embarked Oct. 19; arrived in Constantinople Feb. 1.

[‡] Syropulus, p. 315.

Latin Clergy. In Constantinople it was eagerly inquired whether they had returned victorious. They confessed with humble and bitter self-reproach that they had sold the faith; that they had yielded in base fear to the Franks.^a Had they been scourged, imprisoned, put to the torture? they could not plead this excuse. It was openly said that, Judas-like, they had received money and sold the Lord. The Archbishop of Heraclea declared that he had been compelled to the base apostasy, and confessed his bitter remorse of conscience; he had rather his right arm had been cut off than that he had subscribed the union. At once the Monks and the women broke out into unrestrained fanaticism against the impious Azymites, who had treated the difference of leavened or unleavened bread as trivial and insignificant. The obsequious Bishop of Cyzicum, promoted to the Patriarchate, could not command the attendance of his own dignitaries without the mandate, without threats of severe punishment from the Emperor.^a He stood even then, in the midst of his sullen retinue, in Santa Sophia, with hardly a single worshipper.^b The churches where the clergy officiated who had favoured the union, not merely in the metropolis but in the villages around, were deserted by their flocks.^c The Despot Demetrius raised the standard of Greek orthodoxy in direct rebellion against his brother. His partisans excited the people everywhere, if to less violent, to as stubborn rebellion. Bold had been the Priest who had dared to interpolate the Creed with the hated clause. Even in Russia, the Cardinal Isidore (the wiser Bessarion re-

^a Ducas, c. xxxi.

^b Syropulus.

^c He demanded the reason of this from some of his refractory flock. *διστι*

ἠκολούθησας καὶ σὺ τῷ πατριάρχει καὶ ἐλατίνισας.—P. 337.

^c Phranza, p. 194. Laonicus Chalcondylas. Ducas, c. xxxi.

turned to peace and honour in the West) was met with the same contemptuous, inflexible resistance.

A few short years had entirely obliterated all signs of the union in the East, excepting the more embittered feeling of estrangement and hatred which rankled in the very depths of their hearts towards the Latin Church; and these feelings were only quenched in their blood. For, as they thus indignantly repudiated all connexion with Rome, all subjection to Latin Christianity, the Pope and the Princes of Western Christendom thought no more of their treaty of succour and support against the Turks.

Only fifteen years after the return of the Emperor John Palæologus to the East, Constantinople was a Mohammedan city. S. Sophia, which disdained to be polluted by the "Filioque" in the Creed, resounded, unrebuked, with the Imaum's chant, "There is but one God, and Mohammed is his Prophet."

The sole lasting consequence of the Council of Florence, even in the West, was the fame acquired by Pope Eugenius, which he wanted neither the art nor the industry to propagate in the most magnificent terms. He, of all the successors of St. Peter, had beheld the Byzantine Emperor at his feet, had condescended to dictate terms of union to the Greeks, who had acknowledged the superior orthodoxy, the primacy of Rome. The splendid illusion was kept up by the appearance of ecclesiastical ambassadors—how commissioned, invested with what authority, none knew, none now know—from the more remote and barbarous churches of the East, from the uttermost parts of the Christian world. The Iberians, Armenians, the Maronites and Jacobites of Syria, the Chaldean Nestorians, the Ethiopians, successively rendered the homage of their allegiance to the one Supreme Head of Christendom.

CHAPTER XV.

Continuation of Council of Basle. Pope Felix.

THE Council of Basle, frustrated in its endeavours to secure the advantage to itself of the treaty with the Eastern Emperor, looked on the negotiations at Ferrara and Florence with contemptuous disregard. Its hostility might seem embittered by the success of the Pope in securing the recognition of the Emperor and the Greek Clergy. It was some months before the time when Eugenius triumphantly announced his union with the Byzantine Church, that the Council determined to proceed to the deposition of the Pope. They would before long advance to the more fatal and irrevocable step—the election of his successor.

The Council might seem, in its unshaken self-confidence, to despise the decline in its own importance, from the secession of so many of its more distinguished members, still more from the inevitable consequences of having raised vast expectations which it seemed utterly unable to fulfil. It affected an equable superiority to the defection of the great temporal powers, the haughty neutrality of Germany, and the rival synod of France at Bourges. Even the lesser temporal princes, who had hitherto supported the Council, the Spanish Kings, the Duke of Milan, seemed to shrink from the extreme and irrepealable act—the deposition of the Pope. They began to urge more tardy, if not more temperate, counsels. The debates in the Council became stormy

and tumultuous; the few great prelates encountered in bitter altercation. The Archbishop of Palermo, the representative of the King of Arragon, urged delay; he was supported by the Archbishop of Milan, and by others of rank and name. He endeavoured to counteract the growing democratic tendencies of the Council, by asserting the sole and exclusive right of the Bishops to suffrage. This preliminary debate was long and obstinate.^a At its close, after the speech of the Cardinal of Arles, a violent collision took place. The old Archbishop of Aquileia arose, and rashly said, "You do not know us Germans; if you go on thus, you will hardly come off without broken heads." The Archbishop of Palermo, Louis the Papal Prothonotary, and others, rose, and, with one voice, exclaimed that the liberty of the Council was threatened. He called on the Count of Thierstein, the Emperor's representative, who still had his seat in the Council, for his protection. The Count solemnly declared that the peace should be maintained. He was supported by the magistrates and citizens of Basle, who were proud that their town was the seat of the Council, and declared that it should not be disturbed. Still, as the President went on to read the decree, he was interrupted by shouts and unseemly noises. "A miracle!" exclaimed the Archbishop of Lyons; "the dumb speak, Bishops who never uttered a word before are now become loquacious." The Cardinal Archbishop

^a See the whole in *Æneas Sylvius*, Comment, lib. i. Opera, p. 23. The speech of the Cardinal of Arles is of many folio pages. He rashly said that the Archbishop of Milan, though a prelate of the greatest weight and dignity, was no great orator. "As good an orator as you a president,"

burst in the indignant Lombard. The Cardinal of Arles bore the interruption with patience, and went calmly on (p. 26). He soothed the Bishops with great skill, who were jealous of the suffrages of the inferior clergy. He compared the Council to the Spartans at Thermopylæ.

of Arles, the President, stood quite alone of his Order, almost alone among the Prelates of the highest rank, in his inflexible fidelity to the Council. His dignity, his unalterable temper, his promptitude and eloquence, which excited the most unbounded admiration, his consummate ability, by which, though a Frenchman, he outmanœuvred the subtle Italians, still maintained his sway. His chief supporters, though of inferior rank, were men of fame for learning. He always happily chose his time: on the second meeting, he carried his point against the Archbishop of Palermo and all the Spanish and Milanese Prelates, who withdrew angry but baffled. "Twice," said the Archbishop in Italian, meaning, twice we have been beaten, or twice overreached.

As the session drew on which was to determine the question of deposition, the Bishops—some from timidity, some from dislike of the proceeding—shrunk away. Of the Spanish Prelates there was not one; from Italy one Bishop and one Abbot; of mitred Prelates from the other two kingdoms (England took no part in the Council) only twenty; their place was filled by clergy inferior in rank, but, according to Æneas Sylvius, much superior in learning. The Cardinal of Arles was embarrassed, but not disheartened, by this defection. The reliques of many famous Saints were collected, borne by the Priests of his party through the city, and actually introduced into the hall of council in the place of the absent Bishops.^b At the solemn appeal to the Saints in bliss, a transport of profound devotion seized the assembly; they all burst into tears. The Baron, Conrad of Winsperg, the Imperial Commissioner,

May 16.
A.D. 1439.

^b "Plurimasque sanctorum reliquias totâ urbe perquiri jussit, ac per sacerdotum manus in sessione portatas, absentium Episcoporum locum tenere." Æneas Sylvius, lib. ii. p. 49.

wept the loudest, and declared that he derived ineffable consolation in the execution of his arduous duty. Though so few Bishops were there, never were the seats so full. Proctors of Bishops, Archdeacons, Provosts, Priors, Presbyters, sat to the number of four hundred or more. Nor did the Council ever proceed with such calm and dignified decency. There was no word of strife or altercation, only mutual exhortation to defend the freedom of the Church.^c

The edict passed almost by acclamation. This act for the deposition of Eugenius condemned the Pope, who was now boasting the success of his inappreciable labours for the union of the whole Church, as a notorious disturber of the peace and unity of the Church, as guilty of simony and perjury, as an incorrigible schismatic, an obstinate heretic, a dilapidator of the rights and possessions of the Church.^d All Christians were absolved from their oaths and obligations of fealty, and warned that they must neither render obedience nor counsel nor receive favour from the deprived Gabriel Condolmieri. All his acts, censures, inhibitions, constitutions, were declared void and of none effect. The decree of course abrogated all the boasted acts of the Council of Florence. To the astonishment of the Council itself, the ambassadors of the Emperor and of the King of France, the Bishop of Lubeck and the Archbishop of Tours, made almost an apology for their absence in their master's name, approved the act of the Council

^c "Quos inter nullum unquam probrum, nulla rixa, nulla unquam contentio fuit: sed alter alterum in professione fidei hortabatur, unanimsque omnium esse consensus ad defendendam Ecclesiam videbatur."—*Ibid.*

^d The decree is dated May 26.—Labbe. According to the Continuator of Fleury (see *Patrici. Act. Concil. Basil.*) June 25; the very day on which was announced the union of the Greek and Latin churches.

and declared Pope Eugenius IV. an enemy to the truth.^e

It was thought but decent to interpose some delay between the act for the deposition of Eugenius and the election of his successor. It was determined to wait two months. During those two months the plague, which had raged in the Pope's Council at Ferrara, with impartial severity broke out at Basle. The mortality, not in Basle alone, but in many cities of Southern Germany, was terrible.^f In Basle the ordinary cemeteries were insufficient; huge pits were dug to heap in the dead. Many of the Fathers died, protesting in their death, with their last breath, and with the Holy Eucharist on their lips, their fearless adhesion to the Council, and praying for the conversion of those who still acknowledged Gabriel for the Pope.^g The aged Patriarch of Aquileia rejoiced that he should bear into the other world the tidings of the deposition of Eugenius. Æneas Sylvius was among the rare examples of recovery from the fatal malady. But the Fathers stood nobly to their post; they would not risk the breaking up of the Council, even by the temporary abandonment of the city. The Cardinal of Arles set the example; his secretary, his chamberlain, died in his house. The pressing entreaties, prayers, remonstrances of his friends, who urged that on his safety depended the whole influence of the Council, were rejected with tranquil determination. The malediction fulminated against the Council by Eugenius at Florence disturbed not their equanimity. Even at this hour they quailed not. They were de-

* Session XXXIV. apud Labbe, sub ann. 1439.

^f The Bishop of Lubeck died between Buda and Vienna; the almoner

of the King of Arragon in Switzerland the Bishop of Evreux in Strasburg; great Abbot in Spire.

^g Æneas Sylvius, lib. ii. p. 47.

scribed as a horde of robbers; "at Basle all the devils in the world had assembled to consummate the work of iniquity, and to set up the abomination of desolation in the Church of God." All Cardinals, Prelates, were excommunicated, deposed, menaced with the fate of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. All their decrees were annulled, the brand of heresy affixed on all their proceedings. Against this furious invective the Fathers at Basle published an apology, not without moderation.

The plague had mitigated its ravages; the two months had fully expired; the Council proceeded to the election of a new Pope. The Cardinal of Arles was alone entitled by his rank to be an Elector; in his name there was unanimous assent. It was proposed that three persons should nominate thirty-two, who with the Cardinal should form the Electoral College. The triumvirate were men whose humble rank is the best testimony to their high estimation. John, called the Greek, the Abbot of an obscure Cistercian convent in Scotland; John of Segovia, Archdeacon of Villa Viciosa, Thomas de Corcelles, Canon of Amiens. Lest the most important Nation, the Germans, should take offence at their exclusion, they were empowered to choose a fourth: they named Christian, Provost of St. Peter's of Brun in the diocese of Olmutz, a German by birth.

These theological triumvirs with their colleague named twelve Bishops, seven Abbots, five distinguished divines, nine Doctors of Canon or Civil Law.^b They were im-

^b The numbers in *Æneas Sylvius* are perplexing. The twelve Bishops, including the Cardinal, were to represent the twelve Apostles. But he names many more. The account in the Acts of *Patricius* varies in many

but not very important particulars. According to Voigt, seven Savoyard, two Spanish, one French, the Bishop of Basle with the Cardinal Archbishop of Arles.—i. 172.

partially chosen from all the four Nations, Germany, France, Spain, Italy. England alone, unrepresented in the Council, was of course unrepresented in the Conclave.

The Conclave was conducted with the utmost regularity and a studious imitation of the forms observed by the College of Cardinals. The election, after not many days, was without serious strife; it struck Christendom with astonishment. It was not a Prelate whose vigour and character might guarantee and conduct the reformation in the Church, on the expectation of which rested all the confidence of the world in the Council of Basle; not a theologian of consummate learning, not a monk of rigid austerity, it was not even a Churchman of tried and commanding abilities. It was a temporal sovereign, who, weary of his crown, had laid it down, but was not unwilling to plunge again into the more onerous business of a Pope: who had retired not into the desert, but to a kind of villa-convent on the beautiful shores of the Lake of Geneva, and whose life at best decent and calmly devout, if not easy and luxurious, had none of the imposing rigour of the old founders of monastic orders. Amadeus of Savoy was summoned from his retreat at Thonon to ascend the Papal throne.¹

¹ Æneas Sylvius (but we must begin to hear Æneas with more mistrust) attributes the elevation of Amadeus to a deep-laid plot. "Amadeus qui se futurum Papam sperabat" (p. 76). "Sapientiâ præditus dicebatur qui annis jam octo et amplius simulatam religionem accepisset, ut papatum consequi posset." He makes Amadeus too far-sighted. Æneas assigns a curious speech to Cardinal Cæsarini. "I was

afraid that they would have chosen a poor and a good man; then there had been indeed danger. It is that which stirs the hearts of men and removes mountains. This man hopes to accumulate the wealth of Pope Martin,"—Martin's wealth had passed into a proverb,—"not to spend his own money." The election, Nov. 5; confirmed, Nov 17.

Objections were raised that Amadeus of Savoy was not in holy orders; that he had been married and had children. These difficulties were overruled, and yielded easily to the magnificent eulogies passed on the piety, charity, holiness of the hermit of Ripaille. Some of the secret motives for this singular choice are clear enough. The Pope of Basle must be a Pope, at least for a time, without Papal revenues. Italy, all the patrimony of St. Peter which acknowledged the Pope, was in the possession of Eugenius, and showed no inclination to revolt to the Council. If any of the Transalpine sovereigns would recognise the Antipope, none was likely to engage in a crusade to place him on the throne in the Vatican. The only means of supporting his dignity would be the taxation of the Clergy, which his poor partisans could ill bear; the more wealthy and powerful would either refuse, or resent and pass over to the opposite camp. Amadeus, at first at least, might maintain his own court, if not in splendour, in decency. This, however, was a vain hope. The first act of the Council after the election was the imposition of a tax of a fifth penny on all ecclesiastics, for the maintenance of the state of the new Pope. Perhaps the unpopularity of this measure was alleviated by the impossibility of levying it. It was an idle display of unprofitable generosity. If Christendom had been burthened with the maintenance of two Popes it would have wakened up from its indifference, coalesced in favour of one, or discarded both.

A deputation of the most distinguished Churchmen in Basle, the Cardinal of Arles at their head (he was attended by the Count of Thierstein, the Imperial Commissioner), proceeded to the royal hermitage, there to announce to Amadeus his elevation to the Papal See.

Amadeus assumed, if he did not feel, great reluctance. If his retirement and seclusion had not been mere weariness of worldly affairs, and if he was not by this time as weary of his seclusion as he had been of the world, when Amadeus looked down on the shadow of his peaceful retreat, reflected in the blue and unbroken waters of the lake below, he might have serious misgivings in assuming the busy, invidious, and, at least of old, perilous function of an Antipope.^k He had to plunge into an interminable religious war, with the administration, though without power, of the spiritual affairs of half Christendom, the implacable hatred of the other half. Some difficulties were raised, but not those of a deep or earnest mind. He demurred about the form of the oath, the change of the name, the loss of his hermit's beard. He yielded the two first points, took the oath, and the name of Felix V.;^m the last only on finding out himself, when he appeared as Pope in the neighbouring town of Thonon, the unseemliness of a thick-bearded Pope among a retinue of shaven ecclesiastics.

Though enthroned in the Church of St. Maurice, some months elapsed before his triumphant progress
 June 24, 1440. through Switzerland to his coronation at Basle. He had created five Cardinals, who assisted the Cardinal of Arles in the imposing ceremony first of his consecration as Bishop, afterwards his coronation as Pope; his two sons, the Duke of Savoy and the Count of Geneva, an unusual sight at a Papal inauguration, stood by his side. Fifty thousand spectators beheld the stately cere-

^k It was his avarice which caused the delay, says the unfriendly Æneas. Yet it was natural in him to say, "You have passed a decree suppressing Annates: how is the Pope to be maintained? Am I to expend my patrimony, and so disinherit my sons?"—*Fœa*, p. 78. ^m Accepts, Dec. 17.

mony: the tiara which he wore was of surpassing cost and splendour, said to be worth 30,000 gold crowns.^a

So then for the last time Christendom beheld the strife of Pope and Antipope, each on their respective thrones, hurling spiritual thunders against each other. The indignation of Eugenius knew no bounds. His denunciations contained all and more than all the maledictions which were laid up in the Papal armoury against usurping rivals. The Fathers of Basle repelled them, if with less virulent, with not less provoking contempt.

But Christendom heard these arguments and recriminations with mortifying indifference. That which some centuries ago would have arrayed kingdom against kingdom, and divided each kingdom within itself, the sovereigns against the hierarchy, or the hierarchy in civil feud, now hardly awoke curiosity. No omen so sure of the decline of the sacerdotal power; never again had it vital energy enough for a schism.

The Transalpine kingdoms indeed took different parts but with such languid and inactive zeal, that as to the smaller states it is difficult without close investigation to detect their bias. France had already in her synod at Bourges declared in favour of the Council, but expressed cold and discouraging doubts as to its powers of deposing Pope Eugenius and electing another Pontiff. The King spoke of Felix V. as of Monsieur de Savoye, suggested the summoning another Council in some city of France, but took no measure to enforce his suggestion. England was occupied, as indeed was France, with its own internal contests. The King of Arragon alone took an active part, but on both sides, and for his own ends. The kingdom of Naples was his sole object; he would

^a Aeneas Sylvius, Hist. Concil. Basil. l. 11.

wrest that realm from the feeble pretensions of René of Anjou. At first the devoted ally of Felix, he would transport the Antipope to the shores of Naples, having subdued the kingdom to himself under the Papal investiture, march to Rome with his triumphant forces, and place the Antipope in the chair of St. Peter. Amadeus wisely shrunk from this desperate enterprise. The King of Arragon, in a year or two, had changed his game. The Pope Eugenius scrupled not, at the hazard of estranging France, to abandon the helpless Angevine. Alfonso of Arragon became convinced of the rightful title of Eugenius to the Pontificate.

Germany maintained the most cool and deliberate apathy. At three successive Diets at Mentz,^o at Nuremberg, at Frankfort, appeared the envoys of Basle and of Rome, of Felix and of Eugenius, men of the most consummate eloquence. At Mentz John Bishop of Segovia on the part of Basle, Nicolas of Cusa on the part of Rome, pleaded the cause of their respective masters: they cited authorities which of old would have commanded awful reverence, precedents which would have been admitted as irrefragable, but were now heard

Nov. 30, 1440.

with languid indifference. At Nuremberg with Nicolas of Cusa stood the Archbishop of Tarento and the famous Dominican Torquemada, on the side of Basle the Patriarch of Aquileia.

A.D. 1441.

At Mentz^p again Nicolas de Cusa took the lead for the Pope, the Archbishop of Palermo for the

^o Mentz, Feb. 1440. At Mentz the Diet, before the election of the Emperor Frederick III., in the disdainful assertion of their neutrality, published a declaration in which they sedulously avoided the word Pope. They spoke of *Ecclesia Dei*, *Ecclesia*

Romana, *Sedes Apostolica*, as the "*cui facienda est adhesio*."—Dax, Nicolas von Cusa, p. 223.

^p Dax has given Nicolas de Cusa's speech at length. His speech and that of the Archbishop of Palermo are in Wurdwein.

Council. The Diet on each occasion relapsed into its ostentatious neutrality, which it maintained at subsequent meetings.[¶] Even the aggressive measure ventured at length by Eugenius, the degradation of the Archbishops of Cologne and Trèves, as adherents of the heretical Council, and the usurping pseudo-pope, might have passed away as an ineffectual menace; no one would have thought of dispossessing these powerful Prelates. If he might hope to raise a strife in Germany by appointing Prelates of noble or rich German houses, there was danger lest the nation might resent this interference with the German Electorate; it might lead to the renunciation of his authority. He must look for other support. To Cologne he named the nephew, to Trèves the natural son, of the Duke of Burgundy.

A.D. 1443.

The Schism seemed as if it would be left to die out of itself, or, if endowed with inextinguishable, obstinate vitality, be kept up in unregarded insignificance. Some of the Fathers of Basle still remained in the city, but had ceased their sessions.[†] The Council of Florence was prorogued to Rome. Eugenius was in undisturbed possession of Italy; Felix in his court at Lausanne, or Geneva. The Popes might still hate, they could not injure, hardly molest each other; they might wage a war of decrees, but no more.

¶ The speech of Nicolas of Cusa shows the course of argument adopted to annul the pretensions and blast the character of Felix. The whole is represented as an old and deep-laid conspiracy on his part. The Council, the Conclave had been crowded with his obsequious vassals (the four Italian Bishops were, it is true, those of Ver-

celli, Turin, Aosta, and another); his reluctance to assume the tiara was hypocritical effrontery; even his former abdication of his throne a base simulation of humility. The proceedings of these Diets may be read at some length in Voigt, Pius II. i. pp. 157-166.

† Last session. The 44th. May, 1439

One man alone by his consummate address and subtlety, by his indefatigable but undiscerned influence, restored the Papacy to Italy, never but for one short reign (that of Adrian VI. of Utrecht) to depart from it, himself in due time to receive the reward of his success in nothing less than the Popedom. Eugenius and his successor Pope Nicolas V. enjoyed the fame and the immediate advantage of the discomfiture of the Council of Basle, of its inglorious dissolution. But the real author of that dissolution, of its gradual degradation in the estimation of Europe, of the alienation of the Emperor from its cause; he who quietly drove Pope Felix to his abdication, and even added firmness and resolution to the obstinate and violent opposition of Pope Eugenius, was Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini.

CHAPTER XVI.

Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini. Dissolution of Council of Basle.

THE life of Æneas Sylvius is the history of the dissolution of the Council of Basle; and not only so, but as an autobiography of an Italian, a Churchman, a Cardinal, at length a Pope, the most valuable part of the Christian history of his times—that of the opinions, manners, judgements, feelings of mankind. Contrast it with the rise of high ecclesiastics in former times!

The house of Piccolomini had been among the noblest of Sienna, lords of fortresses and castles. On the rise of the popular government in that city, the Piccolominis sank with the rest of the nobles. Yet the grandfather of Æneas possessed an ample estate. He died early, leaving his wife pregnant. The estate was dissipated by negligent or improvident guardians; the father of Æneas married a noble virgin, but without dowry, except the burthensome one—extraordinary fertility. She frequently bore twins, and in the end had twenty-two children. Ten only grew up, and Piccolomini retired to the quiet town of Corsignano, to bring up in humble condition his large family. The plague swept off all but Æneas Sylvius and two sisters.

Æneas Sylvius was born October 18, 1405. His third baptismal name was Bartholomew, that of the Apostle of India. His infancy was not uneventful: at three years old he fell from a wall, was taken up, as supposed, with

a mortal wound in his head; at eight was tossed by a bull. At the age of twenty-two he left his father's house, heir to no more than his noble name, went to Sienna, was maintained by his relations, and studied law and letters. The war between Florence and Sienna drove him from his native city to seek his fortunes. Domenico Capranica, named as Cardinal by Pope Martin V., rejected by Pope Eugenius, espoused the cause of the Council of Basle. He engaged the young Piccolomini as his secretary. After a perilous voyage Æneas reached Genoa, travelled to Milan, where he saw the great Duke Philippo Maria, and passed the snowy St. Gothard to Basle. Capranica, though he resumed his Cardinalate on the authority of the Council, was too poor to keep a secretary. Æneas found employment in the same office, first with Nicodemo Scaligero, Bishop of Freisingen, son of the Lord of Verona; him he accompanied to Frankfort: afterwards with Bartolomeo Visconti, Bishop of Novara. With the Bishop of Novara he returned to Italy; by his own account, through his eloquence he obtained the Rectorship of the University of Pavia for a Novarese of humble birth, against a Milanese of noble family and powerful connexions. With the Bishop of Novara he went to Florence, to the Court of Pope Eugenius: he visited the famous Piccinino, and his own kindred at Sienna. On his return to Florence he found his master, the Bishop of Novara, under a charge of capital treason.^a This Bishop and his secretary Piccolomini found refuge under the protection of the Cardinal of Santa Croce (Albergata). The Cardinal

^a Voigt, *Leben Ænea Sylvio*, p. 80 (Berlin, 1856), has attempted to unravel a deep plot against Eugenius IV. It is questionable whether the Bishop of Novara was not treacherous both to the Pope and to the Visconti, in whose favour he was reinstated.

was sent as Legate to France, to reconcile the Kings of France and England, Charles VII. and Henry VI. In attendance on the Cardinal Æneas passed a third time through Milan, crossed the St. Bernard, and descended on the Lake of Geneva. At Thonon he saw Amadeus of Savoy, afterwards the Pope Felix V. of the Council of Basle, in his hermitage, living, as he says, a life of pleasure rather than of penance.^b They proceeded to Basle, not yet at open war with Pope Eugenius, dropped down the Rhine to Cologne, took horse to Aix-la-Chapelle, Liège, Louvain, Douay, Tournay, to Arras. The Cardinal of Santa Croce began his difficult function of mediating between the French, the English, and the Burgundians.

Æneas was despatched on a special mission to Scotland, to restore a certain prelate to the favour of the King. He went to Calais. The suspicious English would not permit him to proceed or to go back. Fortunately the Cardinal of Winchester arrived from Arras, and obtained for him permission to embark. But the English looked with jealousy on the secretary of the Cardinal of Santa Croce, whom they accused of conspiring to alienate Philip of Burgundy from their cause. He was refused letters of safe-conduct; he must be employed in some hostile intrigue with the Scots. During this delay Æneas visited the wonders of populous and most wealthy London. He saw the noble church of St. Paul's, the sumptuous tombs of the kings at Westminster, the Thames, with the rapid ebb and flow of its tide, and the bridge like a city.^c But of all things, the shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury most excited his amazement,

^b "Magis voluptuosam quam penitentialem."

^c He saw also a village, where men were said to be born with tails.

covered with diamonds, fine double pearls,^d and carbuncles. No one offered less than silver at this shrine. He crossed to Flanders, went to Bruges, took ship at Ecluse, the most frequented port in the West, was blown towards the coast of Norway, encountered two terrible storms, one of fourteen hours, one of two nights and a day. The sailors were driven so far north that they did not know the stars. The twelfth day a lucky north wind brought them to Scotland. In a fit of devout gratitude Æneas walked barefoot ten miles to Our Lady at Whitchurch, but suffered so much from exhaustion and numbed feet that he hardly got to the court. He was received by the King with great favour, obtained the object of his mission, his expenses were paid, and he was presented with fifty nobles and two horses for his journey.

The Italian describes Scotland as a cold country, producing little corn, almost without wood. "They dig out of the earth a kind of sulphurous stone, which they burn." Their cities have no walls, their houses are mostly built without mortar, the roofs of turf, the doors of the cottages bulls' hides. The common people are poor and rude, with plenty of flesh and fish; bread is a delicacy. The men are small and bold; the women of white complexion, disposed to sexual indulgence.^e They had only imported wine.^f They export to Flanders hides, wool, salt-fish and pearls.^g The Scots were delighted by nothing so much as abuse of the English. Scotland was

^d Unionibus.

And in his cup an *union* shall he throw
Richer than that which four successive
kings

On Denmark's throne have worn."
Hamlet, v. 2.

—See Nares' Glossary.

^e Æneas adds that kissing women in Scotland meant no more than shaking

hands in Italy. Like Erasmus later in England, he drew Italian conclusions from Northern manners.

^f Their horses were small hackneys, mostly geldings. They neither curried nor combed them. They had no bridles!

^g Margaritas.

divided into two parts: one cultivated (the lowlands); one forest (the highlands) without corn-fields. The forest Scots spoke a different language, and lived on the barks of trees.^b During the winter solstice, the time when Æneas was there, the days were only four hours long.

Æneas had suffered enough in his sea voyages; he determined to run all hazards, and find his way through England. He was fortunate in his resolution: the ship in which he was about to embark foundered at the mouth of the haven. The captain, who was returning to Flanders to be married, with all the passengers and crew, were drowned in sight of shore. Æneas set off disguised as a merchant. He passed the Tweed in a boat, entered a large town about sunset, found lodging in a cottage where he was housed and supped with the parish priest. He had plenty of broth, geese and fowls; neither wine nor bread. All the women of the town crowded to see him, as to see a negro or an Indian in Italy. They asked who he was, whether he was a Christian. Æneas had been warned of the scanty fare which he would find on his journey, and had provided himself in a certain monastery (there no doubt alone such luxuries could be found) with some loaves of bread and a measure of red wine. This heightened the wonder of the barbarians, who had never seen wine nor white bread. Some women with child began to handle the bread and smell the wine. Æneas was too courteous not to gratify their longings, and gave them the whole. The supper lasted till the second hour of the night, when the priest, his host, and his children, and all the men,

^b He says also that there were no woods in Scotland. Rooks (*cornices*) were newly introduced, and therefore the trees whereon they built belonged to the King's Exchequer!

took leave of Æneas, and said that they must retire to a certain tower a long way off for fear of the Scots, who, on the ebb of the tide, were wont to cross over and plunder. No entreaties could induce them to take Æneas with them, nor any of their women, though many of them were young girls and handsome matrons. The enemy would do them no harm: the borderers' notions of harm were somewhat peculiar.¹ The Italian remained with his two servants, a single guide, and a hundred women, who sat round the fire all night spinning hemp and talking with his interpreter. After great part of the night was passed, there was a violent barking of dogs and cackling of geese. The women ran away, the guide with them, and there was as great confusion as if the enemy were there. Æneas thought it most prudent to stay in his chamber (it was a stable), lest, being quite ignorant of the ways, he might run into the arms of the mosstroopers. Presently the women and the guide returned: it was a false alarm.

Æneas set out the next morning. When he arrived at Newcastle (said to be a work of the Cæsars) he seemed to have returned to the habitable world, so rugged, wild and bleak, was the whole Border. At Durham he visited the tomb of the venerable Bede. At York, a large and populous city, there was a church famous throughout the world for its size and architecture, with a most splendid shrine, and with glass walls (the rich and large windows) between very slender clustered pillars. (Had Æneas seen none of the German or Flemish Gothic cathe-

¹ "Qui stuprum inter mala non ducunt." It must be remembered that Æneas picked up all he learned through an interpreter, probably a man who knew a few words of bad Lat.n. | I owe perhaps an apology for inserting this scene, so irresistibly characteristic, if not quite in its place. Walter Scott, if I remember, had seen it in his multifarious reading.

drals?) On his way southward he fell in with one of the judges of the realm, returning to his court in London. The judge began to talk of the business in Arras, and, not suspecting who Æneas was, to abuse the Cardinal of Santa Croce as a wolf in sheep's clothing. In the company of the judge, who, had he known who he was, would have committed him to prison, he arrived safe in London. There he found a royal proclamation that no foreigner should leave the realm without a passport, which he cared not to ask for. He got away by bribing the officers; a matter of course, as such personages never refuse hard money. He crossed from Dover to Calais, thence to Basle and to Milan. Finding that the Cardinal of Santa Croce had been sent back from Florence, and had passed by the Valley of the Adige, and over the Arlberg to Basle, he returned over the Alps by Brig, and joined his master at Basle.

Æneas was an Italian in his passions, and certainly under no austere, monkish self-control. His morals were those of his age and country. His letters are full of amatory matters, in the earlier of which, as he by no means counsels his friends to severe restraint, he does not profess to set them an example. Licentiousness seems to be a thing of course. He was not yet in holy orders: to do him justice, as yet he shrank from that decided step, lest it should involve him in some difficulties.^k His confessions are plain enough; he makes no boast of constancy.^m But the most unblushing avowal of his loose notions appears in a letter to his own father, whom he requests to take charge of a natural son. The

^k "Cavi ne me sacer ordo involveret."—Epist. l.

^m "Ego plures vidi amavique fœminas, quarum exinde potitus, magnum

tædium suscepi."—Epist. xlvi. Compare the coarse pleasantries, Epist. lxii. He was averse to German women; he could not speak German.

mother of his son was an Englishwoman whom he met at Strasburg, of no great beauty, but who spoke Italian with great ease and sweetness. "It was the beauty of her eloquence by which Cleopatra enthralled not Mark Antony only, but Julius Cæsar." He anticipates his father's objection to the sinfulness of his conduct, in being a parent without being a husband. He had done only what every one else did. God had made him prone to desire: he did not pretend to be holier than David, or wiser than Solomon. He borrows the language of Terence—"Shall I, weak man that I am, not do that which so many great men have done?" But his examples are not the gods of the heathen lover in the comedy, but Moses, Aristotle, and some good Christians.ⁿ Let us hastily despatch this, if not the least curious, not the most edifying passage in the life of the future Pope. Later in life he was seized with a paroxysm of virtue, and wrote some letters on such subjects in a more grave and ecclesiastical tone. In an epistle written at the approach of Lent, he urges his friend to flee all woman-kind, as a fatal pestilence. When you look on a woman you look on the devil. He had himself erred often, too often; and he acknowledges that he had become more correct, not from severe virtue, but from the advance, it must have been, of premature age. He consoled himself, however, for one vice which he could not indulge, by another. The votary of Venus (his own words) had become the votary of Bacchus. To his new

ⁿ "Mecumque quis reprehendit, inquam, si ego humuncio faciam, quod maximi viri non sunt aspernati. Interdum Moysen, interdum Aristotelem, nonnunquam Christianos in exemplum sumebam."—Epist. xv. The publica-

tion, or at least the admission of this letter into a collection published after the Popedom of Æneas, is singular enough. But even this letter is modesty compared to Epist. xxiii.

god he will be faithful to death. Æneas must then have been between thirty-five and forty years old.^o

He was forty when he wrote his celebrated Romance, 'Euryalus and Lucretia,' a romance with neither incident nor invention;^p in its moral tone and in the warmth of its descriptions, as in its prolixity, a novel of Boccaccio, but without his inimitable grace; yet Æneas no doubt thought that he infinitely surpassed Boccaccio's vulgar Italian by his refined and classical Latinity. In the penitential Letter on this subject, in later life (after he was Pope!) the lingering vanity of the author still struggles with his sense of decency.^q

So, then, the Siennese adventurer had visited almost every realm of Northern Europe, France, Germany, Flanders, Scotland, England; he is in the confidence of Cardinals, he is in correspondence with many of the most learned and influential men in Christendom.

No sooner was Æneas fixed at Basle, than his singular aptitude for business, no doubt his fluent and perspicuous Latin, his flexibility of opinion, his rapidly growing knowledge of mankind, his determination to push his fortunes, his fidelity to the master in whose service

^o "Tum quoque et illud verum est languescere vires meas, canis aspersus sum, aridi nervi sunt, ossa cariosa, rugis corpus aratum est. Nec ulli ego feminae possum esse voluptati, nec voluptatem mihi afferre femina potest. Baccho magis quam Veneri parebo: vinum me alit, me juvat, me oblectat, me beat: hic liquor suavis mihi erit usque ad mortem. Namque ut fateor, magis me Venus fugitat, quam ego illam horreo." The letter (Epist. xcii.) is written to John Freund, Prothonotary of Cologne, not long after

the diet of Nuremberg, A.D. 1442.

^p The disgraceful history is probably a true one.

^q Epist. cccxv. There were two things in the book, a too lascivious love story and an edifying moral. Unhappily many readers dwelt on the first; hardly any, alas! attended to the latter. "Ita impravatum est atque obfuscatum infelix mortalium genus." He adds, "Nec privatum hominem pluris facite quam Pontificem; Æneam rejicite, Pium suscipite."

he happened to be, opened the way to advancement; offices, honours, rewards crowded upon him. He was secretary,^r first reporter of the proceedings, then held the office as writer of the epistles of the Council.^s He was among the twelve Presidents chosen by the Council. The office of these duodecimvirs was to prepare all business for the deliberation of the Council; nothing could be brought forward without their previous sanction, nor any one admitted to the Council till they had examined and approved his title. He often presided over his department, which was that of faith. The leaden seal of the Council was often in his custody. During his career he was ambassador from the Council three times to Strasburg, twice to Constance, twice to Frankfort, once to Trent, later to the Emperor Albert, and to persuade Frederick III. to espouse the cause of the Council.

His eloquence made him a power. His first appearance with a voice in the Council seems to have been in the memorable debate on the prorogation of the Council to Italy. We have heard that, while the Pope insisted on the removal of the Council to Florence or Udine, the Council would remove only to Avignon. The Duke of Milan, by his ambassadors, urged the intermediate measure, the adjournment to the city of Pavia. But his ambassador, Isidore Bishop of Rossano, was but an indifferent orator. He talked so foolishly that they were obliged to silence him. Æneas had been twice or three times at Milan; he was not averse to make friends at that powerful Court; nor was he disinclined by taking a middle course to wait the issue of events. He obtained permission of the President, the Cardinal Julian Cæsarini, and urged in a speech of two hours, which excited the

^r "Scrība."

^s "Abbreviator major."

greatest admiration, the claims of Pavia against Florence, Udine, and Avignon. His zeal was not unrewarded. The Archbishop presented him to the Provostship of St. Laurence in Milan. His rival Isidore remonstrated against the appointment of a stranger. He protested before the Council; the Council was unanimous in favour of Æneas. He went to Milan, but found that the Chapter had already elected a Provost of the noble house of Landriano, whom he found in actual possession. But the Duke, the Archbishop, and the Court were all-powerful; the intruder was expelled. At Milan Æneas was seized with a fever, which lasted seventy-five days, and was subdued with great difficulty.[†] On his return to Basle, he recovered his health so far as to be able to preach the commemoration sermon on the day of St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan. This sermon by one not in orders was opposed by the theologians, but met with great success.

The war had now broken out between the Pope and the Council; there was no middle ground; every one must choose his side. None, so long as he was in the service of the Council, and the Council in the ascendant, so bold, so loyal a partisan, or with such lofty conceptions of the superiority of the Council over the Pope, as Æneas Piccolomini. As historian of the Council, he asserts its plenary authority. The reasons which he assigns for undertaking this work are characteristic. He had begun to repent that he had wasted so much time in the idle and unrewarded pursuits of poetry, oratory, history. Was he still to live improvident as the birds of the air or the beasts of the field?

[†] He relates that a certain drug was administered, which appeared to fail in its operation. He was about to take a second dose, when the first began to work: "ut nonaginta vicibus assurgere cogeretur."

Was he never to be in possession of money, the owner of an estate? The true rule of life is, that a man at twenty should strive to be great, at thirty prudent, at forty rich. But, alas! the bias was too strong: he must write history.

Throughout that history he is undisguisedly, inflexibly, hostile to Eugenius IV.ⁿ He sums up with great force and clearness, irrefragably, as he asserts, to his own mind, irrefragably it should be to the reason of men, the whole argument for the supremacy of the Council over the Pope. Words are wanting to express his admiration of the President of the Council, the Cardinal Archbishop of Arles: his opponents are secret or timid traitors to the highest Church principles. Eugenius IV. sinks to plain Gabriel Condolmieri.* Æneas does not disguise his contempt. He reproaches the Pope with perfidy, as seeking either to dissolve the Council or to deprive it of its liberty. He is severe against the perjury of those who had deserted the Council to join the Pope. Nicolas of Cusa, the *Hercules* of the apostasy, is guilty of schism. So he continues to the end: still he is the ardent panegyrist of the Cardinal of Arles, after the declaration of the heresy of Pope Eugenius, after the deposition of that Pope, even after the election of Pope Felix.

On the death of the Emperor Sigismund, Albert of Austria, elected King of the Romans, hesitated to accept the dignity. The Hungarians insisted that he had been raised to the throne of Hungary on the express condition that he should not be promoted to the Empire. Barto-

ⁿ The reader must not confound two distinct histories; one, that published in Brown, Fasciculus, and in his Works; the other by Fea, in Rome, as late as the year 1822. I cite this as "Fea."
* "Quocirca mentita est iniquitas Gabrieli, et perdidit eum Dominus in malitiâ suâ."—Lib. ii. sub init.

lomeo, Bishop of Novara, the ambassador of Philip Duke of Milan to Vienna, persuaded Æneas, either as empowered, or thought to be empowered, by the Council, to accompany him on this important mission. An address, drawn by Æneas, not only induced Albert to accept the Imperial Crown, but won A.D. 1438. over the Hungarians, more than to consent, even to urge their King to this step. The grateful thanks of the Diet were awarded to Æneas. But Æneas took great dislike to Vienna, where he was afterwards to pass so many years: he returned to Basle.

He returned at a fearful time. During the sixty days, it has been said, between the deposition of Eugenius IV. and the election of his successor, the plague raged at Basle. Some of the dearest friends of Æneas fell around him. He was himself among the few who had the malady and recovered. He might well ascribe his cure to Divine goodness. Æneas preferred piety to science. There were two famous physicians, one a Parisian of admirable skill without religion, the other a German, ignorant but pious. The nature of a certain powder administered to Æneas (the rest of the mode of cure is fully detailed^y) the pious doctor kept a profound secret. The patient was in a high fever, delirious, and so far gone as to receive extreme unction. A rumour of his death reached Milan; his Provostship was given away; on his recovery he found great difficulty in resuming it. He wrote to his patron the Duke, urging that the fact of his writing was tolerably conclusive proof that he was alive.

Æneas was not without his place of honour in the

^y The bubo was in the left groin, He took the powder; cataplasms alternately of green radish and of moist chalk were applied to the sore. the vein of the left foot therefore was opened. He was not allowed to sleep.

great affair of the election of the new Pope. He might indeed have been an Elector. There were but A.D. 1439. few Italians in the Conclave. The consent of more was earnestly desired. Æneas was urged to accumulate the minor orders, with the subdiaconate and diaconate, which might qualify him for the suffrage. He was still unwilling to fetter himself with the awful sanctity of Holy Orders. He was first employed in the difficult negotiations as to the appointment of the Electors. He was afterwards one of the two Masters of the Ceremonies. He now describes himself as Canon of Trent. This canonry had been granted to him by the grateful Council, and was held with his Provostship of St. Laurence in Milan. On the ceremonial of the Conclave he is full and minute, as one who took no small pride in the arrangements. To his office was attached the duty of standing at the window to receive from the Vice-Chamberlain the food for the use of the Conclave, and to take care that no letters or other unlawful communications were introduced. No doubt his particular account of the kinds of food, in which the Electors indulged, is faithful and trustworthy. He takes care to inform us of the comical anger of the Archdeacon of Cracow, who was allowed to have his dishes of mutton or lamb, but complained bitterly that he might not have his poultry or game, or perhaps small birds.²

Æneas hailed the election of Amadeus of Savoy with the utmost satisfaction; he had forgotten the Epicurean life of the hermit which he had witnessed at Ripaille. The intrigues and the parsimony of Amadeus darkened on his knowledge at a later period. The splendid eulogy, which he makes a nameless Elector pronounce,

² "Aviculas."

might seem to come from the heart of Æneas, as far as his eloquence ever did proceed from the heart. Pope Eugenius is still the odious and contemptible Gabriel. In a letter to his friend John of Segovia, he describes in rapturous terms the coronation of Felix V., the gravity, majesty, ecclesiastical propriety of his demeanour: "the demeanour of him who had been called of God to the rule of his Universal Church."^a Fifty thousand spectators rejoiced, some wept for joy. The vain Æneas will not be silent as to his own part in this splendid ceremonial, though it bordered on the ludicrous. The Cardinal of Santa Susanna chanted the service; the responses were given by the advocates and notaries^b in such a dissonant bray, that the congregation burst into roars of laughter. They were heartily ashamed of themselves. But the next day when the preachers were to make the responses, Æneas, though quite ignorant of music (which requires long study), sang out his part with unblushing courage.^c Æneas does not forget the tiara worth 30,000 pieces of gold, the processions, the supper or dinner to 1000 guests. He is as full and minute as a herald, manifestly triumphing in the ceremonial as equalling the magnificence, as well as imitating to the smallest point that of Rome.

The Antipope was not ungrateful to his partisan, whose eloquent adulation published his fame and his virtues to still doubtful and vacillating Christendom. Æneas became the Secretary of Pope Felix, he was not only his attendant in public, he became necessary to him, and followed him to Ripaille, Thonon, Geneva, Lausanne.

Æneas secretary to Pope Felix.

^a Epist. ad Joann. Segoviens. Opera, 61, 3.

^b "Advocati et s. riniarii

^c "Cantitare meum carmen non erubui."

Frederick III. had now succeeded to the Imperial throne. On his adhesion or rejection depended almost entirely the fate of the rival Popes. Who so able, who (might Felix suppose) so true and loyal, who with such consummate address to conduct his cause before the King of the Romans, who so deeply pledged to the justice and holiness of that cause, as his faithful Secretary? Æneas is despatched by Pope Felix to the Imperial Court at Frankfort.

At the Court of Frederick the eloquent and dexterous Italian made a strong impression on the counsellors of the young Emperor, Silvester Bishop of Chiemsee, and James Archbishop and Elector of Treves. Frederick was urged to secure the services of a man so experienced in affairs, so gifted, so accomplished. Nothing could be more skilful than the manner in which the Emperor was recommended to secure his attachment. Of all his accomplishments, Æneas was most vain of his poetry. The Emperor appointed him his Laureate;^d to his letters Æneas for some time prefixed the proud title of Poet. He says, that he did this to teach the dull Viennese, who thought poetry something mischievous and abominable, to treat it with respect.^e

Yet he made some decent resistance; he must return to Basle and obtain his free discharge from Felix. He wrung with difficulty, and only by the intervention of his friends, the reluctant assent of the Antipope. On the arrival of the Emperor at Basle, he was named Imperial Secretary, and took the oaths of fidelity to Frederick III.; he accompanied his new Lord to Vienna. Æneas saw the turning-point of his

^d The diploma of poet, dated July 27, 1442.

^e Epist. c.

fortunes, and never was man so deliberately determined to push forward those fortunes. "You know," he writes to a friend not long after his advancement, "that I serve a Prince who is of neither party, and who by holding a middle course seeks to enforce unity. The Servant must have no will but that of his Master."^f Æneas hopes to obtain a place for his friend at Vienna. "How this may be I know not. In the mean time I shall insinuate myself into the King's graces: his will shall be mine, I will oppose him in nothing. I am a stranger. I shall act the part of Gnatho: what they affirm, I affirm; what they deny, I deny.^g Let those that are wise have their fame, let those that are fools bear their own disgrace; I shall not trouble myself about their honour or their discredit. I shall write, as Secretary, what I am ordered, and no more. I shall hold my tongue and obey: if I should do otherwise, it would not be for my interest, and my interest, you will allow, should be my first object." It will soon appear how much stronger was the will of the subtle Italian than that of the feeble and irresolute Emperor

Æneas was for a time not unfaithful to the Council. Already indeed, before he left Basle, he had made the somewhat tardy discovery that their affairs were not altogether governed by the Holy Ghost, but by human passions. He began to think neither party absolutely in the right. He was gently, but rapidly veering to the middle course, then held by his master the Emperor.

^f There is something curious in his observation about the Archbishop of Palermo, who was labouring hard at Frankfort about his writings. "Stultus est qui putat libellis et codicibus movere reges." Æneas is learning to

know more of kings.

^g "Ego peregrinus sum: consultum mihi est Gnathonis offensum (officium?) suscipere, aiunt aio, negant nego." Epist. xlv. p. 531.

Yet he treated the arguments of John Carovia, orator of Pope Eugenius, with sufficient disdain. "You say that the Pope has made more ample concessions to the Princes of Germany, and has humbled himself more than was ever heard of Roman Pontiff. This stuff may pass with peasants and those who are utterly ignorant of history." God alone, Æneas still asserts, is superior to a General Council. "You and your party desire unity; that is, on your own terms; if your Pope remain Supreme Pontiff." He more than hints the abdication of Eugenius. "He deserves greater praise not who clings to his dignity, but who is ready to lay it down. Of old holy men were with greater difficulty prevailed on to be elevated to the Popedom than they are now removed from it. A good disposition and a gentle spirit would not seek in what manner—but how speedily, he might resign."^h "In truth," he adds, "the quarrel is not for the sheep but for the wool; there would be less strife were the Church poor."

Æneas at first, notwithstanding his prudential determinations, was an object of much jealousy at the Court of the Emperor. William Taz, a Bavarian, was acting as Imperial Chancellor, in the absence of Gaspar Schlick, who had filled that high office under three Emperors, Sigismund, Albert, and Frederick. The Bavarian hated Italians; he thwarted Æneas in every way. The Secretary bore all in patience.¹ Better times came with the return of Gaspar Schlick to the Court. At Sienna Gaspar had received some civilities, and made friendship with certain kinsmen of the Piccolomini. The enemy of Æneas, William Taz, who had trampled on

^h Epist. xxv.

¹ "Auriculas declinavi, ut iniquæ mentis asellus;" so Æneas writes of himself.

the Secretary, began humbly to truckle to him. Taz, however, soon left the Court. His other adversaries, as he rose in favour with the Emperor, became his humble servants. He was one of the four distinguished persons appointed to hear at Nuremberg the debate before the Diet.

Æneas, his young blood no longer remonstrating against his committing himself to Holy Orders, now entered into the priesthood. His orders of subdeacon, deacon, priest, followed rapidly on each other. He had ceased to dread the sacred office. He no longer desired to indulge the levity of a layman; his whole delight was henceforth to be in his holy calling.^k He was not long without reward for this decided step. His first benefice, obtained through the Emperor's interest, was a singular one for an Italian born in sunny Sienna, and whose life had been passed in journeys, councils, and courts. It was the parochial cure of a retired valley in the Tyrol. It was worth sixty gold pieces a year. It was accessible only up one wild glen, covered with snow and ice three parts of the year. The peasants during the long winter were confined to their cottages, made boxes and other carpenter's work (like the Swiss of Meyringen and elsewhere), which they sold at Trent and Botzen. They passed much time in playing at chess and dice, in which they were wonderfully skilful. They were a simple people, knew nothing of war or glory or gold. Cattle was their only wealth,

^k "Jam ego subdiaconus sum, quod olim valde horrebam. Sed recessit a me illa animi levitas, quæ inter laicos crescere solebat. Jamque nihil magis amo quam sacerdotium." Epist. xciii. This letter is in unfortunate juxtapo-

sition with the one (Epist. xcii.) in which he gives so much good advice to his friend, makes such full confession of his own former frailties, with the resolution to abandon Venus for Bacchus. See above.

which they fed with hay in the winter. Some of them had never tasted any liquor but milk. Some lived a great way from the church: if they died their bodies were laid out and became frozen. In the spring the curate went round, collected them into one procession, and buried them altogether in the churchyard. There was not much sorrow at their funerals. Æneas does not flatter the morality of his parishioners (he did not do much to correct it). They would have been the happiest of mankind had they known their blessings and imposed restraint on their lusts. As it was, huddled together night and day in their cottages, they lived in promiscuous concubinage; a virgin bride was unknown. Æneas had some difficulty (every one seems to have had difficulty where the rights of patrons were in perpetual conflict, and the Pope and the Council claimed everything) in obtaining possession of his benefice. Small as was its income, with his canonry it furnished a modest competency, two hundred ducats a year, with which he was fully content. He was anxious to retire from the turbulent world; to secure, as he had passed the meridian of life, a peaceful retreat where he might serve God.^m We read in the next sentence in his Commentaries that he had given up his happy valley for a better benefice in Bavaria, that of Santa Maria of Auspac, not far from the Inn, which was given him by the Bishop of Passau.

As yet we do not see (when shall we see?) much indulgence of this unworldly disposition: in this respect it is impossible to deny the rigid self-denial of Æneas. In a letter to Gaspar Schlick, the Chancellor, the Italian

^m "Vellem aliquando me sequestrare ab hujus mundi turbinibus Deoque servire et mihi vivere." Epist. liv. It was the Sarontana vallis?

opens his whole mind. He does not attempt to conceal his own falsehood; he justifies it as of necessity. "Where all are false we must be false too; we must take men as they are." He adduces as authority for this insincerity (I hardly venture to record this) what he dares to call a departure from truth in Him that was all truth.ⁿ This letter embraces the whole comprehensive and complicated range of Imperial politics, Austria, Bohemia, Hungary. In the great question Æneas has become a stern neutralist. The plan proposed by Charles of France, at the close of 1443, to compel the Council and the Pope to union, now appears the wisest as well as the most feasible measure. "Let the temporal Sovereigns hold their Congress, even against the will of the Clergy, union will ensue. He will be the undoubted Pope, to whom all the Sovereigns render obedience. I see none of the Clergy who will suffer martyrdom in either cause. We have all the same faith with our rulers; if they worshipped idols we should likewise worship them. If the secular power should urge it, we should deny not only the Pope but Christ himself. Charity is cold, faith is dead: we all long for peace: whether through another Council or a Congress of Princes I care not."^o

In the Diet of Nuremberg nothing was done in the momentous affair. Germany and Frederick III. maintained their cold neutrality. Æneas had
A. D. 1444.
 sunk to absolute indifference. Another letter to the Pope's Orator Carvajal is in a lighter tone: "You and I may discuss such matters, not as angry theologians, but as calm philosophers. I am content to leave such

ⁿ "Sed fingendum est, postquam omnes fingunt. Nam et Jesus finxit se longius ire. Ut homines sunt ita utamur." Æneas should have stuck to his Terence.—liv. p. 539.
^o Epist. liv.

things to divines, and to think as other people think." He does not speak with much respect of the Diet.

Oct. 1444. "What has it done?—it has summoned another. You know my saying: 'No Diet is barren: this will be as prolific as the rest: it has another in its womb.'"^p

But the tide now turned. Alfonso II., King of Arragon, his most obstinate and dangerous enemy, made peace with Eugenius. Philippo Maria, Duke of Milan, made peace with Eugenius. All Italy acknowledged Eugenius. The Italian Æneas had no notion of condemning himself to perpetual, if honourable, exile in cold, rude Germany. The churchman would not sever Christendom from Rome, or allow an Ultramontane Papacy to proclaim its independence, if not its superiority. Yet beyond the Alps to less keen eyes never might the cause of Eugenius appear more desperate. The Council, in its proclamations at least, maintained its inflexible resolution. Writings were promulgated throughout Germany, among others a strong manifesto from the University of Erfurt, calling on the German nation to throw off its inglorious neutrality, and at once to espouse the cause of religious freedom and the Council of Basle. The violent act of Eugenius

in threatening to depose the Archbishops of Cologne and Treves had awakened the fears and the resentment of many among the haughty Prelates of Germany, and had excited high indignation in the German mind. But Æneas knew his own strength, and the weakness of the Emperor. Frederick determined, or rather imagined that he acted on his own determination, to enter into negotiations. And now

A. D. 1445.
Bull of actual
deposition.
Feb. 9, 1446.

† Epist. lxxii. Compare Æneas Sylvius (Fes.), p. 84.

again who so fit to conduct those negotiations as his faithful Secretary? who but an Italian, so intimately acquainted with the interests of Germany, so attached to the Emperor, so able, so eloquent, could cope with the Prelates and Cardinals of Rome?⁹ Æneas was more true to his Imperial than he had been to his Papal patron; being true to the Emperor he was true to himself.

Æneas arrived at his native Sienna. His kindred, proud no doubt of his position, crowded round him. They entreated him not to venture to Rome. Eugenius was cruel, unforgetful of injuries, bound by neither pity nor conscience.^r A man so deeply committed in the affairs of the hostile Council might expect the worst. Æneas boldly answered that the ambassador of the Emperor of Germany must be safe everywhere. He did not betray a more important secret, that already he had obtained through two friendly Cardinals, Carvajal and Landriano, pardon for all that he had done at Basle.

He entered Rome: he was admitted to the presence of the Pope, beside whom stood the two friendly Cardinals. He was permitted to kiss the foot, the cheek of the Pontiff. His credentials were in his hand. He was commanded to declare the object of his mission. "Ere I fulfil the orders of the Emperor, allow me, most holy Pontiff, a few words on myself. I know that many things have been brought to the ears of your Holiness concerning me, things not to my credit, and on which it were better not to dwell: neither

Æneas in Italy.

At Rome.

⁹ To this visit to Rome belong the observations he makes in a letter to his patron the Bishop of Passau. Epist. xviii. The Cardinals, he says, are by

no means so rich as of old.

^r "Aiebant Eugenium crudelem, injuriarum memorem, nullâ pietate, nullâ conscientiâ teneri."—Apud Fea, p. 83

have my accusers spoken falsely. At Basle I have written much, spoken much, done much; but my design was not to injure you, I sought only the advantage of the Catholic Church. I have erred, who will deny it? but with neither few nor undistinguished men: Julian, the Cardinal of St. Angelo, the Archbishop of Palermo, Pontanus the Protonotary of your Court, men esteemed in the eyes of the law, masters of all truth. I speak not of the Universities and Schools throughout the world, almost all adverse to your cause. With such authorities who had not erred? I must confess, that so soon as I detected the errors of those at Basle, I did not, as most others did, fly to you. But fearing to fall from error to error, from Scylla to Charybdis, I would not, without consultation and delay, rush from one extreme to the other. I sided with those called neutrals. I remained three years with the Emperor, heard the discussions between your Legates and those of Basle, nor could longer doubt that the truth was on your side; not unwillingly therefore I accepted this embassy from the Emperor, hoping thereby, through your clemency, to be restored to your favour. I am in your hands: I have sinned in ignorance, I implore pardon. And now to the affairs of the Emperor.”^a The Pope, no doubt well prepared for this address, had his answer ready. The Ambassador of the Emperor, a man of the ability and importance of Æneas, was not to be repelled even by the stubborn Eugenius. “We know that you have erred, with many others; we cannot deny pardon to one who confesses his errors. Our holy Mother, the Church, withholds mercy from those only who refuse to acknowledge their sins. You are now in

^a Commentar. Nov. p. 11.

possession of the truth, look that you do not abandon it. Show forth the divine grace in your good works. You are in a position to defend the truth, to do good service to the Church. We shall forget all the wrongs committed against us; him that walketh uprightly we shall love!" Of the Cardinals, only the virtuous Thomas of Sarzana, afterwards Nicolas V., looked coldly on the renegade, and Æneas as haughtily refused to humiliate himself. "O ignorance of man," writes Æneas, "had I known that he would be Pope, what would I not have borne!"^t But Æneas fell ill, and Thomas of Sarzana sent a common friend to console him, and to offer aid for the payment of his physicians. John Carvajal, the Pope's Legate in Germany, visited him every day. He recovered, returned to Sienna, saw his father for the last time, and went back to Germany. He was followed by a message from the Pope, appointing him his Secretary. "Wonderful and unparalleled grace of God" (so writes his biographer, probably Æneas himself), "that one man should be Secretary to two Popes" (he was continued in the office by Nicolas V.), "to an Emperor and an Antipope."^u Æneas humbly ascribes the glory to God, as if his own craft and tergiversations had no share in the marvel.

Germany began slowly to feel and to betray the influence of the wily Italian. He ruled the irresolute Emperor.* Yet even now affairs looked only more

^t "Si scisset Æneas futurum Papam, omnia tolerasset."—Fea, p. 89.

^u So too in Epist. clxxxviii. p. 760. "Apud tres Episcopos et totidem Cardinales dictandarum Epistolarum officium exercui. Hi tres quoque Pontifices maximi secretariorum collegio me ascripserunt Euganius, Nicolaus, Felix,

quamvis hunc adulterum dixerit. Apud Cæsarem non secretarius modo, sed consiliarius et principatus honore auctus sum. Neque ego ista fortunæ imputo, quamvis nescio causam, sed ipsius rectori et dominatori omnium Deo." Thus writes Æneas in his own person.

* There were negotiations, perhaps

menacing and dangerous to Pope Eugenius. After due deliberation he had peremptorily refused the Emperor's demand to convoke another Council in Germany. Not only were the two Archbishop Electors under sentence of deposition, new Electors^y had been named on his sole authority; not even Germans, but near relatives of the powerful Philip of Burgundy, sworn to place them on their thrones. Six of the Electors entered into a solemn league, that if Eugenius did not immediately annul his Bull of deposal against the Archbishops, limit the ecclesiastical burthens on the Empire, and submit to the decree of Constance, which asserted the supremacy of General Councils, they would cast aside their long neutrality, and either summon a new Council or acknowledge the Council of Basle and Pope Felix V.^z They sent an embassy to communicate this secret covenant to the Emperor and to six only of his Privy Councillors, and to demand his adhesion to the League. The Emperor admitted the justice of their demands as to the rehabilitation of the deposed Prelates, but refused to join the League, "it was impious to compel the Pope to terms by threatening to revolt from his authority."^a The Emperor, not sworn to secrecy, confided the whole to Æneas, by him at his discretion to be communicated to Rome. Æneas was ordered again to Rome to persuade the Pope to cede the restitution of the Archbishops.

a private treaty, between King Frederick and Eugenius. Carvajal was at Vienna.—Voigt, c. 6.

^y They were Bishop John of Cambray, Philip's natural brother, to Treves; to Cologne, Prince Adolph of Cleves, his sister's son. Schmidt, vii.

18, p. 338.

^z Apud Guden. iv. 290; Schmidt, p. 339.

^a There is some slight discrepancy here between the Commentaries and the history.

He went round, it seems, by Frankfort, where the Electors held or were about to hold their diet.^b At Frankfort he found, perhaps it was his object there, the Papal Legates, Thomas of Sarzana (Bishop of Bologna), and John Carvajal. They were in dire perplexity. One must hasten to Rome for further instructions, Carvajal was ill, Æneas set off in the company of Thomas of Sarzana. It was spring, the bridges were broken down. They crossed the Alps in three days by paths only known to mountain guides over precipices and glaciers.

At Rome the Pope took the counsel of Thomas of Sarzana. Before he admitted the Ambassadors of the Electors, he had a private interview with Æneas Sylvius. Æneas at his last visit had brought himself, he now brought the Emperor, to the feet of Eugenius. The only concession urged on the Pope was the revocation of the fatal step, and the restoration of the deposed Electors. The Emperor could not endure French Electors. For once the obstinate Eugenius bowed himself to the wiser yielding policy; Æneas had imparted his own pliancy to the Pope. There was but one difficulty, how to appease Philip Duke of Burgundy, who might resent the dismissal of his kindred, his nephew and natural brother, the intruded Archbishops of Cologne and Treves. The Papalists had tempted, flattered, bribed the pride and ambition of one of the proudest and most ambitious of men; they must allay that pride and ambition. Thomas of Sarzana was entrusted with this delicate mission: Æneas was to return to Germany, to manage the Emperor and the Empire. The

^b I doubt this Frankfort journey, the Legates were probably at the Court of Frederick.

Pope then admitted the Ambassadors of the six Electors. At the head of these was Gregory of Heimburg, a bold, free-spoken, fearless man, the most learned lawyer in the Empire, but described by Sylvius as of coarse manners; a genuine German of his age unfavourably contrasted in his own judgement with the supple Siennese. Heimburg's address to the Pope was intrepid, haughty: "Germany was united; it was embittered by the deposition of the Bishops—the Princes were resolved to assert the authority of General Councils." The Pope's answer was cold and brief. He had deposed the Archbishops for good reasons: he had never shown disrespect to Councils, but had maintained the dignity of the Apostolic See. He would prepare a written reply. He detained them in Rome in sullen indignation at their delay in the hot ungenial city.^c

Æneas set forth on his return with Thomas of Sarzana. They travelled together, though Æneas was suffering from the stone, by Sienna, Pistoia, Lucca. Æneas entered Florence, the Bishop of Bologna was not allowed to do so. Æneas was obliged to leave the Bishop ill at Parma. He hastened by Mantua, Verona,

^c "Hic orationem arrogantiae plenam habuit; dixit Germaniæ principes unitos esse, eadem velle et sapere, depositionem Episcoporum amarulento tulisse animo, petere ut cassetur annulleturque, ut auctoritas conciliorum approbetur, ut nationi opportunè concedatur. . . . Eugenius ad hæc suo more pauca et graviter respondit."—Hist. Freder. III, apud Kollar, p. 123. See the curious account of Gregory's behaviour. "Interea legati Electorum affectu tædio murmurabant, neque sine timore fuerunt quod nimis rigidè se locutos

sentiebant. Gregorius juxta Montem Jordunum post vespervas deambulare, caloribus exæstuanis, quasi et Romanos et officium suum contemneret, dimissis in terram caligis, aperto pectore, nudo capite, brachia disoperiens, fastibundus incedebat, Romanosque et Eugenium et Curiam blasphemabat, multaque in calores terræ ingerebat mala. Est enim aër Romanus Theutonicis infestissimus. . . . quia plus sanguinis habent quam Italici, et plus merum ebibunt, plus calore cruciantur."—Ibid.

Trent, Meiningen, Ulm.^d At Ulm he was stopped by fear of robbers, who infested the whole road to Frankfort. He fell in with the Bishops of Augsburg and Chiemsee, and the Chancellor Gaspar; with them he reached Frankfort in safety.

At Frankfort the Diet had met in imposing fulness. The Emperor was represented by the Chan-
Sept. 1, 1446.
Diet at
Frankfort.
 cellor, the Bishops of Augsburg and Chiemsee, the Marquises of Baden and Brandenburg, and by Æneas Sylvius. The Electors were all present. The Pope's Legates were John de Carvajal and Nicolas de Cusa. Thomas of Sarzana did not arrive till he had successfully fulfilled his mission to the Duke of Burgundy. Louis, Cardinal of Arles, John de Lysura and others appeared for the Council of Basle and the Antipope. Louis of Arles claimed to have the cross borne before him, and to celebrate the first mass before the Diet as Papal Legate. His claim was supported by the Electors, fully determined to maintain the rights of the Council. The Emperor's Ambassadors remonstrated; Germany was yet pledged to strict neutrality. The citizens of Frankfort were on that side; they had sworn allegiance to the Emperor, not to the Electors; the Cardinal of Arles was forced ungraciously to submit.

The session was opened by Gregory of Heimburg, who reported the reception of his mission at Rome. He described the Court of Rome as Altercation.
 implacably hostile to Germany; Eugenius as harsh, haughty, repulsive. The Cardinals he turned into ridicule, especially "the bearded old goat," the Cardinal Bessarion. Æneas replied, rebuking the unfairness of

^d Comment. 94. Compared with other documents.

the German, and labouring to bring out the milder and more courteous points in the demeanour and language of the Pope. Æneas had to encounter some unpleasant altercation. The Cardinal of Arles reproached him with his tergiversations. "It is not I," answered Æneas, "who have changed, but the Council; they once offered to remove the Council from Basle, now they refuse; as if all truth were contained within the walls of Basle." John de Iysura was even more pointed and personal. "Are you come from Sienna to legislate for Germany? You had better have stayed at home and left us to settle our own affairs." Æneas kept prudent silence.

The reports from Rome had made a deep and unfavourable impression. Basle appeared to triumph; the Electors seemed determined to declare for the Council and for Felix V. But the resources of Æneas were not exhausted; he boldly summoned to his aid two irresistible allies—in plain language, bribery and forgery. All things, Æneas had said in his Antipapal days, are venal with the Court of Rome; the imposition of hands, the gifts of the Holy Ghost are openly sold.^e Rome could buy as well as sell; and the severe virtue of Germany was not proof against pontifical gold. No less a person than the Archbishop of Mentz sold himself to Eugenius: meaner men could not hesitate with such an example. The Archbishop did not actually take the money with his own hands, but two thousand Rhenish florins were distributed among his four chief Counsellors.^f

^e "Nihil est quod absque argento Romana Curia dedit. Nam et ipsæ manus impositiones, et Spiritus Sancti dona venundantur."—Epist. lxvi.

^f "Cumque res diu inutiliter tracta-

retur, ad pecuniam tandem recurrere oportet, cui raræ non obaudiunt aures, hæc domina curiarum est, hæc aures omnium aperit: huic omnia serviunt: hæc quoque *Moguntinum expugnavit*."

But the Archbishop Elector would maintain decency. He could not veer round without some specious excuse. Æneas boldly took in hand the Ambassadors' instructions; he dressed them up, quietly discarding every hard or offensive word, insinuating ^{Bribery and forgery.} milder and more conciliatory expressions; and with deliberate effrontery presented these notes, as authorised by Pope Eugenius.⁵ He ran the risk of being disclaimed by the stubborn Pontiff, and exposed as the Forger of official documents. The notes declared the assent of the Pope to the restoration of the deposed Archbishops, vaguely recognised the independence of the German nation, saved the authority of General Councils. Æneas had calculated with his usual sagacity. These notes were accepted, and presented to the Diet, signed by the Elector of Mentz, the Marquis of Brandenburg, the Grand Master of Prussia, the Archbishops of Saltzburg and Magdeburg, and many other Princes. The Elector of Treves and the Duke of Saxony alone opposed; the Elector Palatine wavered. The Electoral League was paralysed, a new League formed between the Emperor, the Electors of Mentz, Brandenburg, and the rest. The Diet broke up, the three Electors departed in indignation; the Ambassadors of Basle in sorrow and discomfiture.

These are the words of Æneas Sylvius himself in his Hist. Frederic. III. published by Kollar, vol. ii. p. 127. The Emperor advanced the money; it was afterwards paid by Nicolas V. Compare also Fea, p. 100.

⁵ "Cum Legati Cæsaris non possent menti Pontificis satisfacere, Æneas modicum commentus est, qui, receptis notulis secundum quas se Principes

obligaverant, nisi Eugenius illas admitteret, velle se eum deserere, omne venenum ex eis admisit, *novasque notulas composuit*, per quas et Archiepiscopi deprivati restituerentur, et nationi opportunè provideretur et auctoritas Conciliorum salvaretur, illasque dixit sua opinione Eugenium non negaturum."—Vit. Fred. III., p. 129.

Æneas and Procopius Rabensteyn, a Bohemian Noble, were despatched to Rome as Imperial Ambassadors to obtain the Pope's assent to the terms thus framed. On his assent the Emperor and most of the German Princes would forswear their neutrality and acknowledge him for Pope. Letters had been previously sent; the College of Cardinals was divided; the more rigid theologians would admit no concession. Pope Eugenius was advised to create four new Cardinals, the Archbishop of Milan, the Abbot of St. Paul, Thomas of Sarzana Bishop of Bologna, John Carvajal. At Sienna the Imperial Ambassadors encountered others from the Archbishop of Mentz and the German Princes. The representative of Mentz was no less than John of Lysura, but a few days before so stern a Basilian, who had been so offended by the apostasy of Æneas, and had now trimmed his sails to the wind.

They were received with joyous welcome, as bringing the submission of Germany to the Papal See.^b The third day they were introduced into the private consistory. Æneas spoke; all heard with rapture. No voice was silent in his praise! That very day the Pope was seized with mortal sickness. The physicians said that he could not live ten days. Would he live long enough to ratify the Treaty? The Ambassadors were only commissioned to Eugenius: delay might be fatal, a new schism might arise. "If," said John of Lysura, "the little toe of his left foot is alive, it is enough." The Pope not only lived to issue the Apostolic Bulls, but to reward the invaluable services of Æneas Sylvius. A vacancy in the Bishopric of Trieste was announced,

^b "Erat enim ingens gaudium prope sexdecim annos Germaniam perditam recuperâsse."—Fœa, p. 105.

the Pope at once appointed Æneas to the See. The rejoicings at Rome were like those at a great victory; bonfires blazed, the city was illuminated, the noise of trumpets, the pealing of bells rang through the streets. After fourteen days died Pope Eugenius; his stubborn pertinacity might seem to have won a glorious triumph: he had deluded the Germans by some specious concessions, of which he himself well knew the hollow value (the Apostolic Bulls were called Concordats); he had almost reconquered the allegiance of Christendom. But he is said to have exclaimed on his deathbed, "Oh Gabriel, better had it been for your soul, if you had never been Cardinal, never Pope, but continued to practise the religious discipline of your monastery!"¹ The Pope was dead, the Monk still lived.

Feb. 23,
1447.

¹ Palatii Gesta Pontificum apud Weissenberg, p. 465. The character of Eugenius changes in the writings of Æneas with the changes in Æneas himself. We have seen some illustrations of this. In the Hist. Concil. Basil. "Eugenius is a reed shaken by the wind" (no very apt similitude), an object of dislike, even of contempt. In his Dialogue de Auctor. Concilia, alluded to in his Retractation, his praise of Felix passes into adulation. There is no grace or virtue which is not heaped upon him. In Eugenius the defiance darkens into vituperation: "Vexator ecclesie, non solum laude indignus, sed detestatione et execratione totius humani generis dignus proculdubio est." So says one of the inter-

locutors, unrebuked by Æneas. Compare on the other side the high character in the De Europâ, p. 458. So too in Vit. Frederic. III., p. 135. "Fuit autem Eugenius alti animi, injuriarum tenax, delatoribus aurem præbuit, avaritiam calcavit, honoris cupidus fuit: ubi sententiam imbuat, non facile mutari potuit: religiosis viris admodum favit." In another passage—"alti cordis fuit, sed nullum in eo vitium fuit, nisi quia sine mensurâ erat, et non quod potuit, sed quod voluit, aggressus est." This heightens our opinion of the boldness and sagacity of Æneas in persuading such a man to accept as his own, instructions which he had not given.

CHAPTER XVII.

Nicolas V.

THE Pontificate of Nicolas V. is the culminating point of Latin Christianity. The Papal power indeed had long reached its zenith. From Innocent III. to Boniface VIII. it had begun its decline. But Latin Christianity was alike the religion of the Popes and of the Councils which contested their supremacy. It was as yet no more than a sacerdotal strife whether the Pope should maintain an irresponsible autocracy, or be limited and controlled by an ubiquitous aristocratic Senate. The most ardent reformers looked no further than to strengthen the Hierarchy. The Prelates were determined to emancipate themselves from the usurpations of the Pope, as to their elections, their arbitrary taxation by Rome, the undermining of their authority by perpetual appeals; but they had no notion of relaxing in the least the ecclesiastical domination. It was not that Christendom might govern itself, but that themselves might have a more equal share in the government. They were as jealously attached as the Pope to the creed of Latin Christianity. The Council, not the Pope, burned John Huss. Their concessions to the Bohemians were extorted from their fears, not granted by their liberality. Gerson, D'Ailly, Louis of Arles, Thomas of Corcelles, were as rigid theologians as Martin V. or Eugenius IV. The Vulgate was their Bible, the Latin service their exclusive liturgy, the Canon Law their code of jurisprudence.

Latin Christianity had yet to discharge some part of its mission. It had to enlighten the world with letters, to adorn it with arts. It had hospitably to receive (a gift fatal in the end to its own dominion) and to promulgate to mankind the poets, historians, philosophers of Greece. It had to break down its own idols, the Schoolmen, and substitute a new idolatry, that of Classical Literature. It had to perfect Christian art. Already Christian Architecture had achieved some of its wonders. The venerable Lateran and St. Paul's without the Walls, the old St. Peter's, St. Mark's at Venice and Pisa, Strasburg and Cologne, Rheims and Bourges, York and Lincoln, stood in their majesty. Christian Painting, and even Christian Sculpture, were to rise to their untrascended excellence.

The choice of Nicolas V. was one of such singular felicity for his time that it cannot be wondered if his admirers looked on it as overruled by the Holy Spirit. "Who would have thought in Florence," so said Nicolas to his biographer Vespasiano, "that a priest who rang the bells should become Supreme Pontiff?"^a Yet it seems to have been a happy accident. Eighteen Cardinals met in the Conclave. Ten voices were for the Cardinal Colonna; two more would give him the requisite majority. Alfonso, King of Arragon and Sicily, encamped at Tivoli, favoured the Colonna. Already, to end the strife, the Cardinal of Bologna had risen to add his suffrage. He was checked and interrupted by the wise Cardinal of Tarento. "Whom, then," said he, "do you nominate?" "The Cardinal of Bologna!" A sudden light seemed to flash on the Conclave: Thomas of Sarzana, Cardinal of Bologna, was Pope.^b

Nicolas V.
March 6,
1447.

^a Apud Muratori, p. 279.

^b Vit. Nicolai V., a Dominico Georgio, p. 4

Had a turbulent, punctilious, obstinate Pope, another Eugenius, succeeded Eugenius IV., all might again have been strife and confusion. The consummate diplomatic skill of Æneas Sylvius had extorted some concessions on his deathbed even from that impracticable Pope. Some questions had been designedly left in decent vagueness.

The Cardinal of Bologna was forty-eight years old. His rise to honours had been rapid—Bishop, Cardinal, Pope, in three successive years.^c He was known as a lover and liberal patron of letters. As Legate he had been singularly active, conciliatory, popular, and therefore successful. He had seemingly personal friendship for Æneas Sylvius, and could fully appreciate his wise and dexterous management. He left the German negotiations in those able hands; but a speech attributed to him was well-timed. “The Bishops had too little, rather than too much power: he had no design to encroach on their lawful authority.”^d This is more remarkable, as in all business he had the most perfect self-confidence: nothing was well done which he did not do himself.^e

Two years had hardly elapsed when Nicolas V. (so well had Æneas Sylvius done his work in Germany) was sole and undisputed Pope. The Council of Basle, disowned, almost forgotten, had dissolved itself. Felix V. was again Amadeus of Savoy, in his peaceful retreat at Ripaille. The Council had the wisdom to yield, the Pope the greater wisdom

Dissolution
of Council
of Basle.
A.D. 1449.

^c 1445, 1446, 1447.

^d Weissenberg.

^e See the elaborate character of Nicolas V. by Æneas Sylvius,—Fea, p. 139. He was hasty, but placable; friendly, but there was no friend with

whom he was not at some time angry. “Nimium de se credidit, omnia per se facere voluit. Nihil bene fieri putavit, nisi interesset. Injuriarum neque ultor neque oblitus est.”

to admit the Council to an honourable capitulation. The Fathers at Basle appeared to submit to the friendly urgency of the Kings of France and England. They maintained prudent silence on the abandonment of their cause by the Emperor Frederick III. and his as yet ambiguous and disguised menaces of compulsory dissolution. The Prince-Pope was permitted to retire, not without dignity. Nicolas demanded not that insulting humiliation which had been enforced by his predecessors on their discomfited rivals. Felix V. sank into a Cardinalate, and that Cardinalate next in honour to the Pope. Louis of Arles was restored to his rank. Three out of the Cardinals named by Felix were advanced by Nicolas; the rest were dead or content to abdicate. All the Papal censures against the Pope and the Council were annulled; the Acts of the Council, as far as promotions and appointments, confirmed.

So ended the last Antipope,^f so closed the last Council which claimed co-equal authority with the Pope. The peaceful treaty showed a great advance in Christian courtesy, in Christian forbearance, in the majesty of Christian gentleness; but some decay, too, in the depth and ardour of Christian zeal. To have been an Antipope was no longer an odious and inexpiable crime—a crime to be forgiven only after the most contumelious abasement, or as an ostentatious act of mercy. Felix may have owed something to his princely rank, more to the times and to the sagacious character of Nicolas V. Basle saw the last Council which could pretend to the title of Œcumenic: that of Trent was a Council of Papal Christendom, and by no means the whole of Papal

^f Amadeus lived only to Jan. 1, 1451. Muratori, sub ann. 1449.

Christendom. All that had severed itself from Latin Christianity, part which was still in union, stood aloof from an assembly chiefly gathered from two nations, Spain and Italy.

Nicolas V. retired into his serene and peaceful dignity: not so his restless colleague in all his negotiations and in his journeys. Æneas Sylvius had still years of busy life before him. Among the first acts of Pope Nicolas had been the confirmation of Æneas in his Papal Secretaryship and in his Bishopric of Trieste. It was singular enough that, as Bishop of Bologna, Thomas of Sarzana had been honoured everywhere but in his own See. Bologna would not admit him within her walls. The Church of Trieste, at first refractory, could not but receive a Bishop commended by the Emperor and the Pope.

The Bishop of Trieste returned to Germany. No affair of Frederick III. could be conducted without his aid. He was first sent to the Diet of Aschaffenburg, which, under the Archbishop of Mentz, accepted the Bulls of Pope Eugenius and acknowledged Pope Nicolas. Duke Philippo Maria, the last of the Viscontis, died,^g Milan was in confusion.^h The Emperor, among the competitors for the Dukedom,ⁱ as an escheated fief of the Empire, would, beyond that, put in his claim as actual Ruler. Æneas was among his ambassadors. Milan would own the suzerainty of the Emperor, but at the same time maintain her freedom. The Embassy

^g In the castle of Porta Zobbia, Aug. 15, 1447.

^h "Incredibile allora fu la rivoluzione dello Stato de Milano; tutto si reimpie di sedizioni, ed ognuno prese l'armi."—Muratori, sub ann.

ⁱ Charles, Duke of Orleans, in right of his mother, Valentina, sister of the late Duke; Alfonso, King of Naples and Arragon, by the will of the late Duke; Francis Sforza, husband of the natural daughter of the late Duke.

returned, having effected nothing, from the impracticable city.^k Æneas attributes their failure to the grasping ambition of his German colleagues in the Embassy: demanding too much, they lost all; his more subtle policy would have succeeded better. He returned to Vienna, was consecrated Bishop of Trieste, visited his diocese, was received with cordial welcome, and celebrated mass. But he was not long occupied with his peaceful duties. He was called upon to settle a question of frontier in Istria between the Emperor and the Venetians. On his return to Trieste he found a Count Rupert warring on the city, wasting the estates of the Church. He laid his complaints before the Emperor, but himself hardly escaped from the hands of the noble freebooter. On his return to Vienna he found his power in the Council somewhat in danger. His friend and patron Gaspar Schlick was in disgrace. He died July 16, 1449. As of the Chancellor's faction Æneas fell under suspicion. With his usual dexterity he steered his course, not absolutely renouncing his friend, yet not offending the Emperor. He received another benefice, a rich parish church in the neighbourhood of Vienna.

Milan again besieged by Francis Sforza made overtures to the Emperor. Again the indefatigable Æneas crossed the Worm Alp, descended into July, 1449. the Valteline, and found the Lake of Como and its shores overrun by the troops of Sforza; he reached Como with difficulty. That city was beset on all sides; Sforza eagerly desired to seize the Imperial Ambassadors. At the head of a few soldiers, Æneas dashed through by night and reached Milan.^m Notwithstanding the open and the secret opposition of Sforza's partisans,

^k Commentar. Pii II., &c., pp. 19, 25.

^m Vit. Frederic. III., p. 147.

he assembled and harangued the people. Three gates (quarters) of the city would have proclaimed the Emperor without condition, one more had been a majority.ⁿ Terms were however framed, on the whole favourable to the Emperor, but such as Æneas had no authority to accept. Charles Gonzaga proposed to Æneas to seize the city by force. This Æneas declined as unbecoming his ecclesiastical character. The scheme was full of dangers, and of very doubtful issue! Æneas returned to the Emperor. Frederick, however, needed not only dexterous Ambassadors, but well-appointed armies and able Generals to occupy and protect Milan: he had neither. Milan opened her gates to Sforza; Sforza was Duke of Milan.^o

In the first year of Sforza's dukedom, that of the Jubilee, Æneas was engaged on a more peaceful mission, to settle the contract of marriage between the Emperor and Leonora, sister of the King of Portugal. The agreement was readily made at Naples with the Ambassadors of Portugal. Æneas saw Rome at the height of the Jubilee, his friend and patron, Nicolas V., receiving the homage, the well-deserved homage, and the tribute of the world.

In Nicolas V., in three short years, the Pope had become again a great Italian Potentate. Not that Nicolas V. was of one of the famous houses, or aspired to found a family of Princes. He was superior to, or not tempted to that Nepotism, which had already made some advances, some initiatory efforts, to invest the

ⁿ Vit. Frederic. III., p. 149.

^o "Qui etiam insignia ducalia, tradente populo, suscepit, quæ res neque vim neque colorem habuit justitiæ."—P. 162. Muratori, *suo*;

ann. i. 450. For the personal adventures of Æneas Sylvius, see the Commentaries and Life of Frederick III. apud Kollar, p. 140 *et seq.*

descendants or kinsmen of Popes in territorial honours or titles. Hitherto these families had taken no root, had died out, sunk into obscurity, or had been beaten down by common consent as upstart usurpers. Nicolas V laid the foundation of his power, not so much in the strength of the Roman See as a temporal Sovereignty, as in the admiration and gratitude of Italy, which was rapidly reported over the whole of Christendom. He kept in pay no large armies, his Cardinals were not Condottieri generals; he declared that he would never employ any arms but those of the Cross of Christ.^p But he maintained the Estates of the Church in peace, he endeavoured (and the circumstances of the times favoured that better policy) to compose the feuds of Italy, raging at least with their usual violence. He was among the few Popes, really a great Pacificator in Italy. Four mighty Powers were now mingled in open war, or in secret intrigue. Alfonso, King of Arragon and the two Sicilies, the Dukes of Milan, the Venetians and the Florentines. Eugenius had had the wisdom, or good fortune, to abandon the French pretensions to the throne of Naples, that fatal claim by which the Popes had for centuries entailed the miseries of war upon Italy, and servitude upon themselves. The strife for the Dukedom of Milan, notwithstanding the pretensions of the Emperor, and all the arts of Æneas Sylvius, the claims of the King of Arragon, and of the House of Orleans, had terminated in the establishment of the Sforzas. Pope Nicolas almost for the first time entered openly into Italian politics, as a true Mediator—not as a partisan—and, so doing, was for the first time (to a certain extent at least) successful in his mediation. Even in the wars

^p Vespasiano, p. 279.

of these powers Romagna was respected and escaped devastation. The warlike chieftains who had usurped the cities and domains of the Church, were glad to become her subjects. The Malatestas accepted the recognition of their title as Lords of Rimini, Fano, and other cities of Romagna, and from their tribute the Pope received a revenue, if not equal in amount, more sure and less invidious than his own taxation. The retrenchments insisted upon by the Council of Basle were eluded by a Concordat, drawn with all the subtlety of Æneas Sylvius, and received by his obsequious master Frederick. In remote regions there were still deep murmurs at the avarice, the venality of Rome; Nicolas and his Court escaped not, and did not deserve to escape, the common charge of rapacity; but such murmurs died away in those distant quarters, or had lost their effect.⁹

All this was not done, but it was well begun before the Jubilee; and no Jubilee had been more splendid, more peaceful, attended by greater numbers,^r productive of more immense wealth.^s A new coin for the Jubilee was struck. From every part of Europe came pilgrims

⁹ Stimmen, p. 115. The ambassador, credited with 1225 ducats, is instructed to give 1000 ducats either in gold or in some rich present—225 are for the Cardinal patron. But if the Pope is not content with the 1000, he must have it all, and the Protector wait. The close of the affair is even more discreditable to the Pope. It is a very curious detail on the process of Papal bribery. In 1449, a collector and vendor of Indulgences levied in Prussia 7845 marks: for Indulgences, 3241; for Peter's Pence, 4604.—P. 137.

^r "Dopo il primo Giubileo del Anno 1300 forse non fu mai veduto si gran flusso e riflusso di gente in Roma, di modo che le strade Maestre d' Italia pareano tante Fiere."—Muratori, Ann., sub ann. "Licet quadringenta et amplius millia diebus singulis per urbem templa foraque vaderent."—Vit. Freder. III., p. 172.

^s The Teutonic Order tried to suppress the Bull, and to discourage the wasteful journey to Rome. The Pope was furious, and only appeased by a great offering.—Stimmen, p. 140.

of the highest rank, strangers swarmed like ants in the streets of Rome and Florence. The throng was so great that above 200 persons were crushed to death on the bridge of St. Angelo.^t The Bank of the Medici alone had 100,000 florins belonging to the Church,^u and during the whole time poured in riches, which aided in the restoration of the dilapidated finances of the Papedom. The Pilgrims carried back throughout Europe accounts of the resuscitated majesty of the Roman Pontificate, the unsullied personal dignity of the Pope, the reenthronement of religion in the splendid edifices, which were either building or under restoration.^x

Among those who would disseminate the fame of Nicolas V., none would be more loud, as none had stronger reasons to be grateful, than Æneas Sylvius. He had just reached the Alps on his return from Rome (he had hardly escaped drowning in a swollen stream), when he was overtaken by the pleasant intelligence that he had been named by the Pope Bishop of his native city of Sienna. Æneas had never contemplated the passing the rest of his life in the cold ungenial region of Germany. "I yearn," he writes, "for my

^t Infessura, Chron. de Rimini ; Æneas Sylvius, Vit. Frederic., p. 172.

^u Vespasiano, Vit. Nicol. V.

^x The Jubilee was interrupted by the plague, the fear of which had driven many in devotion to Rome (Sanuto says 60,000 died in Milan ; hardly a man was left alive in P'acenza).—Muratori. The Cardinals, the Pope himself, were obliged to fly from Rome. "His Holiness goes from one castle to another with a small Court, and very few followers, seeking to find anywhere an uninfected place.

His Holiness is now in a castle called Fabriano, where he was last year for some time ; and it is said has forbidden, under pain of death, that any one, of any rank whatever, who is at Rome, shall come secretly or openly to Fabriano, or within seven miles of it : the Cardinals alone are excepted, who are limited to four servants."—Voigt, from the Despatches of the Teutonic Knights. Stimmen, p. 70. This is not a very high view of the Pope's courage.

native Italy; I dread nothing so much as to lay my bones in a foreign land, though the way to heaven or to hell lies open alike from both. But it would be less painful, I know not why, to die in the arms of brothers, sisters, sons, grandsons." ^y It should seem ^z that he turned back, saw the Pope again, entered Sienna, was welcomed with the joyful acclamations of the inhabitants, proud to receive a native Siennese as their Bishop. But the Bishop of Sienna returned to his Imperial Master: Germany must still be held in its close alliance with Rome. His next embassy, in the following year, was into Bohemia. Both on his journey towards Prague and on his return, he was hospitably received in Tabor, the city of the most extreme disciples of John Huss. In a letter to John Carvajal, ^a the Cardinal of St. Angelo, he gives a striking description of that inexpugnable fortress. Over the gates were two shields: on one was painted an Angel with the Sacramental Cup; on the other the blind old Ziska, their leader in war while alive, whose skin, stretched on a drum, after his death, had inspired them to certain victory. The Bishop of Sienna had strong misgivings in entering this headquarters of Satan. The Churchman held the audacious sectaries, who disdained the Primacy of Rome (the head of their offending, which included all other heresies), in the devoutest horror. "The Emperor Sigismund, instead of granting terms of peace to this most wicked and sacrilegious race, ought to have exterminated them, or reduced them to hewers of stone for the rest of mankind." Æneas had forgotten the irresistible valour, the splendid years of victory, which had extorted these terms from the Emperor. But the rude, poor Taborites treated

^y Epist. lxxv.

^z The account is not clear.

^a Epist. cxxx.

the Bishop with perfect courtesy. At a town about twenty-five miles from Prague (a pestilence was raging in Prague, and to his regret he dared not approach that ancient and noble city), he met the heads of the Bohemian nation. The object of his mission was soon despatched; the summons of a general Convention in the following year, with the Ambassador of the Emperor, and the Pope's Legate, at Leutmeritz. In that city he held a long theological discussion with George Podiebrad; a second at Tabor with Nicolas, the Bishop of the sect. He acknowledged that all his eloquence made no impression on the stubborn Utraquists. The Taborites stuck to the Scripture, Æneas to the power of the Church; no wonder that they came to no conclusion. But whatever might be the secret thoughts of each party as to the fate of his antagonist on the Day of Judgement, they parted with seeming mutual respect.

Nicolas V. was to behold, as it were, the final act of homage to the Popedom, from the majesty of the Empire. He was to be the last Pontiff Coronation of the Emperor. who was to crown at Rome the successor of Charlemagne; Frederick III. the last Emperor who was to receive his crown from the hands of the Pope.^b Æneas Sylvius is again in Italy: he is the harbinger of the Emperor, who is about to descend into Italy to meet his Portuguese bride, to consummate his marriage, and at the same time to celebrate his Coronation at Rome. The Free cities were always troubled, and were thrown into a tumult of intrigue, if not of feud, by the appearance of the Emperor in Italy. Guelf turned pale, Ghibelline brightened. Sienna was under popular government. Would the Emperor's favourite, the favourite of the

^b Charles V. was crowned, but at Bologna.

Pope, the heir of the proud but fallen house of Piccolomini, now their Bishop, forego the opportunity of seizing for his own family the lordship of the city?^c Sienna, which the year before had thronged out to meet Æneas, received him in sullen silence; no one visited him, his name was heard muttered with low curses in the streets. Æneas, as he says, smiled at the sudden change (did not his vanity magnify his own unpopularity, and the jealousy of the city?). He assembled the Senate, assured them of the peaceful and unambitious views of himself, his family, and of the Emperor. The Siennese suppressed, but could not conceal their mistrust. Æneas having splendidly buried his colleague in the Embassy, who died at Sienna, thought it most prudent to go down to Telamona, in order to be in readiness to receive the Portuguese Princess.

Pope Nicolas himself began to look with alarm at the approach of the Emperor. There were suspicious movements at Rome: more than suspicions, of the dire designs of Stephen Porcaro and his partisans, which broke out during the next year.

The pride and the felicity of Nicolas V. was in the undisturbed peace of Italy, at least of Roman Italy; who could foretell what strange or unexpected tumults might arise at the appearance of the Emperor? He sent to delay the march of Frederick, at least till the summer; he urged the want of provisions, of preparation, the dangers of a winter journey. Æneas was indignant at this timid vacillation of the Pope; "it became not the supreme Pontiff to say one thing to-day, another to-morrow." He assured Pope Nicolas of the pacific intentions of the Emperor. He appealed to the conduct

^c Vit. Frederic. III., p. 244.

of the Emperor to the Church; if he had been an enemy to the Church, the whole majesty of the Clergy had been crushed; we had not had the joy of beholding you in your present state of power and authority.^d He wrote courteous letters to urge the immediate descent of Frederick.^e

Tumults in Austria detained the Emperor; stormy weather his bride. Æneas Sylvius spent sixty weary days at Telamona.^f At length, on the same day, the Emperor entered Florence, his bride Leghorn. They met at Sienna. Sienna thought it well to appear to be full of joy, was delighted with the urbanity and condescension of the Emperor, renounced her suspicions of Æneas, recalled all his kindred, some of whom, with other nobles, were in exile; and entreated the Bishop, whom the people now called the father of his country, to represent the City before the Pope.

The imperial cavalcade set off for Rome. As they descended the Ciminian hill, which overhangs Viterbo, the Emperor called Æneas to his side. "I shall live to see you Cardinal, I shall live to see you Pope." Æneas, with proper modesty, protested that he did not aspire to either of these perilous dignities. At Rome the marriage was solemnised by the Pope himself,^g afterwards the coronation with great magnificence.^h Æneas Sylvius made a speech for the Em-

March 18,
1452.

^d "Si voluisset tantum pessum ibat Ecclesia: cleri majestas omnis extinguebatur; nec tu hodie in hoc statu esses, in quo te videntes lætamur."—P. 191.

^e The most full account of this affair, with the letter of Æneas to the Pope, is in the Hist. Frederic. III. apud Kollar, pp. 187 *et seq.*

^f He whiled away his time by visiting the old Etrurian cities in the neighbourhood. Æneas had a remarkable, almost a premature, taste for antiquities and for the beauties of nature.

^g Æneas Sylvius describes the whole at great length, p. 277 *et seq.*

^h The cautious Pope had arrayed

peror. The day after, during an interview at which Æneas was present, the Emperor and the Pope communicated two extraordinary dreams.ⁱ The Emperor, the last time that the Cardinal of Bologna left Vienna, had dreamed that he was crowned not by a Roman, but by the Cardinal of Bologna. "It is the privilege," said the Pope, "of those set up to rule the people to have true dreams. I myself dreamed that my predecessor Eugenius, the night before his death, had arrayed me in the Pontifical dress and mitre, and placed me on the throne. Take thou my seat, I depart to St. Peter." The humble Thomas of Sarzana had not been without his ambition!^k The prediction of the Emperor as to the advancement of Æneas Sylvius, now on such amicable terms with the Pope, might have been expected to meet its own immediate accomplishment, as far as the *Cardinalate*. Æneas, however, received only a barren promise, which Pope Nicolas did not live to fulfil. But he returned to Germany Papal Ambassador and Legate to Bohemia, Silesia, Austria, Moravia, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola,—afterwards, at the Emperor's request, to Hungary. The Legatine character gave him great weight, he exercised it with his accustomed sagacity, and in perfect fidelity to Frederick. He was armed, as Legate, with Papal censures against all the enemies of Frederick. But these Austrian affairs belong not to our history.

Throughout Christendom, except in the narrow corner of Bohemia, Pope Nicolas V. ruled supreme. Yet even Nicolas V. was not secure against the inextinguishable turbulence of the Roman people. The republicanism

all the militia of the city, and occupied | peace.

St. Angelo and the other strongholds | ⁱ Muratori, sub ann.

with an imposing force to keep the | ^k Vita Frederic., p. 296.

of the Crescentii, of Arnold of Brescia, of Brancaleone, of Rienzi, of Baroncelli, had still its champions and its martyrs. Stephen Porcaro was the last heir, till very modern times, of this dangerous and undying race. Stephen Porcaro was of equestrian family, of powerful and kindling eloquence. On the death of Eugenius (Eugenius himself had been driven from Rome by popular insurrection) Porcaro had urged the rising of the people, the proclamation of the Republic.^m Pope Nicolas, anxious to conciliate all orders, appointed the dangerous demagogue on a mission in the Roman territory. On his return Porcaro renewed his agitation. He boldly avowed his opinions, and almost announced himself as defender of the liberties of the Roman people. He was sent in honourable exile to Bologna, under the sole restraint that he should present himself every day before Bessarion, the Cardinal Legate. He returned secretly to Rome. A conspiracy had been organised in which the nephew of Porcaro took the lead. Stephen Porcaro harangued the conspirators, inveighed against the tyranny of the rulers, the arbitrary proscription, the banishment, even the execution, of Roman citizens. He declared that it was ignominious that the city which had ruled the world should be subject to the dominion of priests, who were women rather than men.ⁿ He would cast off for ever the degrading yoke. He had at his command three hundred hired soldiers. Four hundred noble Romans were ready to appear in arms.

^m "Dicens omnem servitutum turpem, fœdissimam autem quæ præbyteris præstaretur, rogabatque Romanos, dum Cardinales clausi essent, aliquo audere pro libertate."—Æneas Sylvius, V. Fred. III., p. 135.

ⁿ "Turpe esse dictitans eam urbem, quæ totum sibi subjecerit orbem, nunc sacerdotum imperio subjacere, quos rectius fœminas quam viros quisque appellaverit."—Æneas Sylvius, Europa, p. 459.

He appealed to their cupidity as to their patriotism: to-morrow they might be in possession of a million of gold pieces.^o If the aims of Porcaro were noble, his immediate designs, the designs with which he was charged, and with seeming truth,^p were those of the robber, the bloody and cowardly assassin.^q The contemplated mode of insurrection had the further horror of impious sacrilege. The Pope and the Cardinals were to be surprised while solemnising the mass on the festival of the Epiphany. The Papal stables near the church were to be set on fire. In the tumult Porcaro was to appear in purple and with the ensigns of magistracy, to force or gain his way as a worshipper towards the altar. The Pope was to be seized; it was said that the chains were found, chains of gold, which had been displayed to the insurgents, which were to fetter his holy person,^r only, however, to be thrown into a dungeon as a hostage to compel his brother to surrender the Castle of St. Angelo. His after-fate was perhaps to be that of his brethren the Cardinals, who were to be massacred without mercy. The shaven crown was no longer to be an object of fear or respect in Rome.^s The insurgents had nicely calculated the amount of plunder: from the Palace of the Pope 200,000 florins; from the Sacred College, 200,000; from the merchants and public officers 200,000; from

^o Zantfiet, *Stephano Infessura*, Platina.

^p *Vita Nicolai V.*, p. 128.

^q Sismondi, true to his republican bias, raises Stephen Porcaro to a hero and a martyr; and while he perhaps exaggerates the cruelty of the Pope, hardly touches on its justification, the atrocity of the plot. When will Italian freedom forswear assassination as its first and favourite weapon?—1857.

It has done so, and Italy is free!—1864.

^r “Ad colligandum ait præulem, catenam auream secum attulit, a se jampridem paratam quam congregatis ostendit.”—*Æn. Syl. Europa*, p. 460.

^s “Velle enim aiebat se id agere, ut æternum intra hæc mœnia capitis rasi dentes vereri non oporteret.”—Leo Alberti.

the magazines and salt depôts 200,000; from the confiscated property of the enemies of the revolution 100,000.

The conspiracy was detected or betrayed.* The house where the conspirators assembled was surrounded with troops. Porcaro escaped, but was found next day, hidden by his sister in a chest. Sciarra Porcaro, the nephew, cut his way through the soldiers and fled. Many servants and quantities of arms were found in the house. The very day of his capture the bodies of Stephen Porcaro and nine of his accomplices were seen hanging from the battlements of the Castle of St. Angelo. They had in vain implored confession and the last sacrament. Many other executions followed. Two Canons of St. Peter's were involved in the plot: one was found innocent and released; the other fled to Damascus, where he remained till after the death of the Pope. Large rewards were offered for some who had escaped: one thousand ducats if produced alive, five hundred if dead. Some were allowed to be seized in Padua and Venice. The Cardinal of Metz interceded for Battista Persona; it was alleged that he was guiltless. The Pope promised mercy: whether on new evidence or not, he was hung the next morning: the indignant Cardinal left Rome.

Jan. 7,
A.D. 1453.

The Pope was bitterly mortified at this ingratitude of the Roman people for his mild government, the peace which they enjoyed, the wealth which had poured into the city, the magnificent embellishments of Rome. He became anxious and morose. Remorse for blood, if necessarily, too prodigally shed, would weigh heavily

* According to Stephano Infessura they attacked one hundred of the Pope's guards, and killed the Marescallo.

on a Pope who had shrunk from war as unchristian.^u The famous architect Leo Alberti (employed, it is true, by Nicolas V. in his splendid designs for St. Peter's) describes the unexampled state of prosperity enjoyed under Nicolas, for which the conspirators would have made that cruel return. "The whole of Latium was at peace: the last thing to be expected was that any Roman could think to change the state of affairs for the better by a revolution. The domain of the Church was in a high state of cultivation: the city had become a city of gold through the Jubilee; the dignity of the citizens was respected: all reasonable petitions were granted at once by the Pontiff. There were no exactions, no new taxes. Justice was fairly administered. It was the whole care of the Pope to adorn the city." The more devout and the more wealthy were indignant at the design to plunder and massacre the foreigners whose profuse wealth enabled the Romans to live in ease and luxury; at the profanation of the Church by promiscuous slaughter, of the altar itself by blood; the total destruction of the Cardinals, the priesthood, of religion itself: the seizure of the Pope, whose feet distant potentates crowded to kiss on his sublime function of sacrifice; the dragging him forth, loaded with chains, perhaps his death! The calmest looked on the

^u See in Collier (i. p. 672) the curious account of Porcaro's conspiracy given in England by the Pope's Nuncio Clement Vincentio: "It was drawn," said the Nuncio, "from the brothels and profligates of Rome." The Nuncio suggests a form of public thanksgiving for the Pope's deliverance, and intimates that a letter from the English clergy would be acceptable, denouncing

Rome as degenerating to the licentiousness of old Babylon, and advising the Pope to leave the wicked city, and reside in some other country. The Nuncio and Collector was also to hint the expediency of a subsidy to enable the Pope to leave Rome and Italy. The form of prayer was issued, says Collier, but no more done.

suppression of the conspiracy and the almost total extirpation of the conspirators with satisfaction.*

Now came that event which, however foreseen by the few wiser prophetic spirits, burst on Europe and on Christendom with the stunning and appalling effect of absolute suddenness—the taking of Constantinople by the Turks. On no two European minds did this disaster work with more profound or more absorbing terror than on Pope Nicolas V. and Æneas Sylvius: nor could any one allege more sound reasons for that terror than the Pope and the Bishop of Sienna. Who could estimate better than Æneas, from his intimate knowledge of all the countries of Europe, of Italy, Germany, France, England, the extent of the danger which impended over the Latin world? Never since its earlier outburst might Mohammedanism seem so likely to subjugate if not to swallow up distracted and disunited Christendom, as under the Turks. By sea and land they were equally formidable. If Christendom should resist, on what frontier? All were menaced, all in danger. What city, what kingdom, would arrest the fierce, the perpetual invasion? From this period throughout the affairs of Germany (at Frankfort he preached a crusade) to the end of his Legatine power, of his Cardinalate, of his Papacy, of his life, this was the one absorbing thought, one passion, of Æneas Sylvius. The immediate advance of the victorious Mohammed through Hungary, Dalmatia, to the border, the centre of Italy, was stopped by a single fortress, Belgrade; by a preacher, John Capistrano; by a hero, John Huniades. A.D. 1472. But it was not till, above a century later, when Don John of Austria, at Lepanto,

* Leo Battista Alberti. *Porcaria Conjuratio apud Muraton*, xxv. p. 310.

by sea, and much later, John Sobieski, before Vienna, by land, broke the spell of Mohammedan conquest, that Europe or Christendom might repose in security.^y

The death of Nicolas V. was hastened, it was said, by the taking of Constantinople. Grief, shame, fear worked on a constitution broken by the gout. But Nicolas V. foresaw not that in remote futurity the peaceful, not the warlike, consequences of the fall of Constantinople would be most fatal to the Popedom—that what was the glory of Nicolas V. would become among the foremost causes of the ruin of mediæval religion: that it would aid in shaking to the base, and in severing for ever the majestic unity of Latin Christianity.^z

^y Compare Gibbon, ch. lxvii. xii. p. 162.

^z I cannot refrain, though my History closes with Nicolas V., from subjoining a few sentences on the end of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini.

On the death of Nicolas V., the Cardinal Bessarion, for learning, dignity, character, stood high above the whole College of Cardinals. The election had been almost declared in his favour. The Cardinal of Avignon was seized with indignation. "Would they have for a Pope a Greek, a recent proselyte, a man with a beard? Was the Latin Church fallen so low that it must have recourse to the Greeks?" The jealousy of the West was roused: a Spaniard, the first of the fatal house of Borgia, was raised to the Papal throne, Callistus III. Æneas was at Frankfort, pressing on reluctant Germany a crusade against the Turks. The Germans thought more of their contest with the Pope

than of the security of Christendom. Frederick III. was urged to seize the opportunity of the election of a new Pope to assert the liberties of the Empire and of the German Church. Æneas averted the strife, and persuaded the Emperor that he had more to hope than fear from the Pope. He was sent with the congratulations of the Emperor to Callistus III. A promotion of Cardinals was expected. The name of Æneas was in all men's mouths. he received congratulations. The Pope named but three, one his nephew, Borgia, the future Alexander VI. Æneas was about to return to Germany, but his presence was needed in Italy: Sienna was besieged by James Piccinino: war threatened between the Pope and Alfonso King of Naples. Æneas, as ambassador to Naples, secured an honourable treaty. The Pope would not lose, and was obliged to reward the indispensable Æneas. He was created Cardinal of

Nicolas V. aspired to make Italy the domicile, Rome the capital, of letters and arts. As to letters, his was

Sienna (Dec. 1456).

So, without dishonour or ingratitude, *Æneas Sylvius* was released from the service of his Imperial master. The Cardinal must devote himself to the interests of the Church; the Italian to those of Italy. He need breathe no more the thick and heavy air of Germany.

A year and a half has passed, and *Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini* (Aug. 21, A.D. 1458) is Pope Pius II.

Few men of more consummate ability had sat on the throne of St. Peter; few men more disposed to maintain the Papal power to the height of its supremacy. He boldly, unreservedly, absolutely condemned the heretical tenets of *Æneas Sylvius*. He reproached the King of France for the audacious Pragmatic Sanction: it was not less sacrilegious, not less impious than the decrees of the Council of Basle. But Pius II. had the sagacity to know that the days of Innocent III. and Boniface VIII. were passed. He learnt by bitter experience that those, too, of Urban II. were gone by. It was not for want of exertion, or of eloquence far surpassing that which rapt the Council of Clermont to frenzy, that Pius II. did not array Christendom in a more politic, more justifiable crusade against advancing Mohammedanism. Even the colder Council of Mantua seemed to kindle to enthusiasm. Against the Turks Germany would furnish 42,000 men; Hungary, 20,000 horse, 20,000 foot; Burgundy, 6000. The Duke of Burgundy accepted the command. Even

the Italian kingdoms, dukedoms, republics, consented to be assessed. The Prince of Este threw down 300,000 florins. Italy was to raise a great fleet; France and Spain promised aid.

The proclamation of the Universal League of Christendom might seem a signal for a general war throughout Christendom. The war of the Roses raged in England; all Germany was in arms, bent on civil strife; the French fleet set sail, not against the Turks, but against Naples; Piccinino and Malatesta renewed the war in the Roman territory; the Savelli were in insurrection in Rome.

Pope Pius was not satisfied with endeavouring to rouse all Christendom to a crusade against the Turks: he undertook a more Christian, if a more desperate enterprise, the conversion of the Sultan. He published a long elaborate address to Mahomet II. Throughout this singular document the tone is courteous, conciliatory, almost flattering; not till its close, denunciatory against the imposture of the Koran. "Nothing was wanting to make Mahomet the mightiest sovereign the world had ever seen, nothing but a little water for his baptism, and belief in the Gospel. The world would bow down before Mahomet the Christian Emperor." "The great Sultan is no careless Atheist, no Epicurean; he believes in God and in the immortality of the soul. What has been the end of all great conquerors,—Semiramis, Hercules, Bacchus, Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, Alexander, Julius Cæsar, Attila, Tamerlane? They are

not the ostentatious patronage of a magnificent Sovereign; nor was it the sagacious policy which would enslave to the service of the Church that of which it might anticipate the dangerous rebellion. It was not the religion of authority seeking to make itself master of all which might hereafter either confirm or contest that authority. In Nicolas it was pure and genuine,

all burning in the flames of hell. Your law allows all to be saved by their own religion, except renegades from Islam; we maintain, on the contrary, that all who believe not our creed must be damned." From this dangerous argument the Pope proceeds to enlarge on the Christian as contrasted with the Mohammedan faith. However justly he might argue on Christianity, the stern predestinarians of Islam must have been surprised at finding themselves charged with supposing the world ruled by chance, not by Providence. There is much more strange lore on Mohammedan superstitions and Arabian priestcraft. The Turks were of a noble Scythian race: the Pope marvels that they can follow Egyptians and Arabians in their religion: Christianity had been a far more congenial faith.

How strangely, how nobly did Pius II., at the close of his life, redeem the weaknesses, the treachery, the inconsistency, the unblushing effrontery of self-interest of his earlier years. Pius II. was the only Pope who, in his deep and conscientious devotior, would imperil his own sacred person in the Crusade against the Turks, and engage in a war, if ever justifiable in a Pope, justifiable when the liberty,

the Christianity of Europe might seem on the hazard. At Ancona (A.D. 1463), amid the total desertion of the leaders pledged to the Holy War,—amid the host of common soldiers, murmuring that they had been paid only in Indulgences, in which they had ceased to trust, not in hard money; a host starving for want of sustenance, which the Pope, once the cool and politic statesman, now become a sanguine, enthusiastic old man, had not thought of providing,—Pius II. alone maintained his courage. As the faith of others waxed cold, his became more ardent. He offered with one of his Cardinals to embark and throw himself into Ragusa, threatened by the Turks. And this refined and accomplished man died, as Peter the Hermit or St. Bernard might have died. The faithful Cardinal of Pavia watched his last moments. The sight of the sails of the Venetian fleet had for a moment kindled up all his ardour, but made him feel more deeply his failing strength. The Cardinal has described his end with the touching simplicity of real affection and reverence. "‘Pray for me, my son,’ were his last words." His friends bewailed and honoured him as a martyr in the cause of Christianity.*

* Comment. Card. Paviensis, p. 359.

almost innate, love of letters. In his lowlier station the ambition, pride, pleasure, passion, avarice of Thomas of Sarzana had been the study, the collection, of books. In every country into which he followed the train of the Cardinal Legate, his object was the purchase of manuscripts or copies of them. The Cardinal di Santa Croce (Albergata) encouraged him by his munificence; but the Cardinal's munificence could not keep pace with the prodigality of his follower. In his affluence Thomas devoted all he possessed to the same end, as in his poverty his most anxious fear had been lest he should be compelled to part with his treasures. So great was his reputation, that when Cosmo de' Medici proposed to open the Library of St. Marco at Florence, endowed with the books of Nicolo Nicoli, Thomas of Sarzana was requested to furnish a plan for the arrangement and for the catalogue. This became the model adopted in the other great libraries—that of the Badia at Florence, that of the Count of Montefeltro at Urbino, of Alexander Sforza at Pesaro. No sooner was Nicolas Pope than he applied himself to the foundation of the Vatican Library. Five thousand volumes were speedily collected. The wondering age boasted that no such library had existed since the days of the Ptolemies.

The scholars of Italy flocked to Rome, each to receive his task from the generous Pope, who rewarded their labours with ample payment. He seemed determined to enrich the West with all which survived of Grecian literature. The fall of Constantinople, long threatened, had been preceded by the immigration of many learned Greeks. Some, as the Cardinal Bessarion, had been naturalised after the Council of Florence.^a France,

^a Compare *Disquisitio de Nicolai V. Pont. Max. erga literas et literarios viros petrocinio*. Ad calc. Vit. Nicol. V. a Dominico Georgio. Roma, 1742.

Germany, even England, the Byzantine Empire, Greece, had been ransacked by industrious agents for copies of all the Greek authors. No branch of letters was without its interpreters. Notwithstanding the bold writings of Laurentius Valla, who had already startled the world by his discovery of the fraud of Constantine's donation, he was entrusted with the translation of Herodotus and Thucydides. Poggio undertook the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon and Diodorus Siculus; Nicolas Perotto, Polybius. Guarino of Verona and George of Tiferna, Strabo, the latter, four books of Dion Prusæus, Pietro Candido, Appian.

Of the philosophers, Perotto sent out the *Enchiridion* of Epictetus; Theodore of Gaza some of the works of Theophrastus, and of Aristotle: George of Trebisond, the *Laws* of Plato. On George of Trebisond was imposed the more arduous task, the *Almagest* of Ptolemy. Lilius *Ægidius* contributed some of the works of the Alexandrian Philo. From Rinuccio of Arezzo came the *Life and Fables* of *Æsop* and the letters of Hippocrates; from John Aurispa, the *Commentary* of Hierocles on the golden verses of Pythagoras. Nicolas had an ardent desire to read the two great poems of Homer in Latin verse. They were only known by the prose version of Leontius Pilatus, executed under the care of Boccaccio. Philelpho, whom the Pope had received with eager cordiality, and bestowed on him, as a first gift, 500 golden ducats, relates, that just before his death, the Pope offered him a fine palace in Rome, and farms in the Roman territory, which would maintain his whole family in ease and honour, and to deposit ten thousand pieces of gold, to be paid when he should have finished the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.^b

^b Epist. Philipp. quoted in the *Dis-* | that a certain Horace of Rome was
quisitio, p. 194. *Æneas Sylvius* says | employed on the *Iliad*. Part of the

Nor were the Fathers of the Greek Church without due honour. Basil, the two Gregories, Cyril, the Evangelic Preparation of Eusebius by George of Trebisond, a new version of Dionysius the Areopagite, opened the theology of the Greeks to the inquiring West.^c

There was not as yet any awful apprehension of impairing the sacred majesty of the Vulgate Bible. Manetti, a Florentine, in his day the most famous for his erudition, was authorised and urged to execute a new version of the whole Scriptures from the Hebrew and the Greek. He completed the Psalms from the Syriac, the whole New Testament, except perhaps the Acts of the Apostles.

Thus to Nicolas V., Italy, or rather Latin Christianity, mainly owes her age of learning, as well as its fatal consequence to Rome and to Latin Christianity, which in his honest ardour he would be the last to foresee. It was the splendid vision of Nicolas V. that this revival of letters, which in certain circles became almost a new religion, would not be the bondsman but the handmaid or willing minister of the old. Latin Christianity was to array itself in all the spoils of the ancient world, and so maintain as a natural result (there was nothing of policy in his thought), and with increasing and universal veneration; her dominion over the mind of man. The rebellion of Letters, and the effects of that rebellion, we must hereafter endeavour to explain.

But Rome under Nicolas V. was not to be the centre of letters alone, she was to resume her rank as the

first book in Latin verse, with a dedication to Nicolas V., is in the Vatican.

^c Nicolas obtained a copy of the Commentaries of Chrysostom on St.

Matthew, which had been so rare in the West, that Aquinas had said he would rather possess it than the city of Paris.

centre of Art, more especially of architectural magnificence. Rome was to be as of old the Lawgiver of Civilisation; pilgrims from all parts of the world, from curiosity, for business or from religion, were to bow down before the confessed supremacy of her splendid works.

Progress
of human
intellect.

The century from the death of Boniface VIII. to the accession of Martin V., during the Avignonese exile, and the Schism, had been a period of disaster, neglect, decay, ruin; of that slow creeping, crumbling ruin, which is perhaps more fatal to ancient cities than conflagration, usually limited in its ravages, or the irruption of barbarous enemies.^d Martin V. had made some advances to the restoration of the financial prosperity of the Papedom; Eugenius IV. had reasserted the endangered spiritual supremacy. Both had paid some attention to the dilapidated churches, palaces, walls of the city. Under Nicolas V. Rome aspired to rise again at once to her strength and to her splendour. The Pope was to be a great Sovereign Prince, but above the Sovereign Prince he was to be the successor of St. Peter. Rome was to be at once the strong citadel, and the noblest sanctuary in the world, unassailable by her enemies both without and within from her fortifications; commanding the world to awe by the unrivalled majesty of her churches. The Jubilee had poured enormous wealth into the Treasury of the Pope; his ordinary revenues, both from the Papal territory and from Christendom at large, began to flow in with peace and with the revival of his authority. That wealth was all expended with the most liberal magnificence. Already had it dawned

^d Read Petrarch's well-known letter—Gibbon. Bunsen and Platner. Rom's Beschreibung.

upon the mind of Nicolas V. that the Cathedral of the Chief of the Apostles ought to rival, or to surpass all the churches in Christendom in vastness and majesty. It was to be entirely rebuilt from its foundations.^e Julius II. and Leo X. did but accomplish the design of Nicolas V. Had Nicolas lived, Bramante and Michael Angelo might have been prematurely anticipated by Rosellini of Florence and Leo Battista Alberti. He had even erected an august and spacious Tribune, to be swept away with the rest of the building by his bolder and more ambitious successors. The mosaic pavement in the apse, begun by Nicolas V., was completed by Paul II., at the cost of more than 5000 pieces of gold.^f

By the side, and under the shadow of this noblest of churches, the Supreme Pontiff was to have his most stately palace. The Lateran, and the Palace near S. Maria Maggiore, sumptuously restored by Nicolas V., were to bow before this more glorious edifice. The description may still be read of its spacious courts, its cool green gardens, its dashing fountains, its theatre, its hall for public ceremonies, for the conclave and the Pontifical coronation, the treasury, the library; this chamber, perhaps as dearest to the tastes of Nicolas, was the first part, if not the only part achieved. The Palace had its three stories for summer, for winter, and for spring, even to the offices and kitchens.^g The Cardinals were to dwell around the Pope, if in less lofty, yet still in noble Palaces. The Vatican was to be the Capitol of the Capital of Christendom. The whole

^e Georgio, in his *Life of Nicolas V.*, says (p. 166), "*Basilicam vero S. Petri Principis Apostolorum a fundamentis magnifice inchoare et perficere meditabatur.*" In the *Life of Manetti* (Muratori, I. R. T.), vol. iii. is a long

description of the plan of the church, and the design of the Pope. See also Bonanni *Templi Vaticani Historia*, c. xi., with the references.

^f Georgio, p. 167.

^g In Manetti's *Life of Nicolas V.*

Leonine city, which had too long lain almost open to the invading stranger, and was not safe from the turbulent Romans, was to expand in security as well as splendour around the residence of St. Peter and his successors. The bridge of St. Angelo was bordered with turrets for defence and ornament; the Castle of St. Angelo, the citadel which commanded the bridge, was strengthened by outward bulwarks, and by four towers at the corners, within laid out into halls and chambers. It was connected by strong walls with the Vatican; a huge tower began to rise, the commencement of formidable works of defence beyond the gardens of the Vatican. From the bridge of St. Angelo three broad streets, with open porticoes, and shops within them, were to radiate; the central one led direct to the portico of St. Peter's, before which Nicolas V. designed to set up the famous obelisk, which Sixtus V. at infinite cost, and with all the science of Fontana, hardly succeeded in placing on its base. The street to the left ran along the Tiber; that to the right, to the Vatican and the Palatine Gate.

Nor did the Pontiff design to expend all his munificence on St. Peter's and the Vatican. Decay, from violence or want of repair, had fallen on the forty churches called the Stations, visited by the more solemn processions, especially those which, with St. Peter's, made the more Holy Seven, the Lateran, S. Maria Maggiore, S. Stephen on Monte Celio, the Apostles', S. Paul and S. Lorenzo beyond the walls. All shared more or less in his restoring bounty. Three other churches, S. Maria beyond the Tiber, S. Theodore, S. Prassede were rebuilt; the Pantheon, now consecrated to the Virgin and all Saints, was covered with a roof of lead.

The Pontiff would secure the city from foreign foes, who for centuries, either through the feuds, the perfidy,

or the turbulence of the Romans themselves, or from their own ambition or hostility, had desolated the city. In the whole circuit, from the *Porta Flumentana* to the *Pyramid of Cestius*, and so all round the city, the walls were strengthened, towers erected, fosses deepened. The *Capitol* was restored to its ancient strength and solidity. In order to convey his building materials to the city, perhaps provisions, he cleansed the channel of the *Anio*; he repaired the stately aqueduct which brought the *Acqua Vergine* to the *Fountain of Trevi*. He restored the *Milvian bridge*.

The munificence of *Nicolas* confined not itself to *Rome*. Everywhere in the *Roman territory* rose churches, castles, public edifices. Already the splendid church of *S. Francis*, at *Assisi*, wanted repair: *Nicolas* built a church dedicated to *S. Francis*, at his favoured town of *Fabriano*; one at *Gualdo* in *Umbria*, to *S. Benedict*. Among his princely works was a castle at *Fabriano*, great buildings at *Centumcellæ*, the walls of *Civita Castellana*, a citadel at *Narni*, with bulwarks and deep fosses; another at *Civita Vecchia*; baths near *Viterbo*; buildings for ornament and for defence at *Spoletto*.^b

The younger *Arts*, *Sculpture* and *Painting*, began under his auspices still further to improve. *Fra Angelico* painted at *Rome* at the special command or request of *Nicolas V.*

Nicolas V., on his deathbed, communicated to the

^b On the astonishment and admiration excited by the buildings of *Nicolas V.*, read the passages of *Æneas Sylvius*, *Vit. Frederic. III.* "Quantum vero animo hic valeret, et quam vastus sit ejus animus, ejus ædificia monstrant, quo nemo aut magnificentius aut celerius aut splendidius quam ipse ædificavit. Nam turres et muri per

eum constructi nulli priscorum arte vel magnitudine cedunt."—P. 138. "Namque ut priscorum Cæsarum moles totius urbis structura superat, sic ædificia Nicolai Papæ, quicquid ubique esset moderni laboris excellent."—P. 282. The Emperor *Frederick*, himself an excellent architect stood in amazement.

Cardinals, who stood around in respectful sorrow, his last Will and Testament. This solemn appeal, as it were, to God and man, after a copious and minute confession of faith, turned to his architectural works. These holy and worldly edifices he had raised not from ambition, from pride, from vain-glory, or for the perpetuation of his name, but for two great ends, the maintenance of the authority of the Church of Rome, and her more commanding dignity above all Christian people, as well as her security against lawless persecution. The majesty of such sacred imperishable monuments profoundly impresses the mind of man with the perpetuity, the eternity of religion. As to the secular buildings, the walls, towers, citadels, he recounts the dangers, the persecutions of Popes from early days; Popes insulted, Popes dethroned, Popes imprisoned, Popes banished, Popes murdered, from Eugenius II. through all the darker ages, down to the conspiracy of Stephen Porcaro against himself. These were his motives for the conception and execution of so many sumptuous and so solid edifices. He proceeds to that sad burthen on his weary soul, the taking of Constantinople. He boasts with some, but surely blameless pride, of the peace of Italy; he had restrained, allayed, appeased the fierce wars among all the Princes and all the Republics.¹

Nor does he speak with less satisfaction or delight of his own labours in the cause of Letters; the purchase of books, the copying of manuscripts, the encouragement of scholars; he appeals to the personal knowledge of the Cardinals, to the world, even to higher judgement,

¹ "Bella ipsa, quibus undique fremmentibus jam pridem tota hinc inde Italia vexabatur, ita compecuimus, ita denique sedavimus, ut omnes Principes, Respublicas, et Italos Populos ad maximam concordiam summamque pacem induceremus."

on his acquisition and his employment of the wealth of the Pontificate: "all these and every other kind of treasure were not accumulated by avarice, not by simony, not by largesses, not by parsimony, as ye know; but only through the grace of the most merciful Creator, the peace of the Church, and the perpetual tranquillity of my Pontificate."^k

Thus in Nicolas V. closed one great age of the Papacy. In Nicolas the Sovereign Italian Prince and the Pontiff met in serene and amicable dignity; he had no temptation to found a princely family. But before long the Pontiff was to be lost in the Sovereign Prince. Nor was it less evident that the exclusive dominion of Latin Christianity was drawing to a close, though nearly a century might elapse before the final secession of Teutonic Christianity, and the great permanent division of Christendom. Each successive Pontificate might seem determined to advance, to hasten that still slow but inevitable revolution; the audacious nepotism of Sixtus IV., the wickedness of Alexander VI., which defy palliation; the wars of Julius II., with the hoary Pope at the head of ferocious armies; the political intrigues and disasters of Clement VII.

^k "Hæc omnia pleraquæ alia divitiarum et gazarum genera nobis non ex avaritiâ, non ex simoniâ, non ex largitionibus, non ex parsimoniâ ut scitis, sed ex divinâ duntaxat benignissimi Creatoris gratiâ, et ex pace Ecclesiasticâ perpetuâque Pontificatus

nostri tranquillitate provenisse non dubitamus."—Ibid. Manetti seems to assert that this long testament was read by the dying Pope. The improbability of this throws no doubt on its authenticity.

END OF VOL. VIII.

HISTORY
OF
LATIN CHRISTIANITY;

INCLUDING THAT OF
THE POPES TO THE PONTIFICATE OF NICOLAS V.

BY HENRY HART MILMAN, D.D.,
DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S.

IN NINE VOLUMES.—VOL. IX.

FOURTH EDITION.

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HISTORY

OF

LATIN CHRISTIANITY.

BOOK XIV.

CHAPTER I.

Survey.

FROM the reign of Nicolas V. and the close of our history, as from a high vantage-ground, we must survey the whole realm of Latin Christendom—the political and social state, as far as the relation of Latin Christianity to the great mass of mankind; the popular religion, with its mythology; the mental development in philosophy, letters, arts.

Eight centuries and a half had elapsed since the Pontificate of Gregory the Great—the epoch of the supreme dominion of Latin Christianity in the West. The great division of mankind, which at that time had become complete and absolute, into the Clergy (including the Monks, in later days the Friars) and the rest of mankind, still subsisted in all its rigorous force. They were two castes, separate and standing apart as by the irrepealable law of God. They were distinct, adverse, even antagonistic, in their theory of life, in their laws, in their corporate property, in their rights, in their immunities. In the aim and object of their existence, in their social duties and position, they were set asunder by a broad

deep, impassable line. But the ecclesiastical caste being bound, at least by its law, to celibacy, in general could not perpetuate its race in the ordinary course of nature; it was renewed by drawing forth from the laity men either endowed with or supposed to be trained to a peculiar mental turn, those in whom the intellectual capacity predominated over the physical force. Religion, which drove many out of the world within the sacred circle, might be a sentiment, a passion, an unthinking and unreasoning impulse of the inward being; holy ignorance might be the ambition, the boast of some monks, and of the lower friars; but in general the commission to teach the religion implied (though itself an infused gift or grace, and the inseparable consequence of legitimate consecration to the office) some superiority of mind. At all events the body was to be neglected, sacrificed, subdued, in order that the inner being might ripen to perfection. The occupations of the clergy were to be in general sedentary, peaceful, quiescent. Their discipline tended still further to sift, as it were, this more intellectual class: the dull and negligent sunk into the lower offices, or, if belonging by their aristocratic descent to the higher, they obtained place and influence only by their race and connexions, wealth and rank by unclerical powers of body and of mind. These were ecclesiastics by profession, temporal princes, even soldiers, by character and life. But this, according to the strict theory of the clerical privilege, was an abuse, an usurpation. Almost all minds which were gifted with or conscious of great intellectual capacity, unless kings, or nobles, or knights, whose talents might lead to military distinction, appeared predestined for, were irresistibly drawn into, or were dedicated by their prescient parents or guardians to the Church. The younger sons,

especially the illegitimate sons, even of kings, far more of princes and nobles, were devoted, as the Church became wealthy and powerful, to this career as a provision. But even with this there either was, or according to general opinion there ought to have been, some vocation and some preparation: many of these were among the ablest, some even among the most austere and pious of churchmen. The worst, if they did not bring the more fitting qualifications, brought connexion, famous names (in feudal times of great importance), and thus welded together, as it were, the Church with the State.

Education, such as it was (and in many cases for the times it was a high education), had become, with rare exceptions, their exclusive privilege. Education.

Whoever had great capacities or strong thirst for knowledge could neither obtain nor employ it but in the peaceful retirement, under the sacred character, with the special advantages of the churchman, or in the cloister. The whole domain of the human intellect was their possession. The universities, the schools, were theirs, and theirs only. There the one strife was between the secular clergy and the regulars—the monks, or the friars the disciples of S. Dominic and S. Francis. They were the canon lawyers, and for some centuries, as far as it was known or in use, the teachers and professors of the civil law. They were the historians, the poets, the philosophers. It was the first omen of their endangered supremacy that the civil lawyers in France rose against them in bold rivalry. When in the Empire the study of the old Roman law developed principles of greater antiquity, therefore, it was asserted, of greater authority than the canon law, it was at once a sign and a proof that their absolute dominion was drawing towards its close—that human intellect was finding another road to

distinction and power. Physical science alone, in general, though with some famous exceptions, they unwisely declined: they would not risk the popular suspicion of magical and forbidden arts—a superstition which themselves indulged and encouraged. The profound study of the human body was thought inconsistent with the fastidious modesty of their profession.* The perfection of medicine and of all cognate inquiries, indeed in general of natural philosophy itself, was left to Jews and Arabs: the great schools of medicine, Montpellier and Salerno, as they derived their chief wisdom from these sources, so they freely admitted untensured, perhaps unbaptised, students. It is difficult to calculate the extent of this medical influence, which must have worked, if in secret, still with great power. The jealousy and hatred with which Jews or supposed unbelievers are seen at the courts of kings is a secret witness to that influence. At length we find the king's physician, as under Louis XI., the rival in authority of the king's confessor. In this alone the hierarchical caste does not maintain its almost exclusive dominion over all civil as well as ecclesiastical transactions.

For it is not only from their sacred character, but from their intellectual superiority, that they are in the courts, in the councils, of kings; that they are the negotiators, the ambassadors of sovereigns; they alone can read and draw up state papers, compacts, treaties, or frame laws. Writing is almost their special mystery; the notaries, if not tonsured, as they mostly were, are directed, ordered by the Clergy: they are in general the servants and agents of ecclesiastics. In every king-

* The observant Chaucer gives the converse. Physicians were even then under the evil fame of irreligion. | "His studie was but littel on the Bible." Prologue on the Doctor of Physique.

dom of Europe the Clergy form one of the estates, balance or blindly lead the nobles ; and this too not merely as churchmen and enrolled in the higher service of God, but from their felt and acknowledged pre-eminence in the administration of temporal affairs.

To this recognised intellectual superiority—arising out of the power of selecting the recruits for their army according to their mental stature, their sole possession of the discipline necessary to train such men for their loftier position, and the right of choosing, as it were, their officers out of this chosen few—must be added their spiritual authority, their indefeasible power of pre-declaring the eternal destiny of every living layman. To doubt the sentence of that eternal destiny was now an effort of daring as rare as it was abhorrent to the common sense of men. Those who had no religion had superstition ; those who believed not trembled and were silent ; the speculative unbeliever, if there were such, shrouded himself in secrecy from mankind, even from himself : the unuttered lawless thought lay deep in his own heart. Those who openly doubted the unlimited power of the clergy to absolve were sects, outcasts of society, proscribed not only by the detestation of the clergy, but by the popular hatred. The keys of heaven and hell were absolutely in the hands of the priesthood—even more, in this life they were not without influence. In the events of war, in the distribution of earthly misery or blessing, abundance or famine, health or pestilence, they were the intercessors with the saints, as the saints were intercessors with heaven. They were invested in a kind of omniscience. Confession, since the decree of the Lateran Council under Innocent III., an universal, obligatory, indispensable duty, laid open the whole heart of every one, from the Emperor to the peasant, before

the priesthood; the entire moral being of man, undistinguishable from his religious being, was under their supervision and control, asserted on one side, acknowledged on the other. No act was beyond their cognisance, no act, hardly any thought, was secret. They were at once a government and a police, to which every one was bound to inform against himself, to be the agent of the most rigid self-delation, to endure the closest scrutiny, to be denied the least evasion or equivocation, to be submitted to the moral torture of menaced, of dreaded damnation if he concealed or disguised the truth, to undergo the most crushing, humiliating penance. Absolution, after which the soul thirsted with insatiable thirst, might be delayed, held in suspense, refused; if granted it was of inestimable price. The sacraments, absolutely necessary to spiritual life, were at their disposal. Baptism to the infant would hardly be refused; but the Eucharist, Christ himself offered on the altar, God made by consecrated hands, God materialised down to the rudest apprehension, could be granted or withheld according to the arbitrary, irresponsible judgement of the priest. The body, after death, might repose in consecrated ground with the saints, or be cast out, to be within the domain, the uncontested prey of devils. The Excommunication cut the man off, whatever his rank or station, from the Church, beyond whose pale was utter impossibility of salvation. No one could presume to have hope for a man who died under excommunication. Such were the inculcated, by most recognised, at least apprehended, doctrines. The Interdict, the special prerogative of the Pope, as the antagonist, the controller of Sovereigns, smote a kingdom with spiritual desolation, during which the niggardly and imperfect rites, the baptism sparingly administered, the rest of the life without any religious

ceremony, the extreme unction or the last sacrament coldly vouchsafed to the chosen few, the churchyard closed against the dead, seemed to consign a whole nation, a whole generation, to irrevocable perdition.

Thus throughout the world no man could stand alone ; the priest was the universal lord of the universal human conscience. The inward assurance of faith, of rectitude, of virtue, of love of man or love of God, without the ratification of the confessor ; the witness of the spirit within, unless confirmed, avouched by the priest, was nothing. Without the passport to everlasting life, everlasting life must recede from the hopes, from the attainment of man. And by a strange yet perhaps unavoidable anomaly, the sacredness of the priest was inalienable, indelible, altogether irrespective of his life, his habits, his personal holiness or unholiness. There might be secret murmurs at the avarice, pride, licentiousness of the priest ; public opinion might even in some cases boldly hold him up to shame and obloquy, he was still priest, bishop, pope ; his sacraments lost not their efficacy, his verdict of condemnation or absolution was equally valid ; all the acts of John XXIII., till his deposal, were the acts of the successor of St. Peter. And if this triumph over the latent moral indignation of mankind was the manifestation of its strength, so its oppugnancy to that indignation was its fall ; it was the premonition, the proclamation of its silent abrogation in the hearts of men. The historian has to state the fact, rather than curiously and judicially to balance the good and evil (for good there undoubtedly was, vast good in such ages of class tyrannising over class, of unintermitting war on a wide or a narrow scale, of violence, lawlessness, brutality) in this universal sacerdotal domination.

It is impossible to estimate the fluctuating proportion

between these two castes of the Christian population to each other. The number of the Secular Clergy was of course, to a certain extent, limited by the spiritual wants of the community and the means of maintenance. But it comprehended within the sacred circle of immunity and privilege a vast host of unenrolled and subordinate retainers, those who had received for some purpose of their own, some who in the ruder ages had been compelled to take the simple tonsure, some admitted to what were called the lower orders, and who in all large churches, as subdeacons, acolyths, singers, were very numerous, down to those who held more menial offices, sacristans, beadles, servants of all classes. But there was absolutely nothing to limit the number of Monks, still less that of the Friars in their four Orders, especially the disciples of S. Dominic and S. Francis. No one was too poor or too low to become a privileged and sacred Mendicant. No qualification was necessary but piety or its semblance, and that might too easily be imitated. While these Orders in the Universities boasted of the most erudite and subtle, and all-accomplished of the Schoolmen, they could not disdain or altogether reject those who in the spirit, at least of one of their Founders, maintained the superiority of holy ignorance. Instead of being amazed that the Friars swarmed in such hordes over Christendom, it is rather wonderful that the whole abject and wretched peasantry, rather than be trampled to the earth, or maddened to Flagellatism, Jacquerie, or Communism, did not all turn able-bodied religious Beggars, so the strong English sense of Wycliffe designates the great mass of the lower Franciscans in England. The Orders themselves, as was natural when they became wealthy and powerful, must have repressed rather than encouraged the enrolment of

such persons; instead of prompting to the utmost, they must have made it a distinction, a difficulty, a privilege, to be allowed to enter upon the enjoyment of their comparatively easy, roving, not by all accounts too severe, life. To the serf inured to the scanty fare and not unfrequent famine, the rude toil and miserable lodging; and to the peasant with his skin hard to callousness and his weather-beaten frame, the fast, the maceration, even the flagellation of the Friar, if really religious (and to the religious these self-inflicted miseries were not without their gratification), must have been no very rigorous exchange; while the freedom to the serf, the power of wandering from the soil to which he was bound down, the being his own property, not that of another, must have been a strong temptation. The door must have been closed with some care; some stern examination, probation, or inquiry, must have preceded the initiation and the adoption of brethren into the fraternity, or the still enlarging houses had been too narrow; they would have multiplied into unmanageable numbers. Yet, if more cold and repulsive in the admission of those humbler votaries, the protests of the Universities, and other proofs, show that the more promising and higher youth were sought with ardent proselytism.^b

The property, especially the territorial and landed property of the Hierarchy and the Monastic Orders, it is equally impossible to estimate. It varied, of course, in different ages, and in every kingdom in Christendom.

^b On the degenerate state of the Friars the serious prose and the satirical poetry are full of details. Read too the Supplication of Beggars (a later production, temp. Henry VIII.), and the inimitable Colloquies of Eras-

mus. One of the reasons alleged at the Council of Trent against submitting the regulars to episcopal discipline was their "numero eccessivo."—Sarpi, lii. p. 158. Ed. Helmstadt.

Nor if we knew at any one time the proportionate extent of Church lands to that not under mortmain, would it be any measure, or any sure criterion, of their relative value. This property, instead of standing secure in its theoretic inalienability, was in a constant fluctuation: the Papal territory itself was frequently during the darker centuries usurped, recovered, granted away, resumed. Throughout Christendom the legal inalienability of Church lands was perpetually assailed in earlier times by bold depredators, and baffled by ingenious devices of granting away the usufruct. We have heard perpetual complaints against these kinds of endowments of their sons or descendants by the married clergy; the unmarried yet dissolute or extravagant beneficiaries, were no doubt as regardless of the sanctity of ecclesiastical property, and as subtle in conveying away its value to their kinsmen, or for their own immediate advantage. Besides all these estates, held in absolute property, was the tithe of the produce of all other lands.* The whole sacerdotal system of Latin Christianity, first from analogy, afterwards as direct precedent, assumed all the privileges, powers, rights, endowments of the Levitical priesthood; and thus arraying itself in the irrefragable authority of God's older Word, of which it did not acknowledge the abrogation where its interests were so nearly concerned, claimed the tithe as of inherent, perpetual, divine law. From an early period Christians had been urged to devote this proportion of their wealth to religious uses; a proportion so easy and natural that it had prevailed, and had obtained a prescriptive autho-

* Hallam has summed up (Middle Ages, c. vii.) with his usual judgment and accuracy what is most im-
 portant on this subject, in Father Paul, Muratori, Giannone, Fleury, and Schmidt.

riety, as the rule of sacred oblation to the temples among the customs of many Heathen nations.^d The perpetual claim to tithes was urged by Councils and by Popes in the sixth century. Charlemagne throughout his empire, King Ethelwolf, and, later, Edward the Confessor in England, either overawed by the declared authority of the Old Testament, or thinking it but a fair contribution to the maintenance of public worship and for other religious uses, gave the force of civil law to this presumed sacred obligation. During several centuries it was urged by the preachers, not merely as an indispensable part of Christian duty, but as a test of Christian perfection.^e

Tithe was first received by the Bishop, and distributed by him in three or in four portions; to himself, to the clergy, for the fabric of the churches, for the poor. But all kinds of irregularities crept into the simple and stately uniformity of this universal tax and its administration. It was retained by the Bishop; the impoverished clergy murmured at their meagre and disproportionate share. As the parochial divisions became slowly and irregularly distinct and settled, it was in many cases, but by no means universally, attached to the cure of souls. The share of the fabric became uncertain and fluctuating, till at length other means were found for the erection and the maintenance of the Church buildings. The more splendid Prelates and Chapters, aided by the piety of Kings, Barons, and rich men, disdained this fund, so

^d In the controversy which arose on the publication of Selden's book on Tithes, the High Church writers, Montague and Tildesley, were diffuse and triumphant in their quotations from Heathen writers, as though, by show-

ing the concurrence of universal religion with the Mosaic institutes, to make out tithes to be a part of Natural Religion. See abstract of their arguments in Collier.

^e Paolo Sarpi, quoted by Mr. Hallam.

insufficient for their magnificent designs ; the building of churches was exacted from the devotion or the superstition of the laity in general, conjointly with the munificence of the ecclesiastics. So, too, the right of the poor to their portion became a freewill contribution, measured by the generosity or the wealth of the Clergy ; here a splendid, ever-flowing largess ; there a parsimonious, hardly-extracted dole.

The tithe suffered the fate of other Church property ; it was at times seized, alienated, appropriated by violence or by fraud. It was retained by the Bishops or wealthy clergy, who assigned a miserable stipend to a poor Vicar ; it fell into the hands of lay impropiators, who had either seized it, or, on pretence of farming it, provided in the cheapest manner for the performance of the service ; the Monasteries got possession of it in large portions, and served the cures from their Abbey or Cloister. In England it was largely received by foreign Beneficiaries, who never saw the land from which they received this tribute.

Still, however levied, however expended, however invaded by what were by some held to be sacrilegious hands, much the larger part of this tenth of all the produce of the land throughout Christendom, with no deduction, except the moderate expense of collection, remained in the hands of the Hierarchy. It was gradually extended from the produce of land to all other produce, cattle, poultry, even fish.

The High Aristocracy of the Church, from the Pope to the member of the capitular body, might not disdain to participate in this, which ought to have been the exclusive patrimony of the parochial and labouring clergy ; but their estates, which were Lordships, Baronages, Princedoms, in the Pope a kingdom. were what

placed them on a level with, or superior to, the Knights, Barons, Princes, Kings of the world.

These possessions throughout Latin Christendom, both of the Seculars and of the Monasteries, if only calculated from their less clerical expenditure, on their personal pomp and luxury, on their wars, on their palaces, and from their more honourable prodigality on their cathedrals, churches, monastic buildings, must have been enormous; and for some period were absolutely exempt from contribution to the burthens of the State.^f We have seen the first throes and struggles of Papal nepotism; we have seen bold attempts to quarter the kinsmen of Popes on the territories of the Papacy, to create noble patrimonies, or even principalities, in their favour; but there is no Papal family of the time preceding Nicolas V. which boasts its hereditary opulence or magnificent palace, like the Riarios, Farneses, Barberinis, Corsinis, of later times. The Orsinis and Colonnas were Princes created Popes, not descendants of Popes. The vast wealth of the Archbishopric of Milan has shone before us; an Archbishop was the founder of the Ducal House of Visconti. In Italy, however, in general, the Prelates either never possessed or were despoiled of the vast wealth which distinguished the Ultramontane Prelates. Romagna had become the Papal domain; Ravenna had been compelled to yield up her rival territory. The Crusades had not thrown the lands into their hands by the desertion of their lords. In the commercial wealth of Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, they had no share. At Constance, as it has appeared, the Ultramontanes feared that the poverty of the Italian Bishops would

^f Some estates of the Church were held on the tenure of military service, most in Francalmoigne.—Hallam.

place them at the command of the Pope. In Germany the Prince-Archbishops, the Electors, were not scrupulous in extending the wide pale of their ecclesiastical principalities. The grant of estates, of territories, was too common a bribe or a reward from a doubtful aspirant to the Imperial throne. How many fiefs held by Mentz, by Trèves, and by Cologne, dated from the eve of, or from the coronation of an Emperor, raised to the throne after a severe contest! Among the other Prince-Prelates of the Empire, distracted as Germany was for centuries by wars between the Popes and the Emperors, wars between the Emperor and his refractory subjects, their power was perpetually increasing their wealth, their wealth aggrandising their power. They were too useful allies not to be subsidised by the contending parties; and those subsidies, being mostly in grants of lands, enhanced the value of their alliance.

In France, the prodigality of the weaker Kings of each race, and each race successively, from the fainéant Merovingians, seemed to dwindle down into inevitable weakness, had vied with each other in heaping estates upon the clergy, and in founding and endowing monasteries. If the later Kings, less under strong religious impulses, and under heavier financial embarrassments, were less prodigal,—if the mass of secular ecclesiastical property is of earlier date,^g—few reigns passed without

^g The Abbe Maury, in the debate on the confiscation of church property, asserted that the tenure of some of their estates was older than Clovis. (Lamartine, *Les Constituans*, iii. p. 113.) In the debates on the confiscation of church property in the National Assembly in 1789, 1790, M. Talleyrand estimated the income of the

clergy from tithes at eighty millions of francs, from the lands at seventy millions; total one hundred and fifty millions. This, I presume, did not include the lands, at least not the houses of the monasteries. (Buchon et Roux, *Hist. Parlementaire de la Rév. Française*, iii. p. 156.) In the proposal for the suppression of the

the foundation of some religious houses. The Mendicant Orders had their spacious and splendid convents in Paris,^h and in the other great cities of France.^l

In England the Statute of Mortmain had been the National Protest against the perpetual encroachment of the Church on the landed property of the realm. At length the subtlety of the Lawyers baffled the subtlety of the Churchmen; the strong, stern Law could be neither infringed nor eluded. But it left the Church in possession of all which had been heaped at her feet by the prodigal Anglo-Saxon Kings, and the Normans hardly less prodigal. If it had not passed down absolutely undiminished, it had probably on the whole been constantly enlarging its borders; if usurped, or its usufruct, if not the fee, fraudulently made away,^k it had in many cases widely extended itself by purchase, as well as by donation and bequest.^l

There are four periods at which public documents

religious houses, M. Treilhard declared that four hundred millions might be produced by the sale of the monastic houses, which might be secularised. Those in Paris alone might be sold for one hundred and fifty millions. A calculation was produced, made in 1775, that at 150 livres the toise, they would yield 217,309,000 livres. In another report it was stated that the clergy held one-fifth of the net revenue from land in France, amounting to two hundred millions, exclusive of the tithe. (T. v. p. 328.)

^h See Dulaure, *Hist. de Paris*, a book with much valuable information, but hostile to the clergy.

^l At the Revolution six Orders had three houses in Paris, some others two. They must have amounted to between

forty and fifty.

^k Churches were leased to laymen, and without doubt became their actual property; as such were bought and sold.

^l The Church bought largely. The statute "*Quia Emptores*" shows abundantly that the possessions of the Church were greatly increased by purchase as well as by donation and bequest. It was a very common practice to purchase an estate in reversion, or to purchase and grant the estate to the former Lord for his life: on his death (*si obire contigerit*) it fell to the Church. Few rich men entered a monastery without bringing some estate or provision with them, which became the inalienable property of the Community. See instances in Taylor's *Index Monasticus*.

seem at first sight to throw a steady and distinct light on the extent and value of church property in England, its actual if not its relative value. Yet on examination the result of the inquiry becomes dim, confused, and contradictory. It offers no more than a very rude and uncertain approximation to positive conclusions.

I. Domesday-Book gives the lands in the possession of ecclesiastics, as well as lay holders, those of bishops, chapters, churches, monasteries. The first inspection of Domesday may seem to present startling facts. In the whole County of Kent, besides the King (with whom the Churches of St. Martin in Dover and the Church of Canterbury share those towns), appear as landowners:— 1. The Archbishop of Canterbury; 2. His Monks (Christchurch); 3. The Bishop of Rochester; 4. The Bishop of Bayeux;^m 5. The Abbey of Battle; 6. St. Augustine's; 7. Abbey of St. Peter's, Ghent. Only four knights, and Albert the Chaplain. In Middlesex are the King, the Archbishop, the Bishop of London, his Canons (of St. Paul's), the Abbot of Westminster, the Abbot of the Holy Trinity in Rouen, the Abbot of Barking, with eighteen others, barons and knights. In Worcestershire the King, the Church of Worcester, the Bishop of Hereford, the Church of St. Denys near Paris, the Church of Cormelies, the Abbeys of Westminster, Pershore, Evesham; the Bishop of Bayeux, the Church of St. Guthlac, the Clerks of Wrehampton, with fifteen laymen. In Berkshire, among sixty-three holders, are the King, five Bishops, among them Durham and Coutances, ten Abbots and Abbesses. In Devonshire, of fifty-three, are the King, two Bishops, Exeter and Coutances, ten abbeys,

^m Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, held lands in sixteen counties.—Sir H. Ellis, Introduction.

among them Rouen, Mont St. Michael, St. Stephen and Holy Trinity at Caen. During the reign of our Norman sovereigns these transmarine monasteries held their lands in England. They were either cells or dependent priories which sent their revenues across the sea. As England and France became hostile powers they were gradually seized, till at length, in the time of Henry V., they were confiscated by the strong hand of the law, and vested by Act of Parliament in the Crown.ⁿ Our history has dwelt, on more than one occasion, on the estates and benefices held by foreign prelates, chiefly Italians.

II. The valuation made in the reign of Edward I., by order of Pope Nicolas IV. The whole ecclesiastical property was assessed at rather more than 200,000*l.*, a valuation much higher than had been admitted before; the tenth levied was above 20,000*l.*^o

III. The remarkable petition of the Commons to Henry IV.,^p for the confiscation of the whole Church property and its appropriation to the maintenance of a nobility, knighthood, squirehood, burghership, and almshouses, retaining only a priesthood of 15,000, without distinction of Orders, and on the annual stipend of seven marks each. This wild revolutionary scheme estimated the temporalities of the Church at 322,000 marks a year.^q They were thrown together in large masses, each of 20,000, as—1. The see of Canterbury, with the abbeys of Christchurch, St. Augustine, Shrewsbury, Cogglesal, St. Osyth. 2. York (not including Fontaines, Rivaux,

ⁿ Ellis, Introduction to Doomsday. Collier, i. p. 650.

^o See vol. vii. p. 54, and note, for the details, A.D. 1292.

^p Walsingham, p. 379. Introd.

Fox, ii. p. 725, A.D. 1410.

^q That is (calculating the mark at two-thirds of a pound, 13*s.* 4*d.*), nearly the same as the Papal valuation.

and some other abbeys). 3. Six of the larger abbeys, Dover, Battle, Lewes, Coventry, Daventry, and Tournay (Thorney?) make up another 20,000.^r The total estimate of the Church property may seem to have been based on the valuation of Pope Nicolas, the established cataster which had been acted upon for above a century. It is curious, however, as setting down the annual income necessary to maintain the state of an Earl at 3000 marks; of a Knight at 100, with four plough-lands; an Esquire 40, with two plough-lands. How the poor Priest was to live on his seven marks, unless by the bounty and hospitality of his parishioners—certainly with no hospitality or almsgiving of his own—these early levellers seem not to have thought.^s About this period, according to another statement, there were in England 46,822 churches, 52,285 villæ, 53,225 military fiefs, of which the ecclesiastics and religious held 28,000. Thus they were in possession of above one-half of the knights' fees in the realm.^t

^r Walsingham seems to say that they were set to prove this vast wealth of the clergy, and failed: "Sed cum niterentur ostendere de quibus locis tam grandes summæ levare possent, unde præmissi dotarentur vel ditarentur, defecerunt scrutantes scrutinio et dum diligunt vanitatem quæsivere mendacium."

^s This concurrence, which is at least approximate, may appear to be of higher authority than the calculation drawn from a passage of Knighton, which would more than double the amount of church property. In the year 1337 two Cardinal Legates came to England. They received for their expenses 50 marks a day, which was raised by four pennies from every bene-

fice, exempt or not exempt. The revenue of the Church would thus amount to 2000 marks a day; multiplied by 365, 730,000 marks; nearly 500,000*l.* Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce*, i. 519; Hallam. But the Valor of Pope Nicolas was framed by those who wished as much as possible to elude or lighten their taxation.

^t This rests on a passage in the Appendix to Hearne's *Avebury*. Mr. Sharon Turner, v. 166, quotes it. Mr. Hallam appears to accept its results, *Middle Ages*, ii. p. 506. Other authorities, quoted in Taylor, p. xxiii., make 60,215 knights' fees; those held by the clergy, 23,115. Spelman brings down the proportion to a third; so too Sir W. Temple.

IV. The valuation of the whole church property, immediately before the suppression of the larger monasteries,^u as compared with that of Nicolas IV., might be expected to furnish at once a positive and a relative estimate of the Church possessions. In the Act for the suppression of the smaller monasteries,^v those with an income under 200*l.* a year, it was supposed that about 380 communities would be dissolved (about 100 then escaped or eluded dissolution), and that the Crown would derive 32,000*l.* of yearly revenue from the confiscation, with 100,000*l.* in plate, jewels, money, and other valuables. After the suppression of the larger monasteries,^w the amount of the whole revenue escheated to the Crown was calculated at 161,000*l.*^x A little before this period the revenue of England from lands and possessions had been calculated at 4,000,000*l.*:^a the monastic property, therefore, was not more than a twentieth part of the national property. To this must be added the whole Church property that remained, that of the Bishops, Chapters, Colleges, and Parochial Clergy.^b The

^u Ann. Hen. VIII. 26, A.D. 1534, published by the Record Commission, to be compared with Speed's Catalogue of Religious Houses, Benefices, &c. On the revenues of the monasteries, see Dugdale and Stevens, Mr. Nasmith's excellent edition of Tanner's Notitia. No book is more instructive than the Index Monasticus of the diocese of Norwich, by Mr. Richd. Taylor, London, 1821.

^v Burnet, 192, 222. Rymer, xiv. 574. Stevens, Appendix to Dugdale. Lingard, c. iv. Burnet gives 131,607*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.* for the larger monasteries, but adds, "*it was at least ten times the sum in true value.*"

^w Lord Herbert; Speed; Hume, c. 31.

^x It is singular that these two sums amount to near 200,000*l.* The whole property of the Church, according to the valuation of Nicolas IV., stood at about 204,000*l.*, so that the value of Monastic property was then near that of the whole Church property under Edward I.

^a This is stated by Hume, and on such a subject Hume was likely to be accurate, but he does not give his authority. Vol. i. p. 485; ii. p. 106.

^b One insulated point of comparison has offered itself. According to the Valor of Nicolas, Christ Church, Can-

Valor Ecclesiasticus of Henry VIII. offers no sum total; but, according to Speed, the whole value was 320,150*l.* 10*s.* If of this, 186,512*l.* 8*s.* 11½*d.* was the gross value of that of the monasteries (the sum escheated to the King, 161,000*l.*), the secular property was about half of the whole. Together the two sums would amount to a tenth of the revenue of the kingdom as estimated by Hume.^c

But this estimate is very fallacious,^d both as to the extent and the actual value^e of the Church property. As to the extent, in London and the neighbouring counties of Middlesex, Surrey, Essex, the Church lands, or at least the lands in which the Church had some tenure, must have been enormous. Hardly a parish in Middlesex did not belong, certainly so far as manorial rights, to the Bishop of London, the Dean and Chapter

terbury, was assessed at 355*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.*, under Henry VIII. at 2,349*l.* 8*s.* 5*d.*, an increase of about seven times.

^c When, by Bishop Burnet's advice (Burnet's Own Times, edit. Oxford, v. p. 118), the First Fruits and Tenths were made over to the Board, called Queen Anne's Bounty, the tenths were reckoned at 11,000*l.*, which has now remained unaltered, according to the valuation of Henry VIII. This would make the property 111,000*l.* Speed gives 111,207*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.*, but a certain portion had been appropriated to the few Bishops and Chapters, which makes up the total.

^d Some of the richer monasteries had sunk to a small oligarchy. Chertsey, with 14 monks, had 740*l.* a year; Furness, with 30, 966*l.* It is curious to compare Hume and Lingard. Both select Furness as their example (Hume

puts Furness in Lincolnshire). Hume gives the small number of monks as compared with the great income; on the signal iniquity of the mode in which the suppression was enforced he is silent. Lingard is coldly eloquent, as is his wont, on the iniquity—of the small number of monks not a word.

^e On the important question of the relative value of money at that time and the present, taking in the joint consideration of weight of silver and price of provisions, Mr. Taylor, in 1821, would multiply by 15 times. Land in Norfolk let from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* an acre; wages for a hay-maker were, during Henry VII. and Henry VIII., 1*d.* to 1½*d.* a day. The whole ecclesiastical revenues in the diocese of Norwich would be worth 510,000*l.* a year.

of St. Paul's, the Abbot and monks of Westminster, and other religious houses—the Carthusians, St. John's Clerkenwell (the Hospitallers), Sion, and many smaller foundations. The Chapter of St. Paul's swept in a broad belt round the north of London till they met the Church of Westminster at Hampstead and Paddington.^f The Abbot of Westminster was almost a prince of Westminster.^g

On the other hand, the estates and manors of the Church and of the monasteries, though, as probably having been the longest under cultivation, the best cultivated, in productive value were far below their imagined wealth. The Church was by usage, perhaps from interest, an indulgent landlord. Of the estates, a large part had become copyhold, and paid only a moderate quit-rent, and a small fixed fine on renewal. Of those on which the Church reserved the full fee, the fines on renewals, whether on lives or for terms of years, were no doubt extremely moderate. They had become hereditary in families, and acquired the certainty of actual possession. The rents were paid in money, usually of small amount, in services to the landlord (the Prebendary or the Church), in the cultivation of their lands, and to a considerable extent in kind. Probably the latter contribution was not taken into the account of their value. But not only had each monastery its common refectory, each Chapter had its common establishment, its common table, its horses, and other conveniences, largely supplied

^f Archdeacon Hale has printed (for the Camden Society) what he calls the Domesday of St. Paul; the Visitation of the manors of the Dean and Chapter (not the separate estates of the prebendaries). It throws great light on this point, as well as on the tenure

and condition of the Church property.

^g At the Dissolution Westminster was the most wealthy monastery—it was estimated at 3977*l.*; St. John's, Clerkenwell, the richest of the military orders, 2385*l.*; Sion, the richest nunnery, 1944*l.*—Speed.

by the growers; hay and straw, beasts, poultry furnished at specified times by the tenants. Each had its mill, its brewhouse, its bakery; and no doubt the annual expenses of the House, or *Domus*, were to a large extent supplied from these unreckoned sources.^b Yet on the whole the tenants, no doubt, of the Church shared a full portion of the wealth of the Church, so secure and easy was their tenure; and it was not uncommon for ecclesiastics to take beneficiary leases of the lands of their own Church, which they bequeathed as property to their kindred or heirs, not unfrequently to their children. Besides this, over all their property the Church had a host of officers and retainers, stewards of their courts, receivers, proctors, lawyers, and other dependents, numberless in name and function.

But of the wealth of the Clergy, the landed property, even with the tithe, was by no means the whole; and, invaded as it was by aggression, by dilapidation, by alienation through fraud or violence, limited in its productiveness by usage, by burthens, by generosity, by maladministration, it may be questioned whether it was the largest part. The vast treasures accumulated by the Avignonese Pontiffs when the Papal territories were

^b All this throws light on a very curious state of things at St. Paul's; no doubt not peculiar to St. Paul's. The Chapter consisted of 30 Prebendaries, each with his separate estate, and originally his right to share in the common fund, on condition of performing certain services in the Church. The Prebendaries withdrew each to the care and enjoyment of his Prebend, or, if a Pluralist, of many Prebends, leaving the duties to be performed by certain Residentiaries; so when the

daily mass, the perpetual office, was imposed as a burthen, it was difficult to keep up the number of Residentiaries. In process of time the Common Fund grew larger, the emoluments and advantages from oblations, obits, and other sources increased in value; there was then a strife and a press to become a Residentiary. It was necessary (the exhausted fund was the plea) to obtain Papal or Archiepiscopal decrees to limit the number of Residentiaries.

occupied by enemies or adventurers, and could have yielded but scanty revenues, testify to the voluntary or compulsory tribute paid by Western Christendom to her Supreme Court of Appeal. If the Bishops mainly depended on their endowments, to the Clergy, to the monastic churches, oblations (in many cases now from free gifts hardened into rightful demands) were pouring in, and had long been pouring in, with incalculable profusion. Not only might not the altars, hardly any part of the church might be approached, without a votive gift. The whole life, the death of every Christian was bound up with the ceremonial of the Church; for almost every office, was received from the rich and generous the ampler donation, from the poorer or more parsimonious was exacted the hard-wrung fee. Above all, there were the masses, which might lighten the sufferings of the soul in purgatory; there was the prodigal gift of the dying man out of selfish love for himself;ⁱ the more generous and no less prodigal gift of the bereaved, out of holy charity for others. The dying man, from the King to the peasant, when he had no further use for his worldly riches, would devote them to this end;^k the living, out of profound respect or deep affection for the beloved husband, parent, brother, kinsman, friend, would be, and actually was, not less bountiful and munificent.^m

ⁱ I am able to illustrate this from the records of St. Paul's, which have been investigated with singular industry and accuracy by my friend Archdeacon Hale, to whom I am indebted for much valuable information.

^k There is another curious illustration of the wealth of the Clergy. The inventory of the effects of Richard Gravesend, Bishop of London, from 1290 to 1303. It measures 28 feet

in length: it gives in detail all his possessions, his chapel (plate of the chapel), jewels, robes, books, horses, the grain and stock on each of his manors, with the value of each. The total amounts to 2871*l.* 7*s.* 10½*d.* Corn was then 4*s.* per quarter.

^m We have in St. Paul's an account of the obits or anniversaries of the deaths of certain persons, for the celebration of which bequests had been

Add to all this the oblations at the crosses of the Redeemer, or the shrines of popular and famous saints, for their intercessory prayers to avert the imminent calamity, to assuage the sorrow, or to grant success to the schemes, it might be, of ambition, avarice, or any other passion, to obtain pardon for sin, to bring down blessing: crosses and shrines, many of them supposed to be endowed with miraculous powers, constantly working miracles.ⁿ To most of these were made perpetual processions, led by the Clergy in their rich attire. From the basins of gold or the bright florins of the King to the mite of the beggar, all fell into the deep, insatiable box, which unlocked its treasures to the Clergy.^o

made in the fourteenth century. The number was 111. The payments made amounted in the whole to 2678s. 5½*d.*, of which the Dean and Canons Residentiary (present) received 1461s., about 73*l.*; multiply by 15, to bring to present value, 1075*l.*

ⁿ E. g., Richard Preston, citizen and grocer, gave to the shrine of St. Erkenwald his best sapphire stone, for curing of infirmities of the eyes, appointing that proclamation should be made of its virtues.—Dugdale, p. 21.

^o We have an account of the money found in the box under the great Cross on the entrance of the Cathedral (Recepta de pixide Crucis Borealis). In one month (May, A.D. 1344) it yielded no less than 50*l.* (præter argentum fractum). This was more than an average profit, but taken as an average it gives 600*l.* per annum. Multiply this by 15 to bring it to the present value of money, 9000*l.* This, by an order of the Pope's Commissary, A.D. 1410 (Dugdale, p. 20), was di-

vided among the Dean and Canons Residentiary. But this was by no means the only box of offerings—perhaps not the richest. There was one at the magnificent shrine of St. Erkenwald; another at that of the Virgin, before which the offerings of wax tapers alone were so valuable, that the Dean and Chapter would no longer leave them to the vergers and servants of the Church. They were extinguished, carried to a room behind the chapter-house, and melted, for the use of the said Dean and Canons. Archbishop Arundel assigned to the same Dean and Canons, and to their successors for ever, the whole profits of the oblation box. Dugdale recounts gifts by King John of France, especially to the shrine of St. Erkenwald. The shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury received in one year 832*l.* 11s. 3*d.*; in another, 954*l.* 6s. 3*d.*—Burnet, Hist. Reformat., vol. i. See Taylor, Index for our Lady of Walsingham. Our Chantry accounts are full and well

Besides all these estates, tithes, oblations, bequests to the Clergy and the monasteries, reckon the subsidies in kind to the Mendicants in their four Orders—Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, Carmelites. In every country of Latin Christendom, of these swarms of Friars, the lowest obtained sustenance: the higher means to build and to maintain splendid churches, cloisters, houses. All of these, according to their proper theory, ought to have lived on the daily dole from the charitable, bestowed at the gate of the palace or castle, of the cottage or hovel. But that which was once an act of charity had become an obligation. Who would dare to repel a holy Mendicant? The wealth of the Mendicants was now an object of bitter jealousy to the Clergy and to the older monastic Orders. They were a vast standing army, far more vast than any maintained by any kingdom in Christendom, at once levying subsidies to an enormous amount, and living at free quarters throughout the land. How onerous, how odious they had become in England, may be seen in the prose of Wycliffe and in the poetry of Piers Ploughman.^P

The Clergy, including the Monks and Friars, were one throughout Latin Christendom; and through them, to a great extent, the Latin Church was one. Unity of the clergy. Whatever antagonism, feud, hatred, estrangement, might rise between rival Prelates, rival Priests, rival Orders—whatever irreconcilable jealousy there might be between the Seculars and Regulars—yet the

preserved, and would furnish a very curious illustration of the office and income of the Mass Priest.

^P Later, Speed, from the Supplication of Beggars, asserts, as demonstrated, that, reckoning that every

householder paid the five Orders five-pence a year only, the sum of 43,000*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* was paid them by the year, besides the revenues of their own lands.

Caste seldom, and but on rare occasions, betrayed the interest of the Caste. The high-minded Churchman, who regarded his country more than the Church, was not common; the renegade, who pursued his private interests by sacrificing those of his Order, might be more so; but he stood alone, a hated and despised apostate. There might be many traitors from passion, ignorance, obstinacy, blindness to its interests—few premeditated and deliberate deserters of its cause. The Clergy in general (there were noble exceptions) were first the subjects of the Pope, then the subjects of the temporal Sovereign. The Papal Legate, the Proconsul of the Pope, the co-Ruler with the King, was not dependant on the reception of a cold perhaps or hostile Court; he could almost command, rarely did not receive, the unlimited homage of the Clergy: to him was due their first obedience. The Pope claimed and long maintained the sole right of taxation of ecclesiastical property; only under his authority could that property be assessed by the State. This general taxation by the Pope began during the Crusades, for that holy purpose; it was continued for all other Crusades which he might command, and was extended to his general uses; he condescended from time to time to throw some part, in his bounty, to the temporal Sovereign;⁹ but, in theory, the right was in him and in him alone. It was asserted over the whole of Christendom, and made him, as the guardian, so in some respects the Suzerain of Church property throughout the world. The allegiance of the hierarchy to the Church was at once compulsory and voluntary; the Pope's awful

⁹ It's curious to see the words "caritativum subsidium" creep into the more weak demands of the Popes during the schism.—MS. B. M. *passim* at that period.

powers held in check the constant inevitable tendency to rebellion and contumacy, which was usually that of individual Prelates or small factions. Among themselves the Clergy could not but at times split into parties on temporal or religious subjects; but if the Papal or hierarchical authority lost ground by their turbulence or their divisions, they were soon driven back to an unanimity of dependance on the Papal power by the encroachments of the State, or to settle their own disputes. They fled from ruder tyrants to the throne of St. Peter. The Pope was at least a more impartial judge than their rival or antagonist—mostly than the civil ruler. On the whole the Order of the Clergy was one from the utmost East to the farther West, from the North to the South.

The universal fraternity of the Monastic Orders and of the Friars was even more intimate. Everywhere, from the Scottish islands to the Spanish frontier of Christendom, the Benedictine, the Clugniac, the Cistercian, might find a home; the abbey of his brethren opened to him its hospitable doors. This was of less importance to the elder and more sedentary Orders (they, too, travelled, a few in search of learning—most who did leave their homes, as pilgrims to Rome, to other famous shrines, or to the East): but to the wandering Friars, who spread all over Europe, of what incalculable advantage to find everywhere brethren connected with them by a closer, as they thought a holier tie, than that of kindred or consanguinity; a ready auditory prepared by the tertiaries of the Order; allies in their invasion on the parishes of the secular priests; a crowd of admirers of their learning, which added fame and so strength to their Order, and of their zeal or eloquence, which brought in new

proselytes; abettors and maintainers of their influence, which was still wringing further wealth for the Order from the timid living or the remorseful dying man. This all-comprehending fraternisation had the power, and some of the mystery, without the suspicion and hatred which attaches to secret societies. It was a perpetual campaign, set in motion and still moving on with simultaneous impulse from one or from several centres, but with a single aim and object, the aggrandisement of the Society, with all its results for evil or for good.

The Clergy had their common language throughout Western Christendom. In their intercourse with each other they needed no interpreter. This was far more than their bond; it was among the most lasting guarantees of their power. It was not from their intellectual superiority alone, but from their almost exclusive possession of the universal European language, that they held and retained the administration of public affairs. No royal Embassy was without its Prelate, even if the Ambassadors were not all Prelates, for they only could converse freely together without mutual misunderstanding of their barbarous jargon, or the precarious aid of an interpreter. The Latin alone was as yet sufficiently precise and definite in its terms to form binding treaties; it was the one language current throughout Europe; it was of necessity that of all negotiations between distant kingdoms.

Hence, too, in some respects, the Churchman was of all countries. His knowledge, at least the knowledge of the Churchman who moved beyond the bounds of his narrow parish, of the universal Latin—the ability (in theory possessed by all) to officiate in the unchangeable service of the Church—was the only indispensable

qualification for any dignity or benefice throughout Christendom. Latin Christianity had invaded the East, and planted Latin Bishops to celebrate Latin services almost throughout the Byzantine Empire. German Popes, French Popes, one English Pope, a Portuguese, a Greek or Calabrese Antipope, have occupied or have aspired to the throne of St. Peter: none of them were foreigners in tongue. All Christendom, especially England, saw their richest benefices held by strangers,^r ignorant of the native language, and these did not always hold their remote cures as honours and appendages to their Italian dignities, but visited them at least occasionally, and had no difficulty in going through the routine of religious service.^s There might be bitter complaints of the imperfect fulfilment of duty: conscientious men might refuse preferment among a people of strange language; but there was no legal or canonical disqualification; all that could be absolutely demanded was the ability to recite or chant the Latin breviary; no clergyman was a stranger or foreigner among the Clergy in any European kingdom.

That ubiquity of the Clergy, as belonging to one Order, under one head, under one law and discipline, speaking a common language, to a certain extent with common habits of life, was of inestimable importance, as holding together the great commonwealth of European nations, in antagonism to the Eastern races, aggregated into one horde by the common bond of the Koran. Had the Christian kingdoms grown up sepa-

^r I have noticed (vol. vi. p. 84) the pluralist who held the archdeaconry of Thessalonica with benefices in Norfolk.

^s Michael Scott is a rare instance of

scrupulousness in refusing the Archbishopric of Cashel, on account of his ignorance of Irish. The objection does not seem to have occurred to his patron the Pope.

rate, isolated, adverse, even if each with its independent national hierarchy, still with hardly any communication but by the war of neighbouring States with neighbouring States, and with commerce restricted, precarious, unenterprising, there must have been either one vast Asiatic despotism, founded by some mighty conqueror—a Charlemagne, without his sagacious religious as well as civil organisation—or a disruption into hard repulsive masses, a shifting and conflicting aggregate of savage tribes. There could have been no confederacy to oppose the mighty invading league of Moham-medanism. Christendom could only have a religious Capital, and that Capital in all the early period was Rome. To Rome there was a constant ebb and flow from the remotest borders of Europe, and this chiefly of the Clergy; through them, knowledge, arts, whatsoever remained of the older civilisation, circulated to the extremities. The Legate, the Nuncio, if he came to bow kings and nations to an imperious yoke and to levy tribute, brought with him the peaceful pomp, the courtly manners, the knowledge, the refinement of the South: his inalienable character was that of an emissary of peace; he had no armed retainers; he found his retainers, except the few who accompanied him, in the land which he visited—the Clergy. He might, as he too often did, belie his character of the Angel of Peace;† he might inflame civil wars, he might even set up rebellious sons against fathers, but his ostensible office was always moderation: his progress through interjacent realms, where he passed safe, respected, honoured by the deferential veneration of all the hier-

† This is the title perpetually introduced into the instructions and power given to the Cardinal or other Legates.

archy, was an homage to the representative of one whose office at least was to promote peace; it was an universal recognition of the blessings, the sanctity of peace. However the acts of Popes, of worldly or martial Prelates, or of a rude or fierce Clergy, might be at issue with the primal principles of the faith, yet, at the same time that they practised this wide apostasy, they condemned their own apostasy; their language could not entirely throw off, far from throwing off, it dwelt ostentatiously, though against themselves, on the true and proper aim of their interference. Where war was the universal occupation, though swept away by the torrent, they were constantly lifting up their voice against war, at least against war of Christian against Christian; they would divert the whole martial impulses of Christendom against the Mohammedan. Thus for centuries, through the length and breadth of Latin Christendom, was propagated and maintained, even by those who were constantly violating and weakening their own precepts, a sympathy for better and more Christian tenets—a faint yet undying echo of the angelic annunciation of Christianity, appealing to the whole Christian priesthood, and through the priesthood to universal man; “peace on earth, good will to men.” Through the Hierarchy Christian Europe was one; and Christian Europe was at least brooding over the seeds of a richer harvest; it was preparing for a generous rivalry in laws, letters, arts, even in religion.

Another result of the ubiquitous Hierarchical influence, though not so much a result of its ubiquity as of its inalienable character, must not be passed by. It was not only a bond which held together the Christian nations, of different races and of different tongues, but in every nation of the Christian

Effects on
social rank.

commonwealth the Clergy, and the Clergy alone, held together the different ranks and classes. The old Roman prejudice of the ineffaceable distinction between the free man and the slave lurked in the minds of the aristocratic Hierarchy of the South. The Clergy could not but be deeply impregnated with the feudal respect for high birth,^u but they could not efface from the record of the faith, from the older traditions, to do them justice they never lost sight of, the saying of the Saviour, that the poor were their especial charge; poverty was, as it were, consecrated by the humble lives of the Lord and his Apostles. Many Popes have been seen rising from the meanest parentage to the Pontifical throne. In every kingdom some of the highest examples of Christian piety and ability, canonised Saints, were constantly drawn up from the humblest

^u In the Papal dispensations we constantly find "nobilitas generis" spoken of with "scientia et honestas;" as a justification of the permission to hold benefices in plurality.—MS. B. M. passim.

I select one illustration as in every way remarkable, not the less as proceeding from Nicolas V. It is an answer to a petition from George Neville, Canon of York, son of his beloved son Richard Earl of Salisbury. "The nobility of his descent (he was even, as he said, of royal lineage) induced the Pope to grant him a dispensation (he being fourteen years old) to hold a canonry in the Church of Salisbury, with one in York. Moreover, the gracious favour of the Pope ('*tutorum intuitu meritorum*'), the merit of a boy of fourteen! allowed him to hold those or any other two incompatible benefices, with or without cure of

souls; even Parish Churches, or any dignities, below the highest; to hold them together, or to exchange them at his will during his whole life ('*quoad vixeris*'). The provision must be added, that the benefices were to be properly served, and the cure of souls not neglected."—Rome, A.D. 1447, July 7

At twenty-three years old the same George Neville was appointed Bishop of Exeter; as he could not be consecrated for four years, he had a Bull to receive the profits.—Collier, i. 674. He was afterwards Archbishop of York. See Collier, 682. I would add on pluralities that, though not noble, Wykeham, before he was Bishop, held the archdeaconry of Buckingham, the Provostship of Wells, twelve other prebends or canonries, "*sacerdotiaque cum curâ plus quam satis*."—Gedwili. p. 286.

of mankind. Once a Churchman, the hallowed man took his position from his ecclesiastical rank, not from his birth or descent; that higher nobility had cancelled all the want of noble ancestry. There might be at some periods a closer brotherhood—a kind of separate corporate spirit—between ecclesiastics of high or generous lineage, but it rarely dared to be exclusive; other qualities, either worldly or religious, were allowed to dress the balance. The Bishop with royal blood in his veins was no more a Bishop than he who had sprung from the dregs of the people; he wore the same dress; according to his possessions, might display the same pomp; was often not less proud in the cathedral; not only in the cathedral, even in the royal Council he occupied the same seat; had almost as fair a chance of canonisation. The power of overleaping the line, which lay so broad and deep, between the high and low, the noble and the peasant, the lord and the serf, must have been a perpetual consolation and hope in the conscious abasement of the poor man and of the serf—a drop of sweetness in his bitter cup.

This, indeed, could be but the lot of few; and there might in the lower orders be much envy and jealousy of those who rose from their ranks to the height of Churchmanly dignity, as well as pride and emulation to vie with their success. Men do not always love and honour those who have outstripped them in the race of fortune or distinction; but, whether objects of envy or of encouragement, these were but rare: and most, no doubt, of the humbler classes who were admitted into the Hierarchy rose no higher than the meanest functions, or the privilege of becoming Holy Mendicants. But, in the darkest periods, when all other Christian virtues were nearly extinct, charity, in its form of

almsgiving, survived, and was strong; and, indeed, in institutions for the poor, hospitals, leper-houses, charity was not only recognised as a duty especially incumbent on Churchmen; it was a duty ostentatiously discharged. The haughtiest Pope condescended to imitate the Lord in washing the feet of poor men. Many of the most worldly Prelates were the most munificent; perhaps satisfied their consciences in the acquisition of unapostolic pomp and wealth by applying it to apostolic uses. The donation, the bequest, prodigally bestowed or ungraciously yielded by the remorseful sinner to the Priest or Bishop, as it was made to God and his Poor, however much of it might linger in the hands of the Clergy, and be applied to less hallowed purposes, nevertheless did not all lose its way; part of it strayed to its proper object—the assuagement of human indigence and misery. This was especially the case with the monastic establishments: it has been said that they were the poor-houses of the middle ages; but if poor-houses, like our own by no means wisely or providently administered, still they had those twofold blessings of acts of mercy—some softening of the heart of him who gave, some consolation to the victim, in those days probably more often of the hard times than of his own improvidence. Latin Christianity may point to still surviving Foundations for the good—the temporal, the intellectual good—of mankind; her Hospitals and her Brotherhoods, her Universities and her Schools, her Churches and her Missions, in large part owing to the munificence or the active agency of her universal Hierarchy; and may thus calmly and securely appeal to the sentence of the most enlightened Christianity which will ever, as it may be hoped, prevail in the world.

And if the Hierarchy drew too imperiously, too sternly, too deeply the line of demarcation between the hallowed and unhallowed castes of mankind, it had the inestimable merit of asserting the absolute spiritual equality of all not in sacred orders. On the floor of the Church, before the Priest, before God (however there might be some and not always unwise distinction in place and in the homage to rank), the King and the Serf, in all essential points, stood on the same level. The same Sacraments were the common right of all. They were baptised in the same font, heard the same masses, might listen to the same sermons, were married by the same rites, knelt at the same altar, before the throne of the same Saint, received the body and blood of the same Redeemer, were even buried (though with very different pomp of funeral) in ground equally consecrated. The only distinction was excommunication or non-excommunication. The only outlaw was, it was believed, self-outlawed by wandering beyond the pale of the Church. The faithful were one people. Who shall estimate the value, the influence, the blessing of this perpetual assertion, this visible manifestation, of the only true Christian doctrine of equality—equality before God?

One subject we would willingly decline, but the historian must not shrink from truth, however repulsive. Celibacy, which was the vital energy of the Clergy, was at the same time their fatal, irremediable weakness. One-half, at least a large portion, of human kind could not cease to be human kind. The universal voice, which arraigns the state of morals, as regards sexual intercourse, among the Clergy, is not that of their enemies only, it is their own. Century after century we have heard throughout our history the eternal protest of the

severer Churchmen, of Popes, of Legates, of Councils. The marriage, or, as it was termed, the concubinage, of the Clergy was the least evil. The example set in high places (to deny the dissoluteness of the Papal Court at Avignon, would be to discard all historical evidence) could not be without frightful influence. The Avignone Legates bore with them the morals of Avignon. The last strong effort to break the bonds of celibacy at the council of Basle warned but warned in vain. It is the solemn attestation to the state of Germany and the northern kingdoms.* Even in his own age, no doubt, Henry Bishop of Liège was a monster of depravity. The frightful revelation of his life is from an admonitory letter of the wise and good Pope Gregory X. His lust was promiscuous. He kept as his concubine a Benedictine Abbess. He had boasted in a public banquet that in twenty-two months he had had fourteen children born. This was not the worst—there was foul incest, and with nuns. But the most extraordinary part of the whole is that in the letter the Pope seems to contemplate only the repentance of the Prelate, which he urges with the most fervent solemnity. Henry's own prayers, and the intercessory prayers of the virtuous—some such, no doubt, there must be in Liège—are to work the change; and then he is to administer his Pontifical office, so as to be a model of holiness, as he had been of vice, to his subjects. As to suspension, degradation, deposition, there is not a word. The Pope's lenity may have been meant to lure him to the Council of Lyons,

* Look back to vol. viii. p. 457. Before the Council of Trent, the Elector of Bavaria declared in a public document, that of 50 Clergy very few were not concubinari.—Sarpi, viii. 7, p. 414.

See for Italy references to Justiniani, Patriarch of Venice; S. Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence; Weissenberg, Kirchen Versammlungen, ii. p. 229; again for Germany, ii. p. 228.

where he was persuaded to abdicate his See.' Hardly less repulsive, in some respects more so, as it embraces the Clergy and some of the convents of a whole province, is the disclosure, as undeniable and authentic, of sacerdotal morals, in the Register of the Visitations of Eudes Rigaud, Archbishop of Rouen, from 1248 to 1269.² We must suppose that only the Clergy of notorious and detected incontinence were presented at the Visitation. The number is sufficiently appalling: probably it comprehends, without much distinction, the married and concubinarian, as well as looser Clergy. There is one convent of females, which might almost have put Boccaccio to the blush. I am bound to confess that the Records of the Visitations from St. Paul's, some of which have been published not without reserve, too fully vindicate the truth of Langland, Chaucer, and the Satirists against the English Clergy and Friars in the fourteenth century.³ And these Visitations, which take note only of those publicly accused, hardly reached, if they did reach, the lowest and the loosest. Only some of the Monks, none of the Wandering Friars, were amenable to Episcopal or Archidiaconal jurisdiction.

¹ "Circa divinum quoque et pontificale officium sic te sedulum et devotum exhibere" "Subditi." Henry of Liège was of princely race, of the house of Gueldres, Cousin-German to the Priest-Emperor, William of Holland; he became Bishop when a mere boy. Concilia sub ann. 1274. Hoeseimius, Vit. Episcop. Leodens., p. 299.

² Registrum Archep. Rotomagensium, published by M. Bonnin, Rouen, 1846. It is full of other curious and less unedifying matter.

³ Precedents in Criminal Causes

edited by Archdeacon Hale, London, 1847. There is enough in these, the Visitations themselves make matters worse. It is curious that much earlier under the reign of K. Stephen, the Dean Ralph de Diceto speaks of the "focariæ" of the canons. Mr. Froude has published from the Records (in Fraser's Magazine, Feb. 1857) the visitation of a later time, of Archbishop Morton. The great Abbey of St. Alban's was in a state which hardly bears description.

Whether we call it by the holier name of marriage, or the more odious one of concubinage, this, the weakness or the sin of the Clergy, could not be committed by the Monks and Friars. They, mostly with less education and less discipline, spread abroad through the world, had far greater temptations, more fatal opportunities. Though they had, no doubt, their Saints, not only Saints, but numberless nameless recluses of admirable piety, unimpeachable holiness, fervent love of God and of man, yet of the profound corruption of this class there can be no doubt. But Latin, Roman Christianity, would not, could not, surrender this palladium of her power.^b

Time and the vicissitudes in political affairs had made a great difference in the power of the Clergy in the principal kingdoms of Europe. In Italy, in his double character of Italian potentate and as the Pontiff of Christendom, the Pope, after the discomfiture of the Council of Basle, had resumed in great measure his ascendancy. He now aspired to reign supreme over Letters and Arts. But from this time, or from the close of this century, the Italian Potentate, as has been said, began to predominate over the Pope. The successor of St. Peter was either chosen from one of the great Italian families, or aspired to found a great family. Nepotism became at once the strength and the infirmity, the glory and the shame, of the Papacy: the strength,

^b The Roman view is thus given in an argument before the Pope by the Cardinal de Carpi :—" Dal matrimonio de' Preti ne seguirà che avendo casa, moglie, è figli, non dipenderanno dal Papa, ma dal suo Principe, e la carità della prole gli farà condescendere ad ogni pregiudizio della Chiesa; cercano anco di far i benefici ereditari,

ed in brevissimo spazio la Sede Apostolica si restringerà a Roma. Innanzi che fosse instituito il celibato non cavava frutto alcuno la Sede Romana dell' altre città e regioni; per quello e fatta padrona di tanti benefizi, de' quali il matrimonio la priverebbe in breve tempo."—Sarpi, L. v. Opere, v. ii. p. 77.

as converting the Popes into the highest rank of Italian princes; the weakness, as inducing them to sacrifice the interests of the Holy See to the promotion of their own kindred: the glory, as seeing their descendants holding the highest offices, occupying splendid palaces, possessors of vast estates, sovereigns of principalities; the shame, as showing too often a feeble fondness for unworthy relatives, and entailing on themselves some complicity in the guilt, the profligacy or wickedness of their favoured kindred.

While the Pope thus rose, the higher Prelates of Italy seemed to sink, with no loss, perhaps, of real dignity, into their proper sphere. The ^{Italy.} Archbishops of Milan, Florence, Genoa, Ravenna, are obscured before the Viscontis and Sforzas, the Medicis and Dorias, the hereditary Sovereigns, the princely Condottieri, the republican Podestàs, or the Dukes Venice adhered to her ancient jealous policy; she would have no ambitious, certainly no foreign, Prelate within her lagunes. She was for some time content to belong to the province of an Archbishop hardly within her territory; and that Archbishop, if not a stranger within her walls, had no share in Venetian power or wealth. The single Bishop in Venice was Bishop of one of the small islands, Castello. Venice was first erected, and submitted to be erected, into a patriarchate by Nicolas V.^c When she admitted a Bishop or a Patriarch (perhaps because no one of inferior dignity must appear in St. Mark's), that Bishop received his investiture of his temporal possessions, his ring and pastoral staff, from the Doge. No Synods could be held without permission of the Council. It was not till after her humiliation by

^c Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*.

the League of Cambray that Venice would admit the collation of Bishops to sees within her territories; even then they must be native Venetians. The Superiors of the Monasteries and Orders were Venetians. Even Papal vacancies were presented to by the Venetian Cardinals. The Republic maintained and exercised the right of censure on Venetian Bishops and on Cardinals. If they were absent or contumacious their offences were visited on their families; they were exiled, degraded, banished. The parish priests were nominated by the proprietors in the parish. There was a distinct, severe, inflexible prohibition to the Clergy of all Orders to intermeddle in political affairs. Thus did Venice insulate herself in her haughty independence of Papal as of all other powers.^d Paolo Sarpi could write, without fear of the fulminations of Rome: he had only to guard against the dagger of the papalising fanatic. There was a complete, universal toleration for foreign rites; Greek, Armenian, and Mohammedan were under protection. Prosecutions for heresy were discouraged.

Ravenna had long ceased to be the rival of Rome; the Malatestas, not the Archbishop, were her Lords. The younger branches of the great princely families, those who were disposed to ease, lettered affluence, and more peaceful pomp, by no means disdained the lofty titles, the dignity, the splendid and wealthy palaces of the Prelature: some aspired to the Popedom. Those too, and they were by no means wanting, who were possessed with a profound sense of religion, rose, from better motives and with the noblest results, to the honours of the Church. The Roman Colonnas, the Venetian

^d Daru, *Hist. de Venise*, L. xxviii. c. xi. The saying—"Siame Venetiani, poi Christiani"—was their boast or their reproach.

Contarinis, the Lombard Borromeos, some of the holiest men, were of famous or Papal houses. The Medicis gave two Popes, Leo X. and Clement VII., princes rather than Saints, to the throne of St. Peter. Few Prelates, however, if any, excepting Popes, founded princely families. The Republics; the Tyrants who overthrew or undermined the Republics, the great Transalpine powers which warred for the mastery of Italy, warred by temporal arms alone. No Prelates took the field or plunged into politics, except the Pope and his Cardinals; even from them excommunications had lost their power. They warred with the ordinary instruments of war, soldiers, lances, and artillery. Every other Prelate was content if he could enjoy his revenues and administer his diocese in peace. In general, even the least religious had learned the wisdom or necessity of decency; the more accomplished indulged in the patronage of letters and arts, often letters and arts Pagan rather than Christian; the truly religious rarely wrought their religion to fanaticism; they shone with the light of the milder virtues, and spent their superfluous wealth on churches and on ecclesiastical objects. Christian Art had its papal, its prelatical, its monastic impulses.

In France the Pragmatic Sanction, not repealed till the reign of Francis I., left the disposal of the great preferments in the power of the Crown.

France.

But, as has been said, the Pragmatic Sanction was no bold assertion of religious freedom, no generous effort for the emancipation of the universal Church. The Gallican liberties were throughout a narrow, national claim to a special and peculiar exemption from that which was acknowledged to be elsewhere an unlimited autocracy. The claim rested on its own grounds, was

more endeared to France because it was distinctive; it was a perpetual appeal to the national vanity, the vindication of a privilege of which men are more fond than of a common right. As an exceptional case, though in direct contradiction with its first principle, it affirmed in all other countries the plenary indispensable power of the Pope.^e

The civil wars of the Armagnacs and the Burgundians, the wars with England, threw the hierarchy of France, as it were, into the shade; more violent impulses agitated the realm than struggles for power between the Church and State.^f The Churchmen were divided in these fatal quarrels: like the nobles of France, there were Orleanist and Burgundian Bishops. The King of England named Bishops, he had Bishops for his unscrupulous partisans, in the conquered provinces of France. It was the Bishop of Beauvais—with the Inquisitors of France—who condemned Joan of Arc as a witch, and burned her at the stake. In this wicked, contemptible, and hateful process the Church must share the guilt with England. High feudal names during all this period are found in the hierarchy of France, but the rich prelacies and abbacies had not yet become to such an extent as hereafter the appanages of the younger branches of the noble families. So long as the King possessed the inappreciable prerogative of rewarding the faithful, or purchasing the wavering loyalty

^e Gioberti has somewhere declared the Gallican Liberties a standing Antipope.

^f The Parliament of Poitiers compelled Charles VII. to renounce an ordinance, Feb. 14, 1424, which they refused to register, restoring to the Pope the nomination to the Benefices.

This weak concession had been obtained from the King by the Queen of Sicily. The Parliament declared the ordinance surreptitious, and contrary to the rights of the Bishops.—*Ordonnances des Rois*, Preface, t. xiii. *Sismondi, Hist. des Français*, xiii. 54.

of those dangerous, once almost coequal, subjects by the bestowal of benefices, this power had no inconsiderable influence on the growth of the royal authority. At all events, the Church offered no resistance to the consolidation of the kingly power; the ecclesiastical nobles were mostly the obsequious partisans of the Crown.

In Spain the Church had not begun to rule her Kings with absolute sway, or rather her Kings had not yet become in mind and heart Churchmen. Spain.
The Crusade still continued against the Mohammedan, who was slowly and stubbornly receding before the separate kingdoms, Castile, Arragon, Portugal. Spain had not yet begun—might seem unlikely to begin—her crusade against the rising religious liberties of Europe. She aspired not to be the Champion, and, as the Champion, the Sovereign of Latin Christendom; she had given to the Church St. Dominic, she had yet to give Ximenes, Philip II., Torquemada, Loyola.

In Germany the strife of the Papacy and the Empire seemed altogether worn out; the Emperor Germany.
was content to be a German Sovereign, the Pope to leave the German sovereignty to the German Electors. The Concordat and the Articles of Aschaffenburg had established a truce which might settle down into peace. If the Pope had been satisfied to receive, Germany would hardly have been unwilling to pay, the stipulated, before long the customary, tribute. The Bishop-Electors no longer took the lead, or dictated to the Prince-Electors. In general they were quietly magnificent, rather than turbulent or aggressive Prelates. Still the possession of three out of the seven suffrages for the Empire maintained at once the dignity of the Church, and made these prizes objects of ambition to

the princely houses of Germany.^g Nor did these archbishoprics stand alone. Metropolitans like those of Saltzburg, Prague, Olmutz, Magdeburg; Bishops in the flourishing cities of the Rhine, Worms, Spiers, Strassburg, or in its neighbourhood, Wurtzburg, Bamberg, Passau, Ratisbon, were, in their domains, privileges, feudal rights, and seignoralities, principalities. Yet all was apparent submission, harmony, mutual respect; perhaps the terrors of the Turkish invasion, equally formidable to Pope and Emperor, aided in keeping the peace. The balance of power was rather that of the Prince-Electors and Princes of the Empire against the Emperor and the Pope, than of Emperor against Pope.^h The estrangement from the Papal dominion, the once clamorous demand for the reformation of the Church, the yearning after Teutonic independence, had sunk into the depths of the national mind, into which it could not be followed by the most sagacious political or religious seer. The deep, silent, popular religious movement, from Master Eckhart, from the author of the Book on the Imitation of Christ, and from Tauler, above all, from the author of the German Theology and his disciples, might seem as if it was amassing strength upon the foundation of Latin Christianity and the hierarchical system; while these writers were the monitory signs, and as far as showing the uncongeniality of the Latin and Teutonic mind, the harbingers of the coming revolution.

^g In the fifteenth century, indeed, the Bishoprics began to be commonly bestowed on the younger sons of Sovereign Princes; the Court of Rome favoured this practice, from the conviction that the Chapters could only

be kept in order by the strong hand and the authority of Sovereign power, &c.—*Ranke's Germany*, Mrs. Austin's Translation, i. p. 68.

^h Compare the Introduction of *Ranke*.

England had long ceased to be the richest and most obedient tributary province of the Holy See. The Statutes of Mortmain, Provisors, Præmunire, had become the law of the land. Peers and Commons had united in the same jealousy of the exorbitant power and influence of the Pope. The remonstrances of the Popes against these laws had broken and scattered like foam upon the rocks of English pride and English justice.¹ The Clergy, as one of the estates of the realm, hold their separate Parliament, grant their subsidies or benevolences; but they now take a humbler tone, meekly deprecate rather than fulminate anathemas against those who invade their privileges and immunities. Trembling for their own power, they care not to vindicate with offensive haughtiness that of the Pope. The hierarchy, awed by the spreading opinion of the Lollards, had thrown themselves for protection under the usurping house of Lancaster, and had been accepted as faithful allies of the Crown under Henry IV. Though the Archbishop of York is at the head of the great Northern insurrection, on Henry's side are the successive Primates of Canterbury, Arundel, and Courtenay. It might seem that the Pope and the Crown, by advancing Englishmen of the noble houses to the Primacy, had deliberately determined on a league with the Lords against the civil and spiritual democracy—on one side of Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, on the other of the extreme followers of Wycliffe. The first act of this tacit league was

¹ Under Henry IV., the Parliament resolves that "the Pope's collector, though he had the Pope's Bull for this purpose, hath no jurisdiction within this realm."—1 Henry IV. The Præmunire is confirmed against unlawful

communication with Rome, at the same time that the Act against heresy is passed; and this Act is not a Canon of the Church, but a Statute of the Realm.—Parliamentary History.

to establish the throne of Henry Bolingbroke and put in execution the burning statute against heretics. It cannot be doubted that Archbishop Chichely, in his support of the French war, sought less to propitiate the royal favour than to discharge on France some of the perilous turbulence which was fermenting in England. At the commencement of Henry VI. the Cardinal Beaufort of Winchester is striving for supreme power with the Duke of Gloucester; but Beaufort is a Prince of the blood, uncle of the King, as well as Bishop and Cardinal.^k In the French wars, and in the civil wars, the Bishops seem to have shrunk into their proper and more peaceful sphere. Chichely was content with blowing the trumpet in the Parliament in London; he did not follow the King with the armed retainers of Canterbury. The high places of the Church—though so many of the younger as well as the elder sons of the nobility found more congenial occupation in the fields of France—were rarely left to men of humbler birth. Stafford, who succeeded Chichely, was of the house of the Counts of Stafford, Bouchier of the Earls of Essex.^m Neville, brother of the Earl of Warwick, was Archbishop of York.ⁿ In the wars of the Roses, the Nobles, the Somersets, Buckingham,

^k Among the Ambassadors of England to Basle were the Bishops of London, Lisieux, Rochester, Bayeux, and Aix, and other English and Norman divines.—See Commission, Fuller's Church History, p. 178.

^m Chichely was said to be the son of a tailor.—Fuller, p. 182. His biographer rather confirms this, speaking respectfully of it as a reputable trade, p. 3.

ⁿ The Pope still maintained the

form of the appointment to the Primacy. As in a case cited above of York, the Monks of Canterbury elected Chichely (no doubt under royal influence). The Pope refused the nomination, but himself appointed Chichely by a Papal provision. Chichely would not accept the Primacy till authorised by the King. Stafford's successor, Kemp, was in like manner elected by the Monks, refused, and then nominated of his own authority by the Pope.—

Warwicks, Cliffords—not the Canterburies, Yorks, or Londons—are at the head of the conflicting parties. The banners of Bishops and Abbots wave not over the fields of Barnet, Towton, Wakefield, St. Alban's, Tewkesbury. It is not till the war is over that they resume their seat or authority in the Parliament or Council board. They acknowledge and do homage to the conqueror, York or Lancastrian, or, like Henry VII.,^o blending the two titles. From that time the Archbishop is the first subject in the realm, but in every respect a subject. Some of the great English Prelates, from Wykeham to Wolsey, seem to have been more prescient than those in other kingdoms of the coming change. It is shown in their consecration of large masses of ecclesiastical wealth and landed property for the foundation of colleges rather than monasteries, by Wykeham, Wainfleet, Fox, Wolsey. It can hardly be doubted that some wise Churchman suggested the noble design of Henry VI. in the endowment of King's at Cambridge and of Eton. Wolsey's more magnificent projects seem, as it were, to be arming the Church for some imminent contest; they reveal a sagacious foreknowledge that the Church must take new ground if she will maintain her rule over the mind of man.

Still on the whole throughout Christendom the vast

Godwin, in Chicheley and Kemp. The Pope confirmed the election of Bourchier.—Godwin, in Bourchier. The Pope was thus content with a specious maintenance of his right, the more practical English with the possession of the real power.

^o "This king's reign afforded little Church storie," says Fuller. He fills

it up with an account of an enormous banquet given by Neville, Archbishop of York. Neville could not help being a politician. When Edward, afterwards the IVth, was a prisoner, he was in the custody of Neville, who does not seem to have watched him too carefully. Neville was seized and sent prisoner to Calais by Edward IV.

fabric of the hierarchy stood unshaken. In England alone there was suppressed insurrection among the followers of Wycliffe, now obscure and depressed by persecution; and in Bohemia. There the irresistible armies of Ziska and Procopius had not only threatened to found an anti-hierarchical State; but for the mutual antipathy between the Slavonian and Teutonic races, they might have drawn Germany into the revolt. But Bohemia, again bowed under hierarchical supremacy, was brooding in sullen sorrow over her lost independence. In no other land, except in individual minds or small despised sects, was there any thought, any yearning for the abrogation of the sacerdotal authority. The belief was universal, it was a part of the common Christianity, that a mysterious power dwelt in the hierarchy, irrespective of the sanctity of their own lives, and not dependant on their greater knowledge, through study, of Divine revelation, which made their mediation absolutely necessary to escape eternal perdition and to attain eternal life. The keys were in their hands, not to unlock the hidden treasures of Divine wisdom in the Gospels, or solely to bind and loose by the administration of the great Sacraments; but the keys absolutely of Heaven or Hell. Not, indeed, that death withdrew the soul from the power of the Priest; not even after it departed from the body was it left to the unerring judgement, to the inexhaustible mercy of the one All-seeing Judge. In Purgatory the Priest still held in his hands the doom of the dead man. This doom, in the depths of the other world, was hardly a secret. The torments of Purgatory (and the precincts of purgatory were widened infinitely—very few were so holy as to escape, few so desperately lost as not to be admitted to purgatorial probation) might be mitigated

by the expiatory masses, masses purchased by the wealthy at the price dictated by the Priest, and which rarely could be gained without some sacrifice by the brokenhearted relative or friend. They were more often lavishly provided for by the dying sinner in his will, when wealth, clung to with such desperate tenacity in life, is thrown away with as desperate recklessness. This religion, in which man ceased to be the guardian of his own soul—with all its unspeakable terrors, with all its unspeakable consolations (for what weak mind—and whose mind on such points was not weak?—would not hold as inestimable the certain distinct priestly absolution, or the prayers of the Church for the dead),—this vicarious religion was as much part of the ordinary faith, as much an article of Latin Christianity, as the retributive judgement of God, as the redemption through Christ.

It is difficult (however vain it may be) not to speculate how far the conservative reformation in the Pope and in the Hierarchy, urged so earnestly and eloquently by Gerson and D'Ailly, more vehemently and therefore more alarmingly, by the Council of Basle, might have averted or delayed the more revolutionary reform of the next century. Had not the Papacy, had not the Hierarchy, with almost judicial blindness, thrown itself across the awakening moral sense of man; had it not, by the invidious possession, the more invidious accumulation, of power and wealth, with all the inevitable abuses in the acquisition, in the employment, of that power and wealth, aggravated rather than mitigated their despotic yoke; had they not by such reckless defiance as the lavish preaching of Indulgences by profligate and insolent men, insulted the rising impatience, and shown too glaringly the wide disruption and dis

tance between the moral and the ritual elements of religion ; had not this flagrant incongruity of asserting the Divine power of Christ to be vested in men, to so great an extent utterly unchristian, compelled reflection, doubt, disbelief—at length indignant reprobation—would the crisis have come when it came? Who would have had the courage to assume the responsibility for his own soul? Who would have renounced the privilege of absolution? Who would have thrown himself on the vaguer, less material, less palpable, less, may it be said, audible mercy of God in Christ, and in Christ alone? Who would have withdrawn from what at least seemed to be, what was asserted and believed to be, the visible Church, in which the signs and tokens of Divine grace and favour were all definite, distinct, cognisable by the senses; were seen, heard, felt, and not alone by the inward consciousness? Who would have contented himself with being of that Invisible Church, of which the only sign was the answer of the good conscience within, faith and hope unguaranteed by any earthly mediator, unassured by any authoritative form of words or outward ceremony? Who would have rested in trembling hope on the witness of the Spirit of God, concurrent with the testimony of the spirit within? We may imagine a more noiseless, peaceful, alas, we must add, bloodless change! We may imagine the Gospel, now newly revealed, as it were, in its original language (the older Testament in its native Hebrew), and illustrated by the earlier Greek Fathers, translated into all living languages, and by the new art of Printing become of general and familiar use, gradually dispersing all the clouds of wild allegoric interpretation, of mythology, and materialism, which had been gathering over it for centuries, and thus returning to its few majestic primal

truths in the Apostolic Creed. We may even imagine the Hierarchy receding into their older sphere, instructors, examples in their families as in themselves, of all the virtues and charities; the religious administrators of simpler rites. Yet who that calmly, philosophically, it may almost be said religiously, surveys the power and strength of the Latin religion, the religion of centuries, the religion of a continent—its extraordinary and felicitous adaptation to all the wants and necessities of man—its sympathy with some of the dominant faculties of our being, those especially developed at certain periods of civilisation—its unity—its magisterial authority—the depth to which it had sunk in the human heart—the feelings, affections, passions, fears, hopes, which it commanded: who that surveys it in its vast standing army of the Clergy, and Monks and Friars, which had so long taken service in its defence, with its immense material strength of Churches, Monasteries, Established Laws, Rank; in its Letters, and in its Arts; in its charitable, educational, Institutions: who will not rather wonder at its dissolution, its abolition in so large a part of Christendom, than at its duration? It is not so marvellous that it resisted, and resisted with success; that it threw back in some kingdoms, for a time, the inevitable change; that it postponed in some until a more remote, more terrible and fatal rebellion some centuries after, the detrusion from its autocratic, despotic throne. Who shall be astonished that Latin Christianity so long maintained a large part of the world at least in nominal subjection; or finally, that it still maintains the contest with its rival Teutonic Christianity without, and the more dangerous, because unavowed, revolt within its own pale—the revolt of those who, in appearance

its subjects, either altogether disdain its control, and, not able to accept its belief and discipline, compromise by a hollow acquiescence, or an unregarded, unpunished neglect of all discipline, for total inward rejection of belief?

CHAPTER II.

Belief of Latin Christianity.

LATIN Christendom, or rather universal Christendom, was one (excepting those who were self-outlawed, or outlawed by the dominant authority from the Christian monarchy), not only in the organisation of the all-ruling Hierarchy and the admission of Monkhood, it was one in the great system of Belief. With the exception of the single article of the procession of the Holy Ghost, the Nicene formulary had been undisturbed, and had ruled with undisputed sway for centuries. The procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son as well as the Father was undoubtedly the doctrine of the early Latin writers; but this tenet stole noiselessly—it is not quite certain at what time—into the Creed. That Creed, framed at the great Council of Nicæa, had been received with equal unanimity by the Greek and Latin Churches. Both Churches had subscribed to the anathemas pronounced by the second Council of Constantinople, and ratified by the first Council of Ephesus, against any Church which should presume to add one word or letter to that Creed. Public documents in Rome showed that Pope Leo III. had inscribed on a silver tablet the Creed of Rome without the words “from the Son,” as the authorised faith of the Latin Church. In the great quarrel with Photius, the Greeks discovered, and charged against the Latins, this audacious violation of the

Unity of
creed.

Procession
of the Holy
Ghost.

decrees of the Councils, this unauthorised impious addition to the unalterable Creed of Nicæa. The Patriarch of Constantinople charged it, justly or unjustly, against his own enemy, Nicolas I.^a In the strife with Michael Cerularius, at the final disruption between the two Churches, this was one of the inextinguishable offences of the Latin Church. The admission of the obnoxious article by the Greeks at the Council of Florence was indignantly repudiated, on the return of the Legates from the Council, by the Greek Church. But the whole of Latin Christendom disdained to give ear to the protest of the Greeks; the article remained, with no remonstrance whatever from the West, in the general Latin Creed.

But the Creeds—that of the Apostles, that of Nicæa, or even that ascribed to St. Athanasius, and chanted in every church of the West—formed but a small part of the belief of Latin Christendom. That whole world was one in the popular religion. The same vast mythology commanded the general consent; the same angelology, demonology; the same worship of the Virgin and the Saints, the same reverence for pilgrimages and reliques, the same notions of the life to come, of Hell, Purgatory, Heaven. In general, as springing out of like tendencies and prepossessions of mind, prevailed the like or kindred traditions; the world was one in the same vulgar superstitions. Already, as has been seen, at the close of the sixth century, during the Pontificate of Gregory the Great, the Christianisation not only of the speculative belief of man, of

^a I know no more brief or better summary of the controversy than the common one in Pearson on the Creed. I have some doubts whether the accusation of Photius, as to its introduction, is personal against Pope Nicolas or against the Roman Church.

that also which may justly be called the religion of man, was complete: but no less complete was the Christianisation, if it may be so said, of the lingering Paganism. Man had divinised all those objects of awe and veneration, which rose up in new forms out of his old religion, and which were intermediate between the Soul and God, —“ God,” that is, in “ Christ,” as revealed in the Gospels. Tradition claimed equal authority with the New Testament. There was supposed to be a perpetual power in the Church, and in the Hierarchy the Ruler and Teacher of the Church, of infinitely expanding and multiplying the objects of faith; at length, of gradually authorising and superinducing as integral parts of Christianity the whole imaginative belief of the Middle Ages. Even where such belief had not been canonically enacted by Pope or Council, the tacit acceptance by the general practice of Priest as well as of people was not less authoritative; popular adoration invested its own objects in uncontested sanctity. Already the angelic Hierarchy, if not in its full organisation, had taken its place between mankind and God; already the Virgin Mary was rising, or had fully risen, into Deity; already prayers rarely ascended directly to the throne of grace through the One Intercessor, a crowd of mediate agencies was almost necessary to speed the orison upward, and to commend its acceptance, as it might thwart its blessing. Places, things, had assumed an inalienable holiness, with a centered and emanative power of imparting or withholding spiritual influences. Great prolific principles had been laid down, and had only to work in the congenial soil of the human mind. Now, by the infusion of the Barbaric or Teutonic element, as well as by the religious movement which had stirred to its depths the old Roman society, mankind might seem

renewing its youth, its spring-time of life, with all its imaginative creativeness, and its unceasing surrender to whatever appeared to satisfy the yearnings of its hardly satisfied faith.

There was unity in the infinite diversity of the popular worship. Though each nation, province, parish, shrine, had its peculiar and tutelar Saint, none was without a Saint, and none denied the influence of the Saints of others. Christianity was one in this materialistic inter-communion between the world of man and the extramundane; that ulterior sphere, in its purer corporeity, yet still, in its corporeity, was perpetually becoming cognisable to the senses of man. It was one in the impersonation of all the agencies of nature, in that universal Anthropomorphism, which, if it left something of vague and indefinite majesty to the Primal Parental Godhead, this was not from any high intellectual or mental conception of the incongruity of the human and divine; not from dread of the disparagement of the Absolute and the Infinite; from no predilection for the true sublimity of higher Spiritualism; but simply because its worship, content to rest on a lower sphere, humanised all which it actually adored, without scruple, without limit; and this not in language only, but in its highest conception of its real existence.

All below the Godhead was materialised to the thought. Even within the great Triune Deity the Son still wore the actual flesh which he had assumed on earth; the Holy Ghost became a Dove, not as a symbol, but as a constantly indwelt form. All beyond this supercelestial sphere, into which, however controversial zeal might trespass, awful reverence yet left in it some majestic indistinctness, and some confessed mysterious transcendentalism; all lower, nearer to the world of

man, angels, and devils, the spirits of the condemned and the beatified Saints, were in form, in substance however subtilised, in active only enlarged powers, in affections, hatred or attachment, in passions, nothing more than other races of human beings.

There was the world of Angels and of Devils. The earlier faith, that of Gregory the Great, had contented itself with the notions of Angels as ^{Angels.} dimly revealed in the Scriptures. It may be doubted if any names of angels, except those in the Sacred Writings, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, or any acts not imagined according to the type and precedent of the angelic visitations in the Old and New Testament, will be found in the earlier Fathers. But by degrees the Hierarchy of Heaven was disclosed to the ready faith of mankind, at once the glorious type and with all the regular gradations and ranks of the Hierarchy upon Earth. There was a great celestial Church above, not of the beatified Saints, but of those higher than human Beings whom St. Paul had given some ground to distinguish by different titles, titles which seemed to imply different ranks and powers.

Latin Christendom did not give birth to the writer who, in this and in another department, influenced most powerfully the Latin mind. The author of those extraordinary treatises which, from their obscure and doubtful parentage, now perhaps hardly maintain their fame for imaginative richness, for the occasional beauty of their language, and their deep piety—those treatises which, widely popular in the West, almost created the angel-worship of the popular creed, and were also the parents of Mystic Theology and of the higher Scholasticism—this Poet-Theologian was a Greek. The writings which bear the venerable name of Dionysius

the Areopagite, the proselyte of St. Paul, first appear under a suspicious and suspected form, as authorities cited by the heterodox Severians in a conference at Constantinople.^b The orthodox stood aghast: how was it that writings of the holy Convert of St. Paul had never been heard of before? that Cyril of Alexandria, that Athanasius himself, were ignorant of their existence? But these writings were in themselves of too great power, too captivating, too congenial to the monastic mind, not to find bold defenders.^c Bearing this venerable name in their front, and leaving behind them, in the East, if at first a doubtful, a growing faith in their authenticity,^d they appeared in the West as a precious gift from the Byzantine Emperor to the Emperor Louis the Pious. France in that age was not likely to throw cold and jealous doubts on writings which bore the hallowed name of that great Saint, whom she had already boasted to have left his primal bishopric of Athens to convert her forefathers, whom Paris already held to be her tutelar Patron, the rich and powerful Abbey of St. Denys to be her founder. There was living in the West, by happy coincidence, the one man who at that period, by his knowledge of Greek, by the congenial speculativeness of his mind, by the vigour and richness of his imagination, was qualified to trans

^b Concilia sub ann. 533. Compare the Preface to the edition of Corderius.

^c Photius, in the first article in his *Bibliotheca*, describes the work of a monk, Theodorus, who had answered four out of the unanswerable arguments against their authenticity, as the writings of the Areopagite; but about the answers of Theodorus, and his own impression of the authority

and value of the books, Photius is silent.—Photii *Biblioth.* p. 1, ed. Bekker.

^d There is a quotation from them in a Homily of Gregory the Great, *Lib. ii. Hom. 34, Oper. i. p. 1607*. Gregory probably picked it up during his controversy in Constantinople.—(See vol. i. p. 435.) There is no other trace of an earlier version, or of their earlier influence in the West.

late into Latin the mysterious doctrines of the **Areopagite**, both as to the angelic world and the subtle theology. John Erigena hastened to make known in the West the "Celestial Hierarchy," the treatise "on the Name of God," and the brief chapters on the "Mystic Philosophy." These later works were more tardy in their acceptance, but perhaps more enduring in their influence. Traced downwards through Erigena himself, the St. Victors, Bonaventura, to Eckhart and Tauler in Germany, and throughout the unfailling succession of Mystics, they will encounter us hereafter.^e

The "Celestial Hierarchy" would command at once, and did command, universal respect for its authority, and universal reverence for its doctrines. The "Hierarchy" threw upward the Primal Deity, the whole Trinity, into the most awful, unapproachable, incomprehensible distance; but it filled the widening intermediate space with a regular succession of superhuman Agents, an ascending and descending scale of Beings, each with his rank, title, office, function, superior or subordinate. The vague incidental notices in the Old and New Testament and in St. Paul (and to St. Paul doubtless Jewish tradition lent the names), were wrought out into regular Orders, who have each, as it were, a feudal relation, pay their feudal service (here it struck in with the Western as well as with the Hierarchical mind) to the Supreme, and have feudal superiority or subjection to each other. This theory ere long became almost the authorised Theology; it

^e The Preface of Corderius (Observat. xi.) briefly shows the connexion of the pseudo-Dionysius with Scholasticism, especially with Thomas Aquinas. Observat. xii. shows the innumerable references of Aquinas to those works; yet Aquinas was far less mystic than other schoolmen.

became, as far as such transcendent subjects could be familiarised to the mind, the vulgar belief. The Arts hereafter, when mature enough to venture on such vast and unmanageable subjects, accepted this as the tradition of the Church. Painting presumed to represent the individual forms, and even, in Milton's phrase, "the numbers without number" of this host of heaven.

The Primal Godhead, the Trinity in Unity, was alone Absolute, Ineffable, Inconceivable; alone Essential Purity, Light, Knowledge, Truth, Beauty, Goodness.^f These qualities were communicated in larger measure in proportion to their closer approximation to itself, to the three descending Triads which formed the Celestial Hierarchy:—I. The Seraphim, Cherubim, and Thrones. II. The Dominations, Virtues, Powers. III. Principalities, Archangels, Angels. This Celestial Hierarchy formed, as it were, concentric circles around the unapproachable Trinity. The nearest, and as nearest partaking most fully of the Divine Essence, was the place of honour. The Thrones, Seraphim, and Cherubim approximated most closely, with nothing intermediate, and were more immediately and eternally conformed to the Godhead. The two latter of these were endowed, in the language of the Scripture, with countless eyes and countless wings.^g The second Triad, of less marked and definite attributes, was that of the

^f The writer strives to get beyond Greek copiousness of expression, in order to shroud the Godhead in its utter unapproachableness. He is the Goodness beyond Goodness, *ὑπεράγαθος ἀγαθότης*, the Super-Essential Essence, *οὐσία ὑπερούσια*, Godhead of Godhead, *ὑπερθέος Θεότης*.

^g *Πρωτὴν μὲν εἶναι φησι, τὴν περὶ Θεὸν οὖσαν ἀεὶ καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀμέσως ἠνώσθαι παραδεδομένην, τοὺς τε γὰρ ἁγιωτάτους θρόνους καὶ τὰ πολύμματα καὶ πολύπτερα τέγματα Χερουβιμ, Ἑβραίων φωνῆ, καὶ Σεραφίμ ὀνομάσμενα.—C. vi.*

Powers, Dominations, Virtues.^h The third, as more closely approximating to the world of man, if it may be so said, more often visited the atmosphere of earth, and were the immediate ministers of the Divine purposes. Yet the, so-called, Areopagite laboriously interprets into a spiritual meaning all the forms and attributes assigned in the sacred writings to the Celestial Messengers, to Angels and Archangels. They are of fiery nature. Fire possesses most properties of the Divinity, permeating everything, yet itself pure and unmingled: all manifesting, yet undiscernible till it has found matter to enkindle; irresistible, invisible, subduing everything to itself; vivifying, enlightening, renewing, and moving and keeping everything in motion; and so through a long list of qualities, classed and distinguished with exquisite Greek perspicuity. He proceeds to their human form, allegorising as he goes on, the members of the human body, their wings, their partial nakedness, their bright or their priestly raiment, their girdles, their wands, their spears, their axes, their measuring-cords, the winds, the clouds, the brass and tin, the choirs and hallelujahs, the hues of the different precious stones; the animal forms of the lion, the ox, the eagle, the horse; the colours of the symbolic horses; the streams, the chariots, the wheels, and finally, even the joy of the Angels.ⁱ All this, which to the wise and more reflective seemed to interpret and to bestow a lofty significance on these images, taken in its letter—and so far only it reached the vulgar ear—gave reality, gave a kind of authority and conventional certainty to the whole Angelic Host as represented and described for the popu-

* All this was said to be derived from St. Paul. Gregory the Great (Lib. ii. Moralia) has another distribution, probably from some other source.

¹ Ch. xv.

lar worship. The existence of this regular Celestial Hierarchy became an admitted fact in the higher and more learned Theology; the Schoolmen reason upon it as on the Godhead itself: in its more distinct and material outline it became the vulgar belief. The separate and occasionally discernible Being and Nature of Seraphim and Cherubim, of Archangel and Angel, in that dim confusion of what was thought revealed in the Scripture, and what was sanctioned by the Church—of image and reality; this Oriental, half Magian, half Talmudic, but now Christianised theory, took its place, if with less positive authority, with hardly less questioned credibility, amid the rest of the faith.

But this, the proper, if it may be so said, most heavenly, was not the only Celestial Hierarchy. There was a Hierarchy below, reflecting that above; a mortal, a material Hierarchy: corporeal, as communicating divine light, purity, knowledge to corporeal Beings. The triple earthly Sacerdotal Order had its type in heaven, the Celestial Orders their antitype on earth. The triple and novene division ran throughout, and connected, assimilated, almost identified the mundane and supermundane Church. As there were three degrees of attainment, Light, Purity, Knowledge (or the divine vision), so there were three Orders of the Earthly Hierarchy, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; three Sacraments, Baptism, the Eucharist, the Holy Chrism; three classes, the Baptised, the Communicants, the Monks. How sublime, how exalting, how welcome to the Sacerdotalism of the West this lofty doctrine! The Celestial Hierarchy were as themselves; themselves were formed and organised after the pattern of the great Orders in heaven. The whole worship of Man, in which they administered, was an echo of that above;

it represented, as in a mirror, the angelic or super-angelic worship in the Empyrean. All its splendour, its lights, its incense, were but the material symbols; adumbrations of the immaterial, condescending to human thought, embodying in things cognisable to the senses of man the adoration of the Beings close to the throne of God.^k

The unanswerable proof, were other wanting, of the Greek origin of the Celestial Hierarchy is, that in the Hierarchical system there is no place for the Pope, nor even—this perhaps might seem more extraordinary to the Gallic Clergy—for the Metropolitan. It recognises only the triple rank of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. Jesus to the earthly Hierarchy is as the higher Primal Godhead, as the Trinity, to the Celestial Hierarchy. He is the Thearchic Intelligence, the super-substantial Being.^m From him are communicated, through the Hierarchy, Purity, Light, Knowledge. He is the Primal Hierarchy, that imparts his gifts to men; from him and through him men become partakers in the Divinity. The Sacraments are the channels through which these graces, Purification, Illumination, Perfection, are distributed to the chosen. Each Hierarchical Order has its special function, its special gifts. Baptism is by the Deacon, the Eucharist by the Priest, the Holy Chrism by the Bishop. What the Celestial Hierarchy are to the whole material universe the Hierarchy of the Clergy are to the souls of men; the trans-

^k Ἐπεὶ μὴδὲ δυνατόν ἐστιν τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς νοῦ, πρὸς τὴν αὐλον ἐκείνην ἀνατεθῆναι τῶν οὐρανίων Ἱεραρχῶν μίμησιν τε καὶ θεωρίαν, εἰ μὴ τῇ κατ' αὐτὸν ὕλαϊ χερσαγωγίᾳ χρῆσασθαι τὰ μὲν φαινόμενα κάλλη τῆς ἀφανοῦς εὐπρεπείας ἀπεικονίσματα λογιζόμενος, καὶ τὰς αἰσθητὰς εὐωδίας ἐκτυπώματα τῆς νοητῆς διαδοσεως, καὶ τῆς αὐλοῦ φωτοδοσίας εἰκὼνα τὰ ὕλικὰ φῶτα.—Lib. i. c. i. p. 3.

^m Θεαρχικώτατος νοῦς, ὑπερουσίος

mittants, the sole transmittants, of those graces and blessings which emanate from Christ as their primal fountain.

Still, however, as of old,ⁿ angelic apparitions were rare and unfrequent in comparison with the
Demonology. demoniacal possessions, the demoniacal temptations and interferences. Fear was more quick, sensitive, ever-awake, than wonder, devotion, or love. Men might in their profound meditations imagine this orderly and disciplined Hierarchy far up in the remote Heavens. The visitations to earth might be of higher or lower ministers, according to the dignity of the occasion or the holiness of the Saint. The Seraphim might flash light on the eye, or touch with fire the lip of the Seer; the Cherubim might make their celestial harmonies heard; the Archangel might sweep down on his terrible wings on God's mission of wrath; the Angel descend on his more noiseless mission of love. The air might teem with these watchful Beings, brooding with their protecting care over the Saints, the Virgins, the meek and lowly Christians.^o They might be in perpetual contest for the souls of men with their eternal antagonists the Devils. But the Angelology was but dim and indistinct to the dreadful ever-present Demonology; their name, the Spirits of Air, might seem as if the atmosphere immediately around this world was their inalienable, almost exclusive domain.

So long as Paganism was the antagonist of Christianity, the Devil, or rather the Devils, took the names of Heathen Deities: to St. Martin of Tours, they were Jove, Mercury, Venus, or Minerva. They wore the form

ⁿ Compare vol. ii. p. 152.

^o Spenser's beautiful and well-known lines express the common feeling.

and the attributes of those rejected and degraded Gods, no doubt familiar to most by their statues, perhaps by heathen poetry—the statues not yet destroyed by neglect or by Christian Iconoclasm, the poetry, which yet sounded to the Christian ear profane, idolatrous, hateful.^p At a later period the Heathen Deities have sunk into the obscure protectors of certain odious vices. Among the charges against Pope Boniface VIII. is the invocation of Venus and other Pagan demons, for success in gambling and other licentious occupations. So, too, in the conversion of the Germans, the Teutonic Gods became Demons. The usual form of recantation of heathenism was, “Dost thou renounce the Devils? Dost thou renounce Thonar, Woden, Saxnote?”^q “Odin take you,” is still the equivalent in some Northern tongues to “the Devil take you.”^r

But neither did the Greek Mythology, nor did that of the Germans, offer any conception like that of the later Jewish and the Christian Antagonist of God. Satan had no prototype in either. The German Teufel (Devil) is no more than the Greek Diabolus. The word is used by Ulphilas; and in that primitive translation Satan retains his proper name.^s But as in Greek and Roman

^p “Nam interdum in Jovis personam, plerumque Mercurii, persæpe etiam se Veneris ac Minervæ transfiguratum vultibus offerebat.”—Sulp. Sever. Vit. S. Mat. cxliii. Martin was endowed with a singular faculty of discerning the Devil. “Diabolum vero tam conspicabilem et subjectum oculis habebat, ut sive se in propriâ substantiâ contineret, sive in diversas figuras spiritualesque nequitias transtulisset, qualibet ab eo sub imagine videretur.” Once Martin promised the Devil the

Divine forgiveness at the Day of Judgement, on his ceasing to persecute, and his repentance of his sins. “Ego tibi vero confisus in Domino, Christi misericordiam polliceor.” The heterodox charity of St. Martin did not meet the same aversion as the heterodox theology of Origen.

^q See vol. iii. p. 267.

^r Grimm. Mythologie, p. 568.

^s Mark iii. 23. John xiii. 27 Edit. Zahn.

heathenism the infernal Deities were perhaps earlier, certainly were more universally, than the deities of Olympus, darkened into the Demons, Fiends, Devils of the Christian belief; so from the Northern mythology, Lok and Hela, before and in a greater degree than Odin or the more beneficent and warlike Gods, were relegated into Devils. Pluto was already black enough, terribly hideous enough, cruel and unrelenting enough; he ruled in Tartarus, which was, of course, identified with Hell: so Lok, with his consummate wickedness, and consummate wiliness, as the enemy of all good, lent and received much of the power and attributes of Satan.

The reverent withdrawal not only of the Primal Parental Godhead, the Father, but likewise of the two coeternal Persons of the Trinity into their unapproachable solitude, partly perhaps the strong aversion to Manicheism, kept down, as it were, the antagonism between Good and Evil into a lower sphere. The Satan of Latin Christianity was no Eastern, almost coeval, coequal Power with Christ; he was the fallen Archangel, one it might be of the highest, in that thrice-triple Hierarchy of Angelic Beings. His mortal enemy is not God, but St. Michael. How completely this was the popular belief may appear from one illustration, the Chester Mystery of the Fall of Lucifer.^t This drama, performed by the guilds in a provincial city in England, solves the insoluble problem of the origin of Evil through the intense pride of Lucifer. God himself is present on the scene; the nine Orders remonstrate

^t Thus speaks Lucifer to the Celestial Hierarchy :

Destres, I commsunde you for to cease,
And see the bewtye that i beare,
All Heaven shines through my brightnes,
For God himself shines not so clear.—*Chester Mysteries*, p. 13.

against the overweening haughtiness of Lucifer, who, with his Devils, is cast down into the dark dungeon prepared for them.

But in general the sublimity even of this view of the Antagonist Power of Evil mingles not with the popular conception. It remained for later Poetry: it was, indeed, reserved for Milton to raise his image of Satan to appalling grandeur; and Milton, true to tradition, to reverential feeling, to the solemn serene grandeur of the Saviour in the Gospel, leaves the contest, the war with Satan, to the subordinate Angels and to Michael, the Prince of the Angels. The Son, as coequal in Godhead, sits aloof in his inviolate majesty.^u

The Devil, the Devils of the dark ages, are in the vulgar notion something far below the Lucifer, the fallen Son of the Morning. They are Devils. merely hideous, hateful, repulsive—often, to show the power of the Saint, contemptible. The strife for the mastery of the world is not through terrible outbursts of power. The mighty destructive agencies which war on mankind are the visitations of God, not the spontaneous, inevitable, or even permitted devastations of Satan. It is not through the loftier passions of man, it is mostly

^u Remark Milton's wonderful sublimity, not merely in his central figure of him, who had not "lost all his original brightness," who was "not less than archangel ruined," but in his creation, it may also be said, out of Selden's book, and the few allusions in the Old Testament, of a new Demonology. He throws aside the old Patriarchic Hierarchy of Devils, the gods of Greece and Rome, whom the revival of classical literature had now reinstated in their majesty and beauty, as

seen in the Poets. He raises up in their stead the biblical adversaries of the Godhead of the Old Testament; the Deities of the nations, Canaan and Syria, circumjacent and hostile to the Jews. Before Milton, if *Moloch*, *Belial*, *Mammon*, were not absolutely unknown to poetry, they had no proper and distinct poetic existence. I owe the germ of this observation, perhaps more than the germ, to my friend Mr. Macaulay.

by petty tricks and small annoyances, that the Evil One endeavours to mislead or molest the Saint. Even when he offers temptations on a larger scale, there is in general something cowardly or despicable; his very tricks are often out-tricked. The form which he assumed, the attributes of the form, the horns, the tail, the cloven foot, are vulgar and ludicrous. The stench which betrays his presence, his howlings and screechings are but coarse and grovelling. At first, indeed, he was hardly permitted to assume the human form:^x his was a monstrous combination of all that was most ugly and hateful in the animal shape. If Devils at times assumed beautiful forms, as of wanton women to tempt the Saints, or entered into and possessed women of attractive loveliness, it was only for a time; they withdrew and shrunk back to their own proper and native hideousness.

Even Dante's Devils have but a low and menial malignity; they are base and cruel executioners, torturers, with a fierce but dastardly delight in the pains they inflict. The awful and the terrible is in the human victims: their passions, their pride, ambition, cruelty, avarice, treachery, revenge, alone have anything of the majesty of guilt: it is the diabolic in man, not the Devils acting upon men and through men, which makes the moral grandeur of his Inferno.

The symbol under which the Devil, Satan as Lucifer, as well as his subordinate fiends, are represented

^x "Alors qu'aux yeux du vulgaire celui-ci fut devenu un être hideux, incohérent assemblage des formes les plus animales, et les plus effrayantes; un personnage grotesque à force d'être laid." — Maury, *Légendes Pieuses*,

p. 198.

M. Maury says that the most ancient representation of the Devil in human form is in an ivory diptych of the time of Charles the Bald, p. 136, note. See also text.

throughout this period, the Serpent, was sometimes terrific, often sunk to the low and the ludicrous. This universal emblem of the Antagonist ^{The Serpent.} Power of evil runs through all religions^y (though here and there the Serpent is the type of the Beneficent Deity, or, coiled into a circular ring, of eternity).^z The whole was centered in the fearful image of the great Dragon in the Apocalypse. St. Michael slaying the Dragon is among the earliest emblems of the triumph of Good over Evil. From an emblem it became a religious historical fact. And hence, doubtless, to a great extent, the Dragon of Romance; St. George is but another St. Michael of human descent. The enmity of the serpent to the race of man, as expressed and seemingly countenanced by the Book of Genesis, adds wiliness to the simply terrible and destructive monster. Almost every legend teems with serpent demons. Serpents are the most dire torturers in hell. The worm that never dieth (Dante's great Worm) is not alone; snakes with diabolic instincts, or snakes actually devils, and rioting in the luxury of preying on the vital and sensitive parts of the undying damned, are everywhere the dreadful instruments of everlasting retribution.

Closely connected with these demoniac influences was the belief in magic, witchcraft, spells, talismans, conjurations. These were all the actual delusions or operations of obedient or assistant Evil Spirits. The Legislature of the Church and of the State, from Con-

^y The connexion of the Dragon, Serpent, and Worm with the Devil in its countless forms is traced with inexhaustible learning by M. Maury, in his *Légendes Pieuses*, pp. 131, 154. So too the growth of each demoniac beast out of other notions, the lion,

the wolf, the swine, it would be impossible to enter in such a work as this into the endless detail.

^z The ample references of M. Maury on this subject might be enlarged. See too the work of Mr. Deane on the Worship of the Serpent.

stantine down to a late period, the post-Papal period of Christianity; Roman, Barbarian, even modern Codes recognised as real facts all these wild hallucinations of our nature, and by arraying them in the dignity of heretical, impious, and capital offences, impressed more deeply and perpetuated the vulgar belief. They have now almost, but by no means altogether, vanished before the light of reason and of science. The most obstinate fanaticism only ventures to murmur, that in things so universally believed, condemned by Popes and Councils, and confirmed by the terrible testimony of the excommunication and the execution of thousands of miserable human beings, there must have been something more than our incredulous age will acknowledge.* Wisdom and humanity may look with patience, with indulgence, with sympathy, on many points of Christian superstition, as bringing home to hearts which would otherwise have been untouched, unsoftened, unconsoled, the blessed influences and peace of religion; but on this sad chapter, extending far beyond the dark ages, it will look with melancholy, indeed, but unmitigated reprobation. The whole tendency was to degrade and brutalise human nature: to degrade by encouraging the belief in such monstrous follies; to brutalise by the pomp of public executions, conducted with the solemnity of civil and religious state.

All this external world-environing world of Beings possessed the three great attributes, ubiquity, incessant activity with motion in unappreciable time, personality. God was not more omnipresent, more all-knowing, more cognisant of the inmost secrets of the human heart than

* See Görres, *Christliche Mystik*, that strange erudite rhapsody, which, with all its fervour, fails to convince us that the author was in earnest.

were these angelic or demon hosts. These divine attributes might be delegated, derivative, permitted for special purposes ; but human fear and hope lost sight of this distinction, and invested every one of the countless preternatural agents in independent, self-existent, self-willed life. They had, too, the power of assuming any forms ; of endless and instantaneous transmutation.

But the angels were not the only guardians and protectors of the faithful against the swarming, busy, indefatigable malignant spirits, which claimed the world of man as their own. It might seem as if human weakness required something less impalpable, more sensibly real, more akin to itself, than beings of light and air, which encircled the throne of God. Those

Beings, in their essence immaterial, or of a The Saints. finer and more ethereal matter, might stoop to earth, or might be constantly hovering between earth and heaven ; but besides them, as it were of more distinct cognisance by man, were those who, having worn the human form, retained it, or reassumed it, as it were clothing over their spiritualised being. The Saints, having been human, were more easily, more naturally conceived as still endowed with human sympathies ; intermediate between God and man, but with an imperishable ineffaceable manhood more closely bound up with man. The doctrine of the Church, the Communion of Saints, implied the Church militant and the Church triumphant. The Christians yet on earth, the Christians already in heaven, formed but one polity ; and if there was this kindred, if it may be so said, religious consanguinity, it might seem disparagement to their glory and to their union with Christ to banish the Saints to a cold unconscious indifference, and abase them to ignorance of the concerns of their brethren still in the flesh.

Each Saint partook, therefore, of the instinctive omniscience of Christ. While unabsorbed in the general beatified community, he kept up his special interest and attachment to the places, the companions, the fraternities of his earthly sojourn; he exercised, according to his will, at least by intercession, a beneficent influence; he was tutelar within his sphere, and therefore within that sphere an object of devout adoration. And so, as ages went on, saints were multiplied and deified. I am almost unwilling to write it; yet assuredly, hardly less, if less than Divine power and Divine will was assigned by the popular sentiment to the Virgin and the Saints. They intercepted the worship of the Almighty Father, the worship of the Divine Son. To them, rather than through them, prayer was addressed; their shrines received the more costly oblations; they were the rulers, the actual disposing Providence on earth: God might seem to have abandoned the Sovereignty of the world to those subordinate yet all-powerful agencies.

High above all this innumerable Host of Saints and Martyrs, if not within the Trinity (it were not easy, if we make not large allowance for the wild language of rapturous adoration, to draw any distinction), hardly below, was seated the Queen of Heaven.^b The worship of the Virgin, since the epoch of Gregory the Great, had been constantly on the ascendant; the whole progress of Christian thought and feeling converged towards this end.^c The passionate adoration of the Virgin

^b "At qualis currus, cuius aurigæ sunt immortales Spiritus!
Qualis Illa quæ ascendit, et cui Deus fit obvius!
Hæc est Regina naturæ, et pæne gratiæ.
Tali pompâ excipienda est quæ Deum exceperat.
Adsurgæ, anima, dic aliquid sublimius.
An'te adventum Mariæ regnabant in cælo tres personæ.

Nec regnabant tres Reges,
Alterum thronum addidit homo Deus;
Adventante Maria tertius thronus est additus.
Et nunc triplex in cælo regnum est, ubi erat unicum.
Sedet proxima Deo mater Dei."
Labbé in Elogiis.—Comp. Augusti, v. iiii. p. 55.

^c Compare on the earlier period

was among the causes of the discomfiture of Nestorianism—the discomfiture of Nestorianism deepened the passion. The title “Mother of God” had been the watchword of the feud; it became the cry of victory. Perhaps as the Teutonic awe tended to throw back into more remote incomprehensibility the spiritual Godhead, and therefore the more distinct human image became more welcome to the soul; so perhaps the purer and loftier Teutonic respect for the female sex was more prone to the adoration of the Virgin Mother. Iconoclasm, as the images of the Virgin Mother, then perhaps usually with the Child, were more frequent and regarded with stronger attachment, would seem a war specially directed against the blessed Mary; her images, when they rose again, or, as was common, smiled again on the walls, would be the objects of still more devout wonder and love. She would vindicate her exalted dignity by more countless miracles, and miracles would be multiplied at once by the frantic zeal and by the more easy credulity of her triumphant worshippers; she would glorify herself, and be glorified without measure. It was the same in the East and in the West. The East had early adopted in the popular creed the groundwork, at least, of the Gospel of the Infancy and of the other spurious Gospels, which added so prodigally to the brief allusions to the Mother in the genuine Gospels.^d The Emperor Heraclius, it has been seen, had the Virgin on his banner of war; to the tutelar protection of the Virgin Constantinople looked against the Saracen and

Beugnot, *Destruction du Paganisme*, ii. 267. The whole subject of the progress of the worship of the Virgin, in Augusti, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, iii. pp. 1 *et seqq.*, with ample illustrations.

^d Perhaps the reception of these into the Koran as part of the universal Christian belief is the most striking proof of this.

the Turk. Chivalry above all would seem, as it were, to array the Christian world as the Church militant of the Virgin.^e Every knight was the sworn servant of our Lady; to her he looked for success in battle—strange as it may sound, for success in softer enterprises.^f Poetry took even more irreverent licence; its adoration in its intensity became revoltingly profane. Instead of hallowing human passion, it brought human passion into the sphere of adoration, from which it might have been expected to shrink with instinctive modesty. Yet it must be known in its utmost phrensy to be judged rightly.^g

So completely was this worship the worship of Christendom, that every cathedral, almost every spacious church, had its Chapel of our Lady. In the hymns to the Virgin, in every breviary, more especially in her own "Hours" (the great universal book of devotion) not merely is the whole world and the celestial world put under contribution for poetic images, not only is all the luxuriance and copiousness of language exhausted, a new vocabulary is invented to express the yet inexpressible homage; pages follow pages of glowing similitudes, rising one above another. In the Psalter of the

^e On the chivalrous worship of the Virgin, Le Grand d'Aussy, *Fabliaux*, v. 27.

^f The poetry of the Troubadours is full of this.

^g "C'est ainsi que le même Gautier (de Coron.) conçut pour la Vierge Marie un amour véritable, qui l'enflamma, le dévora toute sa vie. Elle était pour lui ce qu'est une amante pour le plus passionné des hommes. Il réunissait pour elle toutes les beautés qu'il apercevait dans les religieuses

d'un couvent qu'il dirigeait; lui adressait chaque jour des vers pleins d'amour, d'érotiques chansons; il la voyait dans ses rêves, et quelquefois même quand il veillait, sous les formes les plus voluptueuses, et la croyait l'héroïne des mille aventures, que, dans son délire, il inventait, et puis racontait en vers innumérables."—*Hist. Littéraire de la France*, xix. p. 843.

To purify his imagination from this, let the reader turn to Petrarch's noble ode "Vergine bella, che di sol vestita."

Virgin almost all the incommunicable attributes of the Godhead are assigned to her; she sits between Cherubim and Seraphim; she commands, by her maternal influences, if not by authority, her Eternal Son.^h To the Festivals of the Annunciation and the Purification (or the Presentation of Christ in the Temple) was added that of the Assumption of the Virgin.ⁱ A rich and copious legend revealed the whole history of her birth and life, of which the Sacred Scriptures were altogether silent, but of which the spurious Gospels furnished many incidents,^k thus, as it were, taking their rank as authorities with the Apostolic four. And all this was ere long to be embodied in Poetry, and, it might seem, more imperishably in Art. The latest question raised about the Virgin—her absolute immunity from the sin of Adam—is the best illustration of the strength and vitality of the belief. Pious men could endure the discussion. Though St. Bernard, in distinct words which cannot be explained away, had repudiated the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin^m—though it was rejected by Thomas Aquinas,ⁿ that Conception without any taint of hereditary sin, grew up under the authority of the rival of Aquinas. It became the subject of contention and controversy, from which the calmer Christian shrinks with intuitive repugnance. It divided the Dominicans

^h "Excelsus super Cherubim Thronus ejus, et sedes ejus super cardines cœli." — Ps. cxlii. "Domina Angelorum, regina Mundi!" — Ps. xxxix. "Quod Deus imperio, tu prece, Virgo, facis— Jure matris impera filio!"

ⁱ Titian's Assumption of the Virgin at Venice, to omit the Murillos, and those of countless inferior artists.

^k See these Gospels in Thilo, Codex Apocryphus.

^m "Mariam in peccato conceptam, cum et ipsa vulgari modo per libidinem maris et feminae concepta est." One is almost unwilling to quote in Latin what St. Bernard wrote. Ad canon. Lugdun. It is true St. Bernard made a vague submission on this, as on other points, to the judgement of the Church.

ⁿ Summa Theologiæ, iii. 27, and in coarse terms.

and Franciscans into hostile camps, and was agitated with all the wrath and fury of a question in which was involved the whole moral and religious welfare of mankind.^o None doubted^p that it was within the lawful sphere of theology.^q Wonderful as it may seem, a doctrine rejected at the end of the twelfth century by the last Father of the Latin Church, has been asserted by a Pope of the nineteenth, and a Council is now sitting in grave debate in Rome on the Immaculate Conception.^r

The worship of the Saints might seem to be endangered by their multiplicity, by their infinity. The crowded calendar knew not what day it could assign to the new Saint without clashing with, or dispossessing, an old one; it was forced to bear an endless accumulation on some favoured days. The East and the West vied with each other in their fertility. The Greek Menologies are not only as copious, in the puerility

^o When the stranger travelling in Spain arrived at midnight at a convent-gate, and uttered his "Santissima Virgen," he knew by the answer, either "Sin pecado concebida," or by the silence with which the door opened, whether it was a Franciscan or a Dominican.

^p Singular it may seem, the doctrine was first authorised by the reforming (heterodox?) Council of Basle, A.D. 1439. Session xxv. vi.

^q Even such a writer as Augustin Theiner *was*, can write such pages as appear in the *Vie de Clément XIV.*, i. p. 341.

^r Is there not wisdom enough in the Church, which has never been thought wanting in wisdom, to consider whether it is wise to inflame a passionate

paroxysm of devotion in a very few; and to throw back, by an inevitable revulsion, and by so fatal an argument placed in their hands, multitudes into utter unbelief and contempt of all religion?—So had I written in 1854: the Council has passed its decree; by all who own its authority the Immaculate Conception is admitted, or, what is very different, not denied to be an Article of the Christian creed. But is not the utter and total apathy with which it has been received (one day's Spectacle at Rome, and nearly silent indifference throughout Christendom) the most remarkable sign of the times—the most unanswerable proof of the prostration of the strength of the Roman Church? There is not life enough for a schism on this vital point.

and trivialness of their wonders they even surpass the Western Hagiologies. But of the countless Saints of the East, few comparatively were received in the West. The East as disdainfully rejected many of the most famous, whom the West worshipped with the most earnest devotion; they were ignorant even of their names. It may be doubted if an Oriental ever uttered a prayer in the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Still that multiplicity of Saints, as it bore unanswerable witness to the vigour of its belief, so also to its vitality. It was constantly renewing its youth by the elevation of more favourite and recent objects of adoration. Every faculty, every feeling, every passion, every affection, every interest was for centuries in a state of perpetual excitement to quicken, keep alive, and make more intense this wonder-fed and wonder-seeking worship. The imagination, the generous admiration of transcendent goodness, of transcendent learning, or, what was esteemed even more Christian, transcendent austerity; rivalry of Church with Church, of town with town, of kingdom with kingdom, of Order with Order; sordid interest in the Priesthood who possessed, and the people who were permitted to worship, and shared in the fame, even in the profit, from the concourse of worshippers to the shrine of a celebrated Saint; gratitude for blessings imputed to his prayers, the fruitful harvest, protection in war, escape in pestilence; fear lest the offended Saint should turn away his face; the strange notion that Saints were under an obligation to befriend their worshippers; the still bolder Brahminical notion that Saints might be compelled by the force of prayer, or even by the lavish oblation, to interpose their reluctant influence;—against all this stood one faculty of man alone, and that with difficulty roused out of its

long lethargy, rebuked, cowed, proscribed, shuddering at what might be, which was sure to be, branded as impiety—the Reason. Already in the earliest period to doubt the wild wonders related of St. Martin of Tours is to doubt the miracles of the Gospel.^a Popular admiration for some time enjoyed, unchecked, the privilege of canonisation. A Saint was a Saint, as it were, by acclamation; and this acclamation might have been uttered in the rudest times, as during the Merovingian rule in France; or within a very limited sphere, as among our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, so many of whose Saints were contemptuously rejected by the Norman Conqueror. Saints at length multiplying thus beyond measure, the Pope assumed the prerogative of advancing to the successive ranks of Beatitude and Sanctity. If this checked the deification of such perplexing multitudes, it gave still higher authority to those who had been recognised by more general consent, or who were thus more sparingly admitted to the honours of Beatification and Sanctification (those steps, as it were, of spiritual promotion were gradually introduced). The Saints ceased to be local divinities; they were proclaimed to Christendom, in the irrefragable Bull, as worthy of general worship.^t

There were some, of course, the universal Saints of

* “*Quonquam minimè mirum sit si in operibus Martini infirmitas humana dubitaverit, cum multos hodieque videamus, nec Evangelicis quidem credidisse.*”—Sulp. Sever., Dial. ii. 15. Sulpicius almost closes the life of St. Martin with these words: “*De cæteris si quis infideliter legerit, ipse peccabit.*”

^t Canonisation has been distributed

into three periods. Down to the tenth century the Saint was exalted by the popular voice, the suffrage of the people with the Bishop. In the intermediate period the sanction of the Pope was required, but the Bishops retained their right of initiation. Alexander III. seized into the hands of the Pope alone this great and abused Prerogative—Mabillon, Act. S. Benedict. V. in Præf.

Christendom, the Apostles, the early martyrs; some of Latin Christendom, the four great Fathers of the Latin Church; some few, like St. Thomas of Canterbury, the martyr of the ecclesiastical Order, would be held up by the whole Hierarchy as the pattern and model of sanctity; St. Benedict, in all the Benedictine monasteries, the founders or reformers of the Monastic Institutes, St. Odo, St. Stephen Harding, St. Bernard, St. Romuald, St. Norbert. At a later period, and, above all, wherever there were Mendicant Friars (and where were there not?), St. Dominic and St. Francis would have their images raised, their legends read and promulgated with the utmost activity, and their shrines heaped with offerings. Each Order was bound especially to hold up the Saints of the Order; it was the duty of all who wore the garb to spread their fame with special assiduity.^u The Dominicans and Franciscans could boast others besides their founders: the Dominicans the murdered Inquisitor Peter the Martyr, and St. Thomas Aquinas; the Franciscans St. Antony of Padua, and San Bonaventura. Their portraits, their miracles, were painted in the churches, in the cloisters of the Friars;

^u The great authority for the Lives of the Saints, of course with strong predilection for the Saints of the West, is the vast Collection of the Bollandists, even in the present day proceeding towards its termination. On the origin and the writers of this Collection, consult Pitra, *Etudes sur la Collection des Actes des Saints par les Jésuites Bollandistes*. To me the whole beauty and value is in the original contemporary form (as some, for instance, are read in Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniæ*). In the Bollandists, or even in the Golden Legend of

Jacob a Voragine, they become cold and controversial; the original documents are overlaid with dissertation. Later writers, like Alban Butler, are apologetic, cautious, always endeavouring to make the incredible credible. In the recent Lives of the English Saints, some of them admirably told, there is a sort of chilly psychological justification of belief utterly irreconcilable with belief; the writers urge that we ought to believe, what they themselves almost confess that they can only believe, or fancy they believe, out of duty, not of faith.

hymns in their name, or sentences, were chanted in the services. All these were world-wide Saints: their shrines arose in all lands, their churches or chapels sprung up in all quarters. Others had a more limited fame, though within the pale of that fame their worship was performed with loyal fidelity, their legend read, their acts and miracles commemorated by architecture, sculpture, painting. As under the later Jewish belief each Empire had its guardian Angel, so each kingdom of Christendom had its tutelar Saint. France had three, who had each his sacred city, each, as it were, succeeded to, without dispossessing, the other. St. Martin of Tours was the older; St. Remi, who baptised Clovis into the Catholic Church, had an especial claim on all of Frankish descent. But, as Paris rose above Tours and Rheims, so rose St. Denys, by degrees, to be the leading Saint of France. St. Louis was the Saint of the royal race.* St. Jago of Compostella, the Apostle St. James, had often led the conquering Spaniard against the Mussulman. The more peaceful Boniface, with others of the older missionaries, was honoured by a better title in Germany. Some of the patron Saints, however, of the great Western kingdoms are of a later period, and sprung probably out of romance, perhaps were first inscribed on the banners to distinguish the several nations during the Crusades. For the dignity of most of these Saints there is sufficient legendary reason: as of St. Denys in France, St. James in Spain, St. Andrew in Scotland (there was a legend of the

* Charlemagne was a Saint (Baronius, sub ann. 814). He was unfortunately canonised by a Pseudo-Pope (Pascal). He was worshipped at Aix-la-Chapelle, Hildesheim, Osnaburg, Minden, Halberstadt—thus a German rather than a French Saint. See the Hymn to him, Daniel, i. p. 305, from the Halberstadt Breviary.

Apostle's conversion of Scotland), St. Patrick in Ireland. England, however, instead of one of the old Roman or Saxon Saints, St. Alban, or St. Augustine, placed herself under the tutelar guardianship of a Saint of very doubtful origin, St. George.^y In Germany alone, notwithstanding some general reverence for St. Boniface, each kingdom or principality, even every city, town, or village had its own Saint. The history of Latin Christianity may be traced in its more favoured Saints, first Martyrs, then Bishops, then Fathers, Jerome, Augustine, Gregory, then Monks (the type St. Benedict). As the Church grew in wealth, Kings or Nobles, magnificent donors, were the Saints; as it grew in power, rose Hierarchical Saints, like Becket. St. Louis was the Saint of the Crusades and Chivalry; St. Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura of Scholasticism. Female prophets might seem chosen to vie with those of the Fraticelli and of the Heretics; St. Catherine of Sienna, St. Bridget,^z those Brides of Christ, who had constant personal intercourse with the Saints, with the Virgin, with our Lord himself. In later days Christian charity, as well as Mysticism, had its Saints, St. Vincent de Paul, with St. Teresa, and St. Francis de Sales.

^y Dr. Milner (the Roman Catholic) wrote an Essay against Gibbon's assertion that "the infamous George of Cappadocia became the patron Saint of England." He was, I think, so far successful; but it is much more easy to say who St. George was not than who he was.

^z St. Bridget was beatified by Boniface IX., canonised by John XXIII. at the Council of Constance, confirmed by St. Martin. The Swedes were earnest for their Saint (and she had had the merit of urging the return of

the Popes from Avignon). But Gerson threw some rationalising doubts on the visions of St. Bridget, and on the whole bevy of female saints, which he more than obviously hinted might be the dupes or accomplices of artful Confessors. The strange wild rhapsodies, the visions of St. Bridget, under the authority of Turrecremata, were avouched by the Council of Basle. See Gerson's Tracts, especially de probatione spirituum, de distinctione verarum visionum a falsis.—Heiyot, iv. p. 25. Shrooek, xxxiii. p. 189, &c.

To assert, to propagate the fame, the miracles, of his proper Saint was the duty of every King, of every burgher, of every parishioner, more especially of the Priesthood in the Church dedicated to his memory, which usually boasted of his body buried under the high altar, or of reliques of that body. Most churches had a commemorative Anniversary of the Saint, on which his wonders were the subjects of inexhaustible sermons. It was the great day of pomp, procession, rejoicing, feasting, sometimes rendered more attractive by some new miracle, by some marvellous cure, some devil ejected, something which vied with or outdid the wonders of every neighbouring Saint. Of old, the Saint-worshippers were more ambitious. In the days of St. Martin, Sulpicius Severus urges on his friend Posthumianus to publish everywhere, in his distant travel or on his return from the East, the fame of St. Martin.* “Pass not Campania; make him known to the holy Paulinus, through him it will be published in Rome, in Italy, and in Illyricum. If you travel to the right, let it be heard in Carthage, where he may rival Cyprian; if to the left, in Corinth, who will esteem him wiser than Plato, more patient than Socrates. Let Egypt, let Asia hear the fame of the Gaulish Saint.” That, however, was when Saints were rare. More restricted commerce, and the pre-occupation of every land, every city, every church with its own patron Saint, confined within the province, city, or hamlet, all who had not some universal claim to respect, or some wide-spread fraternity to promulgate their name. Yet though there might be jealousy or rivalry in the worship of distant or neighbouring Saints; as the heathens denied not the

* “Dum recurris diversasque regiones, loca, portus, insulas, urbesque præter legis, Martini nomen et gloriam sparge per populos.”—V. S. Martini, Dialog. iii. p. 588.

gods of other nations, even hostile nations, whom themselves did not worship as gods; so none would question the saintship, the intercessory powers, the marvels of another Saint.

Thus throughout Christendom was there to every community and every individual man an Intercessor with the one Great Intercessor between God and man, some intermediate being, less awful, more humble, whose office, whose charge, almost whose duty it was to speed, or who, if offended, might withhold the suppliant orison. Every one of these Saints had his life of wonder, the legend of his virtues, his miracles, perhaps his martyrdom, his shrines, his reliques. The legend was to his votaries a sort of secondary Gospel, wrought into the belief by the constant iteration of its names and events. The legend, in truth, was the dominant, universal poetry of the times. Unless it had been poetry it had not ruled the mind of man; but, having been poetry, it must submit to remain poetry. It is the mythic literature of Christendom,^b interminable in its extent; but, as its whole life is in its particularity, it suffers and withers into dulness by being brought into a

Legends.

^b M. Maury's work, "Les Légendes Pieuses," has exhausted the subject. The more cautious readers must be warned that M. Maury carries up his system, where few Christians will follow him, with hardly less audacity than Strauss himself, into the Scriptural narratives. But while we admit the desire of conformity with the Life of the Saviour suggested a great part of the incidents, and that the Gospel miracles suggested the miracles of the later Saints—the originality, the truth, the unapproachable dignity of the Gospel type is not only unimpaired, but to me becomes only more distinct and real. There is an intimate harmony, nowhere else found, between the moral and the supernatural. The line appears in my judgement broad and clear; and those who, like the modern advocates for the belief of the middle ages, resolve the whole into the attainment of a proper frame of mind to receive legend as truth, seem to me to cut up altogether all belief in miracle. Compare some good observations of M. Ampère, Leçon XIV.

more compendious form ; and so it is that Hagiography has withdrawn into its proper domain, and left the province of human affairs to history, which is not disdainful, of course, of the incidental information or illustration of events, manners, characters, which transpire through the cloud of marvels. Even the philosophy of history endeavours only to divine how men believed, or believed that they believed, this perpetual suspension or abrogation of the laws of nature ; how that which was then averred on the authority of experience has now fallen into neglect as contrary to all experience : so that even the most vigorous attempt to reinstate them is received as a desperate, hardly serious, effort of paradoxical ingenuity, falls dead on the general mind, hardly provokes scorn or ridicule, and, in fact, is transcended in interest by every transitory folly or new hallucination which seems to be the indispensable aliment required by some part of mankind in the highest as in the lowest social or intellectual state.

The legend was perpetually confirmed, illustrated, kept alive by the substantial, if somewhat dimly and mysteriously shown, reliques which were either
Reliques. in the church, under the altar, or upon the altar ; the treasure of the community, or the property, the talisman of the prelate, the noble, or the king. The reliquary was the most precious ornament in the lady's chamber, in the knight's armoury, in the king's hall of state, as well as in that of the Bishop or the Pope. Our history has perhaps dwelt on reliques with sufficient frequency. Augustine, in the earlier times, had reproved the wandering monks who made a trade of selling martyrs' limbs, "if indeed they are the limbs of martyrs."^e

^e De oper. Monachorum. c. 8.

The Theodosian Code had prohibited the violation of the tombs of the martyrs, and the removal and sale of their bodies.^d Gregory the Great had reprobated the Greek practice of irreverently disinterring and sending about the bodies of Saints: he refused to the Empress of Constantinople reliques of St. Paul.^e We have seen with what jealous parsimony he distributed the filings of the chains of St. Peter.^f But, as the world darkened, these laws fell into desuetude: the first reverential feeling died away. In truth, to the multiplication, dissemination, veneration of reliques conspired all the weaknesses, passions, innate and seemingly unextinguishable propensities, of mankind; the fondness for cherishing memorials of the beloved, in human affection so excusable, so amiable, how much more so of objects of holy love, the Saints, the Blessed Virgin, the Saviour himself! the pride of possessing what is rare; the desire to keep alive religious associations and religious thoughts; the ignorance of the priesthood, the pious fraud of the priesthood, admitted to be Christian virtue in order to promote devotion and so the spiritual welfare of man. Add to all this the inherent indefeasible power ascribed to reliques to work miracles. No wonder that, with the whole Christian world deeming it meritorious and holy to believe, dangerous, impious to doubt, there should be no end or limit to belief; that the wood of the true Cross should grow into a forest; that wild fictions, the romance of the Wise Men of the East transmuted into kings, the Eleven Thousand Virgins, should be worshipped in the rich commercial cities on the Rhine; that delicacy and even reverence should not take offence, as at the milk

^d "Humanum corpus nemo ad alterum locum transferat, nemo martyrem de trahaat, nemo mercetur."

^e Ad Imperat. Constant.—Compare Act. Ordinis S. Benedicti II. Præf. xxx.

^f Vol. ii. p. 153.

of the Blessed Virgin; that the most perishable things should become imperishable, the garments of the Saviour and the Saints. Not even the fiercest feuds could detect imposture. Tours and Poitiers quarrelled for the body of St. Martin; St. Benedict was stolen away from Italy: we have seen the rejoicing at his arrival in France; and the expedition sent by Eginhard to Italy in search of pious plunder. There were constant wars between monastery and monastery; marauding campaigns were carried on against some neighbouring treasure-house. France was smitten with famine, because Clotaire II. cut off and stole an arm of St. Denys, under the instigation of the Devil.^g It was virtue in St. Ouen to steal the head of St. Marculph. But as to disputing the genuineness, unless of rival reliques, or questioning their wonder-working power, it never entered into the profane thought of man. How the Crusades immeasurably increased the wealth of Western Christendom in reliques, how they opened an important branch of traffic, needs no further illustration. To the very verge of our historic period the worship of reliques is in its unshaken authority. At the close of the fourteenth century the Duke of Berry obtains a piece of the head of St. Hilary of Poitiers as a most splendid present for the city of Poitiers from the Abbey of St. Denys; ^h he had already obtained the chin.

^g Annales Dagobert. Herman Corner gives the price of some reliques. Egilmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, bought for his Church (A.D. mxxi.) an arm of St. Augustine, at Pavia, for 100 talents of pure silver and one of gold.

^h "Particulam quamdam capitis ejus sancti, a parte posteriori versus aurem dextram ad modum triangulii, in longi-

tudine et latitudine spacium trium digitorum."—Rel. de St. Denys. xiv. 16. The mutilation seems not to have been thought irreverent. See also the pious theft of reliques at Rome, recorded by the legend to the glory of St. Patrick. Todd's St. Patrick, p. 481. The good Hugh of Lincoln (see his Life recently printed (1864) among the Rolls Publications) was a great worshipper of

The exhibition of the Holy Coat of Treves—a treasure possessed by more than one other Church, and more than one avouched by Papal authority—may show how deep-rooted in human nature is this strange form of religiousness. One of the most remarkable illustrations of relique-worship occurs after the close of our history, during the pontificate of Æneas Sylvius, Pius II. The head of St. Andrew (Amalfi boasted the immemorial possession of the body) had been worshipped for centuries at Patras. As the Turks advanced in the Morea, the fugitive Despot would not leave this precious treasure exposed to the profane insults of the unbelievers. He carried it with him in his flight. Kings vied for the purchase; vast sums were offered. The Pope urged upon the Despot that he could not permit such a relique to repose anywhere but at Rome. The head of St. Andrew should rest by that of his brother St. Peter; the Saint himself would resist any other arrangement. The Despot arrived at Ancona with his freight. It was respected by the stormy seas. A Cardinal of the most blameless life was chosen to receive and inspect the relique; by what signs he judged the head to be that of St. Andrew we know not. But Romagna was in too dangerous a state to allow it at once to be transported to Rome; the fierce Piccinino or the atheist Malatesta would not have scrupled to have seized it for their own use, worshipped it, or sold it at an exorbitant price. It was conveyed for security to the strong fortress of Narni. When Piccinino's forces were dispersed, and peace restored, it was brought in stately procession to Rome. It was intended that the most glorious heads of St. Peter

reliques, and not always above the temptation of purloining. See especially his biting off a chip of a bone of S. Mary Magdalene at Fecamp, to the great indignation of the Monks, p. 317.

and St. Paul should go forth to meet that of their brother Apostle. But the vast mass of gold which enshrined, the cumbrous iron which protected, these reliques were too heavy to be moved: so without them the Pope, the Cardinals, the whole population of Rome thronged forth to the meadows near the Milvian Bridge. The Pope made an eloquent address to the head; a hymn was sung, entreating the Saint's aid in the discomfiture of the Turks. It rested that day on the altar of St. Maria del Popolo, was then conveyed through the city, decorated with all splendour (the Jubilee under Nicolas V. saw not Rome more crowded), to St. Peter's. Cardinal Bessarion preached a sermon; the head was deposited with those of his brother Apostles under the high altar.¹

Throughout the middle ages the world after death continued to reveal more and more fully its awful secrets. Hell, Purgatory, Heaven became more distinct, if it may be so said, more visible. Their site, their topography, their torments, their trials, their enjoyments, became more conceivable, almost more palpable to sense: till Dante summed up the whole of this traditional lore, or at least, with a Poet's intuitive sagacity, seized on all which was most imposing, effective, real, and condensed

Hell. it in his three co-ordinate poems. That Hell

had a local existence, that immaterial spirits suffered bodily and material torments, none, or scarcely one hardy speculative mind, presumed to doubt.² Hell

Commentarii Pii II.

¹ Scotus Erigena, perhaps alone, dared to question the locality of Hell, and the material tortures of the damned. "Diversas suppliciorum formas non localiter in quadam parte, veluti toto hujus visibilis creaturæ, et ut simpliciter dicam neque intra di-

versitatem totius naturæ a Deo conditæ futuræ esse credimus; et neque nunc esse, et nusquam et nunquam." The punishment in which Erigena believed was terrible remorse of conscience, the sense of impossible repentance or pardon. At the final absorption of all things (that genuine Indian absorption,

had admitted, according to legend, more than one visitant from this upper world, who returned to relate his fearful journey to wondering man: St. Fiercy,^m St. Vettin,ⁿ a layman, Bernilo.^o But all these early descents interest us only as they may be supposed or appear to have been faint types of the great Italian Poet. Dante is the one authorised topographer of the mediæval Hell.^p His originality is no more called in question by these mere signs and manifestations of the popular belief than by the existence and reality of those objects or scenes in external nature which he describes with such unrivalled truth.^q In Dante meet unreconciled (who thought of or cared for their reconciliation?) those strange contradictions, immaterial souls subject to material torments: spirits which had put off the mortal body, cognisable by the corporeal sense.^r The mediæval Hell had gathered

derived from his master the Pseudo-Dionysius), evil and sin would be destroyed for ever, not evil ones and sinners. Erigena boldly cites Origen, and extorts from other authorities an opinion to the same effect, of the final salvation, the return unto the Deity, of the Devil himself. There is nothing eternal but God. "Omne quod æternum in Deo solummodo intelligi; nec ulla æternitas extra eum qui solus est æternus et æternitas." He thus gets rid of all relating to eternal fire. Read the remarkable passage in the 5th book de Natura, from the xxvth. at least to xxxvith. chapters.

^m Bede, iii. 19. Mabillon, Acta S. Benedicti, iii. 307. The Bollandists, Jan. ii. p. 44.

ⁿ Mabillon, iv. 272.

^o Flodoard, iii. 3.

^p See Damiani's Hell and Heaven,

iv. Ep. xiv. viii. 2. Consult also Cædmon.

^q There is a strange book, written at the beginning of the seventeenth century, "De Inferno," by Antonio Rusca (Milan, 1621). It is dedicated with fearful simplicity to our Saviour. It settles gravely, logically, as it would be supposed, authoritatively, and not without erudition, every question relating to Hell and its Inhabitants, its place, extent, divisions, torments.

^r This was embarrassing to the philosophic heathen. "Tantum valuit error, ut corpora cremata cum scirent, tamen ea fieri apud inferos fingerent, quæ sine corporibus nec fieri possunt nec intelligi. Animos enim per seipsos viventes non poterant mente complecti, formam aliquam figuramque quærebant."—Cicer. Tusc. i. c. 16. Rusca lays it down as the Catholic doctrine.

from all ages, all lands, all races, its imagery, its denizens, its site, its access, its commingling horrors; from the old Jewish traditions, perhaps from regions beyond the sphere of the Old Testament; from the Pagan poets, with their black rivers, their Cerberus, their boatman and his crazy vessel; perhaps from the Teutonic Hela, through some of the earlier visions. Then came the great Poet, and reduced all this wild chaos to a kind of order, moulded it up with the cosmical notions of the times, and made it, as it were, one with the prevalent mundane system. Above all, he brought it to the very borders of our world; he made the life beyond the grave one with our present life; he mingled in close and intimate relation the present and the future. Hell, Purgatory, Heaven, were but an immediate expansion and extension of the present world. And this is among the wonderful causes of Dante's power, the realising the unreal by the admixture of the real: even as in his imagery the actual, homely, everyday language or similitude mingles with and heightens the fantastic, the vague, the transmundane. What effect had Hell produced, if peopled by ancient, almost immemorial objects of human detestation, Nimrod or Iscariot, or Julian or Mohammed? It was when Popes all but living, Kings but now on their thrones, Guelfs who had hardly ceased to walk the streets of Florence, Ghibellines almost yet in exile, revealed their awful doom—this it was which, as it expressed the passions and the fears of mankind of an instant, immediate, actual, bodily, comprehensible place of torment:

“Docet tamen Catholica veritas, infernum malorum carcerem esse locum quendam materialem et corporeum.”
l. c. xxiii. The more enlightened Peter Lombard speaks of “non corporalem,

sed corpori similem.” Souls were borne bodily to Heaven by visible Angels, fought for by visible Devils. See the battle for the Soul of King Dagobert. Maury, p. 60.

so, wherever it was read, it deepened that notion, and made it more distinct and natural. This was the Hell, conterminous to the earth, but separate, as it were, by a gulph passed by almost instantaneous transition, of which the Priesthood held the keys. These keys the audacious Poet had wrenched from their hands, and dared to turn on many of themselves, speaking even against Popes the sentence of condemnation. Of that which Hell, Purgatory, Heaven, were in popular opinion during the Middle Ages, Dante was but the full, deep, centered expression; what he embodied in verse all men believed, feared, hoped.

Purgatory had now its intermediate place between Heaven and Hell, as unquestioned, as undisturbed by doubt; its existence was as much Purgatory. an article of uncontested popular belief as Heaven or Hell. It were as unjust and unphilosophical to attribute all the legendary lore which realised Purgatory, to the sordid invention of the Churchman or the Monk, as it would be unhistorical to deny the use which was made of this superstition to exact tribute from the fears or the fondness of mankind. But the abuse grew out of the belief; the belief was not slowly, subtly, deliberately instilled into the mind for the sake of the abuse. Purgatory, possible with St. Augustine,^s probable with Gregory the Great, grew up, I am persuaded (its growth is singularly indistinct and untraceable), out of the mercy and modesty of the Priesthood. To the eternity of Hell torments there is and ever must be— notwithstanding the peremptory decrees of dogmatic theology and the reverential dread in so many religious minds of tampering with what seems the language of

^s De fide et oper., c. 16. On Gregory, see note, vol. ii. p. 157.

the New Testament—a tacit repugnance. But when the doom of every man rested on the lips of the Priest, on his absolution or refusal of absolution, that Priest might well tremble with some natural awe—awe not confessed to himself—at dismissing the soul to an irrevocable, unrepealable, unchangeable destiny. He would not be averse to pronounce a more mitigated, a reversible sentence. The keys of Heaven and of Hell were a fearful trust, a terrible responsibility; the key of Purgatory might be used with far less presumption, with less trembling confidence. Then came naturally, as it might seem, the strengthening and exaltation of the efficacy of prayer, of the efficacy of the religious ceremonials, of the efficacy of the sacrifice of the altar, and the efficacy of the intercession of the Saints: and these all within the province, within the power of the Sacerdotal Order. Their authority, their influence, their intervention, closed not with the grave. The departed soul was still to a certain degree dependent upon the Priest. They had yet a mission, it might be of mercy; they had still some power of saving the soul after it had departed from the body. Their faithful love, their inexhaustible interest might yet rescue the sinner; for he had not reached those gates—over which alone was written, “There is no Hope”—the gates of Hell. That which was a mercy, a consolation, became a trade, an inexhaustible source of wealth. Praying souls out of Purgatory by Masses said on their behalf, became an ordinary office, an office which deserved, which could demand, which did demand, the most prodigal remuneration. It was later that the Indulgence, originally the remission of so much penance, of so many days, weeks, months, years; or of that which was the commutation

for penance, so much almsgiving or munificence to churches or Churchmen, in sound at least extended (and mankind, the high and low vulgar of mankind, are governed by sound) its significance: it was literally understood, as the remission of so many years, sometimes centuries, of Purgatory.^t

If there were living men to whom it had been vouchsafed to visit and to return and to reveal the secrets of remote and terrible Hell, there were those too who were admitted in vision, or in actual life to more accessible Purgatory, and brought back intelligence of its real local existence, and of the state of souls within its penitential circles. There is a legend of St. Paul himself; of the French monk St. Farcy; of Drithelm, related by Bede; of the Emperor Charles the Fat, by William of Malmesbury. Matthew Paris relates two or three journeys of the Monk of Evesham, of Thurkill, an Essex peasant, very wild and fantastic. The Purgatory of St. Patrick, the Purgatory of Owen Miles, the vision of Alberic of Monte Casino, were among the most popular and wide-spread legends of the ages preceding Dante; and as in Hell, so in Purgatory, Dante sums up in his noble verses the whole theory, the whole popular belief as to this intermediate sphere.^u

^t "Unde quibusdam in locis concedebantur tandem expresse indulgentiæ a *penâ et a culpâ*, licet quidam summi Pontifices absurdum censuisse videntur aliquas indulgentias a *penâ et a culpâ* esse nominandas, cum a solo Deo culpa deleatur; et indulgentia est remissio *penæ temporalis*. . . . Unde quidam concessiones hujusmodi magis deceptions quam indulgentiarum concessiones interpretantes cum eas intentu

lucris temporalis fieri judicabant, dicere non timebant; anima nostra nauseat super cibo levissimo."—Gobelinus Persona, p. 320. This was in Germany during the Schism, above a century before Luther.

^u Vincent of Beauvais. See the curious volume of Mr. Wright, *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, on Tundale, p. 32. &c. On Patrick's Purgatory in all its forms, as sanctioned by Popes, and

If Hell and Purgatory thus dimly divulged their gloomy mysteries, if they had been visited by those who returned to actual life, Heaven was unapproached, unapproachable. To be rapt to the higher Heaven remained the privilege of the Apostle; the popular conception was content to rest in modest ignorance. Though the Saints might descend on beneficent missions to the world of man; of the site of their beatitude, of the state of the Blest, of the joys of the supernal world, they brought but vague and indefinite tidings. In truth, the notion of Heaven was inextricably mingled up with the astronomical and cosmogonical as well as with the theological notions of the age. Dante's Paradise blends the Ptolemaic system with the nine angelic circles of the Pseudo Dionysius; the material heavens in their nine circles; above and beyond them, in the invisible heavens, the nine Hierarchies; and yet higher than the highest heavens the dwelling of the Ineffable Trinity. The Beatific Vision, whether immediate or to await the Last Day, had been eluded rather than determined, till the rash and presumptuous theology of Pope John XXII. compelled a declaration from the Church. But yet this ascent to the Heaven of Heavens would seem from Dante, the best interpreter of the dominant conceptions, to have

by the Bollandist writers, as it appears in Calderon's poetry, and as it is kept up by Irish popular superstition and priestcraft, Mr. Wright has collected many wild details. Papal authority, as shown by an Inscription in the cloister of S. Andrea and S. Gregorio in Rome, testifies to the fact, which, I suspect, would have startled S. Gregory him-

self, that he got a monk out of Purgatory at the expense of thirty masses.

D. O. M.

Clemens Papa X.

Cultum Clementium VIII. et VIII.

Imitatus . . .

In hoc S. Gregorii Templum.

Ubi xxx missis animam monachi

Ex igne purgatorio liberavit, &c.

Copied by an accomplished friend of the author.

been an especial privilege, if it may be so said, of the most Blessed of the Blessed, the Saint of Saints. There is a manifest gradation in Beatitude and Sanctity. According to the universal cosmical theory, the Earth, the round and level earth, was the centre of the whole system.* It was usually supposed to be encircled by the vast, circumambient, endless ocean; but beyond that ocean (with a dim reminiscence, it should seem, of the Elysian Fields of the poets) was placed a Paradise, where the souls of men hereafter to be blest, awaited the final resurrection. Dante takes the other theory:

* The Eastern notions may be gathered from the curious Treatise of Cosmas Indicopleustes, printed by Montfaucon, in his *Collectio Nova*. Cosmas wrote about A.D. 535. He is perhaps the earliest type of those who call themselves Scriptural Philosophers; with all the positiveness and contemptuousness of ignorance, he proves that the heavens are a vault, from Isaiah xi. 22; from Job, according to the LXX., and St. Paul's image of a Tabernacle. The second Prologue is to refute the notion that the earth is a sphere—the antipodes, which at first were not so disdainfully denied, are now termed *γραιώδεις μύθοι*: men would fall in opposite directions. Paradise is beyond the circumfluent Ocean; souls are received in Paradise till the last day (p. 315). He afterwards asserts the absolute incompatibility of the spherical notion of the earth with the resurrection. He gives several opinions, all of which, in his opinion, are equally wrong. *Οἱ μὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν τὰς ψυχὰς μόνως μετὰ θάνατον, περιπολεύειν σὺν τῇ σφαιρῇ, καὶ ὄρῶν ἤτοι γιγνώσκειν*

πάντα λέγουσι· οἱ δὲ καὶ μετενωμάτωσιν βούλονται, καὶ προβιοτὴν ἀσπάζουσι, οἷς καὶ ἔπεται λέγειν ἐξ ἀκολουθίας καταλύεσθαι τὴν σφαῖραν. The Heavens are indissoluble, and all spiritualised bodies are to ascend to heaven. He gets rid of the strong passages about the heavens passing away, as metaphors (this in others he treated as absurd or impious). He denies the authenticity of the Catholic Epistles.

It is remarkable that what I presume to call the Angelology of this Treatise shows it to be earlier than the Pseudo-Dionysius; that work cannot have been known to Cosmas. One office of the Angels is to move—they are the perpetual movers of, the Sun, Moon, and Stars. After the Last day, the stars, sun, and moon being no more wanted, the Angels will be released from their duty, p. 154. The Angels carry the rain up from heaven into the clouds, and so manage the stars as to cause Eclipses. These are guardian Angels. The Angels do not ascend above the stars, p. 315.

he peoples the nine material heavens—that is, the cycle of the Moon, Venus, Mercury, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, the fixed stars, and the firmament above, or the *Primum Mobile*—with those who are admitted to a progressively advancing state of glory and blessedness. All this, it should seem, is below the ascending circles of the Celestial Hierarchies, that immediate vestibule or fore-court of the Holy of Holies, the Heaven of Heavens, into which the most perfect of the Saints are admitted. They are commingled with, yet unabsorbed by, the Redeemer, in mystic union; yet the mysticism still reverently endeavours to maintain some distinction in regard to this Light, which, as it has descended upon earth, is drawn up again to the highest Heavens, and has a kind of communion with the yet Incommunicable Deity. That in all the Paradise of Dante there should be a dazzling sameness, a mystic indistinctness, an inseparable blending of the real and the unreal, is not wonderful, if we consider the nature of the subject, and the still more incoherent and incongruous popular conceptions which he had to represent and to harmonise. It is more wonderful that, with these few elements, Light, Music, and Mysticism, he should, by his singular talent of embodying the purely abstract and metaphysical thought in the liveliest imagery, represent such things with the most objective truth, yet without disturbing their fine spiritualism. The subtlest scholasticism is not more subtle than Dante. It is perhaps a bold assertion, but what is there on these transcendent subjects, in the vast theology of Aquinas, of which the essence and sum is not in the Paradise of Dante? Dante, perhaps, though expressing to a great extent the popular conception of

Heaven, is as much by his innate sublimity above it, as St. Thomas himself.^y

^y Read the Anglo-Saxon description of Paradise, from the *De Phœnice*, ascribed to Lactantius, in the Exeter book by Thorpe, p. 197.

I am disposed to cite a description of Paradise according to its ordinary conception, almost the only possible conception—life without any of its evils—from a Poet older than Chaucer:—

There is lyf withoute any deth,
 And ther is youthe withoute any elde,
 And ther is alle manner welth to welde :
 And ther is reste without ony travaille—
 And ther is pees without ony strife,
 And ther is alle mannere likynge of life—
 And ther is bright souer ever to be :
 And ther is nevere wynter in that euntree :

And ther is more worshipe and honour,
 Than ever hadde kynges other emperour.
 And ther is greter melodee of aungeles
 songe,

And ther is preysing him amonge.
 And ther is alle maner friendshiphe that
 may be,

And ther is evere perfect love and charitie ;
 And ther is wisdom without folye :
 And ther is honeste without vilenage.
 All these a man may Joyes of Hevene call,
 Ae yatte the most sovereign Joye of alle
 Is the sight of Goddes bright face,
 In whom restesth alle manere grace.

Richard of Hampole, quoted from MSS. by
 Turner, *Hist. of England*, v. 233.

This poem, the ‘*Pricke of Conscience*,’ by Richard Rolle de Hampole, has been printed (1863) by the Philological Society.

CHAPTER III.

Latin Letters.

LATIN CHRISTIANITY might seem to prolong, to perpetuate, the reign of Latin letters over the mind of man. Without Christianity, the language of Cicero, of Virgil, and of Tacitus, might have expired with the empire of Julius, of Augustus, and of Trajan. At the German invasion it must have broken up into barbarous and shifting dialects, as the world into barbarous and conflicting kingdoms. But as the language of religion, it continued to be the language of letters, for letters were almost entirely confined to those who alone could write books or read books, religious men. Through the clergy, the secretaries as it were of mankind, it was still the language of business, of law, of public affairs, of international treaties and private compacts, because it was the only common language, and because the ecclesiastics, the masters of that language, were from this and from causes already traced, the ministers of kings, the compilers of codes of law, mostly the notaries of all more important transactions. It only broke down gradually; it never, though defaced by barbarisms and foreign terms and forms of speech, Maintained by Christianity. by changing grammar and by the introduction of new words, fell into desuetude. Even just before its abrogation, it revived in something approaching to purity, and resumed within its own, and that no narrow sphere, its old established authority. The period

at which Latin ceased to be the spoken language, at which the preacher addressed his flock, the magistrate the commonalty, the demagogue the populace, was of course different in different countries, especially in the Romance and Teutonic divisions of mankind. This may hereafter be the subject of very difficult, obscure, it must be feared, unsatisfactory inquiry.

But if Latin was the language of public affairs, it was even more exclusively so that of letters. Not only all theologians, for a time all poets (at least those whose poetry was written), still longer all historians, to the end all philosophers, wrote in Latin. Christian literature however arose, not only when Latin letters had passed their meridian, but after their short day of glory and strength had sunk into exhaustion. The universal empire of Rome had been fatal to her letters. Few, indeed, of her best early writers had been Roman by birth; but they were Italians, and submitted to the spell of Roman ascendancy. Even under the Emperors, Gaul and Spain began to furnish Latin poets and writers: for a short time Rome subdued them to the rules of her own grammar and the purer usages of her speech. But in the next century Latin letters, excepting only among the great jurisprudents, seem almost to have given place to Greek. They awoke again profoundly corrupt; the barbarising Augustan historians sink into the barbarous Ammianus Marcellinus. Africa becomes a prolific but dissonant school of heathen and of Christian writers; from some of the Panegyrist, who were Gallic rhetoricians, low enough in style, the fall is rapid and extreme to Hilary of Poitiers. Yet even in this respect Latin owes its vitality, and almost its Latinity, to Christian writers. Augustine and Jerome, though their Latin is very dif-

ferent from that of Livy or of Cicero, have a kind of dexterous management, a vigorous mastery, and a copiousness of language, unrivalled in their days. Sulpicius Severus surpasses in style any later historical work; Salvian is better than the Panegyrists. The Octavius of Minucius Felix has more of the older grace and correctness than any treatise of the day. Heathenism, or Indifferentism, strangely enough, kept up the Pagan supremacy in poetry alone; Claudian, and even the few lines of Merobaudes, stand higher in purity, as in the life, of poetry, than all the Christian hexametrists.

Latin letters, therefore, having become the absolute exclusive property of the clergy, theology, of course, took the first place, and almost absorbed into itself every other branch of literature. Oratory was that of the pulpit, philosophy was divinity in another form. Even poetry taught theology, or, at its highest, celebrated the holy exploits of hermits or monks, of saints and martyrs; and so it was through centuries, Theology once having assumed, held its unshaken supremacy over letters.

But at the time of Nicolas V. became manifest the great revolution within Latin Christianity itself, which was eventually to be fatal, at least to its universal dominion. The great system of scholastic Scholasticism. theology, the last development of that exclusive Hierarchical science, which had swallowed up all other sciences, of which philosophy was but a subject province, and dialectics an humble instrument, found itself, instead of the highest knowledge and the sole consummate dictatorial learning of the world, no more than the retired and self-exiled study of a still decreasing few, the professional occupation of a small

section of the reading and inquiring world. Its empire had visibly passed away—its authority was shaken. In its origin, in its objects, in its style, in its immeasurable dimensions, in its scholasticism in short, this all-ruling Theology had been monastic; it had grown up in cloisters and in schools. There, men of few wants, and those wants supplied by rich endowments, in the dignity which belonged to the acknowledged leading intellects of the age, could devote to such avocations their whole undisturbed, undivided lives—lives, at least, in which nothing interfered with the quiet, monotonous, undistracting religious services. But Theology, before it would give up its tenacious hold on letters, must become secular; it must emancipate itself from scholasticism, from monasticism. It was not till after that first revolution that the emancipation of letters from theology was to come.

Our history, before it closes, must survey the immense, and, notwithstanding its infinite variety and complexity of detail, the harmonious edifice of Latin theology.^a We must behold its strife, at times successful, always obstinate, with philosophy—its active and skilful employment of the weapons of philosophy, of dialectics, against their master—its constant effort to be at once philosophy and theology; the irruption of

* That survey must of necessity be rapid, and, as rapid, imperfect; nor can I boast any extensive or profound acquaintance with these ponderous tomes. The two best guides which I have been able to find (both have read, studied, profited by their laborious predecessors) are Ritter, in the volumes of his *Christliche Philosophie*, which embrace this part of his history; and an excellent Treatise by M. Haureau,

de la Philosophie Scolastique. Mémoire Couronné par l'Académie, 2 tomes, Paris, 1850.

In England we have no guide. Dr. Hampden, who, from his article in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, on Thomas Aquinas, promised to be the English historian of this remarkable chapter in the history of the human mind, has sunk into a quiet Bishop.

Aristotelism and of the Arabic philosophy, of which the Church did not at first apprehend all the perilous results, and in her pride supposed that she might bind them to her own service; the culmination of the whole system in the five great schoolmen, Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura, Duns Scotus, William of Ockham. All this scholasticism was purely Latin—no Teutonic element entered into the controversies of the philosophising theologians. In England, in Germany, the schools and the monasteries were Latin; the disputants spoke no other tongue. The theology which aspired to be philosophy would not condescend to, could not indeed as yet have found expression in, the undeveloped vulgar languages.^b

Our history has already touched on the remoter ancestors of the Scholastic theology, on the solitary Scotus Erigena, who stands as a lonely beacon in his dark and turbulent times, and left none, or but remote, followers. The philosophy of Erigena was what the empire of Charlemagne had been, a vast organisation, out of the wreck of which rose later schools. He was by anticipation or tradition (from him Berengar, as has been shown, drew his rationalising Eucharistic system), by his genius, by his Greek or Oriental acquirements, by his translation of the Pseudo-Dionysius, a Platonist, or more than a Platonist; at length by his own fearless fathoming onwards into unknown depths, a Pantheist. We have dwelt on Anselm, in our judgement the real parent of mediæval theology—of that theology, which at the same time that it lets loose the reason, reins it in with a strong hand; on the intellectual insurrection,

^b "Die Philosophie des Mittelalters gehört nicht der Zeiten an wo das Deutsche Element die Herrschaft hatte, sie ist vorherrschend Romanische Natur."
—Ritter p. 37.

too, under Abélard, and its suppression. Anselm's lofty enterprise, the reconciliation of divinity and philosophy, had been premature; it had ended in failure.^c Abélard had been compelled to submit his rebellious philosophy at the feet of authority. His fate for a time, to outward appearance at least, crushed the bold truths which lay hid in his system. Throughout the subsequent period theology and philosophy are contesting occasionally the bounds of their separate domains—bounds which it was impossible to mark with rigour and precision. Metaphysics soared into the realm of Theology; Theology when it came to Ontology, to reason on the being of God, could not but be metaphysical. At the same time, or only a few years later than Abélard, a writer, by some placed on a level, or even raised to superiority, as a philosophical thinker over Abélard, Gilbert de la Porée, through the abstruseness, perhaps obscurity of his teaching, the dignity of his position as Bishop, and his blameless character, was enabled to tread this border ground, if not without censure, without persecution.

But below that transcendental region, in which the mind treated of Being in the abstract, of the primary elements of thought, of the very first conception of God, Theology, in her proper sphere, would not endure the presence of her dangerous rival. Theology, rightly so called, professed to be primarily grounded on the Scriptures, but on the Scriptures interpreted, commented on, supplemented by a succession of writers (the Fathers), by decrees of Councils, and what was called the authority of the Church. The ecclesiastical

^c "L'entreprise de S. Anselme avait échoué; personne n'avait pu concilier la philosophie et la théologie."—Haureau, i. p. 318.

law had now taken the abbreviated form of a code, rather a manual, under Ivo of Chartres. So Theology was to be cast into short authoritative sentences, which might be at once the subject and the rule of controversy, the war-law of the schools. If Philosophy presumed to lay its profane hands on these subjects, it was warned off as trespassing on the manor of the Church. Logic might lend its humble ministrations to prove in syllogistic form those canonised truths; if it proceeded further, it became a perilous and proscribed weapon.

Peter the Lombard was, as it were, the Euclid of this science. His sentences were to be the irrefragable axioms and definitions from which were to be deduced all the higher and more remote truths of divinity; on them the great theological mathematicians built what appeared their infallible demonstrations.

Peter the Lombard was born near Novara, the native place of Lanfranc and of Anselm. He was Bishop of Paris in 1159. His famous book of the Sentences was intended to be, and became to a great extent, the Manual of the Schools. Peter knew not, or disdainfully threw aside, the philosophical cultivation of his day. He adhered rigidly to all which passed for Scripture, and was the authorised interpretation of the Scripture; to all which had become the creed in the traditions, and law in the decretals, of the Church. He seems to have no apprehension of doubt in his stern dogmatism; he will not recognise any of the difficulties suggested by philosophy; he cannot, or will not, perceive the weak points of his own system. He has the great merit that, opposed as he was to the prevailing Platonism, throughout the Sentences the ethical principle predominates; his excellence is perspicuity, simplicity, definiteness of moral purpose.

His distinctions are endless, subtle, idle ; but he wrote from conflicting authorities to reconcile writers at war with each other, at war with themselves. Their quarrels had been wrought to intentional or unintentional antagonism in the "Sic et Non" of Abélard. That philosopher, whether Pyrrhonist or more than Pyrrhonist, had left them in all the confusion of strife ; he had set Fathers against Fathers, each Father against himself, the Church against the Church, tradition against tradition, law against law. The Lombard announced himself and was accepted as the mediator, the final arbiter in this endless litigation ; he would sternly fix the positive, proscribe the negative or sceptical view, in all these questions. The litigation might still go on, but within the limits which he had rigidly established ; he had determined those ultimate results against which there was no appeal. The mode of proof might be interminably contested in the schools ; the conclusion was already irrefragably fixed. On the sacramental system Peter the Lombard is loftily, severely hierarchical. Yet he is moderate on the power of the keys : he holds only a declaratory power of binding and loosing—of showing how the souls of men were to be bound and loosed.^d

From the hard and arid system of Peter the Lombard the profound devotion of the Middle Ages took refuge in Mysticism. But it is an error to suppose Mysticism as the perpetual antagonist of Scholasticism ; the Mystics were often severe Logicians ; some Scholastics had all

^d "Non autem hoc sacerdotibus concessit, quibus tamen tribuit potestatem solvendi et ligandi, i.e. ostendendi homines ligatos vel solutos." Quoted by Ritter, p. 499. Ritter's account of the Lombard appears to me, as compared with the Book of Sentences, so just and sagacious, that I have adopted implicitly his conclusions, to a certain extent his words.

the passion of Mystics. Nor were the Scholastics always Aristotelians and Nominalists, or the Mystics, Realists and Platonists. The logic was often that of Aristotle, the philosophy that of Plato. Hugo and Richard de St. Victor (the Abbey of St. Victor at Paris) were the great Mystics of this period. The mysticism of Hugo de St. Victor withdrew the contemplator altogether from the outward to the inner world—from God in the works of nature to God in his workings on the soul of man. This contemplation of God, the consummate perfection of man, is immediate, not mediate. Through the Angels and the Celestial Hierarchy of the Areopagite it aspires to one God, not in his Theophany, but in his inmost essence. All ideas and forms of things are latent in the human soul as in God, only they are manifested to the soul by its own activity, its meditative power. Yet St. Victor is not exempt from the grosser phraseology of the Mystic—the tasting God, and other degrading images from the senses of men. The ethical system of Hugo de St. Victor is that of the Church, more free and lofty than the dry and barren discipline of Peter Lombard:° it looks to the end and object, not merely to the punctilious performance of Church works. Richard de St. Victor was at once more logical and more devout, raising higher at once the unassisted power of man, yet with even more supernatural interference—less ecclesiastical, more religious.† Thus the silent, solemn Cloister was as it were constantly balancing the noisy and pugnacious School. The system of the St. Victors is the contem-

* “Contemplatio est illa vivacitas intelligentiæ, quæ cuncta palam Patris manifestâ visione comprehendit.”—M. In Eccles. i. p. 55, quoted by Ritter,

p. 538.

† Ritter has drawn the distinction between these two writers with great skill and nicety.

plative philosophy of deep-thinking minds in their profound seclusion, not of intellectual gladiators : it is that of men following out the train of their own thoughts, not perpetually crossed by the objections of subtle rival disputants. Its end is not victory, but the inward satisfaction of the soul. It is not so much conscious of ecclesiastical restraint, it is rather self-restrained by its inborn reverence ; it has no doubt, therefore no fear ; it is bold from the inward consciousness of its orthodoxy.

John of Salisbury, though he professed to be of the school of the St. Victorians, had something of the practical English character. He was far less of a Monk, more of an observant man of the world. The Mystic was lost in the high Churchman. He was the right hand and counsellor of Becket, though, like Becket, he says hard things of the Pope and of Rome ; he was the inflexible asserter of the rights of the Church. John has the fullest faith in the theological articles of the Church, with some academic scepticism on the philosophic questions. John was neither of the cloister nor of the school : he has something of the statesman, even something of the natural philosopher.

Scholastic philosophy has no great name during the last quarter of the twelfth to the middle of the thirteenth century. But during this barren and mute period came gradually and silently stealing in, from an unobserved unsuspected quarter, new views of knowledge, new metaphysical modes of thought, which went up into the primal principles of theology ; dialectic processes, if not new, more perfect. Greek books, as yet unknown, are now in the hands of the studious ; works of Aristotle, either entirely lost for centuries, or imperfectly known in the abstracts of Augustine, of Boethius, and Martinus Capella. It was from the Arabic language, from

John of
Salisbury.

the godless and accursed Mohammedans, that Christendom received these inauspicious gifts.

This Mohammedan, or Græco-Mohammedan philosophy, was as far removed from the old stern inflexible Unitarianism of the Korân as the Korân from the Gospel. Philosophy was in truth more implacably oppugnant, a more flagrant heresy to Islam than to mediæval Christianity. Islam, like Christianity, the Latin hierarchical Christianity, had its Motakhelim, its high churchmen; its Sufis, its mystic monks; its Maatizali, its heretics or dissidents: its philosophers, properly so called, its Aristotelians. But the philosophic schools of Islam were as much or more foreign to the general Mohammedan mind than the scholastic oligarchy of Christendom to that of Western Europe. In the general estimation they were half or more than half heretical, the intellectual luxuries of splendid Courts and Caliphs, who were, at least, no longer rigid Islamists.^g It was not, as in Europe, the philosophy of a great hierarchy.

Of all curious chapters in the history of the human mind, none is more singular than the growth, progress, and influence of the Arabo-Aristotelian philosophy.^h Even in the second century after the Hegira, or more fully in the third, this science found its way among the Mohammedans of Syria. After having made its circuit, five or six centuries later it came out again in Spain, and from the schools of Cordova entered

^g Mahomet is made to prophesy in as stern language as the fiercest Catholic. "Mon église sera divisée en plus de soixante-dix sectes: il n'y a qu'une qui sera sauvée, les autres iront à l'enfer; or ce qu'il a prédit, est arrivé"—Schmolders, p. 89.

^h "On ne pourra parler d'une philo-

sophie Arabe dans le sens strict du mot On n'entend dire autre chose que la Philosophie Grecque, telle que les Arabes la cultivaient."—Schmolders, *Essai sur les Ecoles Philosophiques des Arabes*, p. 41.

Again,

"Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit.

into the Universities of France and Italy. In both cases it was under the same escort, that of medicine, that it subjugated in turn Islam and Christianity. Physicians were its teachers in Damascus and Bagdad, in Paris and Auxerre.

The Arabians in their own country, in their free wild life, breathing the desert air, ever on horseback, had few diseases or only diseases peculiar to their habits. With the luxuries, the repose, the indolence, the residence in great cities, the richer diet of civilisation, they could not avoid the maladies of civilisation. They were obliged to call in native science to their aid. As in their buildings, their coinage, and most handicraft works, they employed Greek or Syrian art, so medicine was introduced and cultivated among them by Syrians, Greeks, and Jews. They received those useful strangers not only with tolerant respect, but with high and grateful honour. The strangers brought with them not only their medical treatises, the works of Hippocrates and Galen, and besides these the Alexandrian astronomy, which developed itself in the general Asiatic mind into astrology; but at length also and by degrees the whole Greek philosophy, the Neo-Platonism of Alexandria and the Aristotelian dialectics of Greece. The asserters of the one Book, the destroyers as they are said to have been of all books but that one, became authors so prolific, not in poetry alone, their old pride and delight, but in the infinite variety and enormous mass of their philosophic treatises,

“ Diese Ansicht der Dinge welche das Geschehen auf der Erde mit den Bewegungen des Himmels in einen physischen Zusammenhang bringt, ist ein charakteristisches Zug welche durch alle Lehre der Arabischen Aristotelischer hindurch geht. Wenn auch schon vor ihnen Astrologische Lehren auf der

Philosophie einen Einfluss geübt hatten, so bildeten doch sie zuerst die Astrologie zu einem philosophischen Systeme aus.” Ritter, viii. p. 161. The Astrology of the Middle Ages no doubt owes much to and is a sign of the prevalence of the Arabic philosophy.

as to equal if not surpass the vast and almost incalculable volumes of Scholastic divinity.^k

As in Syria of old, so now in France and other parts of Christendom, Philosophy stole in under the protection of medicine. It was as physicians that the famous Arabian philosophers, as well as some Jews, acquired unsuspected fame and authority. There is not a philosopher who has not some connexion with medicine, nor a physician who has not some connexion with philosophy. The translators of the most famous philosophers, of Averrhoes and Avicenna, were physicians; metaphysics only followed in the train of physical science.^m

The Græco-Arabic philosophy worked into the system of the schools in two different modes:—I. The introduction of works of Aristotle, either unknown or now communicated in a more perfect form. II. The Arabic philosophy, which had now grown to its height under the Abbasside Caliphs in the East, Almanzor, Haroun al Raschid, Motakem,ⁿ and under the Ommiades in Spain. The Eastern school, after Alghazil and Fakhreddin Rhazis, had culminated in Avicenna, the Western in Averrhoes. Schools had arisen in Cordova, Seville, Toledo, Grenada, Xativa, Valencia, Murcia, Almeria. Averrhoes had an endless race of successors.

Profound, it might seem almost impenetrable darkness, covered the slow, silent interpenetration of both Aristotelian Philosophy. these influences into the Christian schools. How, through what channels, did Aristotle rise to his

^k "La masse des prétendus Philosophes est si grande, leurs ouvrages sont numériquement si prodigieux, que toute la Scholastique est bien pauvre en comparaison des Arabes."—Schmolders. Has this learned author calculated or

weighed the volumes of the Schoolmen?

^m Ritter, p. 676.

ⁿ The Nestorian Churches in Persia and Khorasan were instrumental to the progress of philosophising Islamism.

ascendancy? to what extent were the Schoolmen acquainted with the works of the Arabian philosophers? The first at least of these questions has found a satisfactory solution.^o During all the earlier period, from Anselm and Abélard to the time of Albert the Great, from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, the name of Aristotle was great and authoritative in the West, but it was only as the teacher of logic, as the master of Dialectics. Even this logic, which may be traced in the darkest times, was chiefly known in a secondary form, through Augustine, Boethius,^p and the Isagoge of Porphyry; at the utmost, the Treatises which form the Organon, and not the whole of these, were known in the Church. It was as dangerously proficient in the Aristotelian logic, as daring to submit theology to the rules of Dialectics, that Abélard excited the jealous apprehensions of St. Bernard.^q Throughout the intermediate period, to Gilbert de la Porée, to the St. Victors, to John of Salisbury, to Alain de Lille, to Adelard of Bath, Aristotle was the logician and no more.^r Of his

^o This question has been, if I may so say, judicially determined by M. Jourdain, *Recherches Critiques sur l'Age et l'Origine des Traductions Latines d'Aristote*, new edition, revised by his son, Paris, 1843. These are the general conclusions of M. Jourdain: I. That the only works of Aristotle known in the West until the twelfth century were the Treatises on Logic, which compose the Organon. (The Analytics, Topics, and Sophistic Refutations are more rarely cited.) II. That from the date of the following century, the other parts of his philosophy were translated into Latin. III. That of those Translations some were from a Greek, some from an

Arabic text. M. Jourdain fairly examines and states the names of former writers on the subject,—Brucker, Tiedemann, Buhle, Tenneman, Heeren.

^p On the books translated by Boethius and the earlier Translations, Jourdain, pp. 30, 52, &c.

^q See vol. iii, B. viii. c. 5. Compare Jourdain, p. 24. Abélard confesses his ignorance of the Physics and Metaphysics. “Quæ quidem opera ipsius nullus adhuc translata linguæ Latinæ aptavit: ideoque minus natura eorum nobis est cognita.”—Abelard, *Oper.* Ined, p. 200.

^r The name of Aristotle is not to be found in Peter the Lombard.—Jourdain, 29.

Morals, his Metaphysics, his Physics, his Natural History, there is no knowledge whatever. His fame as a great, universal philosopher hardly lived, or lived only in obscure and doubtful tradition.

On a sudden, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, there is a cry of terror from the Church, in the centre of the most profound theological learning of the Church, the University of Paris, and the cry is the irrefragable witness to the influence of what was vaguely denounced as the philosophy of Aristotle. It is not now presumptuous Dialectics, which would submit theological truth to logical system, but philosophical theories, directly opposed to the doctrines of the Church; the clamour is loud against certain fatal books^a but newly brought into the schools.^b Simon of Tournay,^c accused of utter infidelity, may have employed the perilous weapons of Dialectics to perplex his hearers and confute his adversaries; but he was also arraigned as having been led into his presumptuous tenets by the study of the Physics and Metaphysics of Aristotle. The heresies of Amaury de Bene, and of David of Dinant, were traced by the theologians of Paris to the same fertile source

^a These books are said by the continuator of Rigord, William the Breton, to have contained the Metaphysics of Aristotle; and in two other writers of the period, in Caesar of Heisterbach, and Hugh the Continuator of the Chronicle of Auxerre, to have been the Physics. The Decree for burning the books (see below) determines the point.

^b Crevier, t. i. p. 338, or rather Du Boulay, asserted that these books had been brought from Constantinople about 1167, and translated into Latin. M Jourdain, Note p. 46, has shown

the inaccuracy of this statement.

^c Simon of Tournay delivered with wonderful applause a Lecture, in which he explained or proved all the great Mysteries of religion by the Aristotelic process. "Stay," he closed his Lecture, "to-morrow I will utterly confute all that I have proved to-day by stronger arguments." He was struck on that morrow with apoplexy, and lost his speech.—Crevier, i. p. 309. It should seem that Simon de Tournay was rather an expert dialectician than an inquiring philosopher.

of evil. An exhumation of the remains of Amaury de Bene, who, though suspected, had been buried in consecrated ground, was followed by a condemnation of his followers, the teachers of these dreaded opinions. Some were degraded and made over to the secular arm (to the State), some to perpetual imprisonment. There was a solemn prohibition against the reading and copying of these books; all the books which could be seized were burned.^x Six years after, Robert de Courçon, the Papal Legate, interdicted the reading of the *Physics* and *Metaphysics* of Aristotle in the schools of Paris.^y A milder decree of Gregory IX. ordered that they should not be used till they had been corrected by the theologians of the Church; yet two years before this Gregory had fulminated a violent Bull against the presumption of those who taught the Christian doctrine rather according to the rules of Aristotle than the traditions of the Fathers,^z against the profane usage of mingling up philosophy with Divine revelation. But the secret of all this terror and perplexity of the Church was not that the pure and more rational philosophy of Aristotle was revealed in the schools; the evil and the danger more clearly denounced were in the Arabian Comment, which, inseparable from

^x All kinds of incongruous charges were heaped on the memory of Amaury de Bene: he was an Albigensian, believed in the Everlasting Gospel.

^y See the Decree of the Archbishop of Sens and the Council, unknown to Launoï and earlier authors, Martene, Nov. Thes. Anec. iv. 166. "Corpus Magistri Amaurici extrahatur a cimiterio et projiciatur in terram non benedictam et idem excommunicetur per omnes ecclesias totius provinciæ." A list of names follows, "isti degradentur,

penitus sæculari curiæ relinquendi;" another list, "perpetuo carceri mancipandi." The Books of David de Dinant are to be burned, "nec libri Aristotelis de *Naturali* Philosophia, nec *Commenta* legantur Parisiis publice vel secreto."

^z "Non legantur libri Aristotelis de *Metaphysicâ* et *Naturali* Philosophiâ, nec summa de eisdem, aut de doctrinâ Mag. David de Dinant, aut Almerici heretici, aut Mauritiî Hispan."—Stat. Univ. Par.

the Arabo-Latin translation, had formed a system fruitful of abuse and error.^a

The heresy of Amaury de Bene, and that of David de Dinant, was Pantheism.^b The Creator and the Creation were but one; all flowed from God, all was to be reabsorbed in God—a doctrine not less irreconcilable with genuine Aristotelism than with the doctrine of the Church.^c But the greater Schoolmen of the next period aspired, with what success it may be doubted, to the nobler triumph of subjugating Aristotelism to the science of Theology, not the logical science only, but the whole range of the Stagirite's philosophy.^d It was to be an obsequious and humble, though honoured ally, not a daring rival; they would set free, yet at the same time bind its stubborn spirit in their firm grasp, to more than amity, to perfect harmony.

Albert the Great, in his unbounded range of knowledge, comprehends the whole metaphysical, moral, physical, as well as logical system of Aristotle.^e He had read all, or, with but few unimportant exceptions, his whole works. He had read them in Latin, some translated directly from the Greek, some from the Arabic; some few had been translated from the Arabic into Hebrew, and from the Hebrew into the Latin. Those which came through the Arabic retain distinct

^a "On voit dans ces trois condamnations une diminution successive de sévérité. La première est la plus rigoureuse, les autres s'en vont s'adoucissant." Crevier blames this mildness, p. 312.

^b "Roger Bacon nous apprend que l'on s'opposa-long temps à Paris à la philosophie naturelle et à la métaphysique d'Aristote exposées par Avicenne et Averroës; ceux qui s'en ser-

vaiant furent excommuniés."—P. 194. See the following quotation from Roger Bacon, and the whole passage.

^c See the sources of their doctrines, Jourdain, p. 196.

^d See in Jourdain the works cited by William Bishop of Paris, who died 1248.—P. 31.

^e Works quoted by Albert the Great also, p. 32.

and undeniable marks of their transmission — Arabic words, especially words untranslated, Arabic idioms, and undeniable vestiges of the Arabic vowel system.^f These versions from the Arabic came: I. From Spain and from Spanish scholars in the South of France, at Marseilles, Montpellier, Toulouse. II. From Sicily, where Frederic II. had fostered Arabic learning, and had encouraged translations from that tongue. Under his auspices the famous Michael Scott had translated, at least, the books of Natural History.^g Besides these some had come through the Hebrew; the great age of Jewish philosophy, that of Aben-Esra, Maimonides, and Kimchi, had been contemporaneous with the later Spanish school of Arabic philosophy. There had been an intercommunion or rivalry in the cultivation of the whole range of philosophy. The translations from the Greek were as yet few, imperfect, inaccurate.^h The greater Thomas Aquinas has the merit of having encouraged and obtained a complete translation of the works of Aristotle directly from the Greek.ⁱ The culti-

^f "Jamais une version dérivée d'un texte Arabe ne présenta, fidèlement orthographié, un mot qui aura passé par l'intermédiaire de l'Arabe, langue où la prononciation n'est réglée que par les points diacritiques qui sont rarement bien placés. Souvent aussi les traducteurs ne connaissant pas la valeur d'un terme l'ont laissé en Arabe." — Jourdain, p. 19. See the whole passage, and also p. 37.

^g On the translation by M. Scott, from the Arabic, not through the Hebrew, Jourdain, p. 124, *et seqq.*, and Herman Alemannus, with whom the older Herman Contractus (the Lame) has been confounded. — Jourdain, p. 93.

^h Among the earliest Translations from the Greek was the Nicomachean Ethics, by no less a man than Robert Grosstête, Bishop of Lincoln. M. Jourdain satisfactorily proves this remarkable fact. — P. 59, *et seqq.*

ⁱ "Scripsit etiam super philosophiam naturalem et moralem et super metaphysicam, quorum librorum procuravit ut fieret nova translatio quæ sententiæ Aristotelis contineret clarius veritatem." — Tocco. Vit. C. Th. Aquin. Act. SS. March. "On sait que ce fut par les conseils et les soins de S. Thomas d'Aquin que fut faite une traduction Latine d'Aristote." — Tenneman, Manuel, French Translation.

vation of Greek had never entirely ceased in the West. After Scotus Erigena and Adelard of Bath travelled in the East, these casual and interrupted communications grew into more regular and constant intercourse. But now the Latin conquest of Constantinople had made Eastern and Western Christendom one. If the conquering army, the sovereign and the territorial lords, did not condescend to acquire much of the language of their subjects, the conquering Church was more wise and enterprising. Innocent III. proposed to the University of Paris to send a colony of scholars to learn the tongue of the people, among whom the Latin clergy was to administer the rites of the Church ;^k a school for youths from Constantinople was to be opened at Paris.^m No doubt many Byzantine exiles, men of peace and learning, found their way to the West. The Mendicant Orders, spreading over the world, made it their duty and their boast to acquire foreign tongues; and now especially the Dominicans aspired to the highest places in learning and knowledge. Thus the complete and genuine Aristotle was divulged. Towards the end of the thirteenth century the philosophers of Greece and Rome were as well known, as in our own days; the schools rung with their names,ⁿ with the explanation of their writings. A scholastic Doctor was not thought worthy of his name who had not publicly commented on their writings.^o It was not alone as a servile translator of the Greek, as the inert and uninventive disciple of the Western philosophy, which it

Arabian
Philosophy.

^k Epistolæ Innocent. III. Brequigny
et Du Theil, ii. 712, 723.

^m Bulæus, iii. iv.

ⁿ The earlier Western students, who
travelled before the twelfth century,

Constantine the Monk, the famous
Gerbert, Adelard of Bath, sought rather
mathematical or astronomical science.

^o Jourdain, p. 2.

was to restore to its forgotten honours in the West, that Arabian Philosophy aspired, if not to rule, to influence the mind of Christendom.^p The four great Arabic authors, Avicenna, Aven Pace, Avicbron, Averrhoes, with David the Jew, and others of less fame,^q introduced chiefly perhaps through the Jews of Andalusia, Marseilles, and Montpellier (those Dragomen of Mediæval Science), are not only known to the later Schoolmen; but even the suspicion, the jealousy, the awe, has fallen away. They are treated with courtesy and respect, allowed fair hearing; that which at the beginning of the century appeared so perilous, so formidable, is no longer the forbidden lore of heretics, of unbelievers, of atheists. The Arabians are entertained as grave philosophers; their theories are examined, their arguments discussed. Their authority, as representatives of a lofty and commanding philosophy, which has a right to respectful attention, is fully acknowledged.^r Avicenna and Averrhoes are placed by Dante among the philosophers who wanted only baptism to be saved; and

^p See Jourdain on the Translations from the Arabic, by Dominic and John the Jew, in the twelfth century.

^q "Ajoutons que les philosophes Arabes, Avicenne, Averroes, Aven Pace, etc., oubliés maintenant, jouissaient alors d'une grande réputation." —*Ibid.* Avicbron turns out to be the famous Hebrew poet, Solomon Ibn Gebirol. See the abstract and extracts from his 'Fons Vitæ,' in Munk. *Mélanges de Philosophie Juive et Arabe.* Paris, 1859. There is much on Arabian philosophy of great value in this work, and other writings of M. Munk. On Averroes, see the masterly treatise of Ernest

Renan — Averroes et l'Averroïsme. Paris, 1861.

^r M. Schmolders is of opinion that the Schoolmen were much more indebted to the Græco-Arabic philosophy than is generally supposed. "L'influence exercée par eux sur le Scolastique est beaucoup plus grande qu'on ne la suppose ordinairement. Non seulement les Scolastiques semblent en convenir eux-mêmes à cause de leurs nombreuses citations, mais il n'est pas difficile de prouver qu'ils sont redevables aux Arabes d'une foule d'idées, qu'on leur a jusqu'à présent attribuées."—P. 104.

Dante no doubt learned his respect for their names from his master S. Thomas.^s

The extent to which Latin Christianity, in its highest scholasticism, admitted, either avowedly or tacitly, consciously or imperceptibly, the influence of the philosophy of Bagdad or Cordova, how far reached this fusion of refined Islamism and Christianity, our History wants space, the Historian knowledge of the yet unfathomed depths of Arabian learning, to determine.^t

Now came the great age of the Schoolmen. Latin Christianity raised up those vast monuments of Theology which amaze and appal the mind with the enormous accumulation of intellectual industry, ingenuity, and toil; but of which the sole result to posterity is this barren amazement. The tomes of Scholastic Divinity may be compared with the pyramids of Egypt, which stand in that rude majesty, which is commanding from the display of immense human power, yet oppressive from the sense of the waste of that power for no discoverable use. Whoever penetrates within, finds himself bewildered and lost in a labyrinth

^s Inferno, iv. This shows at once their fame, and that Arabic philosophers were not popularly rejected as impious and godless.

^t I almost presume, as far as my own reading extends, to doubt whether there are sufficient grounds as yet for deciding this question. It requires a profound knowledge of Oriental and of Mediæval lore in one person. M. Schmolders possesses the first, M. Ritter perhaps a large proportion of both. M. Haureau, the great Master of Scholasticism, rather declines, at least does not fully enter into, the discussion.

^u The study of Arabic, which had been fostered by Frederick II., carried to high perfection by Michael Scott and others, was not discouraged in the Universities. Honorius IV. proposed an endowment for this study in the University of Paris. The ostensible object was the education of Missionaries to propagate the Gospel among the Islamites. The foundation did not take place till the Council of Vienne. —Crevier, ii. 112. At an early period, perhaps, it might rather have promoted the invasion of Christianity by the Arabic philosophy.

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of small, dark, intricate passages and chambers, devoid of grandeur, devoid of solemnity : he may wander without end, and find nothing ! It was not indeed the enforced labour of a slave population : it was rather voluntary slavery, submitting in its intellectual ambition and its religious patience to monastic discipline : it was the work of a small intellectual oligarchy, monks, of necessity, in mind and habits ; for it imperiously required absolute seclusion either in the monastery or in the University, a long life under monastic rule. No Schoolman could be a great man but as a Schoolman. William of Ockham alone was a powerful demagogue—scholastic even in his political writings, but still a demagogue. It is singular to see every kingdom in Latin Christendom, every Order in the social State, furnishing the great men, not merely to the successive lines of Doctors, who assumed the splendid titles of the Angelical, the Seraphic, the Irrefragable, the most Profound, the most Subtle, the Invincible, even the Perspicuous,^x but to what may be called the supreme Pentarchy of Scholasticism. Italy sent Thomas of Aquino and Bonaventura ; Germany Albert the Great ; Five Great Schoolmen. the British Isles (they boasted also of Alexander Hales and Bradwardine) Duns Scotus and William of Ockham ; France alone must content herself with names somewhat inferior (she had already given Abélard, Gilbert de la Porée, Amaury de Bene, and other famous or suspected names), now William of Auvergne, at a later time Durandus. Albert and Aquinas were of noble Houses, the Counts of Bollstadt and Aquino ; Bonaventura of good parentage at Fidenza ; of Scotus

^x Aquinas, Bonaventura, Alexander Hales, Ægidius de Colonna, Ockham, Walter Burley.

the birth was so obscure as to be untraceable. Ockham was of humble parents in the village of that name in Surrey. But France may boast that the University of Paris was the great scene of their studies, their labours their instruction. The University of Paris was the acknowledged awarder of the fame and authority obtained by the highest Schoolmen. It is no less remarkable that the new Mendicant Orders sent forth these five Patriarchs, in dignity, of the science. Albert and Aquinas were Dominicans, Bonaventura, Duns Scotus, Ockham, Franciscans. It might have been supposed that the popularising of religious teaching, which was the express and avowed object of the Friar Preachers and of the Minorites, would have left the higher places of abstruse and learned Theology to the older Orders, or to the more dignified Secular Ecclesiastics. Content with being the vigorous antagonists of heresy in all quarters, they would not aspire also to become the aristocracy of theologic erudition. But the dominant religious impulse of the times could not but seize on all the fervent and powerful minds which sought satisfaction for their devout yearnings. No one who had strong religious ambition could be anything but a Dominican or a Franciscan; to be less was to be below the highest standard. Hence on one hand the Orders aspired to rule the Universities, contested the supremacy with all the great established authorities in the schools; and having already drawn into their vortex almost all who united powerful abilities with a devotional temperament, never wanted men who could enter into this dreary but highly rewarding service,—men who could rule the Schools, as others of their brethren had begun to rule the Councils and the minds of Kings. It may be strange to contrast the popular simple preaching

All Mendicants.

for such must have been that of S. Dominic and S. Francis, such that of their followers, in order to contend with success against the plain and austere Sermons of the heretics, with the Sum of Theology of Aquinas, which of itself (and it is but one volume in the works of Thomas) would, as it might seem, occupy a whole life of the most secluded study to write, almost to read. The unlearned, unreasoning, only profoundly, passionately loving and dreaming S. Francis, is still more oppugnant to the intensely subtle and dry Duns Scotus, at one time carried by his severe logic into Pelagianism; or to William of Ockham, perhaps the hardest and severest intellectualist of all; a political fanatic, not like his visionary brethren, who brooded over the Apocalypse and their own prophets, but for the Imperial against the Papal Sovereignty.

As then in these five men culminates the age of genuine Scholasticism, the rest may be left to be designated and described to posterity by the names assigned to them by their own wondering disciples.

We would change, according to our notion, the titles which discriminated this distinguished pentarchy. Albert the Great would be the Philosopher, Aquinas the Theologian, Bonaventura the Mystic, Duns Scotus the Dialectician, Ockham the Politician. It may be said of Scholasticism, as a whole, that whoever takes delight in what may be called gymnastic exercises of the reason or the reasoning powers, efforts which never had, and hardly cared to have, any bearing on the life, or even on the sentiments and opinions of mankind, may study these works, the crowning effort of Latin, of Sacerdotal, and Monastic Christianity, and may acquire something like respect for these forgotten athletes in the intellectual games of antiquity. They are not of so

much moment in the history of religion, for their theology was long before rooted in the veneration and awe of Christendom; nor in that of philosophy, for except as to what may be called mythological subtleties, questions relating to the world of angels and spirits, of which, according to them, we might suppose the revelation to man as full and perfect, as that of God or of the Redeemer, there is hardly a question which has not been examined in other language and in less dry and syllogistic form. There is no acute observation on the workings of the human mind, no bringing to bear extraordinary facts on the mental, or mingled mental and corporeal, constitution of our being. With all their researches into the unfathomable they have fathomed nothing: with all their vast logical apparatus they have proved nothing to the satisfaction of the inquisitive mind. Not only have they not solved any of the insoluble problems of our mental being, our primary conceptions, our relations to God, to the Infinite, neither have they (a more possible task) shown them to be insoluble.^y

Albert the Great was born at Lauingen in Swabia, of the ancient house of the Counts of Bollstadt. He studied at Paris and in Padua. In Padua, Jordan the Saxon, the head of the Dominicans, laid on him the spell of his own master-mind and that of his Order; he became a Dominican. He returned to Cologne, and taught in the schools of that city. In 1228 he was called to fill the chair of his

^y "Il est donc bien difficile aux philosophes d'avouer que la philosophie consiste plutôt à reconnaître la limite naturelle de l'intelligence humaine qu'à faire de périls efforts pour re-

culer cette limite."—Haureau, ii. p. 45, quoting Locke, whose whole, wise, but strangely misrepresented, work is a comment on that great axiom.

Order in the Jacobin convent at Paris. There, though his text-book was the rigid, stone-cold Sentences of Peter the Lombard, his bold originality, the confidence with which he rushed on ground yet untrodden, at once threw back all his competitors into obscurity, and seemed to summon reason, it might be to the aid, it might be as a perilous rival to religion. This, by his admirers, was held as hardly less than divine inspiration, but provoked his adversaries and his enemies. "God," it was said, "had never divulged so many of his secrets to one of his creatures." Others murmured, "He must be possessed by an evil spirit:" already the fame, the suspicion of a magician had begun to gather round his name. After three years of glory, perhaps of some danger, in Paris, he settled among his Dominican brethren at Cologne. At Cologne he was visited by the Emperor William of Holland, who bowed down in wonder before the extraordinary man. As Provincial of Germany, commissioned by the Diet of Worms, he visited all the monasteries of his jurisdiction. He severely reproved the Monks, almost universally sunk in ignorance and idleness; he rescued many precious manuscripts which in their ignorance they had left buried in dust, or in their fanaticism cast aside as profane. He was summoned to Rome, and named 1260.
Grand Master of the Palace—the great dignity 1263.
usually held by his Order—by Pope Alexander IV. He laid down his dignity, and retired to his school at Cologne. He was compelled to accept the Bishopric of Ratisbon. After three years of able administration he resigned to Urban IV. the unwelcome great-
Died in 1280.
ness, and again retired to his seclusion, his studies, and public instruction at Cologne. Such was

the public life, such the honours paid to the most illustrious of the Schoolmen.^z

Albert the Great at once awed by his immense erudition and appalled his age. His name, the Universal Doctor, was the homage to his all-embracing knowledge. He quotes, as equally familiar, Latin, Greek, Arabic, Jewish philosophers.^a He was the first Schoolman who lectured on Aristotle himself, on Aristotle from Græco-Latin or Arabo-Latin copies. The whole range of the Stagirite's physical and metaphysical philosophy was within the scope of Albert's teaching.^b In later days he was called the Ape of Aristotle; he had dared to introduce Aristotle into the Sanctuary itself.^c One of his Treatises is a refutation of the Arabian Averrhoes. Nor is it Aristotle and Averrhoes alone that come within

* Haureau, t. ii. p. 1, *et seqq.* I owe most of what follows, with references to the original works, to the two Chapters on Albert the Great in Ritter, *Christliche Philosophie*, viii. p. 181, and M. Haureau, *De la Philosophie Scolastique*, ii. p. 1. I think the German has an unusual advantage over the Frenchman in the order, and therefore in the perspicuity, with which he has developed the system of Albert the Great. In his sharp, precise language the Frenchman resumes his superiority; and it must be remembered that the object of M. Haureau's work is the Scholastic Philosophy. I have also read M. Rousselot, *Études*, and some of the older writers.

^a "Et in hanc sententiam conveniunt multi Theologi diversarum religionum tam scilicet Saracenorum quam Judæorum, quam Christianorum."—*Lib. viii. Physic. c. vi.*, quoted by

M. Haureau, ii. p. 54. Alexander Hales (about 1222) had illustrated Christian Theology from Aristotle and Avicenna.—Ritter, 181. Also William of Auvergne. See Haureau, p. 11.

^b The only Treatises which the Scholastic Philosopher might seem to disdain were the popular and practical ones, the Rhetoric, Poetics, and the Politics.—Ritter, p. 188.

^c See quotation from Thomasius in Haureau, and M. Haureau's refutation. "An andern Orten giebt er zu erkennen, er wollte hier nur die Meinung der Peripatetiker wiedergeben; wie dieselbe mit der Katholischen Lehre ausgeglichen werden könne, lässt er dahin gestellt seyn." Ritter, however, does full justice to his religion, p. 191. *De unitate intellectus contra Averrhoem.* His works fill twenty-one volumes folio.

the pale of Albert's erudition; the commentators and glossators of Aristotle, the whole circle of the Arabians, are quoted, their opinions, their reasonings, even their words, with the utmost familiarity. But with Albert Theology was still the master-science. The Bishop of Ratisbon was of unimpeached orthodoxy; the vulgar only, in his wonderful knowledge of the secrets of Nature, in his studies of Natural History, could not but see something of the magician. Albert had the ambition of reconciling Plato and Aristotle, and of reconciling this harmonised Aristotelian and Platonic philosophy with Christian Divinity. He thus, in some degree, misrepresented or misconceived both the Greeks; he hardened Plato into Aristotelism, expanded Aristotelism into Platonism; and his Christianity, though Albert was a devout man, while it constantly subordinates, in strong and fervent language, knowledge to faith and love, became less a religion than a philosophy. Albert has little of, he might seem to soar above the peculiar and dominant doctrines of Christianity; he dwells on the nature of God rather than on the Trinity, on the immortality of the soul rather than the redemption; on sin, on original sin, he is almost silent. According to the established Christian theology, Creation and Redemption were simultaneously in the counsels of God. In the new system, Grace was a gift for the advancement of Man's indefeasible intellectual nature. But though Albert thus dwells on the high, as it were philosophic, Godhead, he reserves religiously for God a sole primary existence; he rejects with indignation his master Aristotle's tenet of the co-eternity of matter and the eternity of the world;^d but he rests not in the

^d "Gott wurde bedürftig sein, wenn | setze. . . . Dass die Materie nicht
 seit Werken eine Materie voraus- | ewig sein könne, wird aber auch

sublime simplicity of the Mosaic creation by the Word of God out of nothing. Since St. Augustine, the Platonic doctrine of the pre-existence of the forms, or the ideas, of all things in the mind of God, had been almost the accredited doctrine of the Church. Even Matter was in God, but before it became material, only in its form and possibility. Man, indeed, seems to be doomed, if he can soar above the corporeal anthropomorphism which arrayed the Deity in human form (the anthropomorphism of the poets, the sculptors, and the painters), to admit an intellectual anthropomorphism; to endeavour to comprehend and define the laws and the capacities of the Divine Intelligence according to his own.^e Yet when Albert thus accepted a kind of Platonic emanation theory of all things from the Godhead,^f he repudiated as detestable, as blasphemous, the absolute unity of the Divine Intelligence with the intelligence of man. This doctrine of Averrhoes destroyed the personality of man, if not of God. He recoils from Pantheism with religious horror. His perpetual object

daraus erschlossen, dass Gott, die ewige Form, und die Materie nicht mit einander gemein haben könnten, also auch nicht die Ewigkeit. Hier gebraucht Albert diesen Satz des Aristoteles gegen den Aristoteles selbst."—Ritter, pp. 201-2.

^e "Le Dieu des philosophes, c'est à dire des Théologiens éclairés, ne fut pas, il est vrai, celui des sculpteurs et des peintres; mais il eut bien avec lui, pour ne rien céler, quelques traits de ressemblance. Pour représenter la figure de Dieu, l'artiste avait choisi dans la nature, avec les yeux du corps, les formes qui lui avaient semblé répondre le mieux au concept idéal de la

beauté parfaite, et il s'était efforcé de les reproduire sur le bois ou sur la pierre. Pour représenter Dieu comme l'intelligence parfaite, le philosophe procéda suivant la même méthode; arrivant au dernier terme de l'abstraction, il trouva dans l'entendement humain, les idées générales, et il ne sut alors mieux faire, que de définir l'intelligence de Dieu le lieu primordial de ces idées."—Haureau, p. 84. Compare the whole passage, as just as it is brilliant.

^f "Primum principium est indefinienter fluens, quo intellectus universaliter agens indesinenter est intelligentias emittens."—Apud Ritter, p. 199

is to draw the distinction between the Eternal and the Temporal, the Infinite and the Finite; how knowledge is attained, how the knowledge of God differs from the enthusiastic contemplation of God. God, though not to be comprehended, may be known, and that not only by grace, but by natural means. God is as the Light, everywhere seen, but everywhere escaping the comprehension of the vision. God is omnipresent, all-working yet limited by the capacities of existing things.

God the Creator (and Creation was an eternal, inalienable attribute of the God) was conceived, as having primarily called into being four coeval things of everlasting duration,—the primal Matter, Time, Heaven, the Everlasting Intelligence.^g But Matter, and Time, it should seem, were properly neither Matter nor Time. Matter has no proper existence, it is only privative; it is something by which and in which works Intelligence.^h The Heavens exist (and in the Heavens, though this is something, as it were, apart from his theory, Albert admits the whole established order and succession of the Angels from Dionysius the Areopagite)ⁱ and Intelligence, which subsists, though oppressed and bowed

^g "Ille enim maxime intelligibilis est et omnis intellectus et intelligibilis causa et in omni intelligibili attingitur, sicut lumen quod est actus visibilium, attingitur in omni visibili per visum. Sicut tamen lumen secundum immensitatem, quam habet in rota solis et secundum immensitatem potestatis, qua omnia visibilia comprehendere potest, non potest capi vel comprehendi a visu, ita nec intellectus divinus, secundum excellentiam, quâ excellit in se ipso, et secundum potestatem quâ illustrare potest super omnia, etiam super infi-

nita intelligibilia, capi vel comprehendendi potest ab intellectu creato." Summa Theolog., quoted in Ritter, p. 196. The finite cannot comprehend the Infinite. But Albert always pre-supposes the moral as well as the Christian preparative for knowledge, virtue, and faith.

^h Ritter, p. 205.

ⁱ The whole Universe was a progressive descendant development, and ascendant movement, towards perfection.

down, even in lifeless things. But between the higher, imperishable intelligence of man and the intelligence of God there is nothing intermediate;^k and yet there is eternal, irreconcilable difference. The Unity of God must develop itself in multiplicity. Man's Intelligence is a continual efflux from God, an operation of God, but yet not divine. As God it has its own Free Will.^m

And so Albert goes on, and so went on Albert's successors, and so go on Albert's interpreters, with these exquisitely subtle distinctions of words, which they refuse to see are but words, making matter immaterial,ⁿ forms actual beings or substances; making God himself, with perfect free-will, act under a kind of necessity; making thoughts things, subtilising things to thoughts; beguiling themselves and beguiling mankind with the notion that they are passing the impassable barriers of human knowledge; approaching boldly, then suddenly recoiling from the most fatal conclusions. In the pride and in the delight of conscious power, in the exercise of the reason, and its wonderful instrument Logic, these profound and hardy thinkers are still reproducing the same eternal problems; detaching the immaterial part of man, as it were, from his humanity, and blending him with the Godhead; bringing the Godhead down into the world, till the distinction is lost; and then perceiving

^k On the great mediæval question Albert would be at once a Realist, a Conceptualist, and a Nominalist. There were three kinds of Universals, one abstract, self-existing, one in the object, one in the mind.—Ritter, p. 219. Haureau, p. 14. M. Haureau treats this part at length.

^m Yet he does not deny, he asserts in other places, that which Christianity and Islam, Latin, Greek, and Arabian,

equally admitted, the operation of God in the soul of man through Angels.

ⁿ "Daher ist das Sein an einem jeden Geschöpfe verschieden von dem, was es ist."—Ritter, p. 211. The matter is only the outward vehicle, as it were,—the Form gives the Being. This is the theory of Averroës. See on this subject the just and sensible observation of M. Haureau, from p. 24.

and crying out in indignation against what seems their own blasphemy. The close of all Albert the Great's intense labours, of his enormous assemblage of the opinions of the philosophers of all ages, and his efforts to harmonize them with the high Christian Theology, is a kind of Eclecticism, an unreconciled Realism, Conceptualism, Nominalism, with many of the difficulties of each. The intelligence of God was but an archetype of the intelligence of man, the intelligence of man a type of that of God; each peopled with the same ideas, representatives of things, conceptional entities, even words; existing in God before all existing things, before time, and to exist after time; in man existing after existing things, born in time, yet to share in the immortality of the intelligence. Thus religion, the Christian religion, by throwing upward God into his unapproachable, ineffable, inconceivable Mystery, is perhaps, in its own province, more philosophical than philosophy. Albert, in admitting the title of the Aristotelian or Greek, or Arabian philosophy, to scrutinize, to make comprehensible the Divine Intelligence; in attempting, however glorious the attempt, the Impossible, and affixing no limits to the power of human reason and logic, while he disturbed, to some extent unintentionally deposed, Theology, substituted no high and coherent Philosophy. Safe in his own deep religiousness, and his doctrinal orthodoxy, he saw not how with his philosophic speculations he undermined the foundations of his theology.

But this view of Albert the Great is still imperfect and unjust. His title to fame is not that he introduced and interpreted to the world, the Metaphysics and Physics of Aristotle, and the works of the Arabian philosophers on these abstruse subjects but because he

opened the field of true philosophic observation to mankind. In natural history he unfolded the more precious treasures of the Aristotelian philosophy, he revealed all the secrets of ancient science, and added large contributions of his own on every branch of it; in mathematics he commented on and explained Euclid; in chymistry, he was a subtle investigator; in astronomy, a bold speculator. Had he not been premature—had not philosophy been seized and again enslaved to theology, mysticism, and worldly politics—he might have been more immediately and successfully followed by the first, if not by the second, Bacon.^o

Of all the schoolmen Thomas Aquinas^p has left the greatest name. He was a son of the Count of Aquino, a rich fief in the Kingdom of Naples. His mother, Theodora, was of the line of the old Norman Kings; his brothers, Reginald and Landolph, held high rank in the Imperial armies. His family was connected by marriage with the Hohenstaufens; they had Swabian blood in their veins, and so the great schoolman was of the race of Frederick II. Monasticism seized on Thomas in his early youth; he became an inmate of Monte Casino; at sixteen years of age he caught the more fiery and vigorous enthusiasm of the Dominicans. By them he was sent—no unwilling proselyte and pupil—to France. He was seized by his worldly brothers, and

• “ Nous n'avons interrogé que le philosophe; nous n'avons parcouru que trois ou quatre de ses vingt-un volumes in-folio, œuvre prodigieuse, presque surhumaine, à laquelle aucune autre ne saurait être comparée: que nous aurions appris, si nous avions eu le loisir de les consulter, le théologien formé à l'école des Pères, le scrupuleux investigateur des mystères de la

nature, le chimiste subtil, l'audacieux astronome, l'habile interprète des théorèmes d'Euclide. Le résultat des travaux d'Albert n'a été rien moins qu'une véritable révolution! Cela résume tous ses titres à la gloire.”—Haureau, ii. p. 103. He perhaps rather foreboded than wrought this revolution.

^p Born about 1227.

sent back to Naples; he was imprisoned in one of the family castles, but resisted even the fond entreaties of his mother and his sisters. He persisted in his pious disobedience, his holy hardness of heart; he was released after two years' imprisonment—it might seem strange—at the command of the Emperor Frederick II. The godless Emperor, as he was called, gave Thomas to the Church. Aquinas took the irrevocable vow of a Friar Preacher. He became a scholar of Albert the Great at Cologne and at Paris. He was dark, silent, unapproachable even by his brethren, perpetually wrapt in profound meditation. He was called, in mockery, the great dumb ox of Sicily. Albert ques- ^{Cologne, 1244, 1246.} tioned the mute disciple on the most deep and knotty points of theology; he found, as he confessed, his equal, his superior. "That dumb ox will make the world resound with his doctrines." With Albert the faithful disciple returned to Cologne. Again he went back to Paris, received his academic degrees, and taught with universal wonder. Under Alexander IV. he stood up in Rome in defence of his Order against the eloquent William de St. Amour; he repudiated for his Order, and condemned by his authority, the prophecies of the Abbot Joachim. He taught at Cologne with Albert the Great; also at Paris, at Rome, at Orvieto, at Viterbo, at Perugia. Where he taught, the world listened in respectful silence. He was acknowledged by two Popes, Urban IV. and Clement IV., as the first theologian of the age. He refused the Archbishopric of Naples. He was expected at the Council of Lyons, as the authority ^{March 2, 1274.} before whom all Christendom might be expected to bow down. He died ere he had passed the borders of Naples at the Abbey of Rossa Nuova, near Terracina, at the age of forty-eight. Dark tales were

told of his death;^q only the wickedness of man could deprive the world so early of such a wonder. The University of Paris claimed, but in vain, the treasure of his mortal remains.^r He was canonised by John XXII.

July 15,
1323.

Thomas Aquinas is throughout, above all, the Theologian. God and the soul of man are the only objects truly worthy of his philosophic investigation. This is the function of the Angelic Doctor, the mission of the Angel of the schools. In his works, or rather in his one great work, is the final result of all which has been decided by Pope or Council, taught by the Fathers, accepted by tradition, argued in the schools, inculcated in the Confessional. The Sum of Theology is the authentic, authoritative, acknowledged code of Latin Christianity. We cannot but contrast this vast work with the original Gospel: to this bulk has grown the New Testament, or rather the doctrinal and moral part of the New Testament.^s But Aquinas is an intellectual theologian: he approaches more nearly than most philosophers, certainly than most divines, to pure embodied intellect. He is perfectly passionless; he has no polemic

^q See vol. vi. p. 406, with the quotation from Dante. One story was that Charles of Anjou had attempted violence on a niece of S. Thomas, and that the Saint had determined to denounce the crime before the Council of Lyons; others said that Charles resented the free if not king-killing doctrines of the treatise of S. Thomas, de Regimine Principum. But there is a full account of the calm, pious death of S. Thomas. He was ill more than a month, with every sign of natural decay.

^r Read the remarkable letter of the

University in the Life in the Bolandists.

^s My copy of the Summa of Aquinas has above twelve hundred of the very closest printed folio pages in double columns, without the indexes. I pretend not to have read it; but whoever is curious to know, as it were, the ultimate decisions of the Latin Church on most theological or ethical points will consult it; and will see the range and scope of that theology, and the groundwork of all the *l'aver* casuistry.

indignation, nothing of the Churchman's jealousy and suspicion; he has no fear of the result of any investigation; he hates nothing, hardly heresy; loves nothing, unless perhaps naked, abstract truth. In his serene confidence that all must end in good, he moves the most startling and even perilous questions, as if they were the most indifferent, the very Being of God. God must be revealed by syllogistic process. Himself inwardly conscious of the absolute harmony of his own intellectual and moral being, he places sin not so much in the will as in the understanding. The perfection of man is the perfection of his intelligence. He examines with the same perfect self-command, it might almost be said apathy, the converse as well as the proof of the most vital religious truths. He is nearly as consummate a sceptic, almost atheist, as he is a divine and theologian. Secure, as it should seem, in impenetrable armour, he has not only no apprehension, but seems not to suppose the possibility of danger; he has nothing of the boastfulness of self-confidence, but in calm assurance of victory, gives every advantage to his adversary. On both sides of every question he casts the argument into one of his clear, distinct syllogisms, and calmly places himself as Arbiter, and passes judgement in one or a series of still more unanswerable syllogisms. He has assigned its unassailable province to Church authority, to tradition or the Fathers, faith and works; but beyond, within the proper sphere of philosophy, he asserts full freedom. There is no Father, even St. Augustine, who may not be examined by the fearless intellect.

Thomas Aquinas has nothing like the boundless range of Albert the Great; he disdains or fears Natural Philosophy. Within their common sphere he is the faithful disciple of the Master, but far surpasses him in clear-

ness, distinctness, precision, conclusiveness. He had some works of Plato, unknown to Albert, acquired perhaps in his native Magna Græcia; but, with Albert, he rejects the co-eternal ideas subsistent without and beyond the Deity. With Albert in that controversy he is a high Aristotelian, but repudiates as decisively the eternity of matter, the imperishability of the Universe.

Aquinas has, as it were, three distinct and unmingling worlds: the world of God, the world of the immaterial angels and demons, the world of mingled matter and intelligence,—that of man. God is alone, the One absolute, infinite, self-subsistent, whose essence it is “to be.” No Eastern anti-materialist ever guarded the primal Godhead more zealously from any intrusive debasement. God is his own unique form: proceeds from no antecedent form, communicates with no inferior form. The Godhead is in itself, by itself, all that is. It is pre-existent to matter, eternally separate from matter.^t But Thomas must never lose the Christian theologian in the philosopher. All this abstract, unmingling, solitary Deity, is not merely to be endowed with his eternal, immutable attributes, Omnipresence, Omniscience, Providence, but reconciled with the mysterious doctrine of the Trinity. Thomas has not merely to avoid the errors of Plato and Aristotle, but of Arius and Sabellius; and on the Trinity he is almost as diffuse, even more minute, than on the sole original Godhead. The most microscopic eye can hardly trace his exquisite and subtle distinctions, the thin and shadowy differences of words which he creates or seizes. Yet he himself seems to walk unbewildered in his own labyrinth; he walks apparently as calmly and firmly as if he were in

^t Compare Haurœau, p. 155.

open day; leaves nothing unquestioned, unaccounted for; defines the undefinable, distinguishes the undistinguishable; and lays down his conclusions as if they were mathematical truths.

Aquinas' world of Angels and Demons comprehended the whole mystic Hierarchy of the Areopagite. Matter is not their substance; they are immaterial. They are not self-subsistent; being is not their essence." They are, on one side, finite; on the other, infinite: upwards, finite; for they are limited by the stern line which divides them from the Godhead: infinite, downwards; for they seek no inferior subject. But as that which diversifies, multiplies, and individualises, is matter, and divisibility is the essential property of matter, all the Angels, thence, logically, would be but one Angel, as there is but one pure spirituality. In this point, and about the whole subject of Angels, Thomas, instead of being embarrassed, seems to delight and revel; his luxury of distinction and definition, if it be not a contradiction, his imaginative logic, is inexhaustible. He is absolutely wanton in the questions which he starts, and answers with all the grave satisfaction as on solemn questions of life and death.^x

The third world is that of matter and of man. The world was created by God according to forms (or ideas) existent, not without but within the Deity; for God must have known what he would create. These forms, these ideas, these types of existing things, are part or God's infinite knowledge; they are the essence of God;

^x "Esse Angeli non est essentia sed accidens." — Summa, i. quæst. xii. Art. 4. They owe their being to a free act of the divine will. Compare Hauréau, p. 155.

^x E. g. "Utrum in Angelis sit cognitio matutina et vespertina." "Whether angels reason by logic" had been discussed before.

they are God. Man is inseparable from matter; matter cannot exist without form.^y The soul, the intelligence of man, constitutes the third world. It shares, in some degree, the immateriality of the two higher orders. It is self-subsistent; but it needs the material body, as its organ, its instrument. It is not, however, pre-existent. Origen was a name of ill repute in the Church; his doctrine therefore, by some subtle logical effort, must be rejected. Each separate soul is not created ere it is infused into the human body; this creation is simultaneous; nothing uncreate is presupposed.^z But if not self-subsistent, not possibly pre-existent, before their union with the body, how, according to the orthodox doctrine, can souls be self-subsistent after the dissolution of the union? St. Thomas takes refuge in the Angelic world. This, too, was created; and the souls, retaining the individuality, which they had acquired in their conjunction with matter, withdraw as it were into this separate immaterial and unmingling world.

It is obvious that our space only permits us to touch, and, we fear, with inevitable obscurity, some of the characteristic views of St. Thomas. St. Thomas, like his predecessor, Albert, on the great question of universals, is Eclectic; neither absolutely Realist, Conceptualist, nor Nominalist. Universals are real only in God, and but seemingly, in potentiality rather than actuality; they are subjective in the intelligence of man; they result objectively in things. St. Thomas

^y God cannot create matter without form; this is a necessary limit of his omnipotence. It would be a contradiction.—Summa.

^z "Cum anima sine corpore existens non habeat suæ naturæ perfectionem, nec Deus ab imperfectis suum opus in-

choaret, simpliciter fatendum est animas simul cum corporibus creari et infundi."—Summa, i. quæst. xviii. 3. "Creatio est productio alicujus rei secundum suam totam substantiam nullo præsupposito quod sit vel increatum, vel ab aliquo creatum."—Quæst. lrv. 3.

rejects the Democritean effluxes of outward things, by which the atomistic philosophy accounted for our perceptions: he admits images of things reflected and received by the senses as by a mirror, and so brought under the cognisance of the intelligence. The intelligence has, as it were, only the power, a dormant faculty of knowledge, till the object is presented, through the image. But the conception by the senses is confused, indeterminate; till abstracted, analysed, at once universalised and individualised by the intelligence.^a

Yet Thomas ruled not in uncontested supremacy even in his intellectual realm: he was encountered by an antagonist as severely intellectual as himself. No doubt the jealousy of the rival orders, the Dominican and the Franciscan, had much to do with the war of the Scotists and the Thomists, which divided the very narrow world which understood, or thought they understood, the points in dispute, and the wider world who took either side, on account of the habit, Franciscan or Dominican, of the champion. It is singular to trace, even in their Scholasticism, the ruling characters, so oppugnant to each other, of the two Orders.

Franciscans.

* "Cognitio indistincta. Ainsi la sensation est antérieure à l'intellection, c'est convenu; mais toute sensation est indéterminée, universellement confuse, avant d'être achevée, avant d'être acte qui la termina, c'est-à-dire l'idée individuelle de la chose sentie, le fantôme; de même l'intellection n'est devenue cette idée claire, positive, absolument distincte de toute autre, qui répond au mot humanité, qu'après un travail de l'esprit qui distrait tout le propre de l'humanité de la notion antérieure et confuse de l'animalité. On ne s'attendait peut-être pas à ce travail, chez un docteur du

treizième siècle, cette savante critique de la faculté de connaître."—Haureau, p. 203. I have made this extract, not merely because it contains an important illustration of the philosophy of Aquinas, but because it is such a remarkable indication of the penetrative good sense, which, notwithstanding all his scholastic subtlety, appears, as far as my narrow acquaintance with his works, to set Aquinas above all Schoolmen. I have read the splendid quarto volume of M. Carle, 'Histoire de la Vie et des Ecrits de S. Thomas d'Aquin,' of which I much admire the—type.

In Albert the Great, and in St. Thomas, there is something staid, robust, muscular, the calmness of conscious strength; their reasoning is more sedate, if to such a subject the term may be applied, more practical. The intelligence of man is to be trained by severe discipline to the height of knowledge; and knowledge is its high ultimate reward. With the Franciscans there is still passion: in Bonaventura, the mild passion of Bonaventura. Mysticism; in Duns Scotus, if it may be so said, Logic itself is become a passion. Duns is, by nature, habit, training, use, a polemic. In Ockham it is a revolutionary passion in philosophy as in politics. The true opposite, indeed rival he may be called, of Thomas, was his contemporary, his friend Bonaventura. These two men were to have met at the Council of Lyons. One died on the road, the other just lived to receive his Cardinal's hat, with the full applause of that great Œcumenic Synod: a Pope, an Emperor, and a King, attended his magnificent funeral. In Bonaventura the philosopher *recedes*; religious edification is his mission. A much smaller proportion of his voluminous works is pure Scholasticism: he is teaching by the Life of his Holy Founder, St. Francis, and by what may be called a new Gospel, a legendary Life of the Saviour, which seems to claim, with all its wild traditions, equal right to the belief with that of the Evangelists. Bonaventura himself seems to deliver it as his own unquestioning faith. Bonaventura, if not ignorant of, feared or disdained to know much of Aristotle or the Arabians: he philosophises only because in his age he could not avoid philosophy. The philosophy of Bonaventura rests on the theological doctrine of Original Sin: the soul, exiled from God, must return to God. The most popular work of Bonaventura, with his mystic admirers, was

the Itinerary of the Soul to God. The love of God, and the knowledge of God, proceed harmoniously together, through four degrees or kinds of light. The external light, by which we learn the mechanic arts: the inferior light, which shines through the senses, by these we comprehend individuals or things: the internal light, the reason, which by reflection raises the soul to intellectual things, to universals in conception: the superior light of grace, which reveals to us the sanctifying virtues, shows us universals, in their reality, in God.

Bonaventura rests not below this highest light.^b Philosophy pretends that it may soar to the utmost heights, and behold the Invisible; it presumes to aver that thought, by dwelling on God, may behold him in spirit and in truth. Against this doctrine Bonaventura protests with all his energy. Reason may reach the ultimate bounds of nature: would it trespass farther, it is dazzled, blinded by excess of light. Is faith in the intellect or in the affections? it enlightens the intellect, it rules over the affections. Which has the greater certitude, knowledge or faith? There must be a distinction. There is a knowledge which is confined to human things. There is a knowledge which is the actual vision of God. This ultimate knowledge, though of faith, is superior to faith; it is its absolute perfection. There is a certainty of speculation, a certainty of adhesion. The certainty of adhesion is the certainty of faith; for this men have died. What Geometer ever died to vindicate the certainty of geometry?^c All this

^b From Haureau, p. 224.

^c "Est enim certitudo speculationis et est certitudo adhesionis; et prima quidem respicit intellectum, secunda vero respicit ipsum affectum. . . .

Sic major est certitudo in ipsa fide quam sit in habitu scientiæ, pro eo quod vera fides magis facit adhærere ipsum credentem veritati creditæ, quam aliqua scientia alicujus rei scitæ. Videmus

lower knowledge ought to be disdainfully thrown aside for the knowledge of God. All sensible appearances, all intellectual operations, should be dismissed; the whole weight of the affections be fixed and centred on the one absolute essence in God. The faithful Christian, if he might know the whole of physical science, would, in his loyal adhesion to his belief, lose all that science rather than abandon or deny one article of the faith. The raptures of Bonaventura, like the raptures of all Mystics, tremble on the borders of Pantheism: he would still keep up the distinction between the soul and God; but the soul must aspire to absolute unity with God, in whom all ideas are in reality one, though many according to human thought and speech. But the soul, by contemplation, by beatific vision, is, as it were, to be lost and merged in that Unity.^d

Where the famous Duns Scotus was born, in Scotland, in Ireland, in Northumberland; why called the Scot, what was his parentage; all is utter darkness, thick and impenetrable as his own writings, from whence some derived his Greek name, Scotos. He appeared a humble Franciscan at Oxford;

enim veros fideles nec per argumenta, nec per tormenta, nec per blandimenta, inclinari posse ut veritatem quam credunt, saltem ore tenus, negent. Stultus etiam esset *geometra* qui pro quacunque certâ conclusione geometriæ, auderet subire mortem."—In Sentent. xxiii. quæst. 11 a 14, quoted by Haureau, p. 226. Strange prediction of Galileo! "Verus fidelis etiam si sciret totam physicam, mallet totam illam scientiam perdere, quam unum solum articulum perdere vel negare, adeo adhærens veritati creditæ."—Ibid.

^d "Et quoniam cognoscens est unum, et cognita sunt multa, ideo omnes ideæ in Deo sunt unum, secundum rem, sed tamen plures secundum rationem intelligendi sive dicendi."—In Intel. i. xxv. 1-3, quoted by Ritter, p. 496. "Tu autem, o amice, circa mysticas visiones corroborato itinere et sensus desere et intellectuales operationes, et sensibilia et invisibilia, et omne non ens et ens, et ad unitatem, ut possibile est, inscius restituere ipsius, qui est super omnem essentiam et scientiam." Itin. Ment. ad Deum, 2, 5, 7.—Ibid. p. 498.

the subtle Doctor gathered around him 30,000 pupils. At Paris he was not heard by less eager or countless crowds. From Paris he went to Cologne, and there died. The vast writings of Duns Scotus, which as lectures, thousands thronged to hear, spread out as the dreary sandy wilderness of philosophy; if its border be now occasionally entered by some curious traveller, he may return with all the satisfaction, but hardly the reward, of a discoverer. The toil, if the story of his early death be true, the rapidity, of this man's mental productiveness, is perhaps the most wonderful fact in the intellectual history of our race. He is said to have died at the age of thirty-four, a period at which most minds are hardly at their fullest strength, having written thirteen closely-printed folio volumes, without an image, perhaps without a superfluous word, except the eternal logical formularies and amplifications.^e These volumes do not contain his Sermons and Commentaries, which were of endless extent. The mind of Duns might seem a wonderful reasoning machine; whatever was thrown into it came out in syllogisms: of the coarsest texture, yet in perfect flawless pattern. Logic was the idol of Duns; and this Logic-worship is the key to his whole philosophy. Logic was asserted by him not to be an art, but a science; ratiocination was not an instrument, a means for discovering truth: it was an ultimate end; its conclusions were truth. Even his language was

^e Haureau adopts this account of the age of Duns without hesitation; it has been controverted, however, rather from the incredibility of the fact than from reasons drawn from the very few known circumstances or dates of his life. See Schreckh, xxiv. 437. Trithemius, a

very inaccurate writer, makes him a hearer of Alexander Hales in 1245; if so, at his death in 1308, he must have been above sixty. But no doubt the authority, whoever he was, of Trithemius wrote Scholar (follower), not Hearer.

Logic-worship. The older Schoolmen preserved something of the sound, the flow, the grammatical construction, we must not say of Cicero or Livy, but of the earlier Fathers, especially of St. Augustine. The Latinity of Duns is a barbarous jargon.^f His subtle distinctions constantly demanded new words: he made them without scruple. It would require the most patient study, as well as a new Dictionary, to comprehend his terms. Logic being a science, not an art, the objects about which it is conversant are not representatives of things, but real things; the conceptions of human thought, things, according to the Thomist theory, of second intention, are here as things of first intention, actual as subsistent. Duns, indeed, condescended to draw a distinction between pure and applied Logic; the vulgar applied Logic might be only an instrument; the universals, the entities of pure logic, asserted their undeniable reality. Duns Scotus is an Aristotelian beyond Aristotle, a Platonist beyond Plato; at the same time the most sternly orthodox of Theologians.^g On the eternity of matter he transcends his master: he accepts the hardy saying of Avicembron,^h of the universality of

^f Scotus has neither the philosophic dignity nor the calm wisdom of Thomas; he is rude, polemic. He does not want theologic hatred. "Saraceni—vilissimi porci—asini Manichei. Ille maledictus Averrhoes."—Ritter, p. 360.

^g "Die Richtung, welche er seiner Wissenschaft gegeben hat, ist durchaus kirchlich."—Ritter, p. 336.

^h "Je reviens, dit-il, à la thèse d'Avicembron (ego autem ad positionem Avicembronis redeo), et je soutiens d'abord que toute substance, créée, corporelle ou spirituelle, participe de la matière. Je prouve ensuite que cette

matière est une en tous—quod sit unica materia."—Haureau, p. 328. "Selbst die Materie, obwohl sie die niedrigste von allem Seienden ist, muss doch also ein Seiendes gedacht werden und hat ihre Idee in Gott."—Ritter, p. 432.

The modern Baconian philosophy may appear in one sense to have reached the same point as the metaphysical philosophy of Duns Scotus, to have subtilised matter into immateriality, to have reached the point where the distinction between the spiritual and material seems to be lost, and almost mocks definition. It is arrived at centres of

matter. He carries matter not only higher than the intermediate world of Devils and Angels, but up into the very Sanctuary, into the Godhead itself. And how is this? by dematerialising matter, by stripping it of everything which, to the ordinary apprehension, and not less to philosophic thought, has distinguished matter; by spiritualising it to the purest spirituality. Matter only became material by being conjoined with form. Before that it subsisted potentially only, abstract, unembodied, immaterial; an entity conceivable alone, but as being, conceivable, therefore real. For this end the Subtle Doctor created, high above all vulgar common matter, a primary primal, a secondary primal, a tertiary primal matter; and yet this matter was One. The universal Primary primal matter is in all things; but as the secondary primal matter has received the double form of the corruptible and incorruptible, it is shared between these two. The tertiary primal matter distributes itself among the infinite species which range under these genera.¹ It is strange to find Scholasticism, in both its opposite paths, gliding into Pantheism. An universal infinite Matter, matter refined to pure Spiritualism, comprehending the finite, sounds like the most extreme Spinosism. But Scotus, bewildered by his own skilful word-juggling, perceives not this, and repudiates the consequence with indignation. God is still with him

force, powers impalpable, imponderable, infinite. But it is one thing to refine away all the qualities of matter by experiment, and to do it by stripping words of their conventional meaning. Mr. Faraday's discoveries and his fame will not meet the fate of Duns Scotus.

¹ "Dicitur materia secundo prima quæ est subjectum generationis et cor-

ruptionis, quam mutant et transmutant agentia creata, seu angeli seu agentia corruptibilia; quæ ut dixi, addit ad materiam primo primam, quia esse subjectum generationis non potest sine aliquâ formâ substantiali aut sine quantitate, quæ sunt extra rationem materiae primo primæ."—Hauveau.

the high, remote Monad, above all things, though throughout all things.* In him, and not without him, according to what is asserted to be Platonic doctrine, are the forms and ideas of things. With equal zeal, and with equal ingenuity with the Thomists, he attempts to maintain the free will of God, whom he seems to have bound in the chain of inexorable necessity.^m He saves it by a distinction which even his subtlety can hardly define. Yet, behind and without this nebulous circle, Duns Scotus, as a metaphysical and an ethical writer, is remarkable for his bold speculative views on the nature of our intelligence, on its communication with the outward world, by the senses, by its own innate powers, as well as by the influence of the superior Intelligence. He thinks with perfect freedom; and if he spins his spider-webs, it is impossible not to be struck at once by their strength and coherence. Translate him, as some have attempted to translate him, into intelligible language, he is always suggestive, sometimes conclusive.

The war of Scotists and Thomists long divided the

* Haurean, p. 359.

^m "L'origine de toutes les erreurs propagées au sujet de la Création vient, dit-il, de ce que les philosophes ont témérairement assimilé la volonté divine à la volonté humaine, aussi combat-il de toutes ses forces cette assimilation, sans réussir, toutefois, à démêler d'une manière satisfaisante ce que c'est la détermination temporelle d'une acte éternelle." — Haureau, p. 363. The reader who may be curious to learn how Duns Scotus solves other important physical and metaphysical questions, the principle of motion, the personality and immortality of the soul,

will do well to read the chapters of M. Haureau, compared, if he will, with the heavier synopsis of Brucker, the neater of Tenneman, the more full and elaborate examination of Ritter. Ritter dwells more on the theological and ethical part of the system of Duns Scotus, whom he ranks not only as the most acute and subtlest, but, as should seem, the highest of the Schoolmen. The pages in which he traces the theory of Scotus respecting the means by which our knowledge is acquired are most able, and full of interest for the metaphysical reader.

Schools, not the less fierce from the utter darkness in which it was enveloped. It is not easy to define in what consisted their implacable, unforgiven points of difference. If each combatant had been compelled rigidly to define every word or term which he employed, concord might not perhaps have been impossible; but words were their warfare, and the war of words their business, their occupation, their glory. The Conceptualism or Eclecticism of St. Thomas (he cannot be called a Nominalist) admitted so much Realism, under other forms of speech; the Realism of Duns Scotus was so absolutely a Realism of words, reality was with him something so thin and unsubstantial; the Augustinianism of St. Thomas was so guarded and tempered by his high ethical tone, by his assertion of the loftiest Christian morality; the Pelagianism charged against Scotus is so purely metaphysical, so balanced by his constant, for him vehement, vindication of Divine grace,^o only with notions peculiar to his philosophy, of its mode of operation, and with almost untraceable distinctions as to its mode of influence, that nothing less than the inveterate pugnacity of Scholastic Teaching, and the rivalry of the two Orders, could have perpetuated the strife.^o That

^o Ritter, p. 359. He is not only orthodox on this point; he is hierarchical to the utmost. He adopts the phrase ascribed to St. Augustine, that he would not believe the Gospel but on the witness of the Church. The power of the keys he extends not only to temporal, but to eternal punishments—"doch mit dem Zusatze, dass hierbei, so wie in andern Dingen der Priester nur als Werkzeug Gottes handle, welcher selbst eines bösen Engels sich bedienen könnte um einer gültigen Taufe zu

vollziehn."—Scotus draws a distinction (he saves everything by a distinction which his subtlety never fails to furnish) between the absolute and secondary will of God.

^o Ritter thinks their philosophy vitally oppugnant (p. 364), but it is in reconciling their philosophy with the same orthodox theology that they again approximate. One defines away necessity till it ceases to be necessity, the other fetters free-will till it ceases to be free.

strife was no doubt heightened and embittered by their real differences, which touched the most sensitive part of the Mediæval Creed, the worship of the Virgin. This was coldly and irreverently limited by the refusal of the Dominican to acknowledge her Immaculate Conception and birth; wrought to a height above all former height by the passionate maintenance of that tenet in every Franciscan cloister, by every Franciscan Theologian.

But, after all, the mortal enemy of the Franciscan scholasticism was in the Franciscan camp. The religious mysticism of Bonaventura, the high orthodox subtilism of Duns Scotus, were encountered by a more dangerous antagonist. The schism of Francis-
William of Ockham. canism was propagated into its philosophy; the Fraticelli, the Spiritualists, must have their champion in the Schools, and that champion in ability the equal of those without and those within their Order, of Aquinas, Bonaventura, Duns Scotus. As deep in the very depths of metaphysics, as powerful a wielder of the great arm of the war, Logic; more fearless and peremptory, as less under the awe of the Church, in his conclusions—William of Ockham had already shaken the pillars of the hierarchical polity by his audacious assertion of the more than co-equal rights of the temporal Sovereign; by his stern, rigid nominalism, he struck with scholastic arguments, in the hardest scholastic method, at the foundations of the Scholastic Philosophy. William was of undistinguished birth, from the village of Ockham, in Surrey; he entered into the Franciscan order, and was sent to study theology under Duns Scotus at Paris. The quarrel of Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair was at its height. How deeply the haughty and rapacious Pope had injured the Franciscan order, especially the English

Franciscans, has been told.^p How far William of Ockham was then possessed by the resentment of his Order, how far he had inclined to the extreme Franciscanism, and condemned his own Order, as well as the proud Prelates of the Church, for their avarice of wealth, does not clearly appear. He took up boldly, unreservedly, to the utmost height, the rights of temporal Sovereigns. In his Disputation on the ecclesiastical power^q he refused to acknowledge in the Pope any authority whatever as to secular affairs. Jesus Christ himself, as far as he was man, as far as he was a sojourner in this mortal world, had received from his heavenly Father no commission to censure Kings; the partisans of the Papal temporal omnipotence were to be driven as heretics from the Church. In the strife of his Order with John XXII., William of Ockham is, with Michael of Cesena and Bonagratia, the fearless assertor of absolute poverty.^r These men confronted the Pope in his power, in his pride, in his wealth. The Defence of Poverty by William of Ockham was the most dauntless, the most severely reasoned, the most sternly consequent, of the addresses poured forth to astonished Christendom by these daring Revolutionists. Pope A.D. 1323. John commanded the Bishops of Ferrara and Bologna to examine and condemn this abominable book. Five years after, William of Ockham, Michael de Cesena and Bonagratia, were arraigned at Avignon, and in close custody, for their audacious opinions. William of Ockham might already, if he had any fear, shudder at the stake and the fire in which had perished so many of his brethren. They fled, took ship at Aigues Mortes, found

^p See vol. vii. p. 90.

^q "Disputatio super potestate ecclesiasticâ prælatibus atque principibus ter-

rarum commissâ."—In Goldastus Monarchia, Compare Haureau, p. 419

^r Apud Brown, Fasciculus.

their way to the Court of Louis of Bavaria. They were condemned by the Pope, cast off by their own Order. The Order at the Synod of Perpignan renounced the brotherhood of these men, who denounced their wealth as well as that of the Pope, and would admit nothing less than absolute, more than apostolic poverty. Their sentence was that of heretics and schismatics, deprivation of all privileges, perpetual imprisonment. But William of Ockham, in the Court of Louis, at Munich, laughed to scorn and defied their idle terrors. He became the champion of the Imperial rights, of the Franciscan Antipope, Peter of Corbara. He did not live to put to shame by his firmer, and more resolute resistance to the Pope, the timid, vacillating, yielding Louis of Bavaria.

William of Ockham was in philosophy as intrepid and as revolutionary as in his political writings. He is a consummate schoolman in his mastery, as in his use of logic; a man who wears the armour of his age, engages in the spirit of his age, in the controversies of his age; but his philosophy is that of centuries later.⁵ The scholastic theologian can discuss with subtlety equal to the subtlest, whether Angelic natures can be circumscribed in a certain place; the Immaculate birth and conception of the Virgin, on which he is faithfully Franciscan; Transubstantiation, on which he enters into the most refined distinctions, yet departs not from the dominant doctrine. As a philosopher, Ockham reverently secludes the Godhead^t from his investigation. Logic, which deals

Quodlibeta. Compare Schrœckh, xxxiv. 196-7.

^t Quodlibet. ii. quæst. ii. Haureau, 422.—In another part M. Haureau sums up Ockham's awful reserve on

the notion of God so boldly formed by the older Schoolmen: "C'est précisément cette notion rationnelle de la substance divine que Guillaume d'Ockham critique et réduit à un concept

with finite things, must not presume to discuss the Infinite First Cause. He at once, and remorselessly, destroys all the idols of the former schoolmen. Realism must surrender all her multifarious essences, her abstract virtues, her species, her ideas. Universals are but modes of thought; even the phantasms of Aquinas must disappear. Ideas are no longer things; they are the acts of the thinking being. Between the subject which knows and the object known there is nothing intermediate. The mind is one, with two modes or faculties,—sensitivity and intelligence. Sensation is not sufficient to impart knowledge; there must be also an act of intelligence: the former is purely intuitive, the latter is, as it were, judicial. The difference between the sensitive and intelligent is thus partly by experience, partly by reason. By experience, the child sees through sensation, not through intelligence; by reason, because the soul, when separate, sees intellectually, but not through the senses. The sensitive vision is the potential cause of the intellectual vision, but not the potential cause of the intellectual assent. After intuition comes abstraction, sensation, or the intuitive notion, being always singular; abstraction may, as it were, insulate that which is singular, disengaging it from all its surrounding circumstances; it may introduce plurality, combine, compare, multiply. Thus ideas are simple perceptions, or

arbitrairement composé; composé de concepts qui expriment bien, sans doute, quelque chose de Dieu (*aliquid Dei*), mais ne désignent pas Dieu lui-même, la substance, l'essence de Dieu, *quod est Deus* cette notion abstraite de Dieu, cette notion qui, on le prouve bien, ne représente pas son objet, est la seule que possède la raison

humaine, la seule qui lui permet de soupçonner, de deviner, de poser l'entité mystérieuse de la suprême cause. Faut-il désirer une connaissance plus parfaite de cette cause? Sans aucun doute; mais en attendant, il faut s'en tenir à ce qu'il sait."—p. 454. See also the preceding pages.

conceptions, and so not only fall away the Democritean notions of actual images which have a local existence, and pass from the object to the sense, but likewise even the impressions, as of a seal, which is the doctrine of Scotus, and the real phantasms of St. Thomas.^u Of course he denies not the images or similitude of things in the organ of sight, but they are as the reflections in a mirror: they do not precede and determine, though they accompany the sensation. The universal is but a conception of the mind; and as these conceptions are formed or perpetuated by these processes, each is the repetition, the reflection of the other, in intelligence, speech, writing. Universals are words, whether conceived, spoken, or written words, which by common consent express under one term many singular things.^x In this respect, then, is William of Ockham a Nominalist in the strongest sense.

Thus may William of Ockham seem with fine and prophetic discrimination to have assigned their proper, indispensable, yet limited power and office to the senses; to have vindicated to the understanding its higher, separate, independent function; to have anticipated the famous axiom of Leibnitz, that there is nothing in the intellect but from the senses, except the intellect itself; to have anticipated Hobbes; foreshadowed Locke, not as Locke is vulgarly judged, according to his later French disciples, but in himself;^y to have taken his

^u "Dès que les idées ne sont plus considérées comme des choses mais comme des actes du sujet pensant, que de chimères s'évanouissent!"—p. 439.

^x "Est . . . universale, vox vel scriptum, aut quodcumque aliud signum ex meditatione vel voluntario usu, significans plura singularia universè."

—Quoted in Haureau, p. 469.

^y I must be allowed to refer to the excellent article on Locke in Mr. Hallam's *Literary History*; and to a very elaborate and able review of this groundwork of Locke's philosophy in the 'Edinburgh Review,' lately republished among the *Essays* by Mr. Rogers.

stand on the same ground with Kant. What Abélard was to the ancestors of the Schoolmen was Ockham to the Schoolmen themselves. The Schoolmen could not but eventuate in William of Ockham; the united stream could not but endeavour to work itself clear; the incessant activity of thought could hardly fail to call forth a thinker like Ockham.

Such was the character of the Scholastic Philosophy, such the chief of the scholastic philosophers, such the final assertion and vindication of the sole dominion of Latin Christianity over the mind of man. Between the close of this age, but before the birth of modern philosophy, was to come the Platonising, half Paganising school of Marsilius Ficinus: the age to end in direct rebellion, in the Italian philosophers, against Christianity itself. But it was an extraordinary fact, that in such an age, when Latin Christianity might seem at the height of its mediæval splendour and power, the age of chivalry, of Cathedral and Monastic architecture, of poetry in its romantic and religious forms, so many powerful intellects should be so incessantly busy with the metaphysics of religion; religion, not as taught by authority, but religion under philosophic guidance, with the aid, they might presume to say with the servile, the compulsory aid, of the Pagan Aristotle and the Moham- medan Arabians, but still with Aristotle and the Arabians admitted to the honour of a hearing: not regarded as odious, impious, and godless, but listened to with respect, discussed with freedom, refuted with confessed difficulty. With all its seeming outward submission to authority, Scholasticism at last was a tacit universal insurrection against authority; it was the swelling of the ocean before the storm; it began to assign bounds to that which had been the universal all-embracing

domain of Theology. It was a sign of the reawakening life of the human mind that Theologians dared, that they thought it their privilege, that it became a duty to philosophise. There was vast waste of intellectual labour; but still it was intellectual labour. Perhaps at no time in the history of man have so many minds, and those minds of great vigour and acuteness, been employed on subjects almost purely speculative. Truth was the object of research; truth, it is true, fenced about by the strong walls of authority and tradition, but still the ultimate remote object. Though it was but a trammelled reluctant liberty, liberty which locked again its own broken fetters, still it could not but keep alive and perpetuate the desire of more perfect, more absolute emancipation. Philosophy once heard could not be put to silence.

One man alone, Roger Bacon, even in his own day, had stood aloof from this all-absorbing Theology, this metaphysical or ontological philosophy, which, with all the rest, was the dominant aim of all profound and rigidly syllogistic investigation; the primary, if not exclusive subject matter of all the vast volumes, in which the same questions, argued in the same forms, revolved in eternal round. Roger Bacon alone sought other knowledge, and by other processes of thought and reasoning. Not that physical, or mathematical, or even experimental sciences were absolutely disdained or proscribed among the highest Theologians: they were pursued by Albert the Great with the ardour of his all-grasping intellect. But with Roger Bacon they were the predominant master-studies. Even he, on his side, could not withdraw entirely from that which had been so long, and was to be still, so exclusively the province of all human thought, which must occupy it more or

less, Theology; but the others were manifestly the engrossing pursuit, the passion, as far as such men are capable of passion, of his mind. Yet Latin Christianity can hardly lay claim to the glory, whatever that might be, of Roger Bacon. The Church, which could boast her Albert, Aquinas, Bonaventura, Duns Scotus, repudiated Roger Bacon with jealous suspicion. That which is his fame in later days, heaped on him, in his own, shame and persecution. For at least ten years he was in prison; it is not quite clear that he ever emerged from that prison. Yet, though he has no proper place, though he is in no way the son or the scholar of Latin Christianity, still, in justice to the rulers in Latin Christendom, as well as characterising their rule (the exceptional man often throws the strongest light on the times), must be instituted a more close, yet of necessity rapid investigation into the extent and causes of the persecution of Roger Bacon.

At Oxford, his first place of study, Roger Bacon was remarked for his zeal in mathematical and scientific studies.^z But Paris was at that time Born about 1214. to Transalpine Christendom what Athens was to later Rome. Without having attended lectures at Paris, no one could aspire to learned, or philosophical, or theological eminence. At Paris his great talent and acquirements obtained him the name of the "Wonderful Doctor." It was at Paris no doubt that he matured those studies, which he afterwards developed in his "Greater Work."^a He could not but excite wonder;

^z It is disputed whether at Merton College or Brazenose Hall. As Bacon was not a member of Merton College, according to the fashion of the day he may possibly at different times have

lodged both in one and in the other. The halls were merely places of residence for Scholars.

^a The *Opus Majus*.

doubtless he did excite more than wonder, for he dared to throw off entirely the bondage of the Aristotelian logic. When he judged Aristotle, it should seem, only by those parts of his works, matured in the Dialectics of the Schools, he would have been the Omar of Aristotle; he would willingly have burned all his books, as wasting time, as causes of error, and a multiplication of ignorance.^b But Aristotle, as a philosopher, especially as commented by Avicenna, after Aristotle the prince of philosophers, is the object of his profound reverence. The studies of Roger Bacon embraced every branch of physical science, Astronomy, Optics, Mechanics, Chemistry. He seems even to have had some glimpses of that which has first grown into a science in our own day. He was an industrious student of all languages, Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, the modern tongues. He had a dim notion of their kindred and filiation. He had a vision of a Universal Grammar, by which all languages were to be learned in an incredibly short space of time.^c In Paris his fellow-student was the famous Robert Gros-

^b "Si haberem potestatem super libros Aristotelis, ego facerem omnes cremari, quia non est nisi temporis amissio studere in illis, et causa erroris, et multiplicati erroris." See on the translators of Aristotle, *Opus Majus*, quoted by Jebb in *Præfat.* i. c. viii.

^c As his astronomy sometimes tampered with astrology, his chemistry degenerated into alchemy, so his knowledge of languages was not without what, in modern times, might be branded as charlatanism. He professed that, according to his Universal Grammar, he could impart to an apt and diligent scholar a knowledge of Hebrew in three days, of Greek in as many

more. "Certum est mihi quod intra tres dies quemcunque diligentem et confidentem docerem Hebræum et simul legere et intelligere quicquid sancti dicunt et sapientes antiqui in expositione sacri textûs, et quicquid pertinet ad illius textûs correctionem, et expositionem, si vellet se exercere secundum doctrinam doctam: et per tres dies sciret de Græco iterum, ut non solum sciret legere et intelligere quicquid pertinet ad theologiam, sed ad philosophiam et ad linguam Latinam."—*Epist. de Laud. S. Script. ad P. Clement. IV.* Here too he is breaking up the way to Biblical criticism.

tête: the intimate friendship of such a man could not but commend him to the favour of some of the loftier Churchmen. He returned to Oxford, and in an evil hour took the fatal step (it is said by the advice of Grostête, who was infatuated with the yet ardent zeal of the Franciscans) of becoming a Franciscan Friar. Thus he became not merely subject to the general discipline of the Church, but to the narrower, more rigid, more suspicious rule of the Order.^d It was difficult for a man of great powers to escape being Dominican or Franciscan. The Dominicans were severe and jealously orthodox. The Inquisition was entrusted to them; but they had a powerful and generous corporate spirit, and great pride in men of their own Order who showed transcendant abilities. The Franciscan Generals were, with the exception perhaps of John of Parma, and of St. Bonaventura, men of mean talent, of contracted and jealous minds, with all the timidity of ignorance.^e The persecutor of Roger Bacon was Jerome of Ascoli, the General of his own Order; first when as Cardinal he was aspiring towards the steps of the Papal throne; afterwards when he ascended that throne as Nicolas IV.^f Nor indeed were wanting at that time causes which might seem to justify this ungenerous timidity in the Franciscans. They were watched with the jealousy of hatred by the Dominicans. Masters of the Inquisition, the Dominicans would triumph in the detection of

^d According to some he became a Franciscan at Paris.

^e "Les Franciscains, toujours gouvernés, si l'on excepte Saint Bonaventura, par des généraux d'un menu talent et d'un médiocre savoir, ne se sentaient qu'humiliés de la présence et de la gloire des hommes de mérite, qui

s'étaient égarés parmi eux."—M. V. de Clerc, Hist. Lit. de la France, xx. p. 230.

^f Jerome d'Ascoli was at Paris, the probable date of Bacon's persecution, in 1278. I cannot but doubt the date usually assigned to his birth.

Franciscan heretics. There had been already the first rending of their body by the fatal schism, under John of Parma, hardly allayed by the gentle and commanding rule of Bonaventura. The fierce democratic Ghibellinism was even now fermenting among them, hereafter to break out in the Anti-Papal writings of William of Ockham. Roger Bacon himself might seem disposed to tamper with perilous politics. On his return to Oxford, he preached, it is said, before King Henry III., and denounced, in no measured terms, the employment of French and Gascon Nobles and Prelates in the great offices of State; the prodigality of the King towards these foreign favourites; his blind confidence in the Bishop of Winchester; his placing foreign Poitevins in possession of the chief forts and strongholds in the realm. Even in his own Order, Roger Bacon is said to have shown the natural contempt of a man of his high acquirements for the ignorance and superstition of his brethren; to have let fall alarming words about Reform in the Franciscan Convents. Yet was he not without powerful friends; Grosstête, of Lincoln, and, after Grosstête's death, men at least of wealth and liberality. He is reported to have received at Oxford no less a sum than 2000 Paris livres for books and instruments.

Even the Church as yet seemed more disposed to admire and to honour, than to look with cold suspicion on the wonderful man. Pope Clement IV. A.D. 1266 accepted the dedication of the Work which contained all the great principles of his philosophy; all on which his awe-struck brethren looked as fearful magic. He received the work itself with some instruments invented by Bacon to illustrate his experiments. These Bacon, notwithstanding the direct prohibition of

the Rulers of his Order, who threatened him with the forfeiture of his book, and the penalty of confinement on bread and water, if he dared to communicate with any one what might be his unlawful discoveries,^g despatched through John of Paris to Rome. Philosophy was thus as it were entering its appeal to the Pope. Clement IV. was a Frenchman; no doubt knew the fame of Bacon at Paris. He had written a letter to Bacon entreating the communication of his famous wonders. Bacon had not dared to answer this letter till Clement was on the Papal throne; and even the Pope himself dared not openly to receive this appeal of philosophy. He stipulated that the books and the instruments should be sent as secretly as possible.^h For the ten years which followed the death of Clement IV., Bacon lived an object of wonder, terror, suspicion, and of petty persecution by his envious or his superstitious brethren. He attempted to propitiate Honorius IV. by a treatise on 'The Mitigation of the Inconveniences of Old Age.'ⁱ At the close of these ten years, came to Paris, as Legate from Pope Nicolas III., Jerome of Ascoli, General of the Franciscan Order. Jerome was a true Franciscan; and before him the Franciscans found ready audience in the arraignment of that fearful magician, their Brother. It is singular that among the specific charges was that of undertaking to predict future events. Bacon's own words show that

Clement IV
Pope.
1265-1268.

A.D. 1268-
1278.

^g "Sub præcepto et penâ amissionis libri et jejunio in pane et aquâ pluribus diebus, prohibuerunt enim a communicando scriptum aliquod a se factum cum aliis quibuscunque." — Opus Majus, MS. Cott. fol. 3.

^h "Hoc quanto secretius poteris, facies." — Wadding, Ann. 11, p. 294,

quoted in an extremely good article on Roger Bacon in Didot's new Biographie Universelle, which has avoided or corrected many errors in the old biographies.

ⁱ Honorius IV. not Nicolas IV. See Hist. Lit. de la France, p. 223.

the charge, however puerile, was true: "But for the stupidity of those employed, he would have framed astronomical tables, which, by marking the times when the heavenly bodies were in the same positions and conjunctions, would have enabled him to vaticinate their influence on human affairs." ^k That which to us was the rare folly of a wise man, to his own age was the crime of a wicked one. The general accusation was far more wide and indefinite, and from its indefiniteness more terrible. It was a compact with the Devil, from whom alone he had obtained his wonderful knowledge, and wrought his wonderful works. In vain Bacon sent out his contemptuous and defiant treatise on the nullity of magic: "Because things are above your shallow understandings, you immediately declare them works of the Devil!" In such words he arraigns not the vulgar alone: "Theologians and Canonists, in their ignorance, abhor these things, as works of magic, and unbecoming a Christian." And thus the philosopher spoke against his whole Order; and before a Cardinal Legate, a Master of that Order. Roger Bacon was consigned to a Monastic dungeon at least for ten years; and as it is not likely that Jerome of Ascoli, as Pope, would mitigate the rigour, no doubt conscientiously exercised, most probably for five years more, till the close of the Pontificate of Nicolas IV. If he emerged from the

^k Throughout Bacon's astrological section (read from p. 237), the heavenly bodies act entirely through their physical properties, cold, heat, moisture, drought. The comet causes war (he attributes the wars then raging in Europe to a comet) not as a mere arbitrary sign, nor as by magic influence (all this he rejects as anile superstition),

but as by its intense heat inflaming the blood and passions of men. It is an exaggeration (unphilosophical enough) of the influences of the planetary bodies, and the powers of human observation to trace their effects, but very different from what is ordinarily conceived of judicial astrology.

darkness of his prison, it was not more than a year before his death.

The value and extent of Roger Bacon's scientific discoveries, or prophecies of discoveries, how far his own, or derived from Arabian sources, belongs rather to the history of philosophy than of Latin Christianity. His astronomy no doubt had enabled him to detect the error in the Julian year: three centuries too soon he proposed to Clement IV. to correct the Calendar by his Papal authority: but I presume not to enter further into this or kindred subjects. In Optics his admirers assert that he had found out many remarkable laws, the principle of the Telescope, the Refraction of Light, the cause of the Rainbow. He framed burning glasses of considerable magnitude. Mechanics were among his favourite and most successful studies. In his Chemistry he had reached, or nearly reached, the invention of gunpowder: it is more certain that he sought the philosopher's stone, or at least a transmuting elixir with unlimited powers. There are passages about mounting in the air without wings, and self-moving carriages, travelling at vast speed without horses, which sound like vaticinations of still more wonderful things. He had no doubt discovered the cause of the tides. It is for others, too, to decide how far in the general principles of his philosophy he had anticipated his greater namesake, or whether it was more than the sympathy of two kindred minds working on the same subjects, which led to some singular yet very possibly fortuitous coincidences of thought and expression.^m This, how-

^m See Mr. Forster's 'Mohammedanism Unveiled,' and Mr. Hallam's judicious remarks, Lit. Hist. Mr. Brewer (in the Rolls publications) has made a most valuable addition to the published works of Roger Bacon. His volume contains the *Opus Tertium*, the *Opus Minus*, the *Computus*, &c. This pub-

ever, is certain, that although the second Bacon's great work, as addressed to Europe, might condescend to the Latin form, it was in its strong copious Teutonic English that it wrought its revolution, that it became the great fountain of English thought, of English sagacity, the prelude to and the rule of English scientific discovery.

Roger Bacon has rather thrown us back in our chronology to the age of the older Scholasticism ; but Scholasticism ruled supreme almost to the close of exclusive Latin Christianity ; it expired only by degrees ; its bonds were loosened, but not cast off: if its forms had given place to others more easy, natural, rhetorical, its modes of thought, its processes of ratiocination, its logic, and its definitions, still swathed the dead body of Christian Theology. Gerson was still in a great degree a schoolman, Wycliffe himself at Oxford was a schoolman. But Latin Christianity was not all scholastic theology, it was religion also ; it did not altogether forget to be piety, holiness, charity ; it was not content with its laborious endeavours to enlighten the mind: it knew still that the heart was its proper domain. The religious feelings, the religious affections, the religious emotions, were not abandoned for the eternal syllogisms of the schools, the interminable process of twentyfold assertion, twentyfold objection, twentyfold conclusion. It was not enough that the human intelligence should be taught that it was an efflux, a part of the Divine intel-

lication (London, 1859) appears to have been unknown to M. Charles, in whose elaborate work, 'Roger Bacon, sa Vie, ses Ouvrages, ses Doctrines' (Paris, 1861), these writings are quoted and extracted from, as if still MSS. M.

Charles, I observe, with all his admiration of Roger Bacon, reduces his scientific attainments very considerably, and seemingly on just grounds.—Part iv. c. 3.

ligence. Nor was the higher office of training the soul of man to communion with Christ by faith, purity, and love, altogether left to what may be called Scholastic Mysticism. In one remarkable book was gathered and centered all that was elevating, passionate, profoundly pious, in all the older mystics. Gerson, Rysbroek, Tauler, all who addressed the heart in later times, were summed up, and brought into one circle of light and heat, in the single small volume, the ‘Imitation of Christ.’ That this book supplies some imperious want in the Christianity of mankind, that it supplied it with a fullness and felicity, which left nothing, at this period of Christianity, to be desired, its boundless popularity is the one unanswerable testimony. No book has been so often reprinted, no book has been so often translated, or into so many languages, as the ‘Imitation of Christ.’ⁿ The mystery of its authorship, as in other cases, might have added to its fame and circulation; but that mystery was not wanted in regard to the ‘Imitation.’ Who was the author—Italian, German, French, Fleming?^o With each of these races it is taken up as a question of national vanity. Was it the work of Priest, Canon, Monk? This, too, in former times, was debated with the eagerness of rival Orders.^p The size of the book, the manner, the style, the arrange-

Imitation
of Christ.

ⁿ According to M. Michelet (whose rhapsody, as usual, contains much which is striking truth, much of his peculiar sentimentalism) there are sixty translations into French; in some respects he thinks the French translation, the ‘Consolation,’ more pious and touching than the original.

^o Italian, French, German idioms have been detected.

^p Several recent writers, especially

M. Onésime Roy, ‘Etudes sur les Mystères,’ have thought that they have proved it to be by the famous Gerson. If any judgement is to be formed from Gerson’s other writings, the internal evidence is conclusive against him. M. Michelet has some quotations from Thomas à Kempis, the author at least of a thick volume published under that name, which might seem equally to endanger his claim. But to me, though

ment, as well as its profound sympathy with all the religious feelings, wants, and passions; its vivid and natural expressions, to monastic Christianity what the Hebrew Psalms are to our common religion, and to our common Christianity; its contagious piety; all conspired to its universal dissemination, its universal use. This one little volume contained in its few pages the whole essence of the St. Victors, of Bonaventura without his Franciscan peculiarities, and of the later Mystic school. Yet it might be easily held in the hand, carried about where no other book was borne,—in the narrow cell or chamber, on the journey, into the solitude, among the crowd and throng of men, in the prison. Its manner; its short, quivering sentences, which went at once to the heart, and laid hold of and clung tenaciously to the memory with the compression and completeness of proverbs;⁹ its axioms, each of which suggested endless thought; its imagery, scriptural and simple, were alike original, unique. The style is ecclesiastical Latin, but the perfection of ecclesiastical Latin,—brief, pregnant, picturesque; expressing profound thoughts in the fewest words, and those words, if compared with the scholastics, of purer Latin sound or construction. The facility with which it passed into all other languages, those especially of Roman descent, bears witness to its perspicuity, vivacity, and energy. Its arrangement has something of the consecutive progress of an ancient initiation; it has its commencement,

inferior, the other devotional works there ascribed to Thomas à Kempis, the *Soliloquium Animæ*, the *Hortulus Rosarum*, and *Vallis Liliorum*, even the Sermons, if not quite so pure, are more than kindred, absolutely the same, in

thought and language and style. See the *Opera T. à Kempis*: Antwerp, 1515.

⁹ It is singular how it almost escapes or avoids that fatal vulgarism of most mystic works, metaphors taken from our lower senses, the taste, the touch.

its middle, and its close ; discriminating yet leading up the student in constant ascent ; it is an epopee of the internal history of the human soul.

The 'Imitation of Christ' both advanced and arrested the development of Teutonic Christianity ; it was prophetic of its approach, as showing what was demanded of the human soul, and as endeavouring, in its own way, to supply that imperative necessity ; yet by its deficiency, as a manual of universal religion, of eternal Christianity, it showed as clearly that the human mind, the human heart, could not rest in the Imitation. It acknowledged, it endeavoured to fill up the void of *personal* religion. The Imitation is the soul of man working out its own salvation, with hardly any aid but the confessed necessity of divine grace. It may be because it is the work of an ecclesiastic, a priest, or monk ; but, with the exception of the exhortation to frequent communion, there is nothing whatever of sacerdotal intervention : all is the act, the obedience, the aspiration, the self-purification, self-exaltation of the soul. It is the Confessional in which the soul confesses to itself, absolves itself ; it is the Direction by whose sole guidance the soul directs itself. The Book absolutely and entirely supersedes and supplies the place of the spiritual teacher, the spiritual guide, the spiritual comforter : it is itself that teacher, guide, comforter. No manual of Teutonic devotion is more absolutely sufficient. According to its notion of Christian perfection, Christian perfection is attainable by its study, and by the performance of its precepts : the soul needs no other mediator, at least no earthly mediator, for its union with the Lord.

But 'The Imitation of Christ,' the last effort of Latin Christianity, is still monastic Christianity. It is abso-

lutely and entirely selfish in its aim, as in its acts. Its sole, single, exclusive object, is the purification, the elevation of the individual soul, of the man absolutely isolated from his kind, of the man dwelling alone in the solitude, in the hermitage of his own thoughts; with no fears or hopes, no sympathies of our common nature: he has absolutely withdrawn and secluded himself not only from the cares, the sins, the trials, but from the duties, the connexions, the moral and religious fate of the world. Never was misnomer so glaring, if justly considered, as the title of the book, the 'Imitation of Christ.' That which distinguishes Christ, that which distinguishes Christ's Apostles, that which distinguishes Christ's religion—the Love of Man—is entirely and absolutely left out. Had this been the whole of Christianity, our Lord himself (with reverence be it said) had lived, like an Essene, working out or displaying his own sinless perfection by the Dead Sea: neither on the Mount, nor in the Temple, nor even on the Cross. The Apostles had dwelt entirely on the internal emotions of their own souls, each by himself, St. Peter still by the Lake of Gennesaret, St. Paul in the desert of Arabia, St. John in Patmos. Christianity had been without any exquisite precept for the purity, the happiness of social or domestic life; without self-sacrifice for the good of others; without the higher Christian patriotism, devotion on evangelic principles to the public weal; without even the devotion of the missionary for the dissemination of Gospel truth; without the humbler and gentler daily self-sacrifice for relatives, for the wife, the parent, the child. Christianity had never soared to be the civiliser of the world. "Let the world perish, so the single soul can escape on its solitary plank from the general wreck," such had been its final axiom. The

'Imitation of Christ' begins in self—terminates in self. The simple exemplary sentence, "He went about doing good," is wanting in the monastic gospel of this pious zealot. Of feeding the hungry, of clothing the naked, of visiting the prisoner, even of preaching, there is profound, total silence. The world is dead to the votary of the Imitation, and he is dead to the world, dead in a sense absolutely repudiated by the first vital principles of the Christian faith. Christianity, to be herself again, must not merely shake off indignantly the barbarism, the vices, but even the virtues of the Mediæval, of Monastic, of Latin, Christianity.

CHAPTER IV.

Christian Latin Poetry. History.

WHAT did Latin Christianity add to the treasures of Latin poetry? Poetry, as in Greece, may have its distinct epochs in different forms, but it rarely, if ever, renews its youth.^a Hardly more than half a century contains all that is of the highest order in Latin poetry—Lucretius, Catullus, Virgil, Horace, the Elegiacs, Ovid. Even that noble declamatory verse, which in the best passages of Lucan, in Juvenal, and even in Claudian (this, with the philosophic and didactic poetry, Lucretius, Virgil, and the exquisite poetry of common sense and common life in Horace, the only indigenous poetry of Rome), dies feebly out in the triumph of Christianity over Heathenism, as celebrated by Prudentius in his book against Symmachus.

The three earlier forms of Christian Latin poetry were—I. Paraphrases of the Scripture, II. Legends of Saints, and III. Hymns—with a few controversial poems, like that of S. Prosper on Pelagianism. I. In the Scriptural Poems the life and energy of the biblical annalists or poets are beaten out to pleonastic and wearisome length; the antithetic or

^a It has done so besides in Greece, in England alone, hardly in Italy, unless Alfieri be admitted to make a third Epoch, with Dante and Petrarch, with Ariosto and Tasso. Spain has had but one, that of Lope, Cervantes, and Cal-

deron; Germany but one, and that a late one, of Schiller and Goethe. The most striking parallel is in India, of the vast Epics, the Mahabarata and Ramayana, of the Drama of Calilasa of the Lyric Gita Govinda.

parallelistic form of the Hebrew poetry is entirely lost; the uncongenial Orientalism of thought and imagery will not submit to the hard involutions of the Latin: it dislocates the harmony of the verse, if verse still retains or strives after harmony, without giving its own rude strength or emphatic force. The Vulgate alone, by creating almost a new language, has naturalised the biblical thoughts and figures, which obstinately refuse to be bound in the fetters of the Latin Hexameter. The infallible poetic sentiment of mankind will still refuse the name of poetry to the prolix, though occasionally vigorous, versifications of Fortunatus, Juvencus, Sedulius, Arator, Avitus, and the rest. As to the old voyager in the vast interminable ocean, if he beheld on some dreary mass of rock a patch of brilliant green, a tuft of graceful trees, a cool rush of water, it became a paradise—a Tinian or a Juan Fernandez—and is described as one of the Elysian islands: so the curious reader, if, on traversing these endless poems, he discovers some lines more musical, some images more happily embodied in words, some finer or more tender thoughts expressed not without nature, he bursts out into rapture, and announces a deep mine of rich and forgotten poetry. The high-wrought expectations of the next visitants revenge their disappointment by exaggerating perhaps the dreariness and the barrenness.^b In these poems creative power there is and can be

^b Even M. Guizot, in his Lectures on Civilisation, cites passages from these authors, with praise, as it seems to me, far beyond their due. They are pre-Miltonic, as he asserts, in some of their thoughts, in some of their imagery, that is, they are drawn from the same sources; but what they want is, what

Milton has given them, Poetry. So too M. Ampère in his valuable Lectures. The passage which I have quoted from Dracontius the Spaniard, in the History of Christianity (iii. p. 356), still appears to me the most favourable example which has occurred in the course of my reading; and I

none: invention had been a kind of sacrilege. The Hebrew poetry, in the coldest and most artificial translation, preserves something of its life and sententious vigour, its bold figures and imagery: in the many-folded shroud of the Latin poetic paraphrase it is a mummy.

The Epic Poetry of Latin Christianity (I feel the abuse of the words) had done its work of paraphrase, or had nearly exhausted itself in a few centuries; but if it sunk almost into silence from the fifth to the eighth, it rose again more ambitious, and seized the office of the historian, or that which had been the sole function of the humble orator under the later empire, that of the panegyrist. Hardly a great historic event took place, hardly a great man ascended a throne or achieved fame, but some monkish versifier aspired to immortalise him with an interminable length of harsh hexameter or of elegiac verse. Charlemagne indeed was mostly reserved for later romance, and happily had his historian, Eginhard. But Louis the Pious was celebrated by Ermoldus Nigellus in a long poem in elegiac verse; the siege of Paris by the Normans was sung in hexameters by Abbo; the anonymous panegyrist endeavoured to raise the Italian Berengar into a hero; Hroswitha wrote of the deeds of the Emperor Otho; Gunther, the Ligurian, those of Barbarossa; Donizo celebrated the Countess Matilda, from whom was inseparable the great name of Gregory VII. William the Apulian described the conquests of the Normans; William of Brittany, Philip Augustus; and so in unexhausted succession to the Cardinal Poet of Cœlestine V. and Boniface VIII. But from all those historical poems, who has yet struck out

have toilsomely read much of that age. | and to some of the Jesuits, who are at
 To me they are inferior as Christian | least correct, animated, harmonious.
 Latin Poetry to Sanazzaro or Vida, |

for our admiration one passage of genuine poetry? Perhaps their great merit is their want of poetry: they can lie under no suspicion of invention, hardly of poetic embellishment: they are simply verse chronicles, as veracious as the works of the contemporary prose historians of the cloister.

Nor were these inexhaustible and indefatigable writers in Latin verse content with the domain of his-
 tory, or the reward of the panegyric orator. Later Latin poems.

They seized and petrified, either for their amusement, or as a trial of skill, or for the solace and entertainment of their brother Monks, the old traditional German poetry, the *fabulous histories*, the *initiatory romances*, which, in their rude vernacular form and language, began to make themselves heard. What the Court or the Castle Hall listened to in the Lay or the Tale of the Wandering Minstrel, was heard in the Cloister in a Latin version. The Monks converted to their own use, perhaps supposed that they were saving from destruction, by transferring into imperishable Latin, the fleeting or expiring songs, which became the *Nibelungen* and the *Heldenbuch*. Such doubtless was the origin of the remarkable poem called *Waltharius*, or the Expedition of Attila, founded on the Legends of Dietrich, Siegfried, and Etzel. But even in this very curious work it is remarkable that, although the innate poetry of the subject has given more than usual animation to the monkish versifier, yet the prosaic and historic element predominates. The cloister poet labours to make that history which is pure mythic romance; the wild song is hardening into a chronicle.^c The epic of John of Exeter, on

^c De Expeditione Attilæ, edited by Fischer, Leipsic, 1780; and later by Grimm and Schmeller, Göttingen, 1838. Compare Gervinus, *Geschichte der poetischen Nat. Lit. der Deutschen*, i. p. 99 *et seqq.*

the War of Troy (as no doubt his lost Antiocheis), is, in verse, the romance history prevalent under the authority of Dictys Cretensis and Dares Phrygius, during the middle ages.^d With other Poems of that class, it mingles in discordant confusion the wild adventures of the romance writers, the long desultory tales and luxuriant descriptions of the Trouvères, with the classical form of verse. Throughout it is the Monk vainly labouring to be the Bard; it is popular poetry cast in a form most remote from popularity, not only in a language, but in an artificial mould, which unfitted it for general acceptance. It was in truth the popular poetry of a small class, the more learned of the clergy and of the Monks: the unlearned of that class must still have sought, and did seek, with the lay vulgar, their poetic enjoyment from the vernacular minstrel or Trouvère. Latinised, it was, as they no doubt thought, chastened and elevated for their more pious and fastidious ears. Latin verse condescended to this humbler office, little suspecting that these popular songs contained elements of the true poetic spirit, which would throw all the Latin epics of the middle ages into irretrievable obscurity. Nothing indeed could escape these all-appropriating indefatigable versifiers of the cloister. Almost all the vernacular poetry of the middle ages has its Latin counter-type, poems of chivalry, poems of adventure, of course Saint-Legends, even the long fables, which the Germans call beast-poetry, and the amatory songs. The Latin version of Reynard the Fox^e has not been able, in the harsh

^d Warton, in his History of English Poetry, gives some spirited verses from John of Exeter. The poem may be read (it is hard reading) subjoined to the edition of Dictys Cretensis and

Dares Phrygius. Amsterdam, 1702.

^e Renardus Vulpes. Editio Princeps. Edited by M. Mone. Stutgard et Tubing v, 1832.

and uncongenial form of Monkish elegiac verse, altogether to quench the drollery of the original. It was written by a man with a singular mastery over the barbarous but expressive Latin of his day, of extraordinary ingenuity in finding apt and fitting phrases for all the strange notions and combinations in this bestial allegory. But "Renardus Vulpes" is manifestly of a late period; it is a bitter satire on Monks and Monkeny. The Wolf Isengrim is an Abbot: it contains passages violently and coarsely Anti-papal.^f It belongs, the Latin version at least, rather perhaps to the class of satiric than of epic Latin poetry.

On the whole, this vast mass of Latin poetry offers no one exception to the eternal irrepealable law, that no great poet is inspired but in his native language. The Crusades were, perhaps happily, too late even to tempt the ambition of the Cloister poets. By that time, the art of Latin versification, if not lost, was not so common: the innate poetry of the subject breaks occasionally through the barbarous but spirited prose of William of Tyre and James de Vitry.

II. The poems on the Lives of the Saints, it might have been supposed, as treating on subjects in which the mythic and imaginative element of Lives of the Saints. Christianity predominated, would at least display more freedom and originality. They were addressed to the higher emotions, which poetry delights to waken, wonder, sympathy, veneration, pity; they were legends in which noble men and beautiful women, Saints and Holy Vir-

^f This alone would confute (if confutation were necessary) the theory of the editor M. Mone, who attributes the aim of the Satire to certain obscure personages in an obscure but early period in the history of Flemish Gaul. Note, p. 1 *et seqq.* The Flemish origin of the poem seems now proved, but the original was clearly Teutonic not Latin.

gins, were at issue with power, with cruelty, with fate. The new poetic machinery of Angels and Devils was at the command of the poet; the excited faith of the hearers was ready to accept fiction for truth; to believe the creation of the poet with unsuspecting belief. But legend only reluctantly and ungraciously submitted to the fetters of Latin verse; the artificial form seemed to dull the inspiration. Even in the earliest period, the Saint-Poems and the Martyrdoms (except perhaps some pleasing descriptions in Paulinus of Nola) are, in my judgement, far inferior, even in poetic merit, to the prose legends. I know nothing equal to the "Martyrs of Vienne," or the "Perpetua and Felicitas," even in the best of Prudentius, who is in general insufferably long, and suffocates all which is noble or touching (and there is much of both) with his fatal copiousness. In later times the lives of St. Boniface, St. Gall, and St. Anschar have more of the imaginative tone of poetry than the hard harsh verses of the period. I should almost say that the Golden Legend awakens more of the emotion of poetry than any of the poetic lives of the mediæval Saints.

III. Even in the Hymnology^g of the Latin Church, her lyric poetry, it is remarkable, that, with the exception of the *Te Deum*, those hymns, which have struck, as it were, and cloven to the universal heart of Christendom, are mostly of a late period. The stanzas which the Latin Church has handed down in her services from Prudentius are but the flowers gathered from a wilderness of weeds.^h The "*Pange Lingua Gloriosi*" is attri-

^g Compare *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*. H. A. Daniel. Hales, 1841. A copious and excellent collection.

^h The two or three stanzas, '*Salvete Flores Martyrum*,' are from the middle

of a long, it must be confessed tiresome Poem. *Cathem.* xii. v. 125. Prudentius, even in Germany, was the great popular author of the Middle Ages; no work but the Bible appears with so

buted to Venantius Fortunatus, or Mamertus Claudianus, in the fifth century; the "Stabat Mater" and the "Dies Iræ" are, the first probably by Jacopone da Todi, and the last by Thomas di Celano, in the fourteenth. These two, the one by its tenderness, the other by its rude grandeur, stand unrivalled; in melody, perhaps the hymn of St. Bonaventura to the Cross approaches nearest to their excellencies.¹ As a whole, the Hymnology of

many glosses (interpretations or notes) in high German, which show that it was a book of popular instruction. Rodolf Raumer, *Einwirkung Christenthums auf die Althoch Deutsche Sprache*, p. 222. — "Seine Hymnen und die des Ambrosius, bilden mit den übrigen Christlichen Lyrikern, das Gesangbuch des mittelalterlichen Klerus." — The hymns of Ambrose were translated into German in the ninth century.

¹ The two former are too well known to extract. Take two stanzas of the latter:—

"Recordare sanctæ crucis,
Qui perfectam viam ducis,
Delectare jugiter,
Sanctæ crucis recordare,
Et in ipsâ meditare
Insatiabiliter.

"Quum quiescas aut laboras,
Quando rides, quando ploras,
Doles sive gaudeas,
Quando vadis, quando venis,
In solatiis in pœnis
Cruce[m] corde teneas."

—Apud Daniel, ii. p. 102.

Of the more general hymns I would select that for the Evening, the 'Deus Creator Omnium,' for its gentle cadence (p. 17); the Paschal Hymn of the Roman Breviary (usually the best), p. 83; In Exequiis Defunctorum (p. 137):—

"Jam mœsta quiesce querela,
Lacrimas suspendite matres:

Nullus sua pignora plangat,
Mors hæc reparatio vitæ est.
Quidnam tibi saxa cavata,
Quid pulcra volunt monumenta
Res quod nisi creditur illis,
Non mortua, sed data somno."

Or, the two attributed to St. Bernard, p. 227 and 432, which show the height of his mysticism. Of what are called the Rhythms, by far the finest is that on Paradise, attributed, no doubt without ground, to St. Augustine, more likely by Damiani. It was never chanted in the church:—

"Ad perennis vitæ fontem mens sitivit
arida,
Clustra carnis præsto frangi clausa quærit
anima:
Giscit, ambit, eluctatur exul frui patria?
Dum pressuris et ærumnis se gemit ob-
noxiam,
Quam amisit, dum deliquit, contemplatur
gloriam,
Præsens malum auget boni perdit me-
moriam.

Nam quis promat summæ pacis quanta
sit lætitia,
Ubi vivis margaritis surgunt ædificia,
Auro celsa micant tecta, radiant triclinia:
Solis gemmis pretiosis hæc structura nec-
titur,
Auro mundo, tanquam vitro, urbis via
sternitur,
Abest limus, deest fœmus, lues nulla cer-
nitur.

Hiems horrens, ætas torrens illic nun-
quam sæviunt,
Flos perpetuus rosarum ver agit per-
petuum,
Candent lilia, rubescit crocus, sudat bal-
samum.

Virent prata, vernant sata, rivi mellis
confluunt.

the Latin Church has a singularly solemn and majestic tone. Much of it, no doubt, like the lyric verse of the Greeks, was twin-born with the music; it is inseparably wedded with the music; its cadence is musical rather than metrical. It suggests, as it were, the grave full tones of the chant, the sustained grandeur, the glorious burst, the tender fall, the mysterious dying away of the organ. It must be heard, not read. Decompose it into its elements, coldly examine its thoughts, its images, its words, its versification, and its magic is gone. Listen to it, or even read it with the imagination or the memory full of the accompanying chant, it has an unfelt and indescribable sympathy with the religious emotions, even of those of whose daily service it does not constitute a part. Its profound religiousness has a charm to foreign ears, wherever there is no stern or passionate resistance to its power. In fact, all Hymnology, vernacular as well as Latin, is poetry only to predisposed or habituated ears. Of all the lyric verse on the noblest, it might be supposed the most poetic subject, how few hymns take their place in the poetry of any language.

But out of the Hymnology, out of the Ritual, of which the hymns were a considerable part, arose that which was the initiatory, if rude, form of religious tragedy. The Christian Church made some bold advance to be the theatre as well as the temple of the people. But it had an intuitive perception of the danger; its success appalled its religious sensitiveness. The hymn which, like the Bacchic song of the Greeks, might seem

Pigmentorum spirat odor, liquor et aromatum,
Pendent poma floridorum nec lapsura nemorum.
Non alternat luna vices, sol vel cursus siderum,

Agnus est felix orbis lumen innocuum,
Nox et tempus desunt ei, diem fert continuum."

—Daniel, i. p. 116; and in works of St. Augustine.

There are thirteen more stanzas.

developing into scenic action, and becoming a drama, shrank back into its simpler and more lonely grandeur. The Ritual was content to worship, to teach the facts of the Scripture history only by the Biblical descriptions, and its significant symbolic ceremonial. Yet the Latin Mysteries, no doubt because they were Latin, maintained in general their grave and serious character. It was when, to increase its power and popularity, the Mystery spoke in the vulgar tongue, that it became vulgar;^k then buffoonery, at first perhaps from rude simplicity, afterwards from coarse and unrestrained fun, mingled with the sacred subjects. That which ought to have been the highest, noblest tragedy, became tragi-comedy, and was gradually driven out by indignant and insulted religion.

In its origin, no doubt the Mystery was purely and essentially religious. What more natural than to attempt, especially as the Latin became more unfamiliar to the common ear, the representation rather than the description of the striking or the awful scenes of the Gospel history, or those in the lives of the Saints; to address the quick, awakened and enthralled eye, rather than the dull and palled ear.^m There was already on the walls, in the chapels, in the cloisters, the painting representing the history, not in words, but in act; by gesture, not by speech. What a theatre! Such religious uses could not desecrate buildings so profoundly hallowed; the buildings would rather hallow the spectacle. That theatre was the Church, soaring to its

^k See in Warton (the passage is worth reading) the dull buffoonery introduced into the Mystery on the Murder of the Innocents, performed by the English at the Council of Constance. This, however, must have been in Latin, but

probably from an English original.—vol. ii. p. 75.

^m "Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus."—A. P. i. 180.

majestic height, receding to its interminable length, broken by its stately divisions, with its countless chapels, and its long cloister, with its succession of concentric arches. What space for endless variety, if not for change of scene! How effective the light and shade, even by daylight; how much more so heightened by the command of an infinity of lamps, torches, tapers, now pouring their full effulgence on one majestic object, now showing rather than enlightening the deep gloom! How grand the music, either pervading the whole space with its rolling volumes of sound, or accompanying some solemn or tender monologue! If it may be said without offence, the Company was already enrolled, to a certain degree practised, in the dramatic art; they were used to enforce their words by significant gesture, by movement, by dress. That which was considered the great leap in the Greek drama, the introduction of the second actor, was already done: different parts of the service were assigned to priest, or humbler deacon. The antiphonal chant was the choir breaking into two responsive parts, into dialogue. There were those who recited the principal parts; and, besides them the choir of men or of boys, in the convent of females and young girls; acolyths, mutes without number. Take, as an illustration of the effect of these dramas in their simple form, the *Massacre of the Innocents*.^a It opens with a procession of Innocents, doubtless children in white robes, who march in long lines, rejoicing, through the long cloister of the Monastery, and chanting, "How glorious

^a Published by Mr. Wright—Early Mysteries, London, 1838. Several Latin Mysteries have been published in Paris, but only a small number of copies by Bibliographical Societies, and so not

of general access. But in truth the Poem, the Mystery itself, forms a very subordinate part of these representations.

is Thy Kingdom! Send down, O God, Thy Lamb.* The Lamb immediately appears; a man, with a banner, bearing the Lamb, takes his place at their head, leading them up and down, in long gleaming procession. Herod (doubtless clad in all the splendour of barbaric and Oriental attire) is seated on his throne. A squire appears, hands him his sceptre, chanting, "On the throne of David." In the mean time, an Angel alights upon the manger, singing, "Joseph, Joseph, Joseph, thou son of David;" and reciting the verse of the Gospel commanding the flight into Egypt, "Weep not, O Egypt." His armour-bearer informs Herod of the departure of the Wise Men: he bursts out into wrath. While he is raging, the children are still following the steps of the Lamb, and sweetly chanting.^o Herod delivers the fatal sword to his armour-bearer. The Lamb is silently withdrawn; the children remain, in their fearless innocence, singing, "Hail, Lamb of God! O hail!" The mothers entreat mercy. An Angel descends while the slain children are dying, while they lie dead: "Ye who dwell in the dust, awake and cry aloud!" The Innocents answer: "Why, O God, dost thou not defend us from bloodshed?" The Angel chants: "Wait but a little time till your number is full." Then enters Rachel, with two women comforting her: their musical dialogue is simple, wild, pathetic.^p

^o "Agnō qui sancto pro nobis mortificato,
Splendorem patris, splendorem virginitatis,
Offerimus Christo, sub signo numinis isto."

^p After her first lament they reply:—

Noli, Virgo Rachel, noli, dulcissima mater,
Pro necē parvorum fletus retinere dolorum,
Si quæ tū istarū exulta quæ lacrimarū,
Namque tui nati vivunt super astra beati."

RACHEL *dolens.*

"Heu! heu! heu!

Quomodo gaudebo, dum mortua membra videbo!

Dum sic commota fuero per viscera tota!

Me faciunt verè pueri sine fine dolere!

O dolor, o patrum mutataque gaudia matrum!

Ad lugubres luctus lacrimarum fundite fluctus,

Judeæ florem patriæ lacrimando dolorem."

After some more verses the consolation

As they lead off the sad mother, an Angel, hovering above, sings the antiphone, "Suffer little children to come unto me." At the voice of the Angel all the children enter the choir, and take up their triumphant song. Herod disappears; Archelaus is on his throne. The Angel summons Joseph and the Virgin from Egypt. Joseph breaks out into a hymn to the Virgin. The cantor of the Church intones the *Te Deum*; the whole Church rings with the august harmony.

I have chosen this brief and simple episode, as it were, in the Gospel, to show in what spirit, with what aim, and doubtless with what wonderful effect, these sacred representations were introduced in the Middle Ages.⁹ But there was no event, however solemn and

end:—

"Numquid fiendus est iste
Qui regnum possidet cœleste!
Quique prece frequente
Miseris fratribus
Apud Deum auxiliatur."

Was Rachel represented by a male or a female? A Nun deploring the loss of her children had been somewhat incongruous: Did the Monks and Nuns ever join their companies? In one stage direction it appears the women were personated by men. "Primum procedunt tres fratres præparati et vestiti in similitudinem trium Mariarum."—*Mysterium Resurrectionis*, quoted by M. Onésime de Roy, *Mystères*, p. 4.

"Gaude, gaude, gaude—
Maria Virgo, cunctas hæreses," &c.

⁹ A recent publication of the great Thuringian Mystery of the Wise and Foolish Virgins (Halle, 1855), deserves especial notice. Not only is this Mystery (performed at Eisenach, A.D. 1322, not in a Church, but in an open space adjoining), remarkable for its poetic beauty, for the mixture, as it

seems, of Latin Responsives and Sequences, with the chief passages in the dialect of Thuringia; but as having caused the death of Frederick the Joyous (Friederich der Freudige), Landgrave of Thuringia. The characters are the Saviour, the Virgin Mary, a Choir of Angels, the Wise and Foolish Virgins. There seems to have been a representation, at least, of the opening of hell, into which Lucifer and Beelzebub drag down the miserable Foolish Virgins, shrieking "Woe, woe!" as in a Greek tragedy. But the most remarkable part of this remarkable Poem is, that Frederick the Joyous is not struck to death by his compassion for the Foolish Virgins, or by his horror at their fate: but for his wrath and indignation, that the intercessory prayers of the Blessed Virgin in their favour are ineffectual, and do not at once prevail with her inexorable Son. This wrath and indignation in a few days brought on an apoplectic seizure, under which Frederick lingered, and died in two or three years

appalling, up to the Passion, the Resurrection, the Ascension, which was not in like manner wrought into action, and preached in this impressive way to awe-struck crowds. Legend, like the Gospels, lent itself to the same purpose: instead of being read, it was thrown into a stirring representation, and so offered to spectators as well as to hearers. When all were believers (for those who had not the belief of faith and love, had that of awe and fear), these spectacles no doubt tended most powerfully to kindle and keep alive the religious interest; to stamp upon the hearts and souls of men the sublime truths, as well as the pious fictions of religion. What remains, the dry skeleton of these Latin mysteries, can give no notion of what they were when alive; when alive, with all their august, impressive, enthralling accessories, and their simple, unreasoning, but profoundly-agitated hearers. The higher truths, as well as the more hallowed events of our religion, have in our days retired into the reverential depths of men's hearts and souls: they are to be awfully spoken, not, what would now be thought too familiarly, brought before our eyes. Christian tragedy, therefore, could only exist in this early initiatory form. The older Sacred history might endure to be poeticised in a dramatic form, as in the 'Samson Agonistes;' it might even, under certain circumstances, submit to public representation, as in the Esther and Athalie of Racine, and the Saul of Alfieri. A martyrdom like that of Polyeucte might furnish noble situations. But the history of the Redeemer, the events on which are founded the solemn mysteries of our religion, must be realised only, as it were, behind the veil; they will endure no alteration, no amplification, not the slightest change of form or word: with

them as with the future world, all is an object of "faith, not of sight."^r

^r Since the publication of this work I have had the great good fortune to be present at the performance of the last of the ancient mysteries, which still lingers in Europe, the *Passion Spiel*, by the peasants of the *Ammergau*. No one who has not actually seen such a representation can fully and justly imagine the character and influence of these Mediæval plays. During my early life I have seen the drama in all its forms, as exhibited in the most splendid theatres of Europe. I have never witnessed a performance more striking from its scenic effect: the richness and harmony of the decorations and dresses, brilliant and blended in their colours as in an old Italian picture (by *Gentile da Fabriano*); the music, though this was of a modern cast (much was chanted by a chorus or semichorus alternating, as on the Greek stage); and the general sustained interest and impressiveness of the whole. There was nothing, I think, which could offend the most sensitive religiousness. All was serious, solemn, I may say devout; actors and audience were equally in earnest. The Saviour himself was represented with a quiet gentle dignity, admirably contrasting with the wild life and tumult, the stern haughty demeanour of the Pharisees and rulers in their secret plottings and solemn council (the *Sanhedrin*), and the frantic agitation of the Jewish people. **Even** in the most perilous passages—the washing the feet of the disciples—there was no departure from the commanding repose of the Master. The

one or two comic touches (no doubt the coarser jests and rude pleasantries have been refined away by the greater fastidiousness of modern manners),—the greedy grasping of Judas after the pieces of silver; the eager quarrelling of the Roman soldiers, throwing dice for the seamless coat, did not disturb the general grave impressiveness, but rather gave a certain reality to the scene. Legend, too, had entirely dropped away; it was the evangelic history cast, with no mean skill, into a dramatic form. I never passed a day (it lasted from 7 in the morning till 3 in the afternoon,) in more absorbed and unwearied attention. The theatre was not roofed over by human hands, but with the bright blue sky above, at the bottom of a green valley, flanked by picturesque mountains, which closed in the remoter distance. And to crown the whole, on that occasion, the day, which had been bright, gradually darkened; the clouds in their thick heavy masses rolled slowly down the mountain sides, looming blacker and blacker, till just at the moment of the Crucifixion, the storm—the thunderstorm—burst, in awful grandeur. It disturbed, but did not close the drama; there was some confusion, especially among the audience, who were most exposed (we were under partial shelter). But the end, if hurried, was still grave, serious, and conscientiously carried on to the close, the Resurrection, and the appearance of the Lord to the Disciples.

I was assured that the moral and religious effect on the peasants them-

The Abbess of a German convent made a more extraordinary attempt to compel the dramatic art into the service of Latin Christianity. The motive of Hroswitha, declared by herself, is not less strange than her design.^a It was to wean the age (as far as we can judge, the age included the female sex—it included nuns, even the nuns of her own rigid order) from the fatal admiration of the licentious comedy of Rome.^b “There are persons,” writes the saintly recluse, “who prefer the vanity of heathen books to the Sacred Scriptures, and beguiled by the charms of the language, are constantly reading the dangerous fictions of Terence, and defile their souls with the knowledge of wicked actions.” There is a simplicity almost incredible, but, from its incredibility, showing its perfect simplicity, in Hroswitha’s description not only of her motives but of her difficulties. The holy poetess blushes to think that she too must dwell on the detestable madness of unlawful love, and the fatally tender conversations of lovers. If however she had listened to the voice of modesty, she could not have shown the triumph of divine Grace, as of course Grace in every case obtains its signal triumph. Each of the comedies, instead of its usual close, a marriage, ends with the virgin or the penitent taking the vow of holy celibacy. But in the slender plots the future saints are exposed to trials which it must have been difficult to represent, even to describe, with common decency. Two relate to adventures in which

self was excellent. Of the audience I could judge: and it was an audience gathered from all quarters, many more than could obtain accommodation. No one (the preparations last for a year or two) is permitted to appear, even in the chorus, unless of unimpeachable

character.

^a These plays have been recently edited and translated into French with great care by M. Magnin.—*Théâtre de Hroswitha*. Paris, 1843.

^b Hroswitha wrote also a long poem in hexameters, *Panegyris Odonum*.

holy hermits set forth in the disguise of amorous youths, to reclaim fallen damsels, literally from the life of a brothel, and bear them off in triumph, but not without resistance, from their sinful calling. Of course the penitents become the holiest of nuns. And the curious part of the whole seems to be that these plays on such much more than dubious subjects should not only have been written by a pious abbess, but were acted in the convent, possibly in the chapel of the convent. This is manifest from the stage directions, the reference to stage machinery, the appearance and disappearance of the actors. And nuns, perhaps young nuns, had to personate females whose lives and experiences were certainly most remote from convent discipline.^u The plays are written in prose, probably because in those days the verse of Terence was thought to be prose: they are slight, but not without elegance of style derived, it should seem, from the study of that perilously popular author, whom they were intended to supersede. There are some strange patches of scholastic pedantry, a long scene on the theory of music, another on the mystery of numbers, with some touches of buffoonery, strange enough, if acted by nuns before nuns, more strange if acted by others, or before a less select audience, in a convent. A wicked heathen, who is rushing to commit violence on some Christian virgins, is, like Ajax, judicially blinded, sets to kissing the pots and pans, and comes out with his face begrimed with black, no doubt to the infinite merriment of all present. The theatre of Hroswitha is indeed a most curious monument of the times.

^u See note of M. Magnin (p. 457), in answer to Price, the editor of Warton, ii. 28. M. Magnin has studied with great industry the origin of the Theatre in Europe.

No wonder that the severer Churchmen took alarm, and that Popes and Councils denounced these theatric performances, which, if they began in reverent sanctity, soon got beyond the bounds not merely of reverence, but of decency. But, like other abuses, the reiteration of the prohibition shows the inveterate obstinacy and the perpetual renewal of the forbidden practice.* The rapid and general growth of the vernacular Mysteries, rather than the inhibition of Pope and Council, drove out the graver and more serious Latin Mysteries, not merely in Teutonic countries—in England and Germany—but in France, perhaps in Italy.†

Latin, still to a certain extent the vernacular language of the Church and of the cloister, did not confine itself to the grave epic, the hymn, or the Mystery which sprang out of the hymn. The cloisters had their poetry, disguised in Latin to the common ear, and often needing that disguise. Among the most curious, original, and lively of the monkish Latin poems, are those least in harmony with their cold ascetic discipline. Anacreontics and satires sound strangely, though intermingled with moral poems of the same cast, among the

* The prohibitions show that the ancient use of masks was continued:—*“Interdum ludi fiunt in ecclesiis theatrales, et non solum ad ludibriorum spectacula introducuntur in eis monstra larvarum, verum etiam in aliquibus festivitibus diaconi, presbyteri ac subdiaconi insanie suae ludibria exercere præsumunt, mandamus, quatenus ne per hujusmodi turpitudinem ecclesie inquinetur honestas, prælibatam ludibriorum consuetudinem, vel potius corruptelam curæis a vestris ecclesiis extirpare.”*—Decret. Greg. Boehmer, *Corpus Juris Canon.* t. ii. fol. 418.—

“Item, non permittant sacerdotes, ludos theatrales fieri in ecclesiâ et alios ludos inhonestos.”—Conc. Trev. A.D. 1227. Hartzheim, iii. p. 529. Compare Synod Dioc. Worm. A.D. 1316. *Ibid.* iv. p. 258.

† Mary Magdalene was a favourite character in these dramas. Her earlier life was by no means disguised or softened. See the curious extract from a play partly Latin, partly German, published by Dr. Hoffman, *Fundgruben für Geschichte Deutschen Sprache*, quoted by Mr. Wright. Preface to ‘*Early Mysteries.*’ London, 1838.

disciples of S. Benedict, S. Bernard, and S. Francis. If the cloister had its chronicle and its hymn-books, it often had its more profane song-book, and the songs which caught the ear seem to have been propagated from convent to convent.² The well-known convivial song, attributed to Walter de Mapes, was no doubt written in England; it is read in the collection of a Bavarian convent.^a These, and still more, the same satires, are found in every part of Latin Christendom; they rise up in the most unexpected quarters, usually in a kind of ballad metre, to which Latin lends itself with a grotesque incongruity, sometimes with Leonine, sometimes with more accurate rhyme. The Anacreontic Winebibber's song, too well known to be quoted at length, by no means stands alone: the more joyous monks had other Bacchanalian ditties, not without fancy and gay harmony.^b

^a Among the collections which I have read or consulted on this prolific subject are the old one, of Flaccius Illyricus.—Early Mysteries and other Latin Poems, by Thomas Wright, London, 1838.—Lateinische Gedichte des X. und XI. J. H., von Grimm und And. Schmeller. Göttingen, 1838.—Poésies Populaires Latines du Moyen Age. Edستان du Meril. Paris, 1847.—Popular Songs.—Poems of Walter de Mapes. Camden Society by Thomas Wright.

^a This Collection, the 'Carmina Benedicto-Burana' (one of the most curious publications of the Stuttgart Union), the Latin Book of Ballads, it may be called, of the Convent of Benedict Buren, contains many love-verses, certainly of no ascetic tendency; and this, among many other of the coarser monkish satires.

^b "Mihl est propositum in tabernâ mori,
Vinum sit appositum morientis ori,
Ut dicant cum venerint Angelorum
chori,
Deus sit propitius huic potatori."

"Ave! color vini clari,
Dulcis potus non amari,
Tuâ nos inebriari!
Digneris potentiâ.
O quam felix creatura,
Quam produxit vitis pura,
Omnis mensa sit secura
In tuâ præsentia.

O! quam placens in colore!
O! quam fragrans in odore!
O! quam sapidum in ore!

Dulce linguæ vinculum!
Felix venter quem intrabis!
Felix guttur quod rigabis!
Felix os quod tu lavabis!
Et beata labia!

Ergo vinum collaudemus!
Potatores exultemus!
Non potantes confundamus
In æterna supplicia!"

—Wright, p. 120

The Anacreons of the cloister did not sing only of wine: they were not silent on that subject, least appropriate, but seemingly not least congenial, to men under the duty, if not under the vow, of perpetual chastity. From the variety and number of these poems, which appear scattered about as freely and carelessly as the moral poems and satires, it might seem that there was a constant interchange between the troubadour or the minnesinger and the ecclesiastic or the monk. Many of the amatory Latin poems are apparently versions, many the originals of those sung by the popular poets in the vulgar tongue; and there can be no doubt about the authorship of most of the Latin poems. They were the growth as they were the amusement of the cloister. They were written for the monks and clergy, to whom alone they were intelligible. It may suffice in a grave history (which, however, as endeavouring to reveal the whole character of past times, cannot altogether decline such topics) to select one of the most curious, certainly the most graceful of the poems of this class, in its language at least, if not altogether in its moral, inoffensive. It is a kind of Eclogue, in which two fair damsels, Phyllis and Flora, one enamoured of a Knight, the other of a Clerk, contend for the superior merit of their respective lovers, and submit their cause to the decision of the old heathen god, Cupid. The time of this Idyl is a beautiful noon in spring, its scene a flowery meadow, under the cool shade of a pine by a murmuring stream.*

* It is in the *Carmina Benedicto-*
Burans, p. 155:—

6.

“Susurrabat modicum
Ventus tempestivus,
locus erat viridi
gramine festivus,

et in ipso gramine
defluebat rivus,
brevis atque garrulo
Murmure lascivus

7.

Ut puellis noceat
Calor solis minus
fuit juxta rivulum
Spatiosa pinus

The fair champion of the knight taunts the indolence, the luxuriousness, the black dress and shaven crown of the clerk. She dwells on the valour, noble person, bravery, and glory of the knight: the champion of the clerk, on his wealth, superior dignity, even his learning. His tonsure is his crown of dominion over mankind; he is the sovereign of men: the knight is his vassal.^d After some dispute, they mount, one a fine mule, the other a stately palfrey, and set off, both splendidly accoutred, to the Court of the God of Love. The Paradise of Cupid is described rapidly, but luxuriantly, with much elegance, and a profusion of classical lore.

venustata foliis,
late pandens sinus,
nec intrare poterat
calor peregrinus.

8.

Consedere virgines,
Herba sedem dedit,
Phyllis propè rivulum,
Flora longe sedet,
Et dum sedet utraque
ac in sese redit,
amor corda vulnerat
et utramque lædit.

9.

Amor est interius
latens et occultus,
et corde certissimos
elicit singultus,
pallor genas inficit,
alterantur vultus,
sed in verecundiâ
furor est sepultus."

^d I omit other objections of Phyllis to a clerical lover. This is the worst she can say:—

29.

"Orbem cum lætificat
hora lucis festæ,
tunc apparet clericus
satis inhoneste,
in tonsurâ capitis
et in atrâ veste
portans testimonium
voluntatis necestæ."

To this Flora rejoins:—

37.

"Non dicas opprobrium
Si cognoscas morem,
vestem nigram clerici
comam breviorè ;
habet ista clericus
ad summum honorem,
ut sese significet
omnibus majorem.

38.

Universa clerico
Constat esse prona,
et signum imperii
portat in coronâ,
imperat militibus,
et largitur dona,
famulante major est
imperans persona.

39.

otiosum clericum
semper esse juras,
viles spernit operas
fateor et duras,
sed cum ejus animus
Evolat ad curas,
cœli vias dividit
et rerum naturas.

40.

Meus est in purpurâ
tuus in loricâ ;
tuus est in proelio
meus in lecticâ,
ubi facta principum
revolvit antiqua,
scribit, querit, cogitat—
totum de amicâ."

Silenus is not forgotten. The award is in favour of the clerk; an award which designates him as fitter for love: and this award is to be valid to all future times.* Few will question whence came this poem: that any layman should be so studious, even in irony, of clerical interests, can scarcely be suspected. If the ballad poetry of a people, or of a time, be the best illustration of their history, this poem, without doubt, is significant enough.

It were unjust not to add that there is a great mass of this rhyme, not less widely dispersed, of much more grave and religious import—poems which embody the truths and precepts of the faith, earnest admonitions on the duties of the clergy, serious expostulations on the sufferings and oppressions of the poor, moral reflections on the times. The monkish poets more especially dwelt on the Crusades. Though there was no great poem on the subject, there were songs of triumph at every success—at every disaster a wild poetic wail.† The Crusade was perpetually preached in verse, half hymn, half war-song.‡

Yet, after all, the strength of these Monk-Poets was

* The close is delightfully naïve. I must only subjoin the award:—

78.

“Fiunt et justitiæ,
ventilant vigorem
ventilant et retrahunt
Curie rigorem
secundum scientiam
et secundum morem.

79.

*ad amorem clericum
dicunt aptiorem.*
Comprobavit curia,
dictionem juris,
et teneri voluit
etiam futuris.”

This poem is also in Mr. Wright's English collection, who has subjoined a translation of the time of Queen

Elizabeth, with very many of the beauties, some of the faults of that age.

† *Carmina Benedicto-Burana*, xxii. to xxviii.:—

“Agedum Christicola,
surge vide
Ne de fide
reputeris frivola,
suda martyr in agone,
spe mercedis et coronæ,
derelictâ Babylone
pugna
pro cœlesti regione
et ad vitam te compone
Pugnâ.”

‡ See xxvi. on the conquests of Saladin; and in Edelman du Meril's Collection—“*Lætare Hierusalem.*”

in satire. They have more of Juvenal, if not of his majestic march and censorial severity, of his pitilessness, of his bitterness, it may be said of his truculency, than of Catullus, Terence, or Horace. The invectives against Rome, against her pride, avarice, venality—against Popes and Cardinals—against the Hierarchy, its pomp, its luxury—against the warlike habits of the Prelates, the neglect of their holy duties—even against the Monks—put to the test their rude nerve and vigour; and these poems in the same or in similar strain turn up out of the convent libraries in many parts of Germany, in France, in England, in every country beyond the Alps (Italy mostly expressed her Antipapal passions in other ways). They are of all ages; they have the merit that they are the outpourings of overburthened hearts, and are not the frigid and artificial works of mechanics in Latin verse; they are genial even in their ribaldry; they are written by men in earnest, bitterly deploring or mercilessly scourging the abuses of the Church. Whether from righteous indignation or malignity, from moral earnestness or jealousy and hatred of authority, whether its inspiration was holy and generous or sordid and coarse, or, as in most human things, from mingling and contradictory passions, the monkish Latin satire maintained its unretracted protest against the Church. The Satirists impersonated a kind of bold reckless antagonist against Rome and the hierarchy,^h confounding

^h Mr. Wright has abundantly proved this in his preface to the poems of Walter de Mapes. (Intro. p. ix., &c.) He is equally successful, according to my judgement, in depriving of the glory, or relieving from the reproach, of these compositions the celebrated Walter de Mapes.

De Mapes had a feud with the Cistercians or White Monks, and did not spare his enemies; but he was not Goliath. Under that name ranked bards of a considerable period, and in my opinion of more than one country. Mr. Wright is not so satisfactory in claiming them all for England; one poem seems to

together in their Goliath, as Rabelais in later days, solemnity and buffoonery, pedantic learning and vulgar humour, a profound respect for sacred things and freedom of invective against sacred persons. The Goliards became a kind of monkish rhapsodists, the companions and rivals of the Jongleurs (the reciters of the merry and licentious fabliaux); Goliardery was a recognised kind of mediæval poetry. Goliath has his *Metamorphoses*, his *Apocalypse*, his terrible *Preachment*, his *Confession*,ⁱ his *Complaint to the Pope*, his *Address to the Roman Court*, to the impious *Prelates*, to the *Priests of Christ*, to the *Prelates of France*; and, finally, a *Satire on women*, that is, against taking a wife, instinct with true monastic rigour and coarseness. Towards the Pope himself—though Goliath scruples not to arraign his avarice, to treat his *Bulls* with scorn—there is yet some awe.^k I doubt if

show itself written in Pavia. Compare the copy of the *Confession* in Wright (p. 71), and the *Carmina Benedicto-Burana* (p. 57).

ⁱ The *Confession* contains the famous drinking song. The close is entirely different, and shows the sort of common property in the poems. Both poems mention Pavia. Yet the English copy names the Bishop of Coventry, the German “the Elect of Cologne,” as Diocesan.

^k I have already quoted the lines in one of those songs in which he derives the word *Papa*, by apocope, from *pagare*, “pay, pay.” In his complaint to the Pope, Goliath is a poor clerical scholar poet:—

“Turpe tibi, pastor bone,
Si divina lectione
Spretâ flam laicus,
Vel absolve clericatu,
Vel fac ut in cl-ri statu,
Perseverem clericus.
Dulcis erit mihi status
Si prebenda muneratus

Redditu vel alio,
Vivam licet non habunde,
Saltem mihi detur unde,
Studeam de proprio.”

From a very different author in a different tone is the following:—

1.

“Dic Xti veritas,
Dic cara raritas,
Dic rara charitas,
Ubi nunc habitas?
Aut in valle Visionis,
Aut in throno Pharaonis,
Aut in alto cum Nerone,
Aut in antro cum Timone,
Vel in viscera scirpea
Cum Moyse plorante,
Vel in domo Romulea
Cum bullâ fulminante.

2.

Bulla fulminante
Sub iudice tonante
Reo appellante,
Sententia gravante,
Veritas opprimitur,
Distrahitur et venditur
Justitia prostante,
Itur et recurritur
Ad curiam, nec ante
Quis quid consequatur
Donec exiit
Ultimo quadrante

the Roman Pontiff was yet to the fiercest of these poets, as to the Albigenians and to the Spiritual Franciscans, Antichrist. The Cardinals meet with less respect; that excessive and proverbial venality, which we have heard denounced century after century, is confirmed, if it needed confirmation, by these unsparing satirists.^m

The Bishops are still arraigned for their martial habits,ⁿ their neglect of their sacred functions, their pride, their venality, their tyranny. Some were married: this and universal concubinage is the burthen of the complaint against the Clergy.^o The Satirists are stern monks to others, however their amatory poetry may tell against

3.

" Respondit Caritas
Homo quid dubitas,
Quid me sollicitas?
Non sum quod usitas,
Nec in euro, nec in austro,
Nec in foro, nec in clau-stro,
Nec in bysso, nec in cuculla,
Nec in bello, nec in bulla
De Jericho sum veniens
Ploro cum sauciato,
Quem duplex Levi transiens
Non astitit grabato."

Carmina Benedicto-Burana, p. 51.

One of these stanzas is contained in a long poem made up very uncritically from a number of small poems (in Flaccius Illyricus, p. 29, &c.) on Papal absolution and indulgences:—

" Nos peccata relaxamus
Absolutos collocamus
Sedibus ethereis,
Nos habemus nostras leges,
Alligantes omnes reges
In manicis aureis."

Carm., B. B., p. 17.

^m See the Poem de Ruinâ Romæ.

Wright, p. 217. *Carmina B. B.* 16:—

3.

" Vidi vidi caput mundi
instar maris et profundi
Vorax guttur Siculi;
ibi mundi bithalassus,
ibi sorbet aurum Crassus
et argentum sæculi.

* * *

ibi pugna galearum
et concursus piratarum
id est cardinalium.

* * *

25.

Cardinales ut prædixi,
Novo jure Crucifixi
Vendunt patrimonium,
Petrus foris, intus Nero,
intus lupa, foris vero
sicut agni ovium."

This is but a sample of these Poems.

ⁿ " Episcopi cornuti
Conticuere muti,
ad prædam sunt parati
et indecenter coronati
pro virgâ ferunt lanceam,
pro infulâ galeam,
clipeum pro stolâ,
(hæc mortis erit mola)
loricam pro albâ,
hæc occasio calva,
pellem pro humerall,
pro ritu seculari
Sicut fortes incedunt,
et a Deo discedunt," &c.

Carm. B. Burana, p. 15. Compare Wright, *Sermo Golizæ ad Prælatos*, p. 48.

^o " Nec tu participes
Conjugiæ vitæ vitio
Namque multos invenio
qui sunt hujus participes,
ecclesiarum principes."

themselves.^p The Archdeacons' Court is a grievance which seems to have risen to a great height in England. Henry II. we have heard bitterly complaining against its abuses: it levied enormous sums on the vices of the people, which it did not restrain.^q All are bitterly reproached with the sale of the services of the Church, even of the Sacraments.^r The monks do not escape; but it seems rather a quarrel of different Orders than a general denunciation of all.

The terrible preachment of Goliath on the Last Judgment ought not to be passed by. The rude doggrel rises almost to sublimity as it summons all alike before the Judge, clerk as well as layman; and sternly cuts off all reply, all legal quibble, all appeal to the throne of St. Peter. The rich will find no favour before Him who is the Judge, the Author of the sentence, the Witness. God the Judge will judge Judges, he will judge Kings; be

P "O sacerdos hæc responde,
qui frequenter et joconde
cum uxore dormis, unde
Mane surgens, missam dicis,
corpus Christi benedixis,
post amplexus meretricis,
minus quam tu peccatrixis.

* * * *

Mirror ego, mirror plane
quod sub illo latet pane
Corpus Christi, quod prophane
Tractat manus illa mane,
Mirror, nisi tu mireris,
quod a terrâ non sorberis,
cumque sæpe prohiberis
iterare non vereris."

—Wright, pp. 49, 50.

^q Compare in Wright the three curious poems, De Concubinis Sacerdotum, Consultatio Sacerdotum, Convocatio Sacerdotum, pp. 171, 174, 180.

"Ecce capitulum legi de moribus
Archidiaconi, qui suis vicibus
quicquid a præsulibus evadit manibus
Capit et lacerat rostris et unguibus.

Hic plenus oculis sedet ad synodum.
Lynx ad insidias, Janus ad commodum,

Argus ad animi scelus omnimodum,
Et Polyphemus est ad artis metodium.

Doctorum statuit decreta millium,
Quorum est pondus supra jus jurium,
Unum qui solverit, reus est omnium,
Nisi resolverit prius marsupium.

* * * *

Ecclesiastica jura venalia,
facit propatulo, sed venialia
cum venum dederit, vocat a venis
quam non inveniens vocat Ecclesia."

—Wright, p. 9.

^r "Jacet ordo clericalis
in respectu laicallis,
spina Christi fit mercaalis
generosa generalis
Venecunt altaria,
venit eucharistia,
cum sit nugatoria
gratia venalis."

—Carmin. B. Burana, p. 41.

This and the following poems dwell on simony of all kinds. See the Poem De Grisis Monachis, Wright, p. 54. De Clarevallensibus et Cluniacensibus, ib. f. 237. De Malis Monachorum. 187.

he Bishop or Cardinal, the sinner will be plunged into the stench of hell. There will be no fee for Bull or Notary, no bribe to Chamberlain or Porter. Prelates will be delivered up to the most savage tormentors; their life will be eternal death.⁵

History throughout these centuries bore on its face that it was the work not of the statesman or the warrior, unless of the Crusader or of the warrior Bishop, it was that of the Monk. It is universally Latin during the earlier period: at first indeed in Italy, in Latin which may seem breaking down into an initiatory Romance or Italian. Erchempert and the Salernitan Chronicle, and some others of that period, are barbarous beyond later barbarism. When history became almost the exclusive property of the Monks, it was written in their Latin, which at least was a kind of Latin. Most of the earlier Chronicles were intended each to be a universal history for the instruction of the brotherhood. Hence monkish historians rarely begin lower than the Creation or the Deluge. According to the erudition of the writer, the historian is more or less diffuse on the pre-Christian History, and that of the Cæsars. As the writers approach their own age, the brief Chronicle expands and registers at first all that relates to the institution and interests of the monastery, its

* " Quid dicturi miseri sumus ante thronum,
Ante tantum judicem, ante summum
bonum;
Tunc non erit aliquis locus hic præconum,
Cum nostrarum præmia reddet actionum.
Cum perventum fuerit examen veri,
Ante thronum stabimus judicis severi,
Nec erit distinctio laici vel cleri.
Nulla nos exceptio poterit tueri.
Hic non erit licitum quicquam allegare,
Neque jus replicare, neque replicare,
Nec ad Apostolicam sedem appellare,

Reus tunc damnabitur, nec dicetur quare.

Cogitate divites qui vel quales estis,
Quod in hoc judicio facere potestis;
Tunc non erit aliquis locus hic Digestis
Idem erit Deus hic judex, autor, testis.
Judicabit judices judex generalis,
Nihil ibi proderit dignitas regalis;
Sed factorem sentiet pœnæ gehennalis,
Sive sit Episcopus, sive Cardinalis,
Nihil ibi dabitur bullæ vel scriptori,
Nihil camerario, nihil janitori;
Sed dabuntur præsules pessimo tortori
Quibus erit vivere sine fine mori."

—Wright, p. 53.

founders and benefactors, their lives and miracles, and condescends to admit the affairs of the times in due subordination. But there is still something of the legend. Gradually, however, the actual world widens before the eyes of the monkish historian; present events in which he, his monastery, at all events the Church, are mingled, assume their proper magnitude. The universal-history preface is sometimes actually discarded, or shrinks into a narrower compass. He is still a chronicler; he still, as it were, surveys everything from within his convent-walls; but the world has entered within his convent. The Monk has become a Churchman, or the Churchman, retired into the monastery, become almost an historian. The high name of Historian, indeed, cannot be claimed for any mediæval Latin writer; but as chroniclers of their own times (their value is entirely confined to their own times; on the past they are merely servile copyists of the same traditions) they are invaluable.^t Their very faults are their merits. They are full of, and therefore represent the passions, the opinions, the prejudices, the partialities, the animosities of their days. Every kingdom, every city in Italy, in Germany every province, has its chronicler.^u In England, though the residence of the chronicler, the order to which he belongs, and the office which he occupies, are usually manifest, it is more often the affairs of the realm which occupy the annals. France, or rather the Franco-Teutonic Empire, began with better promise; Eginhard has received his due praise; the Biographers of Louis the Pious, Thegan, and the Astronomer, may be read with pleasure as with instruction: Nithard falls off. In England Matthew Paris,

^t *E.g.* in the Saxon Chronicle.

^u To characterise the Chronicles, even those of the different nations, would be an endless labour.

or rather perhaps Roger of Wendover, takes a wider range: he travels beyond the limits of England; he almost aspires to be a chronicler of Christendom. The histories of the Crusades are lively, picturesque, according as they come directly from the Crusaders themselves. Perhaps the most elaborate, William of Tyre, being a compilation, is least valuable and least effective. Lambert of Hertzfield (vulgarly of Aschaffenburg) in my judgement occupies, if not the first, nearly the first place, in mediæval history. He has risen at least towards the grandeur of his subject. Our own chroniclers, Westminster, Knighton, and Walsingham, may vie with the best of other countries. As to their Latinity, Saxo Grammaticus, the Sicilian Ugo Falcandus, command a nobler and purer style.

Yet after all the Chronicle must, to attain its perfection, speak in the fresh picturesqueness, the freedom, and the energy of the new vernacular languages. The Latin, though in such universal use, is a foreign, a conventional tongue even among Churchmen and in the monastery. Statesmen, men of business, men of war, must begin to relate the affairs of States, the adventures and events of war. For the perfect Chronicle we must await Villehardouin, Joinville, Froissart. Villani is more than a chronicler; he is approaching to the historian.

CHAPTER V.

Christian Letters in the New Languages of Europe.

CHRISTIANITY, indeed, must await, and not in history alone, the creation, growth, perfection of new languages, before she can become the parent of genuine Christian letters and arts—of letters and arts which will maintain permanent influence and ascendancy over the mind of man. But the abrogation of the Latin as the exclusive language of Christian letters and arts must be inevitably and eventually the doom of Latin Christianity. Latin must recede more and more into a learned language understood by the few. It may linger in the religious service of all who adhere to the Church of Rome, not absolutely unintelligible to those whose language is of Latin descent, and among them with a kind of mysterious and venerable indistinctness not unfavourable to religious awe. The Latin is a congenial part of that imposing ritual system which speaks by symbolic gestures and genuflexions, by dress, by music, by skilful interchange of light and darkness, by all which elevates, soothes, rules the mind through the outward senses. A too familiar Liturgy and Hymnology might disturb this vague, unreasoning reverence. With the coarsest and most vulgar Priesthood these services cannot become altogether vulgar; and except to the strongest or most practical minds, the clear and the definite are often fatal to the faith. Yet for popular instruction either from the Pulpit or through the Printing Press, Christianity

must descend, as it does descend, to the popular language. In this respect Latin has long discharged its mission—it is antiquated and obsolete.

But while the modern languages of Europe survive; and we can hardly doubt the vitality of French, Italian, Spanish, German, and our own English (now the vernacular tongue of North America and Australia, that too of government and of commerce in vast regions of Africa and Asia), the great Christian writers, Dante, Ariosto, Tasso, Calderon; Pascal, Bossuet, and the pulpit orators of France, with Corneille and Racine; the German Bible of Luther, the English Bible, Shakspeare, Milton, Schiller, some of our great divines, Hooker, Jeremy Taylor, will only die with the languages in which they wrote. Descartes, Bacon, Locke, Reid, Kant, will not share the fate of the scholastic philosophers, till the French, English, and German are to new races of men what mediæval Latin is to us. And religion must speak to mankind in the dominant languages of mankind.

It might seem indeed that in the earliest Latin as distinguished from the Teutonic languages, the Romance in its various forms, Sicilian, Italian, Catalan, Provençal, poetry, the primal form of vernacular literature was disposed to break loose from Latin Christianity, from hierarchical unity, even from religion. The Clergy in general remained secluded or shrunk back into the learned Latin; the popular poetry, even the popular prose, became profane, unreligious, at length in some part irreligious. The Clergy, as has been seen, for their own use and amusement, transmuted much of the popular poetry into Latin, but it ceased thereby to be popular except among themselves. They shut themselves up from the awakening and stirring world in their sanctity, their authority, their learning, their wealth. The

Jongleurs, the Trouvères, the Troubadours, became in a certain sense the popular teachers; the Bards and the sacerdotal order became separate, hostile to each other. The Clergy might seem almost content with the intellect of man; they left the imagination, except so far as it was kept enthralled by the religious ceremonial, to others. Perhaps the Mysteries, even the early Latin Mysteries, chiefly arose out of the consciousness of this loss of influence; it was a strong effort to recover that which was gliding from their grasp. Some priests were Troubadours, not much to the elevation of their priestly character; Troubadours became priests, but it was by the renunciation of their poetic fame; and by setting themselves as far asunder as possible from their former brethren. Fulk of Marseilles^a became the furious persecutor of those who had listened with rapture to his poetry. Later one of the most famous of the schoolmen was said to have been a Troubadour.^b

Chivalry alone, so far as chivalry was Christian, held poetry to the service of Christianity, and even of the Church; but this was chiefly among the Trouvères of Northern France or the Langue d'Oil. The Provençal poetry of the South, the cradle of modern song, contains some noble bursts of the Crusading religious sentiment; it is Christian, if chivalry be Christian, in tone and thought. But, in general, in the castle courts of the

^a For the history of Fulk of Marseilles, whose poetic fame endured to the days of Dante, see back, vol. v. p. 412.

^b No less a person than William Durand, the great general of the Pope, the great Ecclesiastical Legist, almost the last great Schoolman, the author of the *Speculum* and the *Rationale*, is traditionally reported to have been a

Troubadour. A tale is told of him very similar to that of Romeo and Juliet. Conceive Romeo growing up into a High Churchman and a Schoolman!—Ritter, *Christliche Philosophie*, vii. p. 19. The question is examined with fairness and sagacity in the xxth vol. of the *Hist. Lit. de la France*, p. 435.

Provençal Princes and Nobles poetry not only set itself above Christian religion, but above Christian morals. The Highest Idealism was amatory Platonism, which while it professed religious adoration of woman, degraded her by that adoration. It may be doubted whether it could ever have broken forth from that effeminacy to which it had condemned itself. Grace, perhaps tenderness, was its highest aim; and Poetry soars not above its aim. But this subject has already found its place in our history. In its lower and popular form Provençal poetry, not less immoral, was even more directly anti-hierarchical. It was not heretical, for it had not religion enough to be heretical: religion was left to the heretic. The Fabliau, the Satire, the Tale, or the Song, were the broad and reckless expression of that aversion and contempt into which the Clergy of Southern France had fallen, and tended immeasurably to deepen that aversion and contempt. But it has been sadly shown how the Albigenian war crushed the insurrection of Provençal poetry against Latin letters, together with the insurrection against the Latin hierarchy. The earliest vernacular poetry perished almost without heirs to its fame; its language, which once divided France, sunk into a provincial dialect.^c

Christendom owes to Dante the creation of Italian Poetry, through Italian, of Christian Poetry. It required all the courage, firmness, and prophetic sagacity of Dante to throw aside the inflexible bondage of the established hierarchical Latin of Europe. He had almost yielded and had actually commenced the Divine Comedy in the ancient, it seemed, the universal and eternal language.^d

^c Even in our days Provence has a poet, and that of no undeserved fame, *Jasmin*: of course, the language has undergone much change.

^d Compare among other authorities the valuable essay of Peticari, the

But the Poet had profoundly meditated, and deliberately resolved on his appeal to the Italian mind and heart. Yet even then he had to choose, to a certain extent to form, the pure, vigorous, picturesque, harmonious Italian which was to be intelligible, which was to become native and popular to the universal ear of Italy. He had to create; out of a chaos he had to summon light.^e Every kingdom, every province, every district, almost every city, had its dialect, peculiar, separate, distinct, rude in construction, harsh, in different degrees, in utterance. Dante in his book on *Vulgar Eloquence* ranges over the whole land,^f rapidly discusses the Sicilian and Apulian,

son-in-law of Monti (in Monti, *Proposta di Alcune Correzioni*, &c. al *Vocab. della Crusca*, v. ii. pte. ii.). Peticari quotes the very curious letter of the Monk Ilario to Uguccione della Faggiuola. To this Monk the wandering Dante showed part of his great work. The Monk was astounded to see that it was written in the vulgar tongue. "Io mi stupiva ch' egli avesse cantato in quella lingua, perchè pareva cosa difficile, anzi da non credere, ch' quegli altissimi intendimenti si potessero significare par parole di vulgo; ne mi pareva convenire ch' una tanta e si degna scienza fosse vestita a quel modo così plebeo." Dante replied, that so he himself had originally thought. He had once begun his poem in Latin, and these were the lines—

"Ultima regna canam, fluido contermina mundo,
Spiritibus quæ lata patent, quæ præmia solvunt
Pro meritis cuicumque suis."

But he had thrown aside that lyre, "ed un'altra ne temperai conveniente all' orecchio de' moderni." The Monk concludes "molte altre cose con sublimi

affetti soggiunse" (p. 328). Peticari quotes another remonstrance addressed to the poet by Giovanni di Virgilio da Cesena, closing with these words: "Se ti giova la fama, non sii contento a si brevi confini, nè all'esser fatto glorioso dal vil giudizio del volgo" (p. 330). Conceive the *Divine Comedy* stranded, with Petrarch's *Africa*, high on the barren and unapproachable shore of ecclesiastical Latin.

* "Poesia nel libro ch' ei nomina della *Vulgare Eloquenza*, cominciò ad illustrare l' idioma poetico ch' egli creava." See the excellent observations on writing in a dead language, in Foscolo, *Discorso sul Testo di Dante*, p. 250.

^f I can have no doubt whatever of the authenticity of the *De Vulgari Eloquentiâ*; contested because Dante threw aside the vulgar Tuscan or Florentine as disdainfully as the rest, and even preferred the Bolognese. To a stranger it is extraordinary that such an Essay as that of Peticari should be necessary to vindicate Dante from the charge of ingratitude and want of patriotism, even of hatred of Florence

the Roman and Spoletan, the Tuscan and Genoese, the Romagnole and the Lombard, the Trevisan and Venetian, the Istrian and Friulian; all are coarse, harsh, mutilated, defective. The least bad is the vulgar Bolognese. But high above all this discord he seems to discern, and to receive into his prophetic ears, a noble and pure language, common to all, peculiar to none, a language which he describes as Illustrious, Cardinal, Courtly, if we may use our phrase, Parliamentary, that is, of the palace, the courts of justice, and of public affairs.⁵ No doubt it sprung, though its affiliation is by no means clear, out of the universal degenerate Latin, the rustic tongue, common not in Italy alone, but in all the provinces of the Roman Empire.^h Its first domicile was the splendid Sicilian and Apulian Court of Frederick II., and of his accomplished son. It has been boldly said, that it was part of Frederick's magnificent design of universal empire: he would make Italy one

(Florence which had exiled him), because Florentine vanity was wounded by what they conceived injustice to pure Tuscan. See also the Preface to the *De Vulgari Eloquio* in the excellent edition of the *Opere Minori*, by Fratelli. Florence, 1833.

⁵ "Itaque adepti quod quærebamus, dicimus, Illustre, Cardinale, Aulicum et Curiale Vulgare in Latio, quod omnis Latia civitatis est et nullius esse videtur, et quo municipia Vulgaria omnia Latinorum mensurantur, ponderantur et comparantur."—Lib. i. cxvi.

^h Peticari has some ingenious observations on the German conquests, and the formation of Italian from the Latin. The German war-terms were alone admitted into the language. But his theory of the origin of the Romance

out of the ecclesiastical Latin, and still more his notion that the ecclesiastical Latin was the old *lingua rustica*, rests on two bold and unproved assumptions, though doubtless there is some truth in both: "La fina industria degli Ecclesiastici, che in Romano spiegando la dottrina Evangelica, ed in Romano scrivendo i fatti della chiesa cattolica, facevano del Romano il linguaggio pontifical e Cattolica cioè *universale*. Ma quella non era più il Latino illustre; non l'usato da Lucrezio e da Tullio, non l'udito nel Senato e nella Corte di Cesare; era quel *rustico* che parlava l'intero volgo dell'Europa Latina" (p. 92). Still I know no treatise on the origin of the Italian language more full, more suggestive, or more valuable than Peticari's.

realm, under one king, and speaking one language.^l Dante does homage to the noble character of Frederick II.^k Sicily was the birthplace of Italian Poetry. The Sicilian Poems live to bear witness to the truth of Dante's assertion, which might rest on his irrefragable authority alone. The Poems, one even earlier than the Court of Frederick,^m those of Frederick himself, of Pietro della Vigna,ⁿ of King Enzo, of King Manfred, with some peculiarities in the formation, orthography, use

^l "Federigo II. esperava a riunire l'Italia sotto un solo principe, una sola forma di governo, e una sola lingua."—Foscolo sulla lingua Italiana, p. 159. This essay, printed (1850) in the fourth volume of my poor friend's Works, has only just reached me.

^k "Quicquid poetantur Itali Sicilianum vocatur Sed hæc fama Trinacriæ terræ, si recte signum ad quod tendit inspicimus, videtur tantum in opprobrium Italicorum Principum remansisse qui non heroico more, sed plebeo sequuntur superbiam. Siquidem illustres heroes Fredericus Cæsar, et bene genitus ejus Manfredus, nobilitatem ac rectitudinem suæ formæ parentes, donec fortuna permansit, humana secuti sunt, brutalia dedignant, propter quod corde nobiles atque gratiarum dotati inhærere tantorum principum majestati conati sunt: ita quod eorum tempore quicquid excellentes Latinorum nitabantur, primitus in tantorum Coronatorum aulâ prodiat. Et quia regale solium erat Sicilia, factum est quicquid nostri prædecessores vulgariter protulerunt, Sicilianum vocatur. Quod quidem retinemus et nos, nec posterius nostri permutare valebunt, Racha! Racha! Quid

nunc personat tuba novissimi Frederici? quid tintinnabulum II. Caroli? quid cornua Johannis et Azzonis Marchionum potentum? quid aliorum Magnatum tibie? nisi Venite carnifices! Venite altriplices! Venite avaritiæ sectatores. Sed præstat ad propositum repedare quam frustra loqui."—De Vulgar. Eloquio, i. xii. p. 46. There is a splendid translation of this passage in Dantesque Italian by Foscolo, *Discorso*, p. 255.

^m See the *Rosa fresca olentissima*, Foscolo, della *Lingua*, p. 150.

ⁿ "Così ne' versi seguenti non v'è un unico sgrammaticamento de sintassi, nè un modo d'esprimersi inelegante, nè un solo vocabolo che possa parere troppo antico.

"Non dico ch' alla vostra gran bellezza
Orgoglio non convenga e stia bene,
Che a bella donna orgoglio ben convenga,
Che la mantene in pregio ed in grandezza;
Troppo alterezza e quella che sconvenga.
Di grande orgoglio mai ben non avviene."
Poeti del 1^{mo} Sec. i. p. 195.
See Foscolo, p. 166.

Peter della Vigna (Peter de Vinca) did not write Sicilian from want of command of Latin; his letters, including many of the State Papers of his master Frederick II., are of much higher Latinity than most of his time.

and sounds of words, are intelligible from one end of the Peninsula to the other.^o The language was echoed and perpetuated, or rather resounded spontaneously, among poets in other districts. This courtly, aristocratical, universal Italian, Dante heard as the conventional dialect in the Courts of the Cæsars,^p in the republics, in the principalities throughout Italy.^q Perhaps Dante, the Italian, the Ghibelline, the assertor of the universal temporal monarchy, dwelt not less fondly in his imagination on this universal and noble Italian language, because it would supersede the Papal and hierarchical Latin; the Latin with the Pope himself, would withdraw into the sanctuary, into the service of the Church, into affairs purely spiritual.

However this might be, to this vehicle of his noble thoughts Dante fearlessly entrusted his poetic immortality, which no poet anticipated with more confident security. While the scholar Petrarch condescended to the vulgar tongue in his amatory poems, which he had still a lurking fear might be but ephemeral, in his

^o See the passages from Frederick II. and King Enzo, Foscolo, p. 165.

^p See, among other instances, the pure Italian quoted from Angelati by Peticari, written at Milan the year before the birth of Dante. Peticari's graceful essay, as far as the earlier Italian poetry may be compared with that of Foscolo, sulla Lingua; the other poets Cino da Pistoia, the Guidos (Foscolo ranks Guido Cavalcanti, Dante's best friend, very high) may be read in a collection printed at Florence, referred to in a former volume. Nor must the prose be forgotten; the history of Matteo Spinelli is good universal Italian. The maritime code of

Amalfi has been recently discovered, in Italian perfectly intelligible in the present day. I owe this information to my accomplished friend Sign^r. La-caita.

^q "La lingua ch' ei nomina cortegiana, e della quale ei disputa tuttavia, la sua fantasia vedeva nascere ed ampliarsi per la perpetua residenza de' Cesari in Roma, e frà le repubbliche e le tirannidi, tutte confuse in un solo reame. Di questo ei ti pare certissimo come di legge preordinata dalla Provvidenza e connessa al sistema del' Universo."—Compare quotations, Foscolo, Discorso, p. 254.

Africa and in his Latin verses he laid up, as he fondly thought, an imperishable treasure of fame.* Even Boccaccio, happily for his own glory, followed the example of Dante, in, as he probably supposed, his least enduring work, his gay Decamerone. Yet Boccaccio doubted, towards the close of his life, whether the Divine Comedy had not been more sublime, and therefore destined to a more secure eternity in Latin.†

Thus in Italy, with the Italian language, of which, if he was not absolutely the creator, he was the first who gave it permanent and vital being, arose one of the great poets of the world. There is a vast chasm between the close of Roman and the dawn of Italian letters, between the period at which appeared the last creative work written by transcendent human genius in the Roman language, while yet in its consummate strength and perfection, and the first, in which Italian Poetry and the Italian tongue came forth in their majesty; between the history of Tacitus and the *Divina Comedia*. No one can appreciate more highly than myself (if I may venture to speak of myself), the great works of ecclesiastical Latin, the Vulgate, parts of the Ritual, St. Augustine: yet who can deny that there is

* Compare Petrarch's letter (Epist. Fam. xi. 12), in which he haughtily vindicates himself from all jealousy of Dante. How should he, who is the companion of Virgil and Homer, be jealous of one who enjoys the hoarse applause of taverns and markets. I may add that Mr. Bruce Whyte, in his curious volumes, *Histoire des Langues Romanes*, has given a careful analysis of Petrarch's "Africa," which he has actually read, and discovered in it

some passages of real merit (vol. iii. ch. xl.).

† "Non dico però che se in versi Latini fosse (non mutato il peso delle parole vulgari) ch'egli non fosse molto più artificioso e più sublime: perchè molto più arte e nel parlare latino ch'è nel moderno."—Boccac. Comm. Div. Com. f. f. As if sublimity in poetry consisted in skilful triumph over difficulty. But on the old age of Boccaccio, see Foscolo, p. 213.

barbarism, a yet unreconciled confusion of uncongenial elements, of Orientalism and Occidentalism, in the language? From the time of Trajan, except Claudian, Latin letters are almost exclusively Christian; and Christian letters are Latin, as it were, in a secondary and degenerate form. The new era opens with Dante.

To my mind there is a singular kindred and similitude between the last great Latin, and the first great Italian writer, though one is a poet, the other a historian. Tacitus and Dante have the same penetrating truth of observation as to man and the external world of man; the same power of expressing that truth. They have the common gift of flashing a whole train of thought, a vast range of images on the mind by a few brief and pregnant words; the same faculty of giving life to human emotions by natural images, of imparting to natural images, as it were, human life and human sympathies: each has the intuitive judgement of saying just enough; the stern self-restraint which will not say more than enough; the rare talent of compressing a mass of profound thought into an apophthegm; each paints with words, with the fewest possible words, yet the picture lives and speaks. Each has that relentless moral indignation, that awful power of satire which in the historian condemns to an immortality of earthly infamy, in the Christian Poet aggravates that gloomy immortality of this world by ratifying it in the next. Each might seem to embody remorse.[†] Patrician, high, imperial, princely, Papal criminals are compelled to acknowledge the justice of their doom. Each, too,

[†] It is a saying attributed to Talleyrand of Tacitus, "Quand on lit cet homme-là on est au Confessionnal."

writing, one of times just past, of which the influences were strongly felt in the social state and fortunes of Rome: the other of his own, in which he had been actively concerned, throws a personal passion (Dante of course the most) into his judgements and his language, which, whatever may be its effect on their justice, adds wonderfully to their force and reality. Each, too, has a lofty sympathy with good, only that the highest ideal of Tacitus is a death-defying Stoic, or an all-accomplished Roman Proconsul, an Helvidius Thræsea, or an Agricola; that of Dante a suffering, and so purified and beatified Christian saint, or martyr; in Tacitus it is a majestic and virtuous Roman matron, an Agrippina, in Dante an unreal mysterious Beatrice.

Dante is not merely the religious Poet of Latin or mediæval Christianity; in him that mediæval Christianity is summed up as it were, and embodied for perpetuity. The Divine Comedy contains in its sublimest form the whole mythology, and at the same time the quintessence, the living substance, the ultimate conclusions of the Scholastic Theology. The whole course of Legend, the Dæmonology, Angelology, the extra-mundane world, which in the popular belief was vague, fragmentary, incoherent, in Dante, as we have seen, becomes an actual, visible, harmonious system. In Dante heathen images, heathen mythology are blended in the same living reality with those of Latin Christianity, but they are real in the sense of the early Christian Fathers. They are acknowledged as part of the vast hostile Demon world, just as the Angelic Orders, which from Jewish or Oriental tradition obtained their first organisation in the hierarchy of the Areopagite. So, too, the schools of Theology meet in the Poet. Aquinas, it has been said, has nothing more subtle and metaphysical than the

Paradise, only that in Dante single lines, or pregnant stanzas, have the full meaning of pages or chapters of divinity. But though his doctrine is that of Aquinas, Dante has all the fervour and passion of the Mystics; he is Bonaventura as well as St. Thomas.

Dante was in all respects but one, his Ghibellinism, the religious poet of his age, and to many minds Dante's Ghibellinism. not less religious for that exception. He was anti-Papal, but with the fullest reverence for the spiritual supremacy of the successor of St. Peter. To him, as to most religious Imperialists or Ghibellines, to some of the spiritual Franciscans, to a vast host of believers throughout Christendom, the Pope was two distinct personages. One, the temporal, they scrupled not to condemn with the fiercest reprobation, to hate with the bitterest cordiality: Dante damns Pontiffs without fear or remorse. But the other, the Spiritual Pope, was worthy of all awe or reverence; his sacred person must be inviolate; his words, if not infallible, must be heard with the profoundest respect; he is the Vicar of Christ, the representative of God upon earth. With his Ghibeline brethren Dante closed his eyes against the incongruity, the inevitable incongruity, of these two discordant personages meeting in one: the same Boniface is in hell, yet was of such acknowledged sanctity on earth that it was spiritual treason to touch his awful person. The Saints of Dante are the Saints of the Church; on the highest height of wisdom is St. Thomas, on the highest height of holiness, St. Benedict, St. Dominic, St. Francis. To the religious adversaries of the Church he has all the stern remorselessness of an inquisitor. The noble Frederick II., whom we have just heard described as the parent of Italian poetry, the model of a mighty Emperor, the Cæsar of Cæsars, is in hell as an arch-

heretic, as an atheist.^u In hell, in the same dreary circle, up to his waist in fire, is the noblest of the Ghibelines, Farinata degli Uberti. In hell for the same sin is the father of his dearest friend and brother poet Guido Cavalcanti. Whatever latent sympathy seems to transpire for Fra Dolcino, he is unrelentingly thrust down to the companionship of Mohammed. The Catholic may not reverse the sentence of the Church.

Petrarch, as an Italian poet, excepting in his Ode to the Virgin, stands almost aloof from the mediæval religion; it is only as a Latin poet, and in his familiar Letters, that he inveighs against the vices, the irreligion of the Court of Avignon. Petrarch.

Boccaccio, the third of this acknowledged Triumvirate, was, on the other hand, in his one great work, unquestionably as regards the dominant religion of his times, its monkhood and hierarchism, the most irreligious, on account of his gross immoralities, to all ages an irreligious writer. Boccaccio. The Decamerone centres in itself all the wit, all the indecency, all the cleverest mockery of the French and Provençal Fabliaux, and this it has clothed in that exquisite, all-admired Florentine which has secured its undying fame. The awful description of the Plague in Florence has been compared, but by no means with justice, to that of Thucydides and that of Lucretius. This grave opening of the Decamerone might be expected to usher in a book of the profoundest devotion, the most severe, ascetic penitential. After this, another Dante might summon the smitten city to behold its retributive doom

^u Inferno, x. 119. Pietro della Vigna calls him—

“Al mio Signor, che fu d’onor sì degno.”—*Inferno*, xiii. 75.

in the Infernal Regions; a premature Savonarola might thunder his denunciations, and call on Florence, thus manifestly under divine visitation, to cast all her pomps and vanities, her ornaments, her instruments of luxury, upon the funeral pyre; to sit and lament in dust and ashes. This terrific opening leads, but not in bitter irony, to that other common consequence of such dark visitations, the most reckless licence. Tale follows tale, gradually sinking from indecency into obscenity, from mockery to utter profaneness. The popular religion, the popular teachers, are exposed with the coarsest, most reckless pleasantry. Erasmus, two centuries later does not scoff with more playful freedom at pilgrimages, reliques, miracles: Voltaire himself, still two centuries after Erasmus, hardly strips their sanctity from monks, nuns and friars, with more unsparing wit. Nothing, however sung or told in satiric verse or prose against the Court of Rome, can equal the exquisite malice of the story of the Jew converted to Christianity by a visit to Rome, because no religion less than divine could have triumphed over the enormous wickedness of its chief teachers, the Cardinals, and the Pope. Strange age of which the grave Dante and the gay Boccaccio are the representatives! in which the author of the Decamerone is the biographer of Dante, the commentator on the Divine Comedy, expounding, pointing, echoing, as it were, in the streets of Florence the solemn denunciations of the poet. More strange, if possible, the history of the Decamerone. Boccaccio himself bitterly repented of his own work: he solemnly warned the youth of Florence against his own loose and profane novels; the scoffer at fictitious reliques became the laborious collector of reliques not less doubtful; the

scourge of the friars died in the arms of friars, bequeathing to them his manuscripts, hoping only for salvation through their prayers.* Yet the disowned and proscribed Decamerone became the text-book of pure Italian. Florence, the capital of letters, insisted on the indefeasible prerogative of the Florentine dialect, and the Decamerone was ruled to be the one example of Florentine. The Church was embarrassed; in vain the Decamerone was corrected, mutilated, interpolated, and indecencies, profanenesses annulled, erased: all was without effect; the Decamerone must not be degraded from its high and exemplary authority. The purity of morals might suffer, the purity of the language must remain untainted; till at length an edition was published in which the abbesses and nuns, who were enamoured of their gardeners, became profane matrons and damsels; friars, who wrought false miracles, necromancers; adulterous priests, soldiers. But this last bold effort of jesuitical ingenuity was without effect: the Decamerone was too strong for the censure in all its forms; it shook off its fetters, obstinately refused to be altered, as before it had refused to be chastened; and remains to this day at once the cleverest and bitterest satire,

* See in the works of Petrarch the very curious letter to Boccaccio, de Vaticinio Morientium, Opera, p. 740. Boccaccio had written in a paroxysm of superstitious terror to Petrarch concerning the prophecies of a certain holy man, Peter of Sienna, on the death of the two poets. Petrarch evidently does not believe a word of what had frightened poor Boccaccio. He alleges many causes of suspicion. "Non extenuo

vaticinii pondus, quicquid a Christo dicitur verum est. Fieri nequit ut veritas mentiatur. At id quæritur Christusne rei hujus autor sit, an alter quispiam ad commenti fidem, quod sæpe vidimus, Christi nomen assumpserit." The poet urges Boccaccio, at great length, not to abandon letters, but only the lighter letters of his youth.

and the most curious illustration of the religion of the age.⁷

7 "Se non che un Dominicano Italiano e di natura più facile (chiamavasi Eustachio Locatelli, e morì vescovo in Reggio) vi s' interpose; e per essere stato confessore de Pio V., impetrò da Gregorio XIII. che il Decamerone non fosse mutato, se non in quanto bisognava al buono nome degli Ecclesiastici."—P. 43. The account of the whole transaction at length may be read in the *Discorso* prefixed to Foscolo's edition of the *Decamerone*, London, 1825. Compare the fifth and sixth discourse of Foscolo; the most

just criticism with which I am acquainted on Boccaccio, his merits, his influence, his style, and his language. I quote Boccaccio's will on Foscolo's authority. There is nothing new under the sun, nothing obsolete. I possess a translation of Eugene Sue's *Wandering Jew*, printed on the coarsest paper, the rudest type, and cheapest form, obviously intended for the lower Roman Catholics, in which the *Jesuit* becomes a Russian spy; all that is religious is transformed into political satire.

CHAPTER VI.

Language of France.

NOTHING is more remarkable in the civil or in the religious history of the West, nothing led to more momentous or enduring results, than the secession, as it were, of the great kingdom of France from the Teutonic, and its adhesion to the Latin division of Christendom; the fidelity of its language to its Roman descent, and its repudiation of the German conqueror. For about four centuries, loosely speaking, Gaul, from the days of Julius Cæsar, was a province of the Roman Empire. During that period it became Romanised in manners, institutions, language. The Celtic dialect was driven up into the North-Western corner of the land. If it subsisted, as seems to have been the case in the time of Irenæus, still later in that of Jerome, or in the fifth century,^a as the dialect of some of the peasantry; if it left its vestiges in the names of plains, of forests and mountains; if even some sounds and words found their way into the supervening Latin, and became a feeble

France.

^a According to Ulpian in the second century wills might be drawn in Latin or in the language of Gaul, the Celtic therefore had a legal existence. St. Jerome in the fourth century compares the language of the Asiatic Galatians with that which he had heard spoken in the neighbourhood of Treves. In the fifth, Sulpicius Severus desires one of the interlocutors in a dialogue to

speak in Gallic or Celtic (Dialog. i. *sub fine*). Sidonius Apollinarius says that the nobles of his province (Auvergne) had only just cast off all the scales of their Celtic speech; this may have been the pronunciation. The father of Ausonius, a physician at Bazas in Aquitaine, spoke Latin imperfectly. Compare Ampère, *Hist. Lit. de la France*, pp. 36 and 136.

constituent of French; yet there can be no doubt that the great mass of the French language, both the Langue d'Oil of the North, and the Langue d'Oc of the South, is of Latin origin.^b

For about four centuries, Teutonic tribes, Goths, Burgundians, Alemanni, Franks, ruled in Gaul, from the first inroad and settlement of the Visigoths in the South, down to the third generation after Charlemagne. Clovis and his race, Charlemagne and his immediate descendants, were Teutons; the language at the Court of Soissons, in the capitals of Neustria and Austrasia, as afterwards in that of Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle, was German. Nor was it only so in the Court; there were Germans throughout the Frankish realm of Charlemagne. The Council of Tours enacts that every Bishop should have homilies in both languages; he should be able to expound them in the rustic Roman and in the Teutonic, so as to be intelligible to the whole people.^c

But the grandsons of Charlemagne behold Latin and Teutonic nationality, the Latin and Teutonic language, dividing the Western Empire. The German is withdrawing, if not beyond the Rhine, to the provinces bordering on the Rhine; Latin is resuming its full dominion over France and the French language. At Strasburg, only thirty years after the Council of Tours, France has become French, Germany German.

^b M. Fauriel (*Histoire de la Poésie Provençale*, i. p. 195) observes of the Provençal that there are more words not of Latin origin than is commonly supposed. He had collected 3000. The whole Provençal literature might perhaps furnish him as many. A great part he could trace to no known language. Some few are Arabic, many

Greek, some Celtic, some Basque; not above fifteen Teutonic. The whole investigation is worthy of study.

^c A.D. 812. Labbe, *Concil.* vii. 1263. This injunction was renewed at Rheims and at Mentz A.D. 847. There are fragments of old German sermons.—Raumer, p. 66.

The two Kings of the same race, equally near in blood to Charlemagne, take their oaths in languages not only dialectically different, but distinct in root and origin. Germany still recedes, leaving but few traces of its long dominion ; the Celtic element probably contributes more to the French language than the German. In truth the Germans after all were but an armed oligarchy in France, like the Turks in their European provinces, but by no means so inaccessibly shut up in their Oriental habits, in their manners, in their religion. Even in the Visigothic South, no sooner had the conquest passed over, than the native language, or rather the naturalised Latin, reasserted its independence, its jealous and exclusive superiority : and this, although the Goths were routed and driven out by another Teutonic race, the Franks of the North. France returned entirely to its Latinity ; and from its rustic Roman gradually formed that language which was to have such wide influence on later civilisation.

In this conservation of France to Latin and Latin Christianity, no doubt Latin Christianity, and the hierarchy so long, even under the German sway, of Latin descent, powerfully contributed. The unity of religion in some degree broke down the barrier between the Teuton and the Roman Gaul ; they worshipped the same God in the same Church ; looked for absolution from their sins, trembled before, or sought humbly the counsel of the same Priest. But the Clergy, as has been seen, remained long almost exclusively Roman. The Teutons, who aspired to the high places of the Church (for the services remained obstinately Roman), were compelled to possess one qualification, the power of ministering in that Latin service. The most rude, most ignorant, most worldly Bishop or Priest must learn something, and that lesson must be the

recitation at least, or pronunciation of Latin. Charlemagne's schools, wherever the Teutonic element was the feeblest, would teach in the Rustic Roman, or the Roman more or less rapidly tending to its new form. At least in the Church and in the Cloister the Latin ruled without rival; among the people the Latin element was far the stronger: the stronger is ever aggressive; and the Teutonic was by degrees renounced, and driven towards the Rhine, or over the Rhine. The German Teuton, mindful of his descent, might still call himself a Frank, but the Gallic Frank had ceased to be a German.^d

It is not the least singular fact in the history of the French language, that another German, or kindred Scandinavian race, wrests a large province from France. Normandy takes its name from its Norman conquerors: the land, according to Teutonic usage, is partitioned among those adventurers; they are the lords of the soil. In an exceedingly short time the Normans cease to be Teutons; they are French or Latin in language. About a century and a half after the establishment of the Normans in France, the descendants of Rollo conquer England, and the Conqueror introduces not a kindred dialect, but the hostile and oppugnant Norman-French, into Anglo-Saxon England. The imposition of this foreign tongue, now the exclusive language of the Normans, is the last and incontestable sign of their complete victory over the native inhabitants. This is not the less extraordinary when the Italian Normans also are found for some time obstinately refusing

^d In the epitaph on Gregory V. (997), he is said to have spoken three languages; Frankish (German), the Vulgar (Romance or Italian), and Latin:—

* *Usus Franciscæ, vulgari, et voce Latinâ
Instituit populos eloquio triplici.*"

Gregory (Bruno, cousin of the Emperor Otho) was a German.—Murator. Diss. ii. 91. At this time in Italy traces of Italian begin to appear in wills and deeds.—*Ibid.* p. 93.

to become Italians. They endeavour to compel the Italians to adopt their French manners and language; histories of the Norman conquest are written at Naples or within the kingdom, in Norman-French.^e The dialect has adopted some Italian words, but it is still French.^f Thus within France Teutonism absolutely and entirely surrenders its native tongue, and becomes in the North and in the South of Europe a powerful propagator of a language of Latin descent.

It is not the office of this history to trace the obscure growth of the French language out of the pre-existing elements—the primal Celtic and the Latin. It must not be forgotten that higher up the Celtic and the Latin branch off from the same family—the Indo-Teutonic;^g so that the actual roots of French words may be reasonably deduced from either. The Christian language, all the titles, terms, and words which related to the religion, were doubtless pure Latin, and survived, but slightly modified, in the French. Pronunciation is among the most powerful agents in the change and formation of language, in the silent abrogation of the old, the silent crystallisation of the new. Certain races, nations, tribes, families, have a predilection, a predisposition, a facility for the utterance of certain sounds. They prefer labial

^e "Moribus et lingua, quoscunque venire videbant, Informant propriâ, gens efficiatur ut unum."—Gul. Appul. Lib. i.; Muratori, v. 255.

^f Compare on this subject M. Champollion Figeac's preface to the French Chronicle of the Italian Normans, 'Les Normans' (publication of the Société Historique), p. xliv., &c., with the references to Falconet, Lebœuf, Le Grand d'Aussy, and Tiraboschi.

^g This fact in the history of lan-

guage, first established by our countryman, Dr. Prichard, in his Essay on the Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations, is now admitted by all writers of authority. See also the excellent treatise of M. Pictet, 'L'Affinité des Langues Celtiques avec le Sanscrit.' Mr. Bruce Whyte was unfortunately not master of this branch of Philology, which supersedes at once or modifies his whole system.

or guttural, hard or soft letters; they almost invariably substitute the mute, the surd, or the aspirate letter for its equivalent; there is an uniformity, if not a rule of change, either from organism or habit. The Italian delights in the termination of words with a soft vowel, the *Langue d'Oc* with a consonant, the French with a mute

Effect of Church service. vowel. The Latin of the Ritual being a written language, in its structure as well as in its words would inflexibly refuse all change; it would not take the auxiliary verb in place of its conjugations, the article or the preposition to designate its cases; it would adhere to its own declensions, conjugations, inflexions, and thus far would stand aloof from the gradual change going on around it; it would become in so far unintelligible to the vulgar ear. But not only, the roots remaining the same, would the great mass of the words retain their significance; there would also be some approximation in the tone and accent. The Clergy, being chiefly of the country, and in their ordinary conversation using the language of the country, would pronounce their Latin with a propensity to the same sounds which were forming the French. Latin as pronounced by an Italian, a Frenchman, or a Spaniard, during the formation, and after the formation, of the new tongue, would have a tinge of Italian, French, or Spanish in its utterance. The music being common throughout the Church might perhaps prevent any wide deviation, but whatever deviation there might be would tend to make the meaning of the words more generally and easily comprehensible. So there would be no precise time when the Latin Ritual would become at once and perceptibly a foreign tongue; the common rustic Roman, or the Romance, if not the offspring was probably akin to the ecclesiastical Latin, at all events all Church words or terms would

form part of it. And so on the one hand Latin Christianity would have a powerful influence in the creation of the new language, and at the same time never be an unintelligible stranger; hers would be rather a sacred and ancient form of the same language among her lineal and undoubted descendants.

The early poetry of the Langue d'Oïl was either the Legend or the Poem of Chivalry. The Trouvère of the North was far more creative than the Troubadour of the South. In his lighter Fabliaux the Trouvère makes no less free with the Christian Clergy and with Christian morals than his brother of the South, but his is the freedom of gaiety or of licentiousness, not of bitter hatred, or pitiless, and contemptuous satire. There is nothing of the savage seriousness of the Provençal.^b

But the higher Epopee of the Northern Trouvère was almost contemporaneous in its rise with the Crusades; its flourishing period was that of the Crusades, and as far as that was a real and actual state of society, of Chivalry. It is the heroic poetry of mediæval Christianity. The Franks were the warriors, the Franks the poets of the Cross. In both the great Cycles, of Charlemagne and his Peers, of Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table, in the subordinate cycles, as of Rinaldo, or the four Sons of Aymon, the hero was ever a Christian knight, the enemy, whether knight, giant, or even dragon, was anti-Christian, Saracen, misbeliever, or devil. Charlemagne's war is of the West against the East, of Latin Christianity against Islam; the Gascons and the Basques at Roncesvalles become the splendid Saracens

^b It must not be forgotten that Brunetto Latini, the master of Dante (so little prescient was he of the glory of his pupil), wrote his Tesoro not in Italian but in French, as of all the vernacular tongues the most likely to be enduring.

of Spain; the whole misbelieving East is gathered around Christian Paris. The Church avouched the wonders of Archbishop Turpin, adopted the noble fictions about Charlemagne and his Peers. These became part of authorised Christian Legend, when Legend and History were one; when it would have been equal impiety to assert the mythic character of the former as that of the authentic Gospel.¹ So, too, whether Arthur and his Knights sprung, as is most probable, from Breton or from British lays, the Saxondom of his foes recedes, the Paganism, even the Saracenism takes its place. It is not the ancient British King and his British warriors warring with Saxons and Anglians on the borders of Wales, Cumberland, or Cornwall for the dominion of Britain; it is the Christian King and the Christian Knight waging a general war of adventure against unbelievers. It is not the independence of Britain, it is the mystic Sangreal, the cup with the blood of the Redeemer, which is the holy object, the ideal reward of their valour; it is to be the triumph of the most chaste and virtuous as well as of the bravest knight. The sons of Aymon are Southern knights keeping the Spanish borders (Spain reserved her Cid for her own noble old poem), but the Sons of Aymon are adopted Northerners; the Troubadour Poetry knows little or nothing of their chivalry. Toulouse owns only her own unidealised, unromanticised Counts: the few Provençal poems of chivalry are of doubtful origin: their Epic is the dull verse chronicle of the Albigensian War.

But, after all, in this inexhaustible fecundity of her Romance, whether from the rudeness and imperfection of the language at this period of her prolific creativeness,

¹ Tiraboschi, l. v.

or from some internal inaptitude in French for this high class of poetry, from want of vigour, metrical harmony, and variety, or even from its excellence, its analytical clearness and precision, the Mediæval Poetry of Northern France, with all its noble, chivalrous, and crusading impulses, called forth no poet of enduring fame. The Homer of this race of cyclic poets was to be an Italian. It was not till these poems had sunk into popular tales; till, from the poem recited in the castle or the court of the King or the Baron, they had become disseminated among the people;^k not till they had spread into Italy, and as the 'Reali di Francia' had been over and over again recited by the professional story-tellers, and been rudely versified by humbler poets, that they were seized first by the bold and accomplished Boiardo, afterwards by the inimitable Ariosto, and in their full ancient spirit, yet with some fine modern irony, bequeathed to mankind in the most exquisite and harmonious Italian. Even the Crusades were left to the gentle and romantic Tasso, when the religious fire of the Crusades and of Chivalry was all but extinct in its cold faint embers.

But if the Crusades, and by the Crusades Latin Christianity, did not create enduring French poetry, they created the form of history in which France has excelled

^k "Tutte le meraviglie ch' oggi leggiamo nè romanzi o poemi, che hanno per soggetto i Paladini, erano allora raccontate al popolo dai novellatori; e quest' uso rimane in alcune città, e specialmente in Venezia e in Napoli sino a quest' ultimi anni. Chiunque non sapeva leggere, si raccoglieva quasi ogni sera d' estate intorno il novellatore su la riva del mare," &c. &c.—Foscolo,

Discorso, v. p. 229. This accounts at once for the adoption of such subjects by Pulci, Boiardo, and Ariosto, when the high tide of classical letters had not passed away; as well as for the unbounded popularity of their poems, and of countless other epics, once common as the stones in the streets, now the rarities of the choicest libraries.

all Europe. Perhaps of vernacular history, properly so called, the Florentine Villani is the parent; of political history, Dino Compagni; but that history, which delights from its reality and truth, as springing from the personal observation, instinct with the personal character, alive with all the personal feelings of the historian, the model and type of the delightful Memoir, is to be found first in Villehardouin and Joinville, to rise to still higher perfection in Froissart and in De Comines. No cold later epic on St. Louis will rival the poetry of Joinville.

CHAPTER VII.

Teutonic Languages.

IN all the Romance languages, as it has appeared, in all languages of Latin descent, Italian, French ^{Teutonic languages.} both in its northern and southern form, Spanish in all its dialects, the religious vocabulary, every word which expressed Christian notions, or described Christian persons, was Latin, only lengthened out or shortened, deflected, or moulded, according to the genius of each tongue; they were the same words with some difference of pronunciation or form, but throughout retaining their primal sense: the words, even if indistinctly understood, had at least an associated significance, they conveyed, if not fully, partially to all, their proper meaning.

In the Teutonic languages it was exactly the reverse. For all the primal and essential Christian notions the German found its own words; it was only what may be called the Church terms, the ecclesiastical functions and titles, which it condescended or was compelled to borrow from the Latin.^a The highest of all, "God," with all

^a M. Regnier, in a *Mémoire* in the last year's *Transactions of the Academy* (p. 324), has summed up in a few clear French sentences, the substance of a learned work by Rudolf Raumer, which I have read with much profit. 'Die Einwirkung des Christenthums auf die althochdeutsche Sprache.' Berlin, 1851. "Un fait remarquable, et

qui prouve bien avec quel soin jaloux la langue se conservait pure de toute mélange étrangère, c'est qu'au moment même de l'introduction du Christianisme, qui apportait tant d'idées nouvelles, elle n'eut pas besoin d'emprunter au Grec et au Latin les mots qui les rendaient, que ses propres ressources lui suffirent en grande partie, surtout

its derivatives, the "Godhead, godly, godlike," was in sound entirely remote from "Deus, the deity, the divinity, the divine." As to the attributes of God, the German had his own word for allmightiness, for the titles the all-merciful or all-gracious.^b For the Trinity, indeed, as in all Indo-Teutonic languages, the numerals are so nearly akin, that there would be at least a close assonance, if not identity, in the words; and the primitive word for "father" is so nearly an universal, that the Latin "Pater" might be dimly discerned under the broader Teutonic pronunciation, "Fader." But the "Son and the Holy Ghost"^c were pure, unapproaching Teuton. The names of the Saviour, "Jesus," and "the Christ," passed of course into the creed and ritual; but the "Lord," and the German "Herr," were Teuton, as were the "healer, health," for the "Saviour and salvation," the "atonement" for the "propitiation."^d In the older versions the now ignoble words "hanging and the gallows" were used instead of the Crucifixion and the Cross: the "Resurrection" takes the German form.^e The "Angels and the Devils" underwent but little change; but all the special terms of the Gospel, "the soul, sin, holiness, faith, prayer, repentance, penance, confession, conversion, heaven and hell, Doomsday, even Baptism and the Lord's Supper," were new and peculiar.^f

pour l'expression des sentiments qui appartenait à la foi Chrétienne, et que ce ne fut guère que pour l'organisation extérieure de l'Eglise, qu'elle reçut en partie du dehors les mots avec les faits."—In a note M. Regnier illustrates these assertions by examples, many of them the same as those cited in my text.

^b Compounds from Macht—Barm-

herzigkeit—Gnade.

^c Der Sohn, der Heilige Geist.

^d Der Herr, Heiland, Heil.

^e Notker and Otfried use "hengan und galgen."—Auferstehung, Rodolf Raumer, b. iii.

^f Seele, Sünde, Schuld, Heiligkeit, Glaube, Gebete, Reue, Busse, Beichte, Bekehrung, Himmel, Hölle, Taufe, Heiliger Abendmahl.

The Book;^g the Seer not the Prophet;^h above all, the great Festivals of Christmas and Easter,¹ were original, without relation in sound or in letters to the Latin. Of the terms which discriminated the Christian from the Unbeliever one was different; the Christian, of course, was of all languages, the Gentile or the Pagan became a "heathen." So too "the world" took another name. To the German instructed through these religious words, the analogous vocabulary of the Latin service was utterly dead and without meaning; the Latin Gospel was a sealed book, the Latin service a succession of unintelligible sounds. The offices and titles of the Clergy alone, at least of the Bishop and the Deacon, as well as the Monk, the Abbot, the Prior, the Cloister, were transferred and received as honoured strangers in the land, in which the office was as new as the name.^k "The Martyr" was unknown but to Christianity, therefore the name lived. "The Church" the Teuton derived, perhaps through the Gothic of Ulphilas, from the Greek;^m but besides this single word there is no sign of Greek more than of Latin in the general Teutonic Christian language.ⁿ The Bible of Ulphilas was that of an ancient race, which

^g Rodolf Raumer, b. iii.

Ulphilas used the word *praufetus*. See Zahn's glossary to his edition of Ulphilas, p. 70. The German word is *Seher*, or *Wahrsager*.

¹ *Weihnacht*. "Ostara" (in Anglo-Saxon, Easter) "*paraît avoir désigné dans des temps plus anciens une Déesse Germanique dont la fête se célébrait vers la même époque que notre Fête de Pâques, et qui avait donné son nom au mois d'Avril.*"—Grimm, *Mythologie*, p. 267, 8vo., 2^e edit., &c. &c. M. Regnier might have added to his authorities that of

Bede, who in his *de Comp. Temporum* gives this derivation. . . . *Pfingsten* is *Pentecost*.

^k *Pfaffe*, the more common word for *Clericus*, is from *Papa*.—Raumer, p. 295. It is curious that in the oldest translations the High Priests, Annas and Caiaphas, are Bishops.—*Ibid.* 297.

^m Walafrid Strabo gives this derivation from the Greek through the Gothic. The word is, I believe, not found in the extant part of Ulphilas.

ⁿ Even the word "Catholic" is superseded by "Allgemeine."

passed away with that race; it does not appear to have been known to the Germans east of the Rhine, or to the great body of the Teutons, who were converted to Christianity some centuries later, from the seventh to the eleventh. The Germans who crossed the Rhine or the Alps came within the magic circle of the Latin; they submitted to a Latin Priesthood; they yielded up their primitive Teuton, content with forcing many of their own words, which were of absolute necessity, perhaps some of their inflexions, into the language which they ungraciously adopted. The descendants of the Ostrogoths, the Visigoths, the Burgundians, the Lombards, by degrees spoke languages of which the Latin was the groundwork; they became in every sense Latin Christians.

Our Anglo-Saxon ancestors were the first Teutonic race which remained Teuton. It is a curious ^{Anglo-Saxon.} problem how the Roman Missionaries from the South, and the Celtic Missionaries from the North, wrought the conversion of Anglo-Saxondom.* Probably the early conversions in most parts of the island were hardly more than ceremonial; the substitution of one rite for another; the deposing one God and accepting another, of which they knew not much more than the name; and the subjection to one Priesthood, who seemed to have more powerful influence in heaven, instead of another who had ceased to command success in war, or other blessings which they expected at his hands. This appears from the ease and carelessness with which the religion was for some period accepted and thrown off again. As in the island, or in each separate kingdom,

* Augustine addressed Ethelbert through an interpreter. The Queen and her retinue were French, and used to intercourse with a Latin priesthood.

the Christian or the Heathen King, the Christian or the Heathen party was the stronger, so Christianity rose and fell. It was not till the rise of a Priesthood of Anglo-Saxon birth under Wilfrid, or during his time, that England received true Christian instruction; it was not till it had, if not an Anglo-Saxon ritual, Anglo-Saxon hymns, legends, poetry, sermons, that it can be properly called Christian; and all those in their religious vocabulary are Teutonic, not Latin. It was in truth notorious that, even among the Priesthood, Latin had nearly died out, at least if not the traditional skill of repeating its words, the knowledge of its meaning.

Our Anglo-Saxon Fathers were the first successful missionaries in Trans-Rhenane Germany. The Celt Columban and St. Gall were hermits and cœnobites, not missionaries; and in their Celtic may have communicated, if they encountered them, with the aboriginal Gauls, but they must chiefly have made their way through Latin. They settled within the pale of Roman Gaul, built their monasteries on the sites of old Roman cities; their proselytes (for they made monks at least, if not numerous converts to the faith) were Gallo-Romans.^P But no doubt the Anglo-Saxon of Winfrid (Boniface) and his brother apostles of Germany was the means of

^P Columban has left a few lines of Latin poetry. While his Celticism appears from his obstinate adherence to the ancient British usage about Easter, it is strange that he should be mixed up with the controversy about the "three Chapters." M. Ampère has pointed out the singular contrast between the adulation of Columban's letter to Pope Boniface on this subject, "pulcherrimo omnium totius Europæ ecclesiarum capiti . . .

Papæ prædicto, præcelso, præsentī (præstanti?) pastorum pastori . . . humillimus celsissimo, agrestis urbano," and the bold and definite language of the letter itself: "Tamdiu enim potestas apud vos erit, quamdiu recta ratio permanserit. Dolere se de infamiâ quæ cathedræ S. Petri inurit."—Annal. Benedict. i. 274. Compare Ampère, Hist. Lit. de la France iii. p. 9. The Celt is a Latin in language rather than in thought.

intercourse; the kindred language enabled them to communicate freely and successfully with the un-Romanised races: Teutons were the apostles of Teutons. It was through the persuasive accents of a tongue, in its sounds as in its words closely resembling their own, not in the commanding tones of foreign Latin, that the religion found its way to their hearts and minds. Charlemagne's conversions in the further north were at first through an instrument in barbarous ages universally understood, the sword. Charlemagne was a Teuton warring on Teutons: he would need no interpreter for the brief message of his evangelic creed to the Saxons—"Baptism or death." Their conversion was but the sign of submission, shaken off constantly during the long wars, and renewed on every successful inroad of the conqueror. But no doubt in the bishoprics and the monasteries, the religious colonies with which Charlemagne really achieved the Christianisation of a large part of Germany, though the services might be in Latin, the schools might instruct in Latin, and the cloister language be Latin, German youths educated as Clergy or as Monks could not forget or entirely abandon their mother tongue.⁹ Latin and German became insensibly mingled, and interpenetrated

⁹ "Dem Kloster S. Gallen wird im 10ten Jahrhundert nachgeühmt, dass nur die Kleinsten Knaben seiner Schule sich der Deutschen Sprache bedienten; alle übrigen aber mussten ihre Conversation Lateinisch führen. In den meisten Fällen aber lief natürlich der Gebrauch der Deutschen Muttersprache neben dem der Lateinischen her. Daher entstand jene Mischung Lateinischer mit Deutsche Worte, die wir in so vielen Glossen handschriften der Althochdeutschen

Zeit finden. Man erklärte bei der Auslegung Lateinischer Texte die schwierigeren Wörter entweder durch geläufigere Lateinische oder auch durch entsprechende Deutsche. Dadurch musste eine fortdauernde Wechselwirkung zwischen dem Lateinischen und Deutschen in den Klöstern entstehen." Raumer, p. 201. Otfried, the German sacred poet, owed his education to the scholar and theologian, H. Rhabanus Maurus.

each other. As to the general language of the country, there was an absolute necessity that the strangers should yield to the dominant Teutonism, rather than, like Rome of old in her conquered provinces, impose their language on the subject people. The Empire of Charlemagne till his death maintained its unity. The great division began to prevail during the reign of Louis the Pious, between the German and the Frank portions of the Empire. By that time the Franks (though German was still spoken in the north-east, between the Rhine and the Meuse) had become blended and assimilated with those who at least had begun to speak the *Languè d'Oil* and the *Languè d'Oc*.^r But before the oath at Strasburg had as it were pronounced the divorce between the two realms, Teutonic preachers had addressed German homilies to the people, parts of the Scripture had found their way into Germany, German vernacular poets had begun to familiarise the Gospel history to the German ear, the Monks aspired to be vernacular poets.^s As in Anglo-Saxon England, so in the dominions of Louis the Pious, and of Lothaire, the *Heliand*, and the *Harmony of the Gospels* by Otfried, had opened the Bible, at least the New Testament, to the popular ear. The *Heliand* was written in the dialect of Lower Saxony. Otfried, a Monk of Weissenberg in Alsace, wrote in High German. The *Heliand* is alliterative verse, Otfried in rhyme. Otfried wrote his holy poem to wean the minds of men from their worldly songs; the history of the Redeemer was to supplant the songs of the old German heroes. How far Otfried succeeded in his pious

^r See above, from the canons of the Councils of Tours, Rheims, and Mentz. | Matthew, and the version of the Gospel Harmony of Ammianus, Notker's Psalms, the Lord's Prayer and

^s See on the Vienna fragments of the old German translation of St. | Creed.—Raumer, pp. 35 *et seqq.*

design is not known, but even in the ninth century, other Christian poetry, a poem on St. Peter, a legend of St. Gall, a poem on the miracles of the Holy Land, introduced Christian thoughts and Christian imagery into the hearts of the people.*

Thus Christianity began to speak to mankind in Greek; it had spoken for centuries in the commanding Latin; henceforth it was to address a large part of the world in Teutonic. France and Spain were Romanised as well as Christianised. Germany was Christianised, but never Romanised. England, Germanised by the Anglo-Saxon conquest, was partially Romanised again by the Normans, who, in their province of France, had entirely yielded to the Gallo-Roman element. Westward of the Rhine and south of the Danube, the German conquerors were but a few, an armed aristocracy; in Germany they were the mass of the people. However, therefore, Roman religion, to a certain extent Roman law, ruled eastward of the Rhine, each was a domiciled

* On the Heliand and on Otfried see the powerful criticism of Gervinus, *Geschichte der Poetischen National Literatur der Deutschen*, i. p. 84, *et seqq.* Neither are translators; they are rather paraphrasts of the Gospel. The Saxon has more of the popular poet, Otfried more of the religious teacher; in Otfried the poet appears, in the Saxon he is lost in his poetry. Where the Saxon leaves the text of the Gospel, it is in places where the popular poetry offers him matter and expression for epic amplification or adornment, as in the *Murder of the Innocents*; and where in the description of the Last Judgment he reminds us of the Scandinavian imagery of the destruction of the world: in this not altogether

unlike the fragment of the *Muspeli* edited by Schmeller. Instead of this, Otfried cites passages of the Prophets Joel and Zephaniah. On the whole, the Saxon has an epic, Otfried a lyric and didactic character. Gervinus thinks but meanly of Otfried as a poet. The whole passage is striking and instructive. The Heliand has been edited by Schmeller; and Otfried best by Graff, Königsberg, 1831. Compare Lachman's article in *Ersch und Grüber's Encyclopädie*. The Poem on St. Gall exists only in a fragment of a Latin translation in Pertz, ii. p. 33. The first is in Hoffman, *Geschichte des Deutschen Kirchenliedes*; the last in Vit. Altman, in *Pez. Script. Rer. Austriac.* i. p. 117.

stranger. The Teuton in character, in habits, in language, remained a Teuton. As their tribes of old united for conquest; the conquest achieved, severed again to erect independent kingdoms; as the Roman Empire in Germany was at last but a half-naturalised fiction, controlled, limited, fettered by the independent Kings, Princes, and Prelates: so, as our History has shown, there was a constant struggle in the German Churchman between the Churchman and the Teuton—a gravitating tendency towards Roman unity in the Churchman, a repulsion towards independence in the Teuton. But for the Imperial claims on Italy and on Rome, which came in aid of the ecclesiastical centralisation under the Papacy, Teutonism might perhaps have much earlier burst free from the Latin unity.

The Norman conquest brought England back into the Roman pale; it warred as sternly against the independence of the Anglo-Saxon Bishop as against that of the Anglo-Saxon thane; it introduced the Latin religious phraseology. Hence in England we in many cases retain and use almost indifferently both the Latin and the Teutonic terms; in some instances only we inflexibly adhere to our vernacular religious language, and show a loyal predilection for the Saxon tongue. “God” and “the Lord” retain their uninvaded majesty. “The Son” admits no rival, but we admit the Holy *Spirit* as well as the Holy *Ghost*, but the Holy Ghost “sanctifies.” The attributes of God, except his Almightyness and his wisdom, are more often used in theological discussion than in popular speech. Therefore his “omnipresence,” his “omniscience” (he is also “all-knowing”), his “ubiquity,” his “infinity,” his “incomprehensibility,” are Latin. In the titles of Christ, “the Saviour,” the “Redeemer,” the “Intercessor,” except in the “Atone-

ment," instead of the "Propitiation or Reconciliation," Latin has obtained the mastery. "Sin" is Saxon; "righteousness" a kind of common property; "mercy and love" may contend for pre-eminence; "goodness" is genuine German; "faith and charity" are Latin; "love," German. We await "Doomsday, or the Day of Judgement;" but "Heaven and Hell" are pure Teutonisms.* "Baptism" is Latinised Greek. The "Lord's Supper" contests with the "Eucharist;" the "Holy Communion" mingles the two. "Easter" is our Paschal Feast. We speak of Gentiles and Pagans, as well as "Heathens." Our inherited Greek, "Church," retains its place; as does "Priest," from the Greek presbyter. In common with all Teutons, our ecclesiastical titles, with this exception, are borrowed.

During this period of suspended Teutonic life in England, Germany had not yet receded into her rigid Teutonism. The Crusades united Christendom, Latin and German, in unresisting and spontaneous confederacy. The Franks, as has been seen, were in the van; Germany followed sluggishly, reluctantly, at intervals, made at least two great paroxysmal efforts under the Emperors, who themselves headed the armaments, but then collapsed into something bordering on apathy. From that time only single Princes and Prelates girt themselves with the Cross. The long feud, the open war of the Emperors and the Popes, was no strife between the races; the Emperor warred not for German interests, but for his own; it was as King of the Romans, with undefined rights over the Lombard and Tuscan cities, later as King of Naples as well as Emperor of

* The German Heiden is clearly analogous in its meaning to Pagan; the word is not the Greek Ethnic.

Germany, that he maintained the internecine strife. If Frederick II. had been a German, not a Sicilian; if his capital had been Cologne or Mentz or Augsburg, not Palermo or Naples; if his courtly language, the language of his statesmen and poets, had been a noble German, rising above the clashing and confused dialects of High and Low, Franconian, Swabian, Bavarian; if he had possessed the power and the will to legislate for Germany as he legislated for Apulia, different might have been the issue of the conflict.

Throughout all this period, the true mediæval period, Germany was as mediæval as the rest of Christendom. Her poets were as fertile in chivalrous romances; whether translated or founded on those of the Trouvères, there is not a poem on any of the great cycles, the classical or that from ancient history, those of Charlemagne or of Arthur, not a tale of adventure, which has not its antitype in German verse, in one or other of the predominant dialects. The legends of the Saints of all classes and countries (the romances of religious adventure) are drawn out with the same inexhaustible fecundity, to the same interminable length.* The somewhat later Minnesingers echo the amatory songs of the Troubadours; and everywhere, as in France and England, the vernacular first mingles in grotesque incongruity with the Latin Mystery; scenes of less dignity, sometimes broadly comic in the vulgar tongue, are interpolated into the more solemn and stately Latin spectacle.

When the Norman dynasty, and with the Norman

* Many of these poems, sacred and profane, of enormous length, Titurel, the Kaiser Chronik, Kutrun, as well as the great "Passional" and the "Marienleben," are in course of publication at Quedlinburg, in the Bibliothek der Deutschen National Literatur.

dynasty the dominance of the Norman language came to an end, nearly at the same period the English constitution and the English language began to develop themselves in their mingled character, but with Teutonism resuming its superiority. As in the constitution the Anglo-Saxon common law, so in the structure and vocabulary of the language the Anglo-Saxon was the broad groundwork. Poetry rose with the language; and it is singular to observe that the earliest English poems of original force and fancy (we had before only the dry dull histories of Wace, and Robert of Gloucester, Norman rather than English[†]), the Vision and the Creed of Piers Ploughman, while they borrow their allegorical images from the school of the Romance of the Rose, adopt the alliterative verse of the old Anglo-Saxon. The Romance of the Rose, by its extraordinary popularity had introduced the Impersonated Virtues and Vices, which had almost driven out the knights and the saints of the Romance and the Legend; instead of the wild tale of chivalrous adventure, or the holy martyrdom, poetry became a long and weary allegory: even the Mystery before long gave place to the Morality. In some degree this may have been the Morals of Christianity reasserting coequal dignity and importance against ritual observances and blind sacerdotal authority: it is constantly rebuking with grave solemnity, or keen satire, the vices of the Clergy, the Monks, and the Friars.

Before Chaucer, even before Wycliffe, appeared with

[†] The Ormulum, excellently edited by Dr. Meadows White, Oxford, 1852, is a paraphrase of the Gospels (it is curious to compare it with the older Teutonic Heliand and Otfried) in verse and language, of a kind of transition period, by some called semi-Saxon. See on the Ormulum, Introduction to Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.

his rude satire, his uncouth alliterative verse, his homely sense, and independence of thought, the author of *Piers Ploughman's Vision*.^{*} This extraordinary manifestation of the religion, of the language, of the social and political notions, of the English character, of the condition, of the passions and feelings of rural and provincial England, commences, and with Chaucer and Wycliffe completes the revelation of this transition period, the reign of Edward III. Throughout its institutions, language, religious sentiment, Teutonism is now holding its first initiatory struggle with Latin Christianity. In Chaucer is heard a voice from the court, from the castle, from the city, from universal England. All orders of society live in his verse, with the truth and originality of individual being, yet each a type of every rank, class, every religious and social condition and pursuit. And there can be no doubt that his is a voice of freedom, of more or less covert hostility to the hierarchical system, though more playful and with a poet's genial appreciation of all which was true, healthful, and beautiful in the old faith. In Wycliffe is heard a voice from the University, from the seat of theology and scholastic philosophy, from the centre and stronghold of the hierarchy; a voice of revolt and defiance, taken up and echoed in the pulpit throughout the land against the sacerdotal domination. In the *Vision of Piers Ploughman* is heard a voice from the wild Malvern Hills, the voice it should seem of an humble parson, or secular priest. He has passed some years in London, but his home, his heart is among the poor rural population of central Mercian England. Tra-

^{*} The *Vision* bears its date about 1365. Chaucer's great work is about twenty years later. Wycliffe was hardly known, but by his tract on the Last Days, before 1370. Whittaker, p. xxxvi. and last note to Introduction Also Wright's Preface.

dition, uncertain tradition, has assigned a name to the Poet, Robert Langland, born at Cleobury Mortimer, in Shropshire, and of Oriel College, Oxford. Whoever he was, he wrote in his provincial idiom, in a rhythm perhaps from the Anglo-Saxon times familiar to the popular ear; if it strengthened and deepened that feeling, no doubt the poem was the expression of a strong and wide-spread feeling. It is popular in a broader and lower sense than the mass of vernacular poetry in Germany and England. We must rapidly survey the religion, the politics, the poetry of the Ploughman.

The Visionary is no disciple, no precursor of Wycliffe in his broader religious views: the Loller of *Piers Ploughman* is no Lollard; he applies the name as a term of reproach for a lazy indolent vagrant.^a The Poet is no dreamy speculative theologian; he acquiesces seemingly with unquestioning faith in the creed and in the usages of the Church. He is not profane but reverent as to the Virgin and the Saints. Pilgrimages, penances, oblations on the altar, absolution, he does not reject, though they are all nought in comparison with holiness and charity; on Transubstantiation and the Real Presence and the Sacraments he is almost silent, but his silence is that of submission not of doubt.^b It is in his intense absorbing moral feeling that he is beyond

^a *Passus Sextus*, p. 75 and elsewhere, Loller's life is begging at but-tery hatches, and loitering on Fridays or Feast Days at Church, p. 76.

^b There is a very curious passage as to the questions even then agitated:—
 "I have Heard High men,—eating at the table,
 Carp as though they Clerks were,—of Christ and his might,
 And laid Faults on the Father—that Formed us all"

Why would our Saviour Suffer,—Such a worm in his bliss
 That beguiled the woman,—and the man after."—Wright, 179.

The religious poet puts down these questions with holy indignation.

I quote mostly from Dr. Whittaker's edition, sometimes from Wright's, taking the liberty of modernising only the spelling, which shows how near most of it is to our vernacular English.

his age: with him outward observances are but hollow shows, mockeries, hypocrisies, without the inward power of religion. It is not so much in his keen cutting satire on all matters of the Church as in his solemn installation of Reason and Conscience as the guides of the self-directed soul, that he is breaking the yoke of sacerdotal domination: in his constant appeal to the plainest, simplest Scriptural truths, as in themselves the whole of religion, he is a stern reformer. The sad serious Satirist, in his contemplation of the world around him, the wealth of the world and the woe,^c sees no hope, no consolation but in a new order of things, in which if the hierarchy shall subsist, it shall subsist in a form, with powers, in a spirit totally opposite to that which now rules mankind. The mysterious Piers the Ploughman seems to designate from what quarter that reformer is to arise. Piers the Ploughman, who at one time was a sort of impersonation of the industrious and at the same time profoundly religious man, becomes at the close Piers Pardon Ploughman, the great publisher of the pardon of mankind through Christ. In him is the teaching, absolving power of the Church; he is the great assertor and conservator of Unity.

With Wycliffe, with the spiritual Franciscans, Langland ascribes all the evils, social and religious, of the dreary world to the wealth of the Clergy, of the Monks, and the still more incongruous wealth of the Mendicants. With them he asserts the right, the duty, the obligation of the temporal Sovereign to despoil the hierarchy of their corrupting and fatal riches.^d As he has nothing of

^c "And Marvellously me Met—as I May
you tell,
All the Wealth of the World—and the
Woe both."—p. 2.

^d "For if Possession be Poison—and im-
Perfect these make

The Heads of Holy Church,
It were Charity to discharge them for
Holy Church sake,
And Purge them of the old Poison."

—p. 298.

See the whole passage.

the scholastic subtlety, of the Predestinarianism, or speculative freedom of Wycliffe, so he has nothing of the wild spiritualist belief in the prophecies of ages to come. With the Fraticelli, to him the fatal gift of Constantine was the doom of true religion; with them he almost adores poverty, but it is industrious down-trodden rustic poverty; not that of the impostor beggar,^e common in his days, and denounced as sternly as by the political economy of our own, still less of the religious mendicant. Both these are fiercely excluded from his all-embracing charity.^f

Langland is Antipapal, yet he can admire an ideal Pope, a general pacificator, reconciling the Sovereigns of the world to universal amity.^g It is the actual Pope, the Pope of Avignon or of Rome, levying the wealth of the world to slay mankind, who is the object of his bitter invective.^h The Cardinals he denounces with the same indignant scorn; but chiefly the Cardinal Legate, whom he has seen in England riding in his pride and pomp, with lewdness, rapacity, merciless extortion, insolence in his train.ⁱ Above all, his hatred (it might seem

^e See Passus iv. where Waster refuses to Work, and Piers summons Want to seize him by the paunch, and wring him well. The whole contrast of the industrious and idle poor is remarkable. Also the Impostors and Jolly Beggars, as of our own days, and the favourable view of "God's Minstrels."—Whittaker, p. 154. This passage was not in Mr. Wright's copy.

^f Pass. vi. p. 76.

^g "Sithen Prayed to the Pope,—have Pity of Holy Church,
And no Grace to Grant—till Good love were,
Among all Kind of Kings—over Christian people,

Command all Confessors that any King
shrive
Enjoin him Peace for his Penance—and
Perpetual forgiveness."—p. 85.

^h Simony and Civil go to Rome to put themselves under the Pope's protection.—P. iii. p. 36.

"And God amend the Pope—that Pilleth
Holy Church,
And Claimeth by force to be King—to be
Keeper over Christendom,
And Counteth not how Christian Men be
Killed and robbed,
And Flndeth Folk to Fight,—and Christian
blood to spill."—Do Best, p. 1, p. 389.

Compare p. 297.

ⁱ "The Country is the Curseder,—that
Cardinals Come in,
And where they Lie and Linger,—
Lechery there reigneth."
—Wright, p. 420.

that on this all honest English indignation was agreed) is against the Mendicant orders. Of the older monks there is almost total silence. For St. Benedict, for St. Dominic, for St. Francis he has the profoundest reverence.^k But it is against their degenerate sons that he arrays his allegorical Host; the Friars furnish every impersonated vice, are foes to every virtue; his bitterest satire, his keenest irony (and these weapons he wields with wonderful poetic force) are against their dissoluteness, their idleness, their pride, their rapacity, their arts, their lies, their hypocrisy, their intrusion into the functions of the Clergy, their delicate attire, their dainty feasts, their magnificent buildings,^m even their proud learning; above all their hardness, their pitilessness to the poor, their utter want of charity, which with Langland is the virtue of virtues.

Against the Clergy he is hardly less severe;ⁿ he sternly condemns their dastardly desertion of their flocks, when during the great plague they crowded to London to live an idle life: that idle life he describes with singular spirit and zest. Yet he seems to recognise the Priesthood as of Divine institution. Against the whole host of officials, pardoners, summoners, Archdeacons, and their functionaries; against lawyers, civil as well as ecclesiastical, he is everywhere fiercely and contemptuously criminatory.

^k Pass. v. p. 70.

^m He scoffs at those who wish their names to appear in the rich painted windows of the Franciscan churches. The Friar absolves Mede (Bribery):—

“ And sithen he seyde,
We have a window in werkyng.
Woldest thou glaze that gable,
And grave there thy name,
Nigher should thy soul be
Heaven to have.”—Wright, p. 46.

There is a full account in “the Creed” of a spacious and splendid Dominican Convent, very curious. “The Creed” is of a later date, by another author, an avowed Lollard.

ⁿ He declares that the Clergy shall fall as the Templars had fallen.—Do Bet., i. p. 297. But compare Wright, i. p. 233.

His political views are remarkable.^o He has a notion of a king ruling in the affections of the people, with Reason for his chancellor, Conscience for his justiciary. On such a King the commonalty would cheerfully and amply bestow sufficient revenue for all the dignity of his office, and the exigencies of the state, even for his conquests. No doubt that Commonalty would first have absorbed the wealth of the hierarchy.^p He is not absolutely superior to that hatred of the French, nor even to the ambition for the conquest of France engendered by Edward's wars and by his victories. And yet his shrewd common sense cannot but see the injustice and cruelty of those aggressive and sanguinary wars.^q

As a Poet Langland has many high qualities. He is creating his own language, and that in a rude and remote province: its groundwork is Saxon-English, exclusively so in most of its words and in its idioms. It admits occasionally French words, but they appear like strangers; his Latinisms, and words of Latin descent, might seem drawn directly from the Vulgate Scriptures and the Church services. These he constantly cites in

^o There is a strange cross of aristocratical feeling in Langland's levelling notions. That slaves and bastards should be advanced to be clergymen is a crying grievance. They should be sons of franklins and freemen, if not of Lords:—

“And such Bondsmens Bairns have been
made Bishops,
And Barons Bastards have Been Arch-
deacons.
And Soapers (soap-boilers) and their Sons
for Silver have been Knights,
And Lords sons their Labourers.”

The Barons mortgaged their estates to go to the wars. They were bought, this is curious, by traders.

^p What the Commons require of the

King is Law, Love, and Truth, and himself for their Lord antecedent (p. 57):—

“And I dare Lay my Life that Love would
Lend that silver
To Wage (to pay the wages of) them, and
help Win that thou Wittest after,
More than all the Merchants, or than the
Mitred Bishops,
Or Lombards of Lucca, that Live by Love
as Jews.”—p. 74.

^q Had Mede been Seneschal in France, K. Edward would have conquered the length and breadth of the land.—Pass. iv. p. 51. In another passage, he had won France by gentleness.—Do Wel, p. 250.

the original Latin. With his Anglo-Saxon alliteration there is a cadence or rhythm in his verse; while Chaucer is writing in rhyme Langland seems utterly ignorant of that poetic artifice. The whole poem is an allegory, by no means without plan, but that plan obscure, broken, and confused; I am inclined to think wanting its close. The Allegory is all his own. The universal outburst of Allegory at this time in Paris, in Germany, in England is remarkable. It had full vogue in Paris, in Rutebeuf, and in the Romance of the Rose, which Chaucer translated into English. As the chivalrous romance and the fabliaux had yielded to the allegorical poem, so also the drama. It might seem, as we have said, as if the awakening moral sense of men, weary of the saints, and angels, and devils, delighted in those impersonations of the unchristian vices and Christian virtues. That which to us is languid, wearisome, unreal, seized most powerfully on the imagination of all orders. Nor had allegory fulfilled its office in the imaginative realm of letters till it had called forth Spenser and Bunyan. Langland, I am disposed to think, approaches much nearer to Bunyan than the Romance of the Rose to the Faëry Queen. But Langland, with all his boldness, and clearness, and originality, had too much which was temporary, much which could not but become obsolete. Bunyan's vision was more simple, had more, if it may be so said, of the moral, or of the scheme, of perpetual, universal Christianity. But Spenser himself has hardly surpassed some few touches by which Langland has designated his personages; and there is at times a keen quiet irony too fine for Bunyan.

The Poem is manifestly in two parts: the poet, asleep on the Malvern Hills, beholds the whole world; eastward a magnificent tower, the dwelling of Truth; opposite a

deep dale, the abode of unblest spirits ; between them a wide plain, in which mankind are following all their avocations. He dwells rapidly on the evils and abuses of all Orders. A stately lady, in white raiment (Holy Church) offers herself as guide to the Castle of Truth, in which is seated the Blessed Trinity. The first five passages of the first part are on the redress of civil wrongs, the last on the correction of religious abuses. Mede (Bribery) with all her crew are on one side ; Conscience, who refuses to be wedded to Mede,^r with Reason on the other. It closes with the King's appointment of Conscience as his Justiciary, of Reason as his Chancellor. In the Sixth Passage the Dreamer awakes ; he encounters Reason. As Reason with Conscience is the great antagonist of social and political evil, so again, Reason, vested as a Pope, with Conscience as his Cross Bearer, is alone to subdue religious evil. For that evil God is visiting the earth with awful pestilences and storms. To avert God's wrath the domestic duties must be observed with fervent affection ; the Pope must have pity on the Church, the religious Orders keep to their rule, those who go on pilgrimages to the Saints seek

^r Conscience objects to Mede that she is false and faithless, misleading men by her treasure, leading wives and widows to wantonness. Falsehood and she undid the King's Father (Edward II.), poisoned Popes, impaired holy Church ; she is a strumpet to the basest Sizours of the common law ; summoners of the civil law prize her highly ; sheriffs of counties would be undone without her, for she causes men to forfeit lands and lives ; she bribes gaolers to let out prisoners, imprisons true men, hangs the innocent. She

cares not for being excommunicated in the Consistory Court ; she buys absolution by a cope to the Commissary. She can do almost as much work as the King's Privy Seal in 120 days. She is intimate with the Pope, as provisors show. She and Simony seal his Bulls. She consecrates Bishops without learning. She presents Rectors to prebends, maintains priests in keeping concubines and begetting bastards contrary to the Canon, &c. &c.—P. iii p. 46.

rather Truth. Truth is the one eternal object of man. After Repentance has brought all the seven deadly sins to confession^s (a strange powerful passage), Hope blows a trumpet, whose blast is to compel mankind to seek Grace from Christ to find out Truth. But no pilgrim who has wandered over the world can show the way to Truth. Now suddenly arises Piers Ploughman; he has long known Truth; he has been her faithful follower. Meekness and the Ten Commandments are the way to, Grace is the Portress of, the noble Castle of Truth. After some time Truth reveals herself. She commands Piers to stay at home, to tend his plough; of the young peasantry industry in their calling is their highest duty; to the laborious poor is offered plenary pardon, and to those who protect them, Kings who rule in righteousness, holy Bishops who justly maintain Church discipline. Less plenary pardon is bestowed on less perfect men, merchants, lawyers who plead for hire. What is this pardon? it is read by a Priest; it contains but these words: "They that have done good shall go into life eternal, they that have done evil into everlasting fire."^t

Thus with Piers Ploughman, a holy Christian life, a

^s The confession of Covetousness is admirable:—

"Didst thou ever make restitution?
Yes, I once Robbed some Chapmen, and
Rifled their trunks."

Covetousness would go hang herself—
but even for her Repentance has com-
fort:—

"Have Mercy in thy Mind—and with thy
Mouth beseech it,
For Goddes Mercy is More—than all his
other works,
And all the Wickedness of the World—
that man might Work or think
Is no More to the Mercy of God—than in
the Sea a glede (a spark of fire)."

Wright, p. 94.

^t It is added—

"For wise men ben holden
To Purchase you Pardon and the Popes
bulles,
At the Dreadful Doom when the Dead shall
arise,
And Come all before Christ, acCounts to
yield
How thou Leddest thy Life here, and his
Laws kept.
A Pouch full of Pardons there, nor Provin-
cials Letters,
Though ye be Found in the Fraternity or
all the Four Orders,
And have Indulgences Double fold, if Do
Wel you help,
I set your Patents and your Pardons at on
Pisa worth."—Wright, i. p. 150.

life of love, of charity, of charity especially to the poor, is all in all; on the attainment of that life dwells the second Vision, the latter part of the poem. There are three personages by the plain names of Do Well, Do Bet (do better), and Do Best. The whole of this ascent through the different degrees of the Christian life is described with wonderful felicity; every power, attribute, faculty of man, every virtue, every vice is impersonated with the utmost life and truth. The result of the whole is that the essence of the Christian life, the final end of Do Well, is charity. Do Bet appears to have a higher office, to teach other men; and this part closes with a splendid description of the Redeemer's life and passion, and that which displays the poetic power of Robert Langland higher perhaps than any other passage, that mysterious part of the Saviour's function between his passion and resurrection commonly called the "harrowing of hell," the deliverance of the spirits in prison."

"It is odd that Mahamet (Mahomet) defends the realm of Lucifer against the Lord with guns and mangonels—a whimsical anticipation of Milton.

"There had been a loud cry, Lift up your heads, ye gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors." At length,

"What Lord art thou? quoth Lucifer. A voice a Loud said,

The Lord of Might and of Heaven, that Made all things,

Duke of this Dim place. Anon unDo the gates

That Christ may comen in, the King's son of heaven.

And with that Break Hell Brake, with all Belial's Bars,

Nor any Wight or Ward Wide opened the gates,

Patriarchs and Prophets, Populus in tenebris,

Sang out with Saint John, Ecce Agnus Dei."

I am tempted to give the close of this canto—so characteristic of the poem.

He had said in Latin, Mercy and Charity have met together; Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other:—

"Truth Trumpeted them, and sung 'Te Deum laudamus,'

And then saLuted Love, in a Loud note,

Ecce quam bonum et quam jocundum est habitare fratres in unum.

Till the Day Dawned, there Damsels Daunsed,

That men Rang to the Resurrection. And with that I awaked,

And called Kitty my wife, and Kalotte my daughter,

A Rise and go Reverence Gods Resurrection,

And Creep on knees to the Cross, and Kiss it for a jewel,

And Rightfullest of Reliques, none Richer on earth,

For Gods Blessed Body it Bare for our Bote (good).

And It a Feareth the Fiend; for such is the might,

May no Grisly Ghost Glide where it shadoweth."

In *Do Best Piers Ploughman* appears as a kind of impersonation of the Saviour, or of his faith; the Holy Ghost descends upon him in lightning; Grace arrays him with wonderful power to sustain the war with coming Antichrist; Piety has bestowed upon him four stout oxen (the Evangelists) to till the earth; four bullocks to harrow the land (the four Latin Fathers), who harrow into it the Old and New Testaments; the grain which Piers sows is the cardinal virtues. The poem concludes with the resurrection and war of Antichrist, in which Piers, if victor, is hardly victor—"a cold and comfortless conclusion," says the learned editor, Dr. Whittaker. I am persuaded that it is not the actual or the designed conclusion. The last Passage of *Do Best* can hardly have been intended to be so much shorter than the others. The poet may have broken off indeed in sad despondency, and left his design unfinished; he may have been prevented from its completion; or, what is far less improbable, considering the way in which the Poem has survived, the end may have been lost.

The Poet who could address such opinions, though wrapt up in prudent allegory, to the popular ear, to the ear of the peasantry of England; the people who could listen with delight to such strains, were far advanced towards a revolt from Latin Christianity. Truth, true religion, was not to be found with, it was not known by, Pope, Cardinals, Bishops, Clergy, Monks, Friars. It was to be sought by man himself, by the individual man, by the poorest man, under the sole guidance of Reason, Conscience, and of the Grace of God, vouchsafed directly, not through any intermediate human being, or even Sacrament, to the self-directing soul. If it yet respected all existing doctrines, it respected them not as resting on traditional or sacerdotal authority. There is a manifest

appeal throughout, an unconscious installation of Scripture alone,^x as the ultimate judge; the test of everything is a moral and purely religious one, its agreement with holiness and charity.

English prose in Wycliffe's Bible, the higher English poetry in its true father, Chaucer, maintained this prevailing and dominant Teutonism. Wycliffe's Bible, as translated from the Vulgate, had not so entirely shaken off the trammels of Latinity as our later versions; but this first bold assertion of Teutonic independence immeasurably strengthened, even in its language, that independence. It tasked the language, as it were, to its utmost vigour, copiousness, and flexibility: and by thus putting it to the trial, forced out all those latent and undeveloped qualities. It was constantly striving to be English, and by striving became so more and more. Compare the freedom and versatility of Wycliffe's Bible with Wycliffe's Tracts. Wycliffe has not only advanced in the knowledge of purer and more free religion, he is becoming a master of purer and more free English.

Geoffrey Chaucer, among the most remarkable of poets, was in nothing more remarkable than in being most emphatically an English poet. Chaucer lived in courts and castles: he was in the service of the King, he was a retainer of the great Duke of Lancaster. In the court and in the castle, no doubt, if anywhere, with the Norman chivalrous magnificence lingered whatever

* "And is Run to Religion, and hath Rendered the Bible, And Preacheth to the People St. Paul's words."—Wright, p. 156.

He quotes, "Ye suffer fools gladly" (1 Cor.) Is this Wycliffe? Clergy (Theology) weds a wife; her name is Scripture.—Wright, p. 182. I take

the opportunity of observing that the famous prophecy, ascribed to Langland, about the King who should suppress the monasteries, is merely a vague and general prediction; though the naming the Abbot of Abingdon is a lucky coincidence.—See Wright, p. 192

remained of Norman manners and language. Chaucer had served in the armies of King Edward III.; he had seen almost all the more flourishing countries, many of the great cities, of the Continent, of Flanders, France, Italy. It may be but a romantic tradition, that at the wedding of Violante to the great Duke of Milan he had seen Petrarch, perhaps Boccaccio, and that Froissart too was present at that splendid festival. It may be but a groundless inference from a misinterpreted passage in his poems, that he had conversed with Petrarch (November, 1372); but there is unquestionable evidence that Chaucer was at Genoa under a commission from the Crown. He visited brilliant Florence, perhaps others of the noble cities of Italy. Five years later he was in Flanders and at Paris. In 1378 he went with the Embassy to demand the hand of a French Princess for the young Richard of Bordeaux. Still later he was at the gorgeous court of the Visconti at Milan.^y Chaucer was master of the whole range of vernacular poetry, which was bursting forth in such young and prodigal vigour, in the languages born from the Romance Latin. He had read Dante, he had read Petrarch; to Boccaccio he owed the groundwork of two of his best poems—the Knight's Tale of Palamon and Arcite, and Griselidis. I cannot but think that he was familiar with the Troubadour poetry of the Langue d'Oc; of the Langue d'Oil, he knew well the knightly tales of the Trouvères and the Fabliaux, as well as the later allegorical school, which was then in the height of its fashion in Paris. He translated the Romance of the Rose.

It is indeed extraordinary to see the whole of the mediæval, or post-mediæval poetry (with the great ex-

^y Compare the lives of Chaucer, especially the latest by Sir Harris Nicolas.

ception of the Dantesque vision of the other world) summed up, and as it were represented by Chaucer in one or more perfect examples, and so offered to the English people. There is the legend of martyrdom in Constance of Surrie; the miracle legend, not without its harsh alloy of hatred to the unbeliever, in Hugh of Lincoln; the wild, strange, stirring adventures told in the free prolix *Epopée* of the *Trouvère*, in its romanticised classic form, in *Troilus and Cressida*; in the wilder Oriental strain of magic and glamour in the half-told tale of *Cambuscan*; the chivalrous in *Palamon and Arcite*; to which perhaps may be added the noble *Franklin's Tale*. There is the *Fabliau* in its best, in its tender and graceful form, in *Griselidis*; in its gayer and more licentious, in *January and May*; in its coarser, more broadly humorous, and, to our finer manners, repulsive, *Miller's Tale*; and in that of the *Reve*. The unfinished *Sir Thopas* might seem as if the spirit of *Ariosto* or *Cervantes*, or of lighter or later poets, was struggling for precocious being. There is the genial apologue of the *Cock and the Fox*, which might seem an episode from the universal brute Epic, the Latin, or Flemish, or German or French *Reynard*. The more cumbrous and sustained French allegory appears in the translation of the *Romaunt of the Rose*; the more rich and simple in the *Temple of Fame*. There are a few slighter pieces which may call to mind the *Lais* and *Serventes* of the South.

Yet all the while Chaucer in thought, in character, in language, is English—resolutely, determinately, almost boastfully English.² The creation of native poetry was

² There is a curious passage in the Prologue to the Testament of Love on the soveran wits in Latin and in French. | “Let then Clerkes enditen in Latin, for they have the propertie of science, and the knowledge in that facultie :

his deliberate aim; and already that broad, practical, humorous yet serious view of life, of life in its infinite variety, that which reaches its height in Shakspeare, has begun to reveal itself in Chaucer. The Canterbury Tales, even in the Preface, represent, as in a moving comedy, the whole social state of the times; they display human character in action as in speech; and that character is the man himself, the whole man, with all his mingling, shifting, crossing, contradictory passions, motives, peculiarities, his greatneses and weaknesses, his virtues and his vanities; every one is perfectly human, yet every one the individual man, with the very dress, gesture, look, speech, tone of the individual. There is an example of every order and class of society, high, low, secular, religious. As yet each is distinct in his class, as his class from others. Contrast Chaucer's pilgrims with the youths and damsels of Boccaccio. Exquisitely as these are drawn, and in some respects finely touched, they are all of one gay light class; almost any one might tell any tale with equal propriety; they differ in name, in nothing else.

In his religious characters, if not in his religious tales (religion is still man's dominant motive), Chaucer is by no means the least happy. In that which is purely religious the poet himself is profoundly religious; in his Prayer to the Virgin, written for the Duchess Blanche of Lancaster, for whom also he poured forth his sad elegy; in his Gentle Martyrs S. Constantia and S. Cecilia: he is not without his touch of bigotry, as has been said, in Hugh of Lincoln. But the strong Teutonic good sense of Chaucer had looked more deeply into the

and let Frenchmen in their French also shew our fantasies in such wordes as enditen their quaint termes, for it is wee learneden of our dames tongue."—
Fol. 271.

whole monastic and sacerdotal system. His wisdom betrays itself in his most mirthful, as in his coarsest humour. He who drew the Monk, the Pardoner, the Friar Limitour, the Summoner, had seen far more than the outer form, the worldliness of the Churchman, the abuse of indulgences, the extortions of the friars, the licentiousness of the Ecclesiastical Courts, of the Ecclesiastics themselves: he had penetrated into the inner depths of the religion. Yet his wisdom, even in his most biting passages, is tempered with charity. Though every order, the Abbot, the Prioress, the Friar, the Pardoner, the Summoner, are impersonated to the life, with all their weaknesses, follies, affectations, even vices and falsehoods, in unsparing freedom, in fearless truth, yet none, or hardly one, is absolutely odious; the jolly hunting Abbot, with his dainty horses, their bridles jingling in the wind, his greyhounds, his bald shining head, his portly person, his hood fastened with a rich pin in a love-knot: the tender and delicate Prioress, with what we should now call her sentimentality, virtuous no doubt, but with her broad and somewhat suspicious motto about all-conquering love: the Friar, who so sweetly heard confession, and gave such pleasant absolution, urging men, instead of weeping and prayers, to give silver to the friars; with his lisping voice and twinkling eyes, yet the best beggar in his house, to whom the poorest widow could not deny a farthing: the Pardoner with his wallet in his lap, brimful of pardons from Rome, with his reliques or pillowbere covered with part of our Lady's veil and the glass vessel with pig's bones; yet in Church the Pardoner was a noble Ecclesiast, read well, chanted with such moving tones, that no one could resist him and not throw silver into the offertory. The Summoner, whose office and the

Archdeacon's Court in which he officiated seem to have been most unpopular, is drawn in the darkest colours, with his fire-red cherubim's face, lecherous, venal, licentious. Above all, the Parish Priest of Chaucer has thrown off Roman mediæval Sacerdotalism; he feels his proper place; he arrays himself only in the virtues which are the essence of his holy function. This unrivalled picture is the most powerful because the most quiet, uninsulting, unexasperating satire. Chaucer's Parish Priest might have been drawn from Wycliffe, from Wycliffe at Lutterworth, not at Oxford, from Wycliffe, not the fierce controversialist, but the affectionate and beloved teacher of his humble flock. The Priest's Tale is a sermon, prolix indeed, but, except in urging confession and holding up the confessorial office of the Priesthood, purely and altogether moral in its scope and language.^a The translation of the Romaunt of the Rose, with all its unmitigated bitterness against the Friars, is a further illustration of the religious mind of Chaucer. If we could interpret with any certainty the allegory and the mystic and poetic prose in the Testament of Love, we might hope for more light on the religion and on the later period of Chaucer's life.^b It is evident that at that time, towards the close of his life, he was in disgrace and in prison. Other documents show that his pensions or allowances from the Crown were, for a time at least, withdrawn. There is no doubt that his imprisonment arose out of some turbulent and

^a I have little doubt that in the Retraction ascribed to Chaucer at the close of this Sermon, Tyrwhitt is right in that part which he marks for interpolation. Read the passage without it, all is clear.

^b Speght in his argument to the

Testament of Love, if it be Speght's. "Chaucer did compile this booke as a comfort to himselfe after great greefes conceived for some rash attempts of the Commons, with which hee had joyned, and thereby was in feare to lose the favour of his best friends."—F. l. 272.

popular movements in the City of London. There is every probability that these movements were connected with the struggle to reinvest the Wycliffite (and so long as the Lancastrian party was Wycliffite) Lancastrian Mayor,^o John of Northampton, in the civic dignity. The Londoners were Lollards, and if on the people's side, Chaucer was on the Lollards' side. Chaucer, in his imprisonment, would, like Boethius of old, from whom the *Testament of Love* was imitated, seek consolation, but his consolation is in religion, not philosophy. His aspiration is after the beautiful and all-excelling Margarita, the pearl of great price, who, like the Beatrice of Dante, seems at once an ideal or idealised mistress, and the impersonation of pure religion. Love alone can bestow on him this precious boon; and divine love, as usual, borrowing some of its imagery and language from human love, purifies and exalts the soul of the poet for this great blessing by imparting the knowledge of God in the works of his power, and the works of his grace and glory. More than this the obstinate obscurity of the allegory refuses to reveal.

We must turn again to Germany, which we left in its intermediate state of slowly dawning Teutonism. Germany, it has been seen, rejected the first free movement of her kindred Teutons in England, because it was taken up with such passionate zeal by the hostile Sclavonians. The reformation in Bohemia, followed by its wild and cruel wars, civil and foreign, threw back the German

^o See the whole very curious but obscure passage, fol. 277: "Then, Lady, I thought that every man that by any way of right, rightfully done, may helpe any commune (helpe) to be saved." Chaucer was in the

secrets of his party, which he was urged to betray. He goes on to speak of the "citie of London, which is to me so deare and sweet, in which I was forth growne; and more kindly love have I to that place than to anye other in yearth."

mind in aversion and terror upon Latin Christianity. Yet Teutonism only slumbered, it was not extinguished; it was too deeply rooted; it had been slowly growing up from its undying root for centuries. The strife of ages between the Emperor and the Pope could not but leave a profound jealousy, and even antipathy, in a great mass of the nation. Throughout there had been a strong Imperialist, a German faction. The haughty aggression of John XXII. (a Pontiff not on the Papal throne at Rome) was felt as a more wanton and unprovoked insult. It was not now the Pope asserting against the Emperor the independence of Italy or of Rome; not defending Rome and Italy from the aggression of Transalpine barbarians by carrying the war against the Emperor into Germany. Louis of Bavaria would never have descended into Italy if the Pope had left him in peace on his own side of the Alps. The shame of Germany at the pusillanimity of Louis of Bavaria wrought more strongly on German pride: the Pope was more profoundly hated for the self-sought humiliation of the Emperor. At the same time the rise of the great and wealthy commercial cities had created a new class with higher aspirations for freedom than their turbulent princes and nobles, who were constantly in league with the Pope against the Emperor, of whom they were more jealous than of the Pope: or than the Prince Bishops, who would set up a hierarchical instead of a papal supremacy. The burghers, often hostile to their Bishops and even to the cathedral Chapters, with whom they were at strife for power and jurisdiction in their towns, seized perpetually the excuse of their papalising to eject their Prelates, and to erect their lower Clergy into a kind of spiritual Republic. The Schism had prostrated the Pope before the temporal power; the Emperor of

Germany had compelled the Pope to summon a Council; at that Council he had taken the acknowledged lead, had almost himself deposed a Pope. It is true that at the close he had been out-manceuvred by the subtle and pertinacious Churchman. Martin V. had regained the lost ground; a barren, ambiguous, delusive Concordat had baffled the peremptory demand of Germany for a reformation of the Church in its head and in its members.^d Yet even at the height of the Bohemian war, dark, deepening murmurs were heard of German cities, German Princes, joining the Antipapal movement. During the Council of Basle, when Latin Christianity was severed into two oppugnant parties, that of the Pope Eugenius IV. and that of the Transalpine reforming hierarchy, Germany had stood aloof in cold, proud neutrality: but for the subtle policy of one man, Æneas Sylvius, and the weak and yielding flexibility of another, the Emperor Frederick III., there might have been a German spiritual nationality, a German independent Church. The Pope was compelled to the humiliation of restoring the Prelate Electors whom he had dared to degrade, to degrade their successors whom he had appointed. Gregory of Heimberg, the representative of the German mind, had defied the Roman Court in Rome itself, had denounced Papal haughtiness to the face of the Pope.^e But for one event, all the policy of Æneas Sylvius, and all the sub-

^d Ranke has written thus (I should not quote in English, if the English were not Mrs. Austin's): "Had this course been persevered in with union and constancy, the German Catholic Church, established in so many great principalities, and splendidly provided with the most munificent endowments,

would have acquired a perfectly independent position, in which she might have resisted the subsequent political storms with as much firmness as England."—Reformation in Germany, vol. i. p. 48.

^e Ranke, p. 49. Compare these passages above.

serviency of Frederick III. to him who he supposed was his counsellor, but who was his ruler, had been unavailing. As the aggressive crusade to Palestine gave the dominion of Latin Christendom to the older Popes, so the defensive crusade against the terrible progress of the Turk, which threatened both Teutonic and Latin Christendom, placed the Pope again at the head, not in arms, but in awe and influence, of the whole West. Germany and the Pope were in common peril, they were compelled to close alliance. In justice to Æneas Sylvius, when Pius II., it may be acknowledged that it was his providential sagacity, his not ungrounded apprehension of the greatness of the danger, which made him devote his whole soul to the league against the Ottoman; if it was also wise policy, as distracting the German mind from dangerous meditations of independence, this even with Pius II. was but a secondary and subordinate consideration. The Turk was the cause of the truce of more than half a century between the Papacy and the Empire.

But throughout all that time the silent growth of the German languages, the independent Teutonic thought expressed in poetry, even in preaching, was widening the alienation. During the century and a half in which English Teutonism was resolutely bracing itself to practical and political religious independence, and the English language ripening to its masculine force, with the Anglo-Saxon successfully wrestling for the mastery against the Southern Latin; in Germany a silent rebellious mysticism was growing up even in her cloisters, and working into the depths of men's hearts and minds. The movement was more profound, more secret, and unconscious even among those most powerfully under its influence. There was not only the open insurrection of

Marsilio of Padua and William of Ockham against the Papal or hierarchical authority, and the wild revolt of the Fraticelli; there was likewise at once an acknowledgement of and an attempt to satisfy that yearning of the religious soul for what the Church, the Latin Church, had ceased to supply, which was no longer to be found in the common cloister-life, which the new Orders had ceased to administer to the wants of the people. During this time, too, while Germany luxuriated in the Romance Legend as well as in the Chivalrous Romance, and the Hymn still in some degree vied with the Lay of the Minnesinger, German prose had grown up and was still growing up out of vernacular preaching. From the earliest period some scanty instruction, catechetical or oral, from the glosses or from fragments of the Scripture, had been communicated in German to the people: some German homilies, translated from the Latin, had been in use. But the great impulse was given by the new Orders. The Dominican, Conrad of Marburg, had been forced at times to leave the overcrowded church for the open air, on account of the multitudes which gathered round the fierce Inquisitor, to hear his sermons, to witness the conclusion of his sermons, the burning of a holocaust of heretics. Far different was the tone of the Franciscan Bertholdt of Winterthur,^f who from 1247 to 1272 preached with amazing success throughout Bavaria, Austria, Moravia, Thuringia. His sermons, taken down by the

German
preaching.

Bertholdt.

^f Compare Leyser, *Einleitung, Deutsche Predigten des viii. und xiv. Jahrhunderts*, Quedlinburg, 1838, p. xvi., for the life of Bertholdt. Gervinus (*Deutsche Poesie*) writes, "Die Vortreff-

lichkeit der Berthold'schen Predigten, die weit die Schriften Taulers übertrifft."—Vol. ii. p. 142. Schmidt, *Joannes Tauler*, p. 82.

zeal of his hearers, were popular in the best sense; he had the instinct of eloquence; he is even now by the best judges set above Tauler himself. In earnestness, in energy, in his living imagery from external nature, Bertholdt was the popular preacher in the open field, on the hill-side, Tauler the contemplative monk in the pulpit of the cloister-chapel.^g Nor did Bertholdt stand alone in these vivid popular addresses. That which, notwithstanding these examples, was at least inefficiently bestowed by the Church, stirring and awakening vernacular instruction, was prodigally poured forth from other quarters. The dissidents under their various names, and the Beghards, were everywhere. At the beginning of the fourteenth century Alsace was almost in possession of the Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit; they were driven out and scattered, but expulsion and dispersion, if it does not multiply the numbers, usually increases the force and power of such communities.^h Mysticism within the Church strove to fill the void caused by their expulsion. Of these Mystics the most famous names are Rysbroeck of Cologne, Master Eckhart, John Tauler, Nicolas of Suso. The life of Tauler will show us the times and the personal influence of these men, and that of their opinions. It occupies all the early part of the fourteenth century.

John Taulerⁱ was born in Strasburg in 1290. At the age of eighteen the religious youth entered the Dominican cloister. He went to study at Paris; but at Paris the Doctors were ever turning over the leaves of huge books, they cared not for the one book of life.^k

^g Leyser, Deutsche Predigten.

^h Schmidt, Tauler, p. 7. In 1317, there was a violent persecution by John of Ochsenstein, Bishop of Strasburg.

ⁱ Joannes Tauler von Strasburg, von D. Carl Schmidt. Hamburg, 1841.

^k Tauler, p. 3. Quotation from Tauler's Sermon in note.

Probably on his return to Strasburg he came under the influence of Master Eckhart. This remarkable man preached in German; countless hearers thronged even to Eckhart's vernacular sermons. But Eckhart was a Schoolman in the incongruous office of a popular preacher; he was more than a Schoolman, he aspired to be a philosopher. His was not a passionate, simple, fervent theology, but the mystic divinity of Dionysius the Areopagite; it approached the Arabic Aristotelian philosophy. He held, indeed, the Creation out of nothing, and in theory repudiated the Eternity of Matter; but Creation seemed a necessity of the divine nature. The Universal could not but be particular; so God was all things, and all things were God. The soul came forth from God, it was an emanation; it had part of the light of God, in itself inextinguishable, but that light required kindling and quickening by divine grace.^m Thus man stands between the spiritual and the corporeal, between time and eternity. God will reveal himself fully, pour himself wholly into the reasonable soul of man. It is not by love but by intelligence that the mystic reunion takes place with God; by knowledge we are one with God; that which knows and that which is known are one. Master Eckhart is the parent of German metaphysical theology. But if Tauler was caught with the glowing language in which Eckhart clothed these colder opinions, he stood aloof from the kindred teaching of the Beghards, with their more pas-

^m See the Chapter on Eckhart, Ritter, *Christliche Philosophie*, iv. p. 498, &c. "Eckhart ist mit den Theologen seiner Zeit von der Ueberzeugung durchdrungen, dass die vernünftige Seele des Menschen dazu bestimmt sei

in der innigsten Verbindung mit Gott, des höchsten Gutes, ganz und ohne alle Schmälerung, theilhaftig zu werden . . . Gott soll sich ganz offenbaren, wir ihn ganz erkennen: er soll ganz unser werden."—P. 502.

sionate, more religious Pantheism—the same in thought with Eckhart, more bold and fearless in expression.

But if of itself the soul of Tauler sought a deeper and more fervent faith, the dark and turbulent times would isolate or make such a soul seek its sympathy within a narrower circle. It was the height of the war between John XXII. and Louis of Bavaria, and nowhere did that war rage more violently than in Strasburg. The Bishop John of Ochsenstein was for the Pope, the Magistrates and the people, for the Emperor, or rather for insulted Germany. The Bishop laid his interdict on the city; the Magistrates, the Town Council, declared that the Clergy who would not perform their functions must be driven from the city.^a The Clergy, the Monks, the Friars, were divided: here the bells were silent, the churches closed; there they tolled for prayers, and the contumacious Clergy performed forbidden services. No wonder that religious men sought that religion in themselves which they found not in the church or in the cloister; they took refuge in the sanctuary of their own thoughts, from the religion which was contesting the world. In all the great cities rose a secret unorganised brotherhood, bound together only by silent infelt sympathies, the Friends of God. This appellation was a secession, a tacit revolt, an assumption of superiority. God was not to be worshipped in the church alone, with the Clergy alone, with the Monks alone, in the Ritual, even in the Sacraments; he was within, in the heart, in the life. This and kindred brotherhoods embraced all orders, Priests, Monks, Friars, Nobles, Burghers, Peasants; they had their Prophets and Prophetesses, above

^a "Do soltent su ouch fürbas singen,
Oder aber us der statt springen."

—*Königshofer Chronicle*, 128-9. Schmidt, p. 14.

See Book xii. c. 7.

all, their Preachers.* Some convents were entirely in their power. In one thing alone they sided with the

* On the "Friends of God," see Schmidt, Anhang. M. Carl Schmidt has now discovered and printed some very curious documents, which throw more full but yet dubious light on the "Friends of God," and their great leader, Nicolas of Basle. They were Mystics to the height of Mysticism: each believer was in direct union with God, with the Trinity, not the Holy Ghost alone. They were not Waldensians. They were faithful to the whole mediæval imaginative creed, Transubstantiation, worship of the Virgin and Saints, Purgatory. Their union with the Deity was not that of Pantheism, or of passionate love; it was rather through the phantasy. They had wonders, visions, special revelations, prophecies. Their peculiar heresy was the denial of all special prerogative to the Clergy, except the celebration of the Sacraments; the layman had equal sanctity, equal communion with the Deity, saw visions, uttered prophecies. Their only sympathy with the Waldensians was Anti-Sacerdotalism. Neither were they Biblical Christians; they honoured, loved the Bible; but sought and obtained revelation beyond it. They rejected one clause of the Lord's Prayer. Temptations were marks of God's favour not to be deprecated. But though suffering was a sign of the Divine Love, it was not self-inflicted suffering. They disclaimed asceticism, self-maceration, self-torture. All things to the beloved were of God; all therefore indifferent, seclusion, poverty. In 1367 Nicolas of Basle, with his twelve friends or disciples (so commanded by a dream),

set forth from the Oberland under the guidance of a dog to find a domicile. After a wild journey over moss and moor, the dog barked and scratched up the earth. They determined to build (with the permission of the Duke of Austria to whom the land belonged) a chapel, with a pleasant chamber for each; here they dwelt, recluses, not monks, under no vows, withdrawn from the world, but well informed of what passed in the world. Eight of them afterwards went into foreign lands, to Hungary, to Italy.

They had other places of retreat, and it should seem multitudes of followers attached to them with more or less intimacy. Nicolas of Basle, as specially inspired, held boundless influence and authority over all, whether "Friends of God," or not, over Tauler, Rulman Merswin, and others.

As the days of the Church grew darker under the later Popes at Avignon, and during the Schism, visions, dreams multiplied and darkened around them. Nicolas visited Gregory XI. at Rome; he reproved the Pope's inertness, his sins. Gregory, at first indignant, was overawed by the commanding holiness of Nicolas. In 1278 Nicolas with his followers prayed together from the 17th to the 25th of March to God, to dispel the dark weather which overhung the Church. They were directed to "wait." The time of "waiting" lasted to March 25th, 1383. In the mean time they scrupled not to speak with the utmost freedom of the Pope and the Clergy. They disclaimed both Popes. Many awful

Town Councils—in denouncing the unlawfulness, the wickedness of closing the churches against the poor; they rejected the monstrous doctrine that the Pope and the Bishops might withhold the blessings of religion from the many for the sins, or what they chose to call the sins, of the few. Christian love was something higher, holier than Bishop or than Pope. John Tauler was an earnest disciple, a powerful apostle of this lofty mysticism; he preached with wonderful success in Strasburg, in some of the neighbouring convents, in towns and villages, in the cities. He journeyed even to Cologne, the seat of this high mysticism; there the famous Rysbroeck taught with the utmost power and popularity. Tauler was often at Basle, where Henry of Nordlingen, who had respected the Papal interdict at Constance, resumed his forbidden functions. Tauler threw aside all scholastic subtleties; he strove to be plain, simple, comprehensible to the humblest understanding; he preached in German, but still with deferential citations in Latin. Tauler sought no Papal licence; it was his mission, it was his imperative duty as a Priest, to preach the Gospel.

But Tauler was to undergo a sterner trial, to be trained in another school. In Basle he had been marked by men of a different cast, the gauge of his mind had been taken, the depth of his heart sounded, his religion weighed and found wanting. In Strasburg appeared a stranger who five times sat at the feet of Tauler, and listened to his preaching with serious, searching earnest-

visions were seen by many believers; many terrible prophecies were sent abroad.

At length Nicolas and some of his chief followers set out as preachers of repentance. In 1393 Martin of Maintz

was burned in Cologne; others in Heidelberg; Nicolas with two of his chier and constant disciples at Vienne in Dauphiny.—See *Die Gottesfreunde im xiv Jahrhundert* von Carl Schmid* Iena, 1855.

ness. He was a layman, he sought an interview with Tauler, confessed to him, received the Sacrament at his hands. He then expressed his wish that Tauler would preach how man could attain perfection, that perfection to which he might aspire on earth. Tauler preached his loftiest mysticism. The stern man now spoke with authority, the authority of a more determinate will, and more firm convictions. "Thou art yet in slavery to the letter; thou knowest not the life-giving spirit; thou art but a Pharisee; thou trustest in thine own power, in thine own learning; thou thinkest that thou seekest God's honour, and seekest thine own." Tauler shuddered. "Never man before reproved me for my sins." He felt the spell of a master. "Twelve years," said the layman (who was rebuking the self-righteousness of Tauler!), "I have been toiling to the height of spiritual perfection, which I have now attained, by the study of German writings, by self-mortification and chastisements which have now ceased to be necessary." He gave Tauler certain simple moral rules, counselled him to preach no more, to hear no more confession, to deny himself, and to meditate on the life and death of Christ till he had attained humility and regeneration.^p The stronger, the more positive and peremptory mind subdued the gentler. Tauler, for above two years, despite the wonder of his friends, the taunts of his enemies, was silent. The first time, at the end of that period, when he attempted, under permission (for the inflexible layman watched him unceasingly), he broke down in floods of tears. This stranger was the

A.D. 1340.

^p Dr. Carl Schmidt has taken the whole of this from an old narrative "of a Teacher of Holy Scripture and a Layman," of which he does not doubt the authenticity. It is well translated in Miss Winkworth's *Life and Times of Tauler*. London, 1857.

famous Nicolas of Basle. The secret influence of these teachers, unsuppressed by years of persecution, may appear from the work thus wrought on the mind of Tauler, and from the fact that it was not till towards the close of the century, long after Tauler's death, that Nicolas of Basle, venturing into France, was seized and burned as a heretic at Vienne in Dauphiny.

Tauler adhered to the Church; many of the Waldenses and others did so to escape persecution,^q and to infuse their own zeal; Tauler, it seems, in honesty and simplicity. But from that time the German preaching of Tauler—now unmingled with Latin, in churches, in private assemblies, in the houses of Beguines, in nunneries—was more plain, earnest, and, as usual, flowed from his own heart to the hearts of others. He taught estrangement from the world, self-denial, poverty of spirit, not merely passive surrender of the soul to God, but, with this, love also to the brethren and the discharge of the duties of life. Men were to seek peace, during these turbulent times, within their own souls. He not only preached in German, he published in German, “the following the lowly life of Christ.”^r The black plague fell on the city of Strasburg, on Strasburg still under the ban of the Pope. In A.D. 1348-9. Strasburg died 16,000, in Basle 14,000 victims. Amid these terrible times of wild visions, wild processions of self-scourged penitents, of crowded cloisters, massacred Jews, the calm voice of Tauler, and of some who spoke and wrote in the spirit of Tauler, rose against the un-

^q “Auf diese Weise die Waldenser in die Kirche selber Eingang fanden und auf die berühmtesten Doctoren und nämlich auf Dominicaner, deren Beruf es war die Ketzler zu bekämpfen, so

mächtig wirkten.”—Schmidt, p. 37. But M. Schmidt's new authorities show that Nicolas was not a Waldensian.

^r Die Nachfolgung des armen Lebens Christi.

pitying Church. A remonstrance was addressed to the Clergy, that the poor, innocent, blameless people were left to die untended, unabsolved, under the interdict, and boldly condemning the Priests who refused them the last consolations of the Gospel.* “Christ died for all men; the Pope cannot, by his interdict, close heaven against those who die innocent.” In another writing the abuse of the spiritual sword was clearly denounced, the rights of the Electors asserted. The broad maxim was laid down, that “he who confesses the true faith of Christ, and sins only against the person of the Pope, is no heretic.” It is said that the people took comfort, and died in peace, though under the Papal interdict. It was for these unforgiven opinions that Tauler and his friends, Thomas of Strasburg, an Augustinian, and Ludolph of Saxony, first a Dominican then a Carthusian, fell under the suspicion of the new Bishop Bertholdt and the Clergy. He had been called to render an account of his faith before Charles IV.,

A.D. 1348. “the Priests’ Emperor,” when at Strasburg. The Mystics were commanded to recant, and to withdraw from their writings these obnoxious tenets.

Tauler disappeared from Strasburg; he was now heard in Cologne; there he taught his own simpler doctrines, and protested against the Pantheistic tenets of the Beghards, and even of those dreamy fanatics who would yield up their passive souls to the working of Divine grace. He returned to Strasburg only to die. His last hours were passed in the garden of the convent in which his only sister had long dwelt, a holy and blameless nun. He sought her gentle aid and consolation. One hard Mystic reproached his weakness

A.D. 1361.

* Schmidt, Tauler, p. 52.

in yielding to this last earthly affection. He was buried in the cloisters, amid the respectful sorrow of the whole city.

Tauler had been dead nearly a century before the close of our History, but his Sermons lived in the memory of men; they were transcribed with pious solicitude, and disseminated among all who sought something beyond what was taught in the Church, or taught by the Clergy; that which the Ritual, performed perhaps by a careless, proud, or profligate Priest, did not suggest; which was not heard in the cold and formal Confessional; which man might learn for himself, teach to himself, which brought the soul in direct relation with God, trained it to perfection, to communion, to assimilation, to unity with God. Herder, perhaps the wisest of German critics, condemns the Sermons of Tauler for their monotony:† “He who has read two of Tauler’s Sermons has read all.”^u But perhaps in that monotony lay much of their strength. Religious men seek not variety but emotion; it is the key-note which vibrates to the heart. Tauler had Mysticism enough to awaken and keep alive all the most passionate sentiments of religion, yet with a seeming clearness and distinctness as if addressed to the reason; his preaching appeared at least to be intelligible; it addressed the whole man, his imagination, his reason, his affection.

But Tauler’s Mysticism was far beyond the sublime selfishness of the Imitation of Christ: it embraced fully, explicitly the love of others; it resembled the Imitation of à Kempis, in that it was absolutely and entirely per-

† The two latter parts of Dr. Schmidt’s Tauler are on the writings and doctrines of Tauler, illustrated with abundant extracts. Miss Wink-

worth has well chosen, and rendered well some of his best Sermons. 1857.

^u Theologische Briefe 41, quoted by Schmidt, p. 84.

sonal religion, self-wrought out, self-disciplined, -self-matured, with nothing necessarily intermediate between the grace of God and the soul of man. The man might be perfect in spirit and in truth within himself, spiritualised only by the Holy Ghost. Tauler's perfect man was a social being, not a hermit; his goodness spread on earth, it was not all drawn up to heaven. Though the perfect man might not rise above duties, he might rise above observances; though never free from the law of love to his fellow-creatures, he claimed a dangerous freedom as regarded the law and usage of the Church, and dependence on the ministers of the Church. Those who were content with ritual observances, however obedient, were still imperfect; outward rites, fastings, were good as means, but the soul must liberate itself from all these outward means. The soul, having discharged all this, must still await in patience something higher, something to which all this is but secondary, inferior; having attained perfection, it may cast all these things away as unnecessary. Tauler's disciple respects the laws of the Church because they are the laws of the Church; he does not willingly break them, but he is often accused of breaking them when intent on higher objects. But the whole vital real work in man is within. Penance is nought without contrition: "Mortify not the poor flesh, but mortify sin." Man must confess to God; unless man forsakes sin, the absolution of Pope and Cardinals is of no effect; the Confessor has no power over sin. Tauler's religion is still more inflexibly personal: "His own works make not a man holy, how can those of others? Will God regard the rich man who buys for a pitiful sum the prayers of the poor? Not the intercession of the Virgin, nor of all the Saints, can profit the unrepentant sinner."

All this, if not rebellion, was sowing the seeds of rebellion against the sacerdotal domination; if it was not the proclamation, it was the secret murmur preparatory for the assertion of Teutonic independence.

Tauler lived not only in his writings; the cherished treasure of Mysticism was handed down by minds of kindred spirit for nearly two centuries. When they were appealed to by Luther as the harbingers of his own more profound and powerful religiousness, the Friends of God subsisted, if not organised, yet maintaining visibly if not publicly their succession of Apostolic holiness.

Ten years after the death of Tauler, Nicolas of Basle, not yet having ventured on his fatal mission into France, is addressing a long and pious monition to the Brethren of St. John in Strasburg.*

Near the close of the century, Martin, a Monk, was arraigned at Cologne as an infatuated disciple of Nicolas of Basle.† From this process it appears that many Friends of God had been recently burned at Heidelberg.‡ The heresies with which Martin is charged are obviously misconceptions, if not misrepresentations, of the doctrine of perfection taught by Tauler and by most of the German Mystics.

* Schmidt, Anhang 5, p. 233, dated 1377.

† "Quod quidam Laicus nomine Nicolaus de Basileâ, cui te funditus submisisti, clarius et perfectius evangelium quam aliqui Apostoli, et beatus Paulus hoc intellexerit quod prædicto Nicolao ex perfectione submissionis sibi facta contra præcepta cujuscunque Prælati etiam Papæ licite et sine peccato obedire."—He was accused of having said, That he was

restored to his state of primitive innocence, emancipated from obedience of the Church, with full liberty to preach and administer the Sacraments without licence of the Church. Of course the charge was darkened into the grossest Antinomianism.

‡ 1393. "Quod judicialiter convicti et per ecclesiam condemnati ac impenitentes heretici aliquando in Heidelbergâ concremati fuerunt et sunt amici Dei."—Anhang 6, p. 238.

Tauler was thus only one of the voices, if the most powerful and influential, which as it were appealed directly to God from the Pope and the Hierarchy; which asserted a higher religion than that of the Church; which made salvation dependent on personal belief and holiness, not on obedience to the Priest; which endeavoured to renew the long-dissolved wedlock between Christian faith and Christian morality; and tacitly at least, if not inferentially, admitted the great Wycliffite doctrine, that the bad Pope, the bad Bishop, the bad Priest, was neither Pope, Bishop, nor Priest. It was an appeal to God, and also to the moral sense of man; and throughout this period of nearly two centuries which elapsed before the appearance of Luther, this inextinguishable torch passed from hand to hand, from generation to generation. Its influence was seen in the earnest demand for Reformation by the Councils; the sullen estrangement, notwithstanding the reunion to the sacerdotal yoke, during the Hussite wars; the disdainful neutrality when reformation by the Councils seemed hopeless; it is seen in the remarkable book, the "German Theology," attributed by Luther to Tauler himself, but doubtless of a later period.* Ruder and coarser works, in all the jarring and various dialects, betrayed the German impatience, the honest but homely popular alienation from ecclesiastical dominion, and darkly foreshowed that when the irresistible Revolution should come, it would be more popular, more violent, more irreconcilable.

* Two translations have recently appeared in England of this book, of which the real character and importance cannot be appreciated without a full knowledge of the time at which it originally appeared. It was not so much what it taught as "German Theology," but what it threw aside as no part of genuine Christian Faith.

CHAPTER VIII.

Christian Architecture.

LITERATURE was thus bursting loose from Latin Christianity; it had left the cloister to converse with men of the world; it had ceased to be the prerogative of the Hierarchy, and had begun to expatiate in new regions. In Italy ere long, as in its classical studies, so in the new Platonism of Marsilius Ficinus and the Florentine school, it almost threatened to undermine Christianity, or left a Christianity which might almost have won the assent of the Emperor Julian. In all the Teutonic races it had begun to assert its freedom from sacerdotal authority; its poets, even its preachers, were all but in revolt.

But Art was more faithful to her munificent patron, her bold and prolific creator, her devout wor-
 shipper. Of all the arts Architecture was that Architecture faithful to the Church. which owed the most glorious triumphs to Christianity. Architecture must still be the slave of wealth and power, for majestic, durable, and costly buildings can arise only at their command; and wealth and power were still to a great extent in the hands of the Hierarchy. The first sign and prophetic omen of the coming revolution was when in the rich commercial cities the town halls began to vie in splendour with the Churches and Monasteries. Yet nobler gratitude, if such incentive were possible, might attach Architecture to the cause of the Church. Under the Church she had perfected old forms, invented new; she had risen to an unrivalled

majesty of design and skill in construction. In her stateliness, solemnity, richness, boldness, variety, vastness, solidity, she might compete with the whole elder world, and might almost defy future ages.

Latin Christianity, during a period of from ten to twelve centuries, had covered the whole of Churches in Latin Christendom. Western Europe with its still multiplying Churches and religious buildings. From the Southern shores of Sicily to the Hebrides and the Scandinavian kingdoms, from the doubtful borders of Christian Spain to Hungary, Poland, Prussia, not a city was without its Cathedral, surrounded by its succursal churches, its monasteries, and convents, each with its separate church or chapel. There was not a town but above the lowly houses, almost entirely of wood, rose the churches, of stone or some other solid material, in their superior dignity, strength, dimensions, and height; not a village was without its sacred edifice: no way-side without its humbler chapel or oratory. Not a river but in its course reflected the towers and pinnacles of many abbeys; not a forest but above its lofty oaks or pines appeared the long-ridged roof, or the countless turrets of the conventual church and buildings. Even now, after periods in some countries of rude religious fanaticism, in one, France (next to Italy, or equally with Italy prodigal in splendid ecclesiastical edifices), after a decade of wild irreligious iconoclasm; after the total suppression or great reduction, by the common consent of Christendom, of monastic institutions, the secularisation of their wealth, and the abandonment of their buildings to decay and ruin; our awe and wonder are still commanded, and seem as if they would be commanded for centuries, by the unshaken solidity, spaciousness, height, majesty, and noble harmony of the cathedrals and churches

throughout Western Europe. We are amazed at the imagination displayed in every design, at the enormous human power employed in their creation; at the wealth which commanded, the consummate science which guided that power; at the profound religious zeal which devoted that power, wealth, and science to these high purposes.

The progress and development of this Christian Architecture, Roman, Byzantine, Romanesque or Lombard, Norman, Gothic in its successive forms, could not be compressed into a few pages: the value of such survey must depend on its accuracy and truth, its accuracy and truth on the multiplicity and fulness of its details and on the fine subtlety of its distinctions, and might seem to demand illustrations from other arts. It is hardly less difficult to express in a narrow compass the religious, hierarchical, and other convergent causes which led to the architectural Christianisation of the West in its two great characteristic forms. These forms may perhaps be best described as Cisalpine (Italian) and Transalpine (Gothic), though neither of them respected the boundary of the other, and the Teutonic Gothic in the North arose out of the Southern Romanesque.

Our former history has surveyed Christian Architecture in its origin; it has traced the primitive form of the churches in the East;^a so far as they differed in their distribution from the Western, resembling the Pagan rather than the Jewish temple, yet of necessity assuming their own peculiar and distinct character. It has seen in the West the Basilica, the great hall of imperial justice, offering its more commodious plan and arrangements, and becoming with far less alteration a

^a History of Christianity, vol. ii. p. 239. Church of Tyre, described by Eusebius

Christian edifice for public worship and instruction.^b This first epoch of Christian Architecture extended, even after the conversion of Constantine and the building of Constantinople, to the reign of Justinian, under whom Byzantine Architecture, properly so distinguished, drew what may be called the architectural division between the East and the West. Even in Architecture the Greek and Latin Churches were to be oppugnant; though the Byzantine, as will appear, made a strong effort, and not without partial success, to subjugate the West.

To Rome, not to Greece, Christian Architecture owed its great elementary principle, the key-stone, as it were, to all its greatness; and this principle was carried out with infinitely greater boldness and fulness in the West than in the East. And surely it is no fanciful analogy that, as the Roman character contributed so powerfully to the great hierarchical system of the West, so the Roman form of building influenced most extensively Christian Architecture, temporarily and imperfectly that of the East, in perpetuity that of the Latin world. After a few centuries the more dominant hierarchism of the West is manifest in the oppugnancy between Greek and Latin Church Architecture. The East, having once wrought out its architectural type and model, settled down in unprogressive, uncreative acquiescence, and went on copying that type with servile and almost undeviating uniformity. In the West, within certain limits, with certain principles, and with a fixed aim, there was freedom, progression, invention. There was a stately unity, unity which seemed to imply immemorial antiquity, and

Roman
architecture.

^b Vol. ii. pp. 340, 343, and vol. iii. p. 373.

to aspire to be an unalterable irrevocable law for perpetuity, in the form and distribution, in the proportions and harmony of the sacred buildings; but in the details, in the height, the dimensions, the character, the ornaments, the mechanical means of support, infinite inexhaustible variety; it ranged from the most bare and naked Romanesque up to the most gorgeous Gothic.^c

Latin Christianity by its centralisation, its organisation arising out of Roman respect for law and usage, its rigid subordination, its assertion of and its submission to authority, with a certain secondary freedom of action, had constituted its vast ecclesiastical polity; so one great architectural principle carried out in infinite variety and boundless extent, yet in mutual support and mutual dependence, that of the Arch (if not absolutely unknown, of rare and exceptional application among the Greeks), had given solidity and stability to the gigantic structures of Rome, which spread out and soared above each other in ambitious unending rivalry. Hence the power of multiplying harmonious parts, of inclosing space to almost infinite dimensions, of supporting almost in the air the most ponderous roofs, of making a vast

^c Compare Hope on Architecture, p. 59. All that has been discovered of the knowledge and use of the Arch in Egypt and in other countries, tends to the same result as that to which Mr. Hope arrived: "The Arch which the Greeks knew not, or if they knew, did not employ." So with other nations. It was first among the Romans an elementary and universal principle of construction. It is impossible not to refer with respect to the first modern philosophical and comprehensive work on Architecture, that by the author of

Anastasius. Some corrections, manifold details, much scientific knowledge, have been added by the countless writers on Christian Architecture, of which England has furnished her full share,—Whewell, Willis, Petit, the Author of the Glossary of Architecture, the late Mr. Gally Knight. But who of all these will not own his obligations to Mr. Hope? The recollection of much friendly kindness in my youth enhances the pleasure with which I pay this tribute to a man of real and original genius.

complicated whole, one in design, one in structure, one in effect. The Greek temples and the Roman temples on the Greek model, limited in size and extent by the necessity of finding support for horizontal pressure, were usually isolated edifices, each in its exquisite harmony and perfection, complete, independent, simple. If they were sometimes crowded together, as in the Acropolis of Athens, or the Forum at Rome, yet each stood by itself in its narrow precincts; it was a separate republic, as it were the domain and dwelling of its own God, the hall of its own priesthood.

But through that single principle of the Arch the Roman had attained a grandeur and vastness of construction as yet unknown. It was not like the colossal fanes of Egypt, either rocks hewn into temples, or rocks transported and piled up into temples; or the fabrics supported on the immense monolithic pillars in the Eastern cities (which the Romans themselves in the time of the Antonines and their successors rivalled at Baalbec and Palmyra); nor yet the huge terraced masses of brickwork in the further East. The transcendent and peculiar Architecture of the Romans was seen in their still more vast theatres and amphitheatres, which could contain thousands and thousands of spectators; in their Cæsarean palaces, which were almost cities; in their baths, in which the population of considerable towns, or whole quarters of Rome, found space not for bathing only, but for every kind of recreation and amusement; in their bridges, which spanned the broadest and most turbulent rivers; and their aqueducts, stretching out miles after miles, and conveying plentiful water to the central city. It remained only to apply this simple, universal principle. By resting not the horizontal entablature, but the succession of arches

on the capitals of the pillars, the length might be infinitely drawn out; the roof, instead of being limited in its extent by the length of the rafters, might be vaulted over and so increased enormously in width; and finally, suspended as it were in the air, soar to any height.

Christian Architecture, when the world under Constantine became Christian, would of course begin to display itself more boldly, more ostentatiously. It would aspire to vie with the old religion in the majesty of its temples. Not but that long before it had its public sacred edifices in the East and the West. Still it would be some time before it would confront Paganism, the Paganism of centuries. It must still in vastness and outward grandeur submit to the supremacy of the ancestral temples of the city. The Basilica, too, in its ordinary form, though in its length, height, and proportions there might be a severe and serious grandeur, was plain. A high unadorned wall formed its sides, its front was unbroken but by the portals: it had not its splendid rows of external columns, with their interchanging light and shade; nor the rich and sculptured pediment over its entrance. Constantine, before his departure to the East, erected more than one church, no doubt worthy of an imperial proselyte, for the new religion of the empire. But earthquakes, conflagrations, wars, tumults, the prodigal reverence of some Popes, the vast ambition of others, have left not a vestige of the Constantinian buildings in Rome. The Church of the Lateran, thrown down by an earthquake, was rebuilt by Sergius III. That built in honour of St. Peter^d (it was asserted and believed over the place

Constantine
the Great.

^d On the old St. Peter's see the curious work of Bonnanì, *Historia Templi Vaticani* (Roma, 1706), and the elaborate chapter in Bunsen and Platner, *Röm's Beschreibung*.

of his martyrdom), with its splendid forecourt and its five aisles, which to the time of Charlemagne, though the prodigal piety of some Popes had no doubt violated its original, it should seem, almost cruciform, outline, and sheathed its walls in gold and precious marbles, yet maintained the plan and distribution of the old church. It stood, notwithstanding the ravages of the Saracens, the sieges of the Emperors, the seditions of the people, on its primitive Constantinian site for many hundred years after, and was only swept away by the irreverent haughtiness of Julius II., to make way for what was expected to, and which does, command the universal wonder of mankind, the St. Peter's of Bramante and Michael Angelo. The noble church of St. Paul, without the walls, built by Theodosius the Great, stood as it were the one majestic representative of the Imperial Christian Basilica till our own days.* The ground plan of the Basilica must be sought in the humbler Church of S. Clemente,^f which alone retains it in its integrity: S. Maria Maggiore, S. Lorenzo, and one or two others, have been so overlaid with alterations as only to reveal to the most patient study distinct signs of their original structure.

Constantinople rose a Christian city, but a Christian city probably in most parts built by Roman hands, or by Greeks with full command of Roman skill and science, and studiously aspired to be an eastern Rome. As her Senators, her Patricians, so probably many of her architects and artists came from Rome; or if

* The author saw this stately and venerable building in the summer of 1822; it was burned down in July, 1823.

^f See the S. Clemente in Mr. Gally Knight's splendid and munificent work; which has the rare excellence, that the beauty of the engravings does not interfere with their scrupulous accuracy.

Greeks, were instructed and willing to conform to Roman habits and usage. The courtiers of Constantinople, who migrated from the old to the new Rome, were surprised, it is said, to find palaces so closely resembling their own, that they hardly believed themselves to have been transported from the banks of the Tiber to the shores of the Bosphorus. Constantine himself was a Western by birth and education; Rome therefore, rather than the East, would furnish the first model for the Christian Churches. In old Byzantium there were probably few temples of such magnificence as to tempt the Christians to usurp them for their own uses, or allure them to the imitation of their forms. Nor did such temples, dilapidated and deserted, as in later times in Rome and Italy, furnish inexhaustible quarries from which triumphant Christianity might seize and carry off her legitimate spoils. There were not at hand rows of noble pillars, already hewn, fluted or polished, with their bases and capitals, which, accustomed to form the porch, or to flank the heathen temple, now took their stand along the nave of the church, or before the majestic vestibule. Though Constantine largely plundered other works of art, statues of bronze or marble (somewhat incongruous heathen ornaments of a Christian city), yet he can have had no great quantity of materials from old temples, unless at much cost of freight from more remote cities, to work up in his churches.⁵ On the other hand neither were there many, if there was a single Basilica, such as were found in most Italian cities, ready to undergo the slight necessary transmutation. Yet there can be no doubt that the first churches in Constantinople were in the Basilican form; that S.

⁵ See Hist. of Christianity, ii. p. 226.

Sophia was of an oblong shape there is satisfactory authority; it was not till the reign of Constantius that the area was enlarged to a square.^b

This, then, which may be called the Roman or Basilican, may be considered as the first Age of Christian Architecture.

II. Of true Byzantine Architecture Justinian was the parent. Time, earthquakes, seditions nowhere so furious and destructive as in Constantinople, especially the famous one in the reign of Justinian; more ambitious or more prodigal Emperors, or more devout and wealthy Christians, denied duration to the primitive Churches of Constantinople. The edifices of Constantine, in all likelihood hastily run up, and, if splendid, wanting in strength and solidity, gave place to more stately and enduring churches. The S. Sophia of Constantine was razed to the ground in a fierce tumult; but on its site arose the new S. Sophia, in the East the pride, in the West the wonder, of the world.ⁱ The sublime unity and harmony of the design, above all the lightness and vastness of the cupola, were too marvellous for mere human science. Even the skill of the famous architects Anthi-

^b It was of great length, *δρόμικος*, the form of a Dromos, or Circus for races. See Ducange, *Descriptio S. Sophiæ*; and also on the enlargement by Constantius. The Church in the Blachernæ, built so late as Justin, had straight rows of pillars and a timber roof. The Church of S. John Studius, still existing, is of the Basilican form of that period.—Schnaase, *Geschichte der Bildenden Kunst*, iii. p. 123, note. On the other hand the Church of Antioch, described by Eusebius and by Theophilus, was an octagon, as was

that of Nazianzum.—Schnaase, p. 124. The round form, not unknown in the East, nor in the West, as that of S. Constanza near Rome, was more used for Baptisteries, and for monumental chapels, as the tomb of Galla Placidia at Ravenna.

ⁱ To the poem of Paulus Silentarius, on the building and dedication of S. Sophia (Edition Bonn), are appended the laborious dissertation of Ducange, and the perspicuous illustrative essay of Banduri. They contain everything relating to the structure.

mus of Tralles and Isidore of Miletus were unequal to the conception. An angel revealed to the Emperor (Justinian himself must share in the glory) many of the forms of the building; the great principle of the construction of the cupola, sought in vain by the science of the architects, flashed across the mind of the Emperor himself in a dream. The cupola did not seem, according to the historian Procopius, to rest on its supports, but to be let down by a golden chain from heaven.^k Santa Sophia was proclaimed in the West as the most consummate work of Christian Architecture.^m

But Justinian was not content to be the founder and lawgiver of Christian art; as in empire, so he aspired in all things, to bring the whole Roman world under his dominion. To conquered Italy he brought back the vast code of the Civil Law, which he had organised and adapted to Christian use; to Italy came also his architecture, an immense amplification of the Roman arch, which was to be, if not the law, the perfect form of the Christian Church. San Vitale arose in Ravenna, the Constantinople of the West. In dimensions only and in the gorgeousness of some of its materials, San Vitale must bow before its Byzantine type Santa Sophia, but

^k τούτου δε τοῦ κυκλοτεροῦς παμμεγέθους ἐπαναστηκυῖα τις σφαιροειδῆς θόλος ποιεῖται, αὐτὸ διαφερόντως εὐπρόσωπον δοκεῖ δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ στεβρᾶς τῆς οἰκοδομίας διὰ τὸ παρειμένον τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἕσταναι, ἀλλὰ τῇ σείρητῇ χρῆσι ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐξημμένη καλύπτειν τὸν χώρον.—Procop. de Ædific. i. p. 177, Edit. Bonn.

^m "Cujus opus adeo cuncta ædificia excellit ut in totis terrarum spatiis nuic simile non possit inveniri."—Paul Warnefrid. S. Sophia and some other

Constantinopolitan churches have become better known during the last year (1854) from the splendid work published by M. Salzenberg, at the expense of the King of Prussia. An Italian architect, M. Fossato, having been intrusted with the repairs, the whole structure has been surveyed, measured, and drawn. Many mosaics covered up since the transmutation into a mosque have for a time revealed again in all their brilliancy some very remarkable specimens of Byzantine mosaic art.

it closely resembled it in plan and arrangement. The Mosaics of the Emperor and of the Empress Theodora in the choir might seem as though they would commend San Vitale as the perfect design for a Christian Church to subject Italy and to the West. Rome indeed might seem, even in Ravenna, to offer a more gallant resistance to the arts than to the arms of Justinian. To San Vitale she would oppose the noble S. Apollinaris, in her own Basilican form. Of the ancient Basilicas, since the destruction of St. Paul without the walls at Rome, S. Apollinaris at Ravenna, with its twenty-four columns of rich Greek marble from Constantinople, and its superb mosaics, is undoubtedly the most impressive and august in the world.ⁿ

Thus, then, there were two forms which contested for the supremacy in Italy. One was the old Roman Basilica, with its stately length, which by slow and imperceptible degrees became cruciform by the extension into transepts of the space between the end of the nave (where rose a great arch, called the Arch of Triumph, as opening upon the holy mysteries of the faith), and the conch or apse, before which stood the high altar. The other was square or octagon, which in the same manner and by the same slow process broke into the short equal-limbed Greek cross.^o This latter form, with the cupola, was the vital distinction of the Byzantine style.^p Rome remained faithful to her

ⁿ See this church in Gally Knight.

^o It is not known when the form of the Cross began. Mr. Gally Knight observes that the form of the Cross was for many centuries the exception rather than the rule.

^p Procopius states of S. Sophia, *ἔδρος δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ μῆκος οὕτως ἐν ἐπιτη-*

δέλω ἐπιτετορνεύεται, ὥστε καὶ περιμήκης, καὶ ὄλως εὐρεία οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου εἰρήσεται, p. 174.—So too that of S. Mary and S. Michael, c. iii. p. 174. S. Anthimus, c. vi. p. 194. That of the Apostles was a Greek Cross; c. iii. p. 188.

ancient basilican form; but in many of the cities of Northern Italy the more equal proportion of the length and width, with the central cupola, sometimes multiplied on the extended limbs of the transept; these, the only creations of Byzantine architecture, found favour. Venice early took her eastern character; the old church of S. Fosca in Torcello, in later times St. Mark's maintained the Byzantine form.⁹ St. Mark's, with her Greek plan, her domes, her mosaics, might seem as if she had prophetically prepared a fit and congenial place for the reception of the spoils of the Constantinopolitan Churches after the Latin conquest. But many other of the Lombard Churches, in Pavia, Parma, the old cathedral at Brescia, were square, octagon, or in the form of the Greek cross. As late as the tenth century Ancona, still a Greek city, raised the Church of S. Cyriac, with much of what is called Lombard, more properly Romanesque ornament, but in form a strictly Byzantine Church.^r

Yet on the whole the architectural, as the civil conquests of Justinian, were but partial and un-
 enduring. The Latin Architecture, with these Difference of Greek and Latin services. exceptions, even in Italy, adhered to the Basilican form or to the longer Latin cross: beyond the Alps the square form was even more rare. But it is singular to observe in both the development of the hierarchical principle according to the character and circumstances of the Eastern and the Western Church. As the worship throughout Christendom became more local, more

⁹ The round churches, which were few, gave place to Baptistries, for which or for sepulchral chapels they were mostly originally designed.

^r It is curious that Charlemagne's cathedral at Aix-la-Chapelle is the one true Byzantine church or type of a

Byzantine church beyond the Alps—in form, construction, even in mosaics. Charlemagne had perhaps Greek architects, he had seen Ravenna, he drew ornaments and materials from Ravenna. Compare Schnaase, vol. xiv. 486 *et seqq.*

material, the altar was now the Holy of Holies, the actual abode of the Real Presence of Christ. The Clergy withdrew more entirely into their unapproachable sanctity; they would shroud themselves from all profane approximation by solemn mystery, the mystery which arises from remoteness, from obscurity or dimness, or even from secrecy. For this end, to heighten the awe which he would throw around the tremendous sacrifice, and around himself the hallowed minister of that sacrifice, the Greek, in himself less awful, had recourse to artificial means. The Latin trusted to his own inherent dignity, aided only by more profound distance, by the splendour which environed him, splendour more effective as heightened by surrounding darkness. The shorter Greek cross did not repel the adoring worshipper far enough off; the Greek therefore drew a veil. At length he raised a kind of wall between himself and the worshippers, and behind, in that enclosed sanctuary, he performed the mystery of consecration, and came forth and showed himself in turn at each of the side doors of the Holy of Holies, rarely at the central or royal gate, with the precious paten and chalice in his hands. When the service was over, he withdrew again with his awful treasure into its secret sanctuary.^s In the longer Latin cross the hierarchy might recede to a commanding distance from the great mass of worshippers, yet all might remain open; the light rails of the chancel were sufficient, with their own inherent majesty, to keep the profane on their lower level, and in their humble posture of far-off adoration. In the West the crypt under the altar, to contain the bones of the saint or martyr, was more general; the altar therefore was

^s Smith's account of the Greek Church, p. 64. This, called the Iconostasis, is general in the Russian churches. There is a curious example at Pesh in Hungary.

more usually approached by a flight of steps, and thus elevation was added to distance: and to distance and elevation were added by degrees the more dazzling splendour of the altar-furniture, the crosses, the candlesticks, the plate, the censers, and all the other gorgeous vessels, their own dresses, the violet, green, scarlet, cloth of gold, the blaze of lamps and tapers, the clouds of incense. At one time the altar and the officiating clergy were wrapped in the mystery of sublime gloom, at the next the whole altar, and all under the stately Baldachin, burst out into a concentrated brilliancy of light. The greater length of the building, with its succursal aisles and ambulatories and chapels, as so admirably adapted for processional services, would greatly promote their introduction and use. The Clergy would no longer be content with dim and distant awe and veneration; this was now inherent in their persons: and so, environed with their sacred symbols, bearing their banners emblazoned with the image of the crucified Redeemer, of the Virgin, of the Saints, and the crosses, the emblems of their own authority and power, and in their snow-white or gorgeous dresses, they would pass through the rows of wondering and kneeling worshippers, with their grave and solemn chant, or amid the peals of the thundering organ, bringing home, as it were, to the hearts of all, the most serious religious impressions, as well as those of their own peculiar inalienable sanctity.

But the oppugnancy was not only in the internal form and arrangements of the sacred buildings or the more effective display of ecclesiastic magnificence. In splendour of dress, in the richness of their church furniture and vessels, in the mysterious symbolism of their services, the East boasted itself even superior to the

West. But the more vigorously developed hierarchical spirit among the Latins displayed itself in nothing more than in its creativeness, in its progressive advancement in Christian Architecture. The Emperors were in general the founders and builders of the great Eastern Churches, in the West to a vast extent the Church herself. Though kings and nobles were by no means wanting in these signs of prodigal piety—the Catholic Lombard kings, the priest-ruled Merovingians, Charlemagne and his descendants, the sovereigns in England—there were also, besides these royal and noble devotees, the magnificent Prelates, the splendid Abbots, the opulent Chapters. In the East it was the State acting it might be under the influence, in obedience to, or at the suggestion of the Priesthood; in the West, with the Monarch and the Baron, it was the whole ecclesiastical

Wealth of
the clergy.

Order out of its own enormous wealth, its own vast possessions, and still accumulating property. From the seventh at least to the close of the fourteenth century this wealth was steadily on the increase, at times pouring in like a flood; if draining off, draining but in narrow and secret channels. It was in the nature of things that a large portion of this wealth should be consecrated, above all others, to this special use. It had long been admitted that a fifth, a fourth, a third of the ecclesiastical endowments belonged to the sustentation, to the embellishment of the religious fabrics. But it needed no law to enforce on a wide scale this expenditure demanded at once by every holy and generous principle, by every ambitious, among the more far-sighted and politic, as well as by every more sordid, motive. Throughout Christendom there was the high and pure, as well as the timid and superstitious religion, which invited, encouraged, commanded, exacted, pro-

mised to reward in this world and in the next, these noble works of piety. Without as within the Church these motives were in perpetual, unslumbering activity. Church-building was, as it were, the visible personal sacrifice to God, a sacrifice which could never be fully accomplished; it was the grateful or expiatory oblation to the Redeemer and to the Saints. The dying king, the dying noble, the dying rich man, or the king, noble, or rich man, under strong remorse during his lifetime, might with more lofty and disinterested urgency be pressed by the priest or the confessor to make the bequest or the gift to a holy work in which the clergy had no direct advantage, and which was in some sort a splendid public benefaction. The Church was built for the poor, for the people, for posterity. What the splendour of the old Asiatic monarchs had done for the perpetuation of their own luxury and glory, the Egyptians for their burying-places, as well as in honour of their gods; what the narrower patriotism of the Greeks for the embellishment of their own cities, for the comfort and enjoyment of the citizens: what the stern pride of the older, the enormous wealth and ostentation of the later republicans at Rome; what the Pagan Emperors had done, the elder Cæsars, to command the wonder, gratitude, adulation of the mistress of the world; Trajan, Hadrian, the Antonines, from policy, vanity, beneficence, on a wider and more cosmopolitan scale throughout the Empire: what had been thus done in many various ways, was now done by most kings and most rich men in one way alone.* Besides temples the heathen Cæsars had

* Let it be remembered that in Paris, palace in the Louvre. What in comparison were the more sumptuous religious buildings?
in the time of Philip the Fair, the house of the Templars was stronger if not more magnificent than the King's

raised palaces, theatres, amphitheatres, circuses, baths, roads, bridges, aqueducts, senate-houses, porticoes, libraries, cemeteries. Now the only public buildings, unless here and there a bridge (until the burghers in the commercial cities began to raise their guildhalls), were the church and the castle. The castle was built more for strength than for splendour. Architecture had the Church alone and her adjacent buildings on which to lavish all her skill, and to expend the inexhaustible treasures poured at her feet. To build the Church was admitted at once as the most admirable virtue, as the most uncontested sign of piety, as the fullest atonement for sin, as the amplest restitution for robbery or wrong, as the bounden tribute of the loyal subject of God, as the most unquestioned recognition of the sovereignty and mercy of God.

If these incentives were for ever working without the Church, besides these, what powerful concurrent and subsidiary motives were in action within the Church! Every Prelate, even each member of a Chapter (if he had any noble or less sordid feeling than personal indulgence in pomp and luxury, or the least ecclesiastical public spirit), would feel emulation of his spiritual ancestors: he would delight to put to shame the less prodigal, the more parsimonious, generosity of his predecessor, would endeavour to transcend him in the richness of his oblation to God or to the Patron Saint. He would throw down that predecessor's meaner work, and replace it by something more splendid and enduring. Posthumous glory would assume a sacred character: the Prelate would not be inflexibly and humbly content with obscure goodness, or with the unwitnessed virtues, which would rest entirely on the reward in the world to come. The best and wisest

*Incentives
for Church
buildings.*

might think that if their names lived on earth with their imperishable Cathedrals, it was a pardonable, if not a pious and laudable ambition. Their own desire of glory would so mingle with what they esteemed the glory of God, as to baffle their discrimination. So too national, municipal, corporate, local pride and interest would disguise themselves as the love of God and man. The fane of some tutelary saint, or some shrine of peculiar holiness or of wonder-working power, which attracted more numerous and more devout pilgrims, as it enriched the Church, the city, the town, the village, so it would demand even from gratitude a larger share of the votive offerings. The Saint must be rewarded for his favours, for his benefits; his church, his chapel, and his shrine must be more splendid, as more splendid would be more attractive; and thus splendour would beget wealth, wealth gladly devote itself to augment the splendour.

Throughout, indeed, there was this latent, and unconscious it might be, but undeniable influence The Church.
The Priests. operating through the whole sacerdotal Order, through the whole Monkhood, and not less among the more humble Friars. Every church was not merely the house of God, it was also the palace where the religious Sovereign, the Ecclesiastic, from the Pope to the lowliest Parish Priest, held his state; it was the unassailable fortress of his power; it was, I use the word with reluctance, the Exchange where, by the display of his wealth, he immeasurably increased that wealth. To the Ecclesiastic belonged the chancel, not to be entered by unsanctified feet; to him in his solitary or in his corporate dignity, only attended by a retinue of his own Order; his were the costly dresses, the clouds of incense. The more magnificent the church, and the more sumptuous the services, the broader the line which divided

him from the vulgar, the rest of mankind. If he vouchsafed some distinction, some approach towards his unapproachable majesty, as when the Emperor took his seat at the entrance or within the chancel, read the Gospel, and was graciously permitted to perform some of the functions of a Deacon, this but threw back the rest of mankind to more humble distance. Those passages which the haughtiest Popes alleged in plain words, as "Ye are Gods," which was generally read, "Ye are Christs (the anointed of God)," almost revoked, or neutralised in the minds of the Priesthood, the specious reservation that it was God in them, and not themselves, which received these honours. Popular awe and reverence know no nice theological discrimination; at least a large share of the veneration to the Saint or the Redeemer, to God, rested, as it passed, on the Hierarchy. They were recognised as those without whose mediation no prayer passed onward to the throne of grace; they stood on a step, often a wide step, higher in the ascent to heaven. Everywhere, through the whole framework of society, was this contrast, and the contrast was to the advantage of the Hierarchy. The highest and richest Bishop in his episcopal palace might see the castle of the Baron not only in its strength, but in its height, its domains, its feudal splendour, its castellated richness, frowning contemptuously down upon him; he might seem to be lurking, as it were, a humble retainer under its shadow and under its protection. But enter the church! the Baron stood afar off, or knelt in submissive, acknowledged, infelt inferiority; and it was seldom that in the city the cathedral did not outsoar and outspread with its dependent buildings—its baptistery, chapter-house, belfry, cloisters—the rival castle with all its out-buildings. That which in the cathedral city long held

the Ecclesiastics in their separate peculiar majesty, went down in due proportion through the town to the village, to the meanest hamlet. In the feudal castle itself the chapel was almost always the most richly decorated. During war, in the siege, in the boisterous banquet, the chaplain might be self-levelled, or levelled by a lawless chief and lawless soldiery, to a humble retainer; in the chapel he resumed his proper dignity. It was his fault, his want of influence, if the chapel was not maintained in greater decency and splendour than the rude hall or ruder chamber; and reverence to the chapel reacted on the reverence to himself.

Add to all this the churches or chapels of the religious houses, and there was hardly a religious house without its church or chapel, many of them equal or surpassing in grandeur, in embellishment, those of the town or of the city. In a religious foundation the Church could not, for very shame, be less than the most stately and the most splendid edifice. Year after year, century after century, if any part of the monastery was secure from dilapidation, if any part was maintained, rebuilt, re-decorated, it would be the church. The vow of humility the vow of poverty was first tacitly violated, first disdainfully thrown aside, by the severest Order, in honour of God. The sackcloth-clad, bare-foot Friar would watch and worship on the cold stone or the hard board; but within walls enriched with the noblest paintings, tapestried with the most superb hangings, before an altar flashing with the gold pix, with the jewelled vessels, with the rich branching candlesticks. Assisi, not many years after the death of St. Francis, had begun to be the most splendid and highly adorned church in Italy.

Thus then architecture was the minister at once and

servant of the Church, and a vast proportion of the wealth of the world was devoted to the works of architecture. Nor was it in a secular point of view a wasteful pomp and prodigality. If the church was the one building of the priest, so was it of the people. It was the single safe and quiet place where the lowest of the low found security, peace, rest, recreation, even diversion. If the chancel was the Priest's, the precincts, the porch, the nave were open to all; the Church was all which the amphitheatre, the bath, the portico, the public place, had been to the poor in the heathen cities. It was more than the house of prayer and worship, where the peasant or the beggar knelt side by side with the burgher or the Baron; it was the asylum, not of the criminal only, but of the oppressed, the sad, the toil-worn, the infirm, the aged. It was not only dedicated to God; it was consecrated to the consolation, the peace, even the enjoyment of man. Thus was it that architecture was raising all its wondrous structures in the West, if for the advancement of the Hierarchy, so too at the perpetual unsleeping instigation, at the cost, and it should seem under the special direction, of the Hierarchy: for no doubt within the precincts of the cathedral, within the cloister, much of the science of architecture was preserved, perpetuated, enlarged; if the architects were not themselves Ecclesiastics, they were under the protection, patronage, direction, instruction of Ecclesiastics. But it was also of the most indubitable benefit to mankind. Independent of the elevating, solemnising, expanding effects of this most material and therefore most universally impressive of the Fine Arts, what was it to all mankind, especially to the prostrate and down-trodden part of mankind, that though these buildings were God's, they were, in a certain sense, his

own; he who had no property, not even in his own person, the serf, the villain, had a kind of right of proprietorship in his parish church, the meanest artisan in his cathedral. It is impossible to follow out to their utmost extent, or to appreciate too highly the ennobling, liberalising, humanising, Christianising effects of church architecture during the Middle Ages.

III. The third period of Christian architecture (reckoning as the first the Roman Basilica, as the second the proper Byzantine, with its distinctive Greek cross and cupolas) lasted, with the Norman, till the introduction of the Pointed or so-called Gothic in the twelfth century. This style has been called Lombard, as having first flourished in the cities of Northern Italy, which under the later Kings attained unwonted peace and prosperity, and in which the cities rose to industry, commerce, wealth and freedom. Assuredly it was no invention of the rude Lombards, who brought over the Alps only their conquering arms and their hated Arianism. It has been called also Byzantine, improperly, for though it admitted indiscriminately Byzantine and Roman forms and arrangements, its characteristics seem either its own or the traditions of Roman principles, the appropriation and conversion to its use of Roman examples. Its chief characteristic is delight in the multiplication of the arch, not only for the support, but for the ornamentation of the building. Within and without there is the same prodigality of this form. But these rows or tiers of arches, without supporting or seeming to support the roof, or simply decorative, appear to be no more than the degenerate Roman, as seen in the Palace of Diocletian at Spalatro, and usefully as well as ornamentally employed in the Coliseum and in other amphitheatres. Gradually the

Third style.
Lombard,
Byzantine, or
Romanesque.

west front of the Church, or the front opposite to the altar, grew into dignity and importance. The central portal, sometimes the three portals, or even five portals, lost their square-headed form, became receding arches, arches within arches, decorated with graceful or fantastic mouldings. Above, tier over tier, were formed rows of arches (unless where a rich wheel or rose window was introduced) up to the broad bold gable, which was sometimes fringed as it were just below with small arches following out its line. Sometimes these arches ran along the side walls; almost always either standing out more or less, or in open arcades, they ran round the semicircular eastern apse. Besides these, slender compound piers or small buttresses are carried up the whole height to the eaves. They arrive at length at the severer model of this form, San Zeno at Verona, or the richer, the San Michele at Lucca. Within the church the pillars, as the models of those in the ancient buildings disappeared (the Roman Corinthian long survived), or rather as the ruins of ancient buildings ceased to be the quarries for churches, gradually lost their capitals. From those sprung the round arches in a bolder or more timid sweep, according to the distance or solidity of the pillars. Above the nave a second row of arches formed the clerestory windows. The roof, in general of timber, was first flat, then curved, at length vaulted. Over the centre of the cross rose the cupola, round, octagon, or of more fanciful forms. In the seventh century the introduction of bells, to summon to the service, drew on the invention of the architect. The dome or cupola was not a convenient form for a belfry. Beside the building it had not been unusual to erect a baptistery, circular or polygonal, such as are still seen in the richest form, and almost rivalling the churches, in Florence and in Parma.

Throughout Lombardy, in most parts of Italy, rose the detached campanile, sometimes round, in general square, terminating at times with a broad flat roof, more rarely towering into a spire. In Italy this third epoch of architecture culminated in the Cathedral of Pisa. It was the oblation of the richest and most powerful city in Italy, at the height of her prosperity, her industry, her commerce, her fame; it was made in the pride of her wealth, in a passion of gratitude for a victory and for rich plunder taken from the Mohammedans in the harbour of Palermo. Pisa found an architect worthy of her profuse magnificence; the name of Boscheto lives in this his unrivalled edifice. It is not only that the cathedral makes one of those four buildings—the Dome, the Baptistery, the Leaning Tower, the Campo Santo—which in their sad grandeur in the deserted city surpass all other groups of buildings in Europe: the cathedral standing alone would command the highest admiration. On the exterior the west front displays that profusion of tiers of arches above arches, arranged with finer proportion, richness, and upward decreasing order, than elsewhere. But its sublimity is within. Its plan, the Latin cross in the most perfect proportion, gives its impressive unity to its central nave, with its double aisles, its aisled transepts, its receding apse. Its loftiness is far more commanding than any building of its class in Italy had as yet aspired to reach. The Corinthian pillars along the nave are of admirable height and proportion; those of the aisles lower, but of the same style. The arches spring boldly from the capitals of the pillars; the triforium above, running down the long nave, is

▪ The pointed arch from the nave to the transepts is of later date; inconspicuous but not without effect.

singularly picturesque. While the long, bold, horizontal architrave gives the sedate regularity of the Basilica; the crossings of the transepts, the sweep of the curved apse, even without the effective mosaic of Cimabue, close the view with lines of the most felicitous and noble form.

Nothing can contrast more strongly, in the same architecture, than the Transalpine Romanesque with Pisa.^x It is seen in all the old cities on the Rhine (the earliest form in St. Castor at Coblenz), later at Spire, Worms, Mentz, Bonn, the older churches at Cologne; east of the Rhine in the older cities or monasteries, as in Corvey. It is more rude but more bold; these churches might seem the works of the great feudal Prelates; with a severe grandeur, not without richness of decoration, but disdaining grace or luxuriance. They are of vast size, as may beseem Prelate Princes, but of the coarse red or grey stone of the country, no fine-wrought freestone, no glittering marble. The pillars are usually without capitals, or with capitals fantastic and roughly hewn; they would impress by strength and solidity rather than by harmony or regularity. In the south of France this style is traced not only in cathedral cities, but in many very curious parochial churches.^y With few exceptions, it is there more picturesque and fanciful than grand or solemn. In the north of France and in England this architecture received such a powerful impulse from the Normans as almost to form a new epoch in the art.

IV. That wonderful people the Normans, though without creative power, seemed as it were to throw

^x See for the Saxon Romanesque Schnaase.

^y Mr. Petit has published engravings of many of these buildings.

their whole strength and vigour into architecture, as into everything else. They had their kingdoms on the Mediterranean, and on either side of the British Channel. In the South they had become Southern; even in architecture they anticipated from the Mohammedans some approximation to the Gothic, the pointed arch. In the North, on the other hand, as by adopting and domiciling men of Roman or Italian cultivation, they had braced the intellect of the degenerate Church to young energy, and had trained learned Churchmen and theologians, Lanfrancs and Anselms; so taking the form, the structure, the architectural science of universal Latin Christendom, they gave it a grandeur, solidity, massiveness, even height, which might seem intended to confront a ruder element, more wild and tempestuous weather. The Norman cathedrals might almost seem built for warlike or defensive purposes; as though their Heathen ancestors, having in their fierce incursions destroyed church and monastery, as well as castle and town, they would be prepared for any inroad of yet un-Christianised Northmen. That great characteristic of the Norman churches, the huge square central tower, was battlemented like a castle. The whole impression is that of vast power in the architect, unshaken duration in the edifice; it is the building of a Hierarchy which has unflinching confidence in its own strength, in its perpetuity. On the exterior, in the general design there is plainness, almost austerity; the walls, visibly of enormous thickness, are pierced with round arched windows of no great size, but of great depth; the portals are profound recesses, arch within arch resting on short stubborn pillars; the capitals are rude, but boldly projecting; the rich ornaments cut with a vigorous and decisive hand: the zigzag or other

mouldings with severity in their most prodigal richness. In the interior all again is simple to the disdain, in its greater parts, of ornament. The low, thick, usually round pillars, with capitals sometimes indulging in wild shapes, support, with their somewhat low arches, the ponderous wall, in its turn pressed down as it were by the ponderous roof. Such are the works of our Norman Kings, the two abbeys at Caen, Jumieges in its ruins, St. George de Boscherville; such in our island, Durham, parts of Peterborough and Ely, and Gloucester, the two square towers of Exeter. If later and more splendid cathedrals inspire a higher devotion, none breathe more awe and solemnity than the old Norman.²

V. On a sudden, in a singularly short period, the latter half of the twelfth century (though discerning eyes^a may trace, and acute minds have traced with remarkable success and felicity, this transition), Christian architecture beyond the Alps, in Germany, in France, in England, becomes creative. Nothing but the distribution and arrangement of the parts of the church remains the same; and even in that respect the church, instead of standing alone or nearly alone, with the other edifices in humble subordination, is crowded around by a multitude of splendid vassals, partaking in all her decorative richness, the Lady chapel and other chapels, the chapter-house, the monastery, the episcopal palace, the cloisters, sometimes the belfry.

In the church not only are there new forms, not only is there a new principle of harmony, not only a constant

² See Mr. Gally Knight's Norman Tour, and 'Normans in Sicily.' Mr. Knight dedicated part of a noble fortune to these studies, illustrating his own excellent judgement by the well-remunerated labours of accomplished artists.

^a Dr. Whewell, Mr. Willis, Mr. Petit.

substitution of vertical for horizontal lines, new and most exquisite proportions, an absolutely original character, but new principles of construction seem to have revealed themselves. Architecture is not only a new art, awakening different emotions of wonder, awe, and admiration, but a new science. It has discovered the secret of achieving things which might appear impossible, but which once achieved, seem perfectly simple, secure, justificatory of their boldness, from the perfect balance and equable pressure of every part, pressure disguised as it were, as distributed on a multitude of supports, and locked down by superincumbent weights. Such is the unity, however multifarious, of the whole, that the lightest, though loftiest and most vast Gothic cathedral has a look of strength and duration as manifest, as unquestioned, as the most ponderous and massive Romanesque or Norman.

The rapid, simultaneous, and universal growth of this so-called Gothic, its predominance, like its ^{Rapid rise and extension.} predecessor the Romanesque, through the whole realm of Latin Christendom, is not the least extraordinary fact in the revolution. It has had marked stages of development (now defined with careful discrimination by the able and prolific writers on the art) during several centuries and in all countries, in Germany, France, England, the Netherlands, Spain, even Italy; but its first principles might almost seem to have broken at once on the wondering world. Everywhere the whole building has an upward, it might seem heaven-aspiring tendency; everywhere the arches become more and more pointed, till at length they arrive at the perfect lancet; everywhere the thick and massy walls expand into large mullioned windows; everywhere the diminished solidity of the walls is supported from

without by flying buttresses, now concealed, now become lighter and more graceful, and revealing themselves, not as mere supports, but as integral parts of the building, and resting on outward buttresses; everywhere pinnacles arise, singly or in clusters, not for ornament alone, but for effect and perceptible use; everywhere the roof becomes a ridge more or less precipitate; everywhere the west front becomes more rich and elaborate, with its receding portals covered with niches, which are crowded with statues; everywhere the central tower assumes a more graceful form, or tapers into a spire; often two subordinate towers, or two principal towers, flank the west front; everywhere, in the exuberant prodigality of ornament, knosps, shrine-work, corbels, gurgoyles, there is a significance and a purport. Within the church the pillars along the nave break into graceful clusters around the central shaft; the vaulted roof is formed of the most simple yet intricate ribs; everywhere there are the noblest avenues of straight lines of pillars, the most picturesque crossings and interminglings of arches; everywhere harmony of the same converging lines; everywhere the aim appears to be height, unity of impression, with infinite variety of parts; a kind of heavenward aspiration, with the most prodigal display of human labour and wealth, as an oblation to the temple of God.

The rise of Gothic Architecture, loosely speaking, was contemporaneous with the Crusades.^b It was natural to

^b The theory of Warburton deriving the Gothic Cathedrals from an imitation of the overarching forests of the ancient Germans (he is disposed to go back to the Druids) is curious as illustrating the strange and total neglect of Mediæval Church History in this country. Here is a divine of almost unrivalled erudition (Jortin excepted) in his day, who seems to suppose that the Germans immediately, that they emerged from their forests, set to work to build Gothic cathedrals. He must either have supposed Gothic architec-

suppose that the eyes of the pilgrims were caught by the slender, graceful, and richly decorated forms of the Saracenic mosques, with their minarets and turrets. Pointed windows were discovered in The Crusades. mosques, and held to be the models of the Gothic cathedrals. Even earlier, when the Normans were piling up their massy round arches in the North, they had some pointed arches in Sicily, apparently adopted from the Mohammedans of that island.^c But the pointed arch is only one characteristic of Gothic Architecture, it is a vast step from the imitation of a pointed arch or window (if there were such imitation, which is extremely doubtful), to the creation of a Gothic cathedral.^d The connexion of the Crusades was of another kind, and far more powerful; it was the devotion aroused in all orders by that universal movement, which set into activity all the faculties of man; and the riches poured into the lap of the Clergy, which enabled them to achieve such wonders in so short a period. Religion awoke creative genius, genius worked freely with boundless command of wealth.

This apparently simultaneous outburst, and the universal promulgation of the principles, rules, Theory of Guild of Freemasons. and practice of the Gothic Architecture, has been accounted for by the existence of a vast secret guild of Freemasons, or of architects.^e Of this guild, either connected with or latent in the monasteries and among the Clergy, some of whom were men of profound architectural science, and held in their pay and in their subservience all who were not ecclesiastics, it is said,

ture of the fourth or fifth century, or quietly annihilated the intervening centuries to the twelfth.

^c Gally Knight, 'Normans in Sicily.'

^d Compare Whewell, 'Architectura Notes,' p. 35.

^e Hope on Architecture.

the centre, the quickening, and governing power was in Rome. Certainly of all developments of the Papal influence and wisdom none could be more extraordinary than this summoning into being, this conception, this completion of these marvellous buildings in every part of Latin Christendom. But it is fatal to this theory that Rome is the city in which Gothic Architecture, which some have strangely called the one absolute and exclusive Christian Architecture, has never found its place; even in Italy it has at no time been more than a half-naturalised stranger. It must be supposed that while the Papacy was thus planting the world with Gothic cathedrals, this was but a sort of lofty concession to Transalpine barbarism, while itself adhered to the ancient, venerable, more true and majestic style of ancient Rome. This guild too was so secret as to elude all discovery. History, documentary evidence maintain rigid, inexplicable silence. The accounts, which in some places have been found, name persons employed. The names of one or two architects, as Erwin of Strasburg, have survived, but of this guild not one word.^f The theory is not less unnecessary than without support. Undoubtedly there was the great universal guild, the Clergy and the monastic bodies, who perhaps produced, certainly retained, employed, guided, directed the builders. During this period Latin Christendom was in a state of perpetual movement,

State of
Europe.

^f All the documentary evidence adduced by Mr. Hope amounts to a Papal privilege to certain builders or masons, or a guild of builders, at Como, published by Muratori (Como was long celebrated for its skill and devotion to the art), and a charter to certain painters by our Henry VI. Schnaase (Ge-

sichte der Bildenden Kunst, iv. c. 5) examines and rejects the theory. He cites some few instances more of guilds, but local and municipal. The first guild of masons, which comprehended all Germany, was of the middle of the 15th century.

intercommunication between all parts was frequent, easy, uninterrupted. There were not only now pilgrimages to Rome, but a regular tide setting to and from the East, a concourse to the schools and universities, to Paris, Cologne, Montpellier, Bologna, Salerno: rather later spread the Mendicants. The monasteries were the great caravansaries; every class of society was stirred to its depths; in some cases even the villains broke the bonds which attached them to the soil; to all the abbey or the church opened its hospitable gates. Men skilled and practised in the science of architecture would not rest unemployed, or but poorly employed, at home. Splendid prizes would draw forth competition, emulation. Sacerdotal prodigality, magnificence, zeal, rivalry would abroad be famous, attractive at home; they would be above local or national prepossessions. The prelate or the abbot, who had determined in his holy ambition that his cathedral or his abbey should surpass others, and who had unlimited wealth at his disposal, would welcome the celebrated, encourage the promising, builder from whatever quarter of Christendom he came. Thus, within certain limits, great architects would be the architects of the world, or what was then the Western world, Latin Christendom: and so there would be perpetual progress, communication, sympathy in actual design and execution, as well as in the principles and in the science of construction. Accordingly, foreign architects are frequently heard of. Germans crossed the Alps to teach Italy the secret of the new architecture.⁵ Each nation indeed seems to have worked

⁵ "All countries, in adopting a neighbouring style, seem however to have worked it with some peculiarities of their own, so that a person conversant with examples can tell, upon inspecting a building, not only to what period it belongs, but to what nation. Much depends on material, much on

out its own Gothic with certain general peculiarities, Germany, France, the Netherlands, England, and later Spain. All seem to aim at certain effects, all recognised certain broad principles, but the application of these principles varies infinitely. Sometimes a single building, sometimes the buildings within a certain district, have their peculiarities. Under a guild, if there had been full freedom for invention, originality, boldness of design, there had been more rigid uniformity, more close adherence to rule in the scientific and technical parts.

The name of Gothic has ascended from its primal meaning, that of utter contempt, to the highest honour; it is become conventional for the architecture of the Middle Ages, and commands a kind of traditionary reverence. Perhaps Teutonic, or at least Transalpine, might be a more fit appellation. It was born, and reached its maturity and perfection north of the Alps. Gothic, properly so called, is a stranger and an alien in Italy. Rome absolutely repudiated it. It was brought across the Alps by German architects; it has ever borne in Italy the somewhat contemptuous name German-Gothic.^h Among its earliest Italian efforts is one remarkable for its history, as built by a French architect with English gold and endowed with benefices in England. The Cardinal Gualo, the legate who placed the young Henry III. on the throne of England, as he came back laden with the grateful or extorted tribute of the island, 12,000 marks of silver, encountered an architect of fame at Paris: he carried the Northern with him to his native Vercelli, where the Church of S. Andrea

the style of sculpture," &c.—Willis on Architecture, p. 11. Mr. Rickman's book is most instructive on the three styles predominant successively in Eng-

land.—Compare Whewell.

^h Gotico Tedesco. Compare Hope c. xxxix.

astonished Italy with its pointed arches, as well as the Italian clergy with the charges fixed for their maintenance on Preferments in remote England.ⁱ Assisi, for its age the wonder of the world, was built by a German architect. What is called the Lombard or Italian-Gothic, though inharmonious as attempting to reconcile vertical and horizontal lines, has no doubt its own admirable excellencies, in some respects may vie with the Transalpine. Its costly marbles, inlaid into the building, where they do not become alternate layers of black and white (to my judgement an utter defiance of every sound principle of architectural effect), its gorgeousness at Florence, Sienna, its fantastic grace at Orvieto, cannot but awaken those emotions which are the world's recognition of noble architecture.^k Milan to me, with all its matchless splendour, and without considering the architectural heresy of its modern west front, is wanting in religiousness. It aspires to magnificence, and nothing beyond magnificence. It is a cathedral which might have been erected in the pride of their wealth by the godless Visconti. Nothing can be more wonderful, nothing more graceful, each seen singly, than the numbers numberless, in Milton's words, of the turrets, pinnacles,

ⁱ Compare on Cardinal Gualo, vol. i. p. 81.

^k Professor Willis lays down "that there is in fact no genuine Gothic building in Italy."—On Italian Architecture, p. 4. He is inclined to make exceptions for some churches built in or near Naples by the Angevine dynasty. "The curious result is a style in which the horizontal and vertical lines equally predominate, and which, while it wants alike the lateral extension and repose

of the Grecian and the lofty upward tendency and pyramidal majesty of the Gothic, is yet replete with many an interesting and valuable architectural lesson. It exhibits pointed arches, pinnacles, buttresses, tracery and clustered columns, rib-vaultings, and lofty towers; all those characteristics, in short, the bare enunciation of which is considered by many writers to be a sufficient definition of Gothic."—*Ibid.*

statues, above, below, before, behind, on every side. But the effect is confusion, a dazzling the eyes and mind, distraction, bewilderment. The statues are a host of visible images basking in the sunshine, not glorified saints calmly ascending to heaven. In the interior the vast height is concealed and diminished by the shrine-work which a great way up arrests the eye and prevents it from following the columns to the roof, and makes a second stage between the pavement and the vault; a decoration without meaning or purport.

There can be no doubt that the birthplace of true Gothic Architecture was north of the Alps; it should seem on the Rhine, or in those provinces of France which then were German, Burgundy, Lorraine, Alsace, bordering on the Rhine. It was a splendid gift of Teutonism before Germany rose in insurrection and set itself apart from Latin Christendom. North of the Alps it attained its full perfection; there alone the Cathedral became in its significant symbolism the impersonation of mediæval Christianity.

The Northern climate may have had some connexion with its rise and development. In Italy and
 Climate. the South the Sun is a tyrant; breadth of shadow must mitigate his force; the wide eaves, the bold projecting cornice must afford protection from his burning and direct rays; there would be a reluctance altogether to abandon those horizontal lines, which cast a continuous and unbroken shadow; or to ascend as it were with the vertical up into the unslaked depths of the noonday blaze. The violent rains would be cast off more freely by a more flat and level roof at a plane of slight inclination. In the North the precipitate ridge would cast off the heavy snow, which might have lodged and injured the edifice. So, too, within the church the

Italian had to cool and diminish, the Northern would admit and welcome the flooding light. So much indeed did the Gothic Architecture enlarge and multiply the apertures for light, that in order to restore the solemnity it was obliged to subdue and sheathe as it were the glare, at times overpowering, by painted glass. And thus the magic of the richest colouring was added to the infinitely diversified forms of the architecture.

The Gothic cathedral was the consummation, the completion of mediæval, of hierarchical Christianity. Of that mediævalism, of that hierarchism (though Italy was the domain, and Rome the capital of the Pope), the seat was beyond the Alps. The mediæval hierarchical services did not rise to their full majesty and impressiveness, till celebrated under a Gothic cathedral. The church might seem to expand, and lay itself out in long and narrow avenues, with the most gracefully converging perspective, in order that the worshipper might contemplate with deeper awe the more remote central ceremonial. The enormous height more than compensated for the contracted breadth. Nothing could be more finely arranged for the processional services; and the processional services became more frequent, more imposing. The music, instead of being beaten down by low broad arches, or lost within the heavier aisles, soared freely to the lofty roof, pervaded the whole building, was infinitely multiplied as it died and rose again to the fretted roof. Even the incense curling more freely up to the immeasurable height, might give the notion of clouds of adoration finding their way to heaven.

The Gothic cathedral remains an imperishable and majestic monument of hierarchical wealth, power, devotion; it can hardly be absolutely called self-sacrifice, for if built for the honour of God

and of the Redeemer, it was honour, it was almost worship, shared in by the high ecclesiastic. That however has almost passed away; God, as it were, now vindicates to himself his own. The cathedral has been described as a vast book in stone, a book which taught by symbolic language, partly plain and obvious to the simpler man, partly shrouded in not less attractive mystery. It was at once strikingly significant and inexhaustible; bewildering, feeding at once and stimulating profound meditation. Even its height, its vastness might appear to suggest the Inconceivable, the Incomprehensible in the Godhead, to symbolise the Infinity, the incalculable grandeur and majesty of the divine works; the mind felt humble under its shadow as before an awful presence. Its form and distribution was a confession of faith; it typified the creed. Everywhere was the mystic number; the Trinity was proclaimed by the nave and the aisles (multiplied sometimes as at Bourges and elsewhere to the other sacred number, seven), the three richly ornamented recesses of the portal, the three towers. The Rose over the west was the Unity; the whole building was a Cross. The altar with its decorations announced the Real Perpetual Presence. The solemn Crypt below represented the under world, the soul of man in darkness and the shadow of death, the body awaiting the resurrection. This was the more obvious universal language. By those who sought more abstruse and recondite mysteries, they might be found in all the multifarious details, provoking the zealous curiosity, or dimly suggestive of holy meaning. Sculpture was called in to aid. All the great objective truths of religion had their fitting place. Even the Father, either in familiar symbol or in actual form, began to appear, and to assert his property in the sacred building. Already in the

Romanesque edifices the Son, either as the babe in the lap of his Virgin Mother, on the cross, or ascending into heaven, had taken his place over the central entrance, as it were to receive and welcome the worshipper. Before long he appeared not there alone, though there in more imposing form; he was seen throughout all his wondrous history, with all his acts and miracles, down to the Resurrection, the Ascension, the return to Judgment. Everywhere was that hallowed form, in infancy, in power, on the cross, on the right hand of the Father, coming down amid the hosts of angels. The most stupendous, the most multifarious scenes were represented in reliefs more or less bold, prominent, and vigorous, or rude and harsh. The carving now aspired to more than human beauty, or it delighted in the most hideous ugliness; majestic gentle Angels, grinning hateful sometimes half-comic Devils. But it was not only the New and the Old Testament, it was the Golden Legend also which might be read in the unexhausted language of the cathedral. Our Lady had her own chapels for her own special votaries, and toward the East, behind the altar, the place of honour. Not only were there the twelve Apostles, the four Evangelists, the Martyrs, the four great Doctors of the Latin Church, each in his recognised form, and with his peculiar symbol,—the whole edifice swarmed with Saints within and without, on the walls, on the painted windows, over the side altars. For now the mystery was so awful that it might be administered more near to the common eye, upon the altar in every succursal chapel which lined the building: it was secure in its own sanctity. There were the Saints local, national, or those especially to whom the building was dedicated; and the celestial hierarchy of the Areopagite, with its ascending orders, and con-

ventional forms, the winged seraph, the cherubic face. The whole in its vastness and intricacy was to the outward sense and to the imagination what Scholasticism was to the intellect, an enormous effort, a waste and prodigality of power, which confounded and bewildered rather than enlightened; at the utmost awoke vague and indistinct emotion.

But even therein was the secret of the imperishable power of the Gothic cathedrals. Their hieroglyphic language, in its more abstruse terms, became obsolete and unintelligible; it was a purely hierarchical dialect; its meaning, confined to the hierarchy, gradually lost its signification even to them. But the cathedrals themselves retired as it were into more simple and more commanding majesty, into the solemn grandeur of their general effect. They rested only on the wonderful boldness and unity of their design, the richness of their detail. Content now to appeal to the indelible, extinguishable kindred and affinity of the human heart to grandeur, grace, and beauty, the countless statues from objects of adoration became architectural ornaments. So the mediæval churches survive in their influence on the mind and the soul of man. Their venerable antiquity comes in some sort in aid of their innate religiousness. It is that about them which was temporary and accessory, their hierarchical character, which has chiefly dropped from them and become obsolete. They are now more absolutely and exclusively churches for the worship of God. As the mediæval pageantry has passed away, or shrunk into less imposing forms, the one object of worship, Christ, or God in Christ, has taken more full and absolute possession of the edifice. Where the service is more simple, as in our York, Durham, or Westminster, or even where the old faith prevails, in

Cologne, in Antwerp, in Strasburg, in Rheims, in Bourges, in Rouen, it has become more popular, less ecclesiastical: everywhere the priest is now, according to the common sentiment, more the Minister, less the half-divinised Mediator. And thus all that is the higher attribute and essence of Christian architecture retains its nobler, and in the fullest sense, its religious power. The Gothic cathedral can hardly be contemplated without awe, or entered without devotion.

CHAPTER IX.

Christian Sculpture.

DURING almost all this period Christian Sculpture was accessory, or rather subsidiary to architecture. Christian Sculpture. The use of Statues was to ornament and enrich the building. In her Western conquests under Justinian, Constantinople sent back no sculptors; only architects with her domes, and her Greek cross, and her splendid workers in mosaic. The prodigality with which Constantine, as Rome of old, despoiled the world to adorn his new city with ancient works of sculpture, put to shame, it should seem, rather than awoke the emulation of Christian Art. We have seen Constantine usurp the form, the attributes, even the statue, of Apollo.^a We have heard even Theodosius do homage to art, and spare statues of heathen deities for their exquisite workmanship. Christian historians, Christian poets, lavish all their eloquence, and all their glowing verse on the treasures of ancient art. They describe with the utmost admiration the gods, the mythological personages, those especially that crowded the baths of Zeuxippus;^b which perished with the old Church of St. Sophia in the fatal conflagration in the fifth year of Justinian. In the Lausus stood the unrivalled Cnidian

^a History of Christianity, vol. ii. p. 337; iii. 378. The whole passage.

^b Cedrenus, v. i. p. 648, Ed. Bonn. The Ephra^sis of Christodorus, is a Poem, for its age, of much spirit and beauty. See especially the descriptions of Hecuba and of Homer.—Jacobs, *Anthologia*.

Venus of Praxiteles; the Samian Juno of Lysippus;° the ivory Jove of Phidias. The whole city was thronged with statues of the Emperors and their Queens, of Constantine, Theodosius, Valentinian, Arcadius, and Honorius, Justinian, Leo, Theodora, Pulcheria, Eudocia.^d It is even said that there were marble statues of Arius, Macedonius, Sabellius, and Eunomius, which were exposed to filthy indignities by the orthodox Theodosius.^e It appears not how far Sculpture had dared to embody in brass or in marble the hallowed and awful objects of Christian worship. It should seem indeed that the Iconoclastic Emperors found statues, and those statues objects of adoration, to war upon. Though in the word Iconoclast, the image-breaker, the word for image is ambiguous; still the breaking seems to imply something more destructive than the effacing pictures, or picking out mosaics; it is the dashing to pieces something hard and solid. This controversy in the second Nicene Council comprehends images of brass or stone; one of the perpetual precedents is the statue of the Redeemer said to have been raised at Paneas in Syria.^f The carved symbolic images of the Jewish ark are constantly alleged.^g Those are accursed who compare the images of the Lord and of the Saints to the statues of Satanic Idols.^h If we worship stones as Gods, how do

^c So at least says Cedrenus, p. 564.

^d All these will be found in the description of Constantinople by Petrus Gyllius. The work was translated by John Ball, London, 1729.

^e Gyllius, b. ii. c. cxliii.

^f Act. Concil. Nicen. ii. A.D. 737, ἀνδρῶντι τῷ Χριστῷ. It was said to have been raised by the woman cured of an issue of blood, γ 14; ἔστησαν

δὲ καὶ εἰκόνα—of a certain Saint in an oratory, p. 23.

^g The Sculptilia in the Old Testament, p. 45.

^h These are anathematised — τῇ εἰκόνα τοῦ κυριοῦ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ ὁμοίως τοῖς Ἰσραηλῶν τῶν Σαταρικῶν εἰδώλων ὀνομάσαντας· σεπτὰς καὶ ἁγίας εἰκόνας τὰς ἐκ χρώματων καὶ ψήφιδος καὶ ἐτέρας ὕλης ἐπιτη-

we worship the Martyrs and Apostles who broke down and destroyed idols of stone?¹ The homage paid to the statues of the Emperors was constantly urged to repel the accusation of idolatry. Yet probably statues which represented objects of Christian worship were extremely rare; and when Image-worship was restored, what may be called its song of victory, is silent as to Sculptures:^k the Lord, the Virgin, the Angels, Saints, Martyrs, Priesthood, take their place over the portal entrance; but shining in colours to blind the eyes of the heretics. To the keener perception of the Greeks there may have arisen a feeling that in its more rigid and solid form the Image was more near to the Idol. At the same time, the art of Sculpture and casting in bronze was probably more degenerate and out of use; at all events it was too slow and laborious to supply the

δείωσ ἐχουσῆς ἐν ταῖς ἀγίαις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαις, ἐν ἱεροῖς σκευεσι καὶ ἐσθῆσι τοίχοις τε καὶ σανίσιν, οἴκοις τε καὶ ὁδοῖς, p. 375. In this minute enumeration the first must be statues. The letter of Tarasius is less clear: it mentions only painting, mosaics, waxen tablets, and *σάνιδες*; and in the Treatise of the Patriarch Germanus, published by Mai, Spicilegium, Romanum, vii. p. 62, *σάνιδες* (qu., reliefs) are mentioned and contrasted with *γραφίδες*, paintings.

¹ *Εἰ τοῖς λίθους ὡς θεοὺς δοξάζω* (if I give really divine worship to these stones, as I am accused) *πῶς τιμῶ καὶ προσκυνῶ τοὺς μάρτυρας καὶ ἀποστόλους συντρίψαντας καὶ ἀπολέσαντας τὰ λίθινα ζώδια.*—The address of Leontius, p. 48.

^k See the Poem in the Anthologia (Χριστιάνικα Ἐπιγράμματα), Jacobs, i. 28.

ἔλαμψεν ἀκτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας πάλιν καὶ τὰς κόρας ἠμβλυε τῶν ψευδηγόρων ἠῶξῆσεν εὐσεβεία, πέπτωκε πλάνη καὶ πίστις ἀνθεῖ, καὶ πλατύνεται χάρις. Ἰδοὺ γὰρ αὐθῆς Χριστὸς εἰκονισμένος λάμπει πρὸς ὕψος τῆς καθέδρας τοῦ κράτους, καὶ τὰς σκοτεινὰς αἰρέσεις ἀνατρέπει. Τῆς εἰσόδου δ' ὑπάρθεν, ὡς θεία πύλη, στηλογραφεῖται, καὶ φύλαξ, ἡ παρθένοσ ἀναξ δὲ καὶ πρόεδρος, ὡσ πλανοτρόποι σὺν τοῖς συνεργοῖς ἰστοροῦνται πλησίον κύκλω δὲ παντὸσ ὅσ φρουροὶ τοῦ δόμου, νοέσ (Ἄγγελοι) μαθηταὶ, μάρτυρες, θηηπόλοσ, ὅθεν καλοῦμεν Χριστοτορίκλιων νέον, τὸν πρὶν λαχόντα κλήσεωσ χρυσιωνόμου, ὡσ τὸν θρόνον ἔχοντα Χριστοῦ κυρίον, Χριστοῦ δὲ μητροσ, Χριστοκηρύκων τύπουσ, καὶ τοῦ σοφουργοῦ Μιχαὴλ τὴν εἰκόνα.

This was Michael the Drunkard, son of Theodora (Jacobs' Note). Compare vol. ii. p. 411. Was the Painting of Michael the Archangel, celebrated in two other Epigrams, erected on this occasion?—(Pp. 12, 13.)

¹ Ἀσκοπον ἄγγελον, ἀσώματον ε. δεῖ μορφῆσ
ἀ μετὰ τολμῆεσ κηρὸσ ἀπεπλασαστο
οἶδε δὲ τέχνη
χρώμασι πορθεμένοσ τὴν φρενὸσ ἱκεσίην

demand of triumphant zeal in the restoration of the persecuted Images. There was therefore a tacit compromise; nothing appeared but painting, mosaics, engraving on cups and chalices, embroidery on vestments. The renunciation of Sculpture grew into a rigid passionate aversion. The Greek at length learned to contemplate that kind of more definite and full representation of the Deity or the Saints with the aversion of a Jew or a Mohammedan.^m Yet some admiration for ancient Sculpture of heathen objects lingered behind in the Grecian mind. In his vehement and bitter lamentation over the destruction of all the beautiful works of bronze by the Crusaders in the Latin Conquest of Constantinople, Nicetas is not content with branding the avarice which cast all these wonderful statues into the melting-pot to turn them into money; he denounces the barbarians as dead to every sense of beauty,ⁿ who remorselessly destroyed the colossal Juno, the equestrian Bellerophon, the Hercules; as regardless of the proud reminiscences of old Rome, they melted the swine and the wolf which suckled Romulus and Remus, and the ass with its driver set up by Augustus after the battle of Actium; they feared not to seize the magic eagle of Apollonius of Tyana. Even the exquisite Helen, who set the world in arms, notwithstanding her unrivalled beauty and her fame, touched not, and did not soften those iron-hearted,

Christian
Sculpture
proscribed
in the East.

^m Nicephorus Critopulos, a late writer, says, *τούτων οὐκ εἰκονας ἢ ἐκκλησία ἐποίησεν οὐ γλυπτὰς οὐδε λαξευτάς ἀλλὰ γραπτὰς μόνον*, quoted in Suicer, who speaks justly of "Imagines sculptas et excisas, ipsiusque Dei representationes apud Græcos etiamnum ignotas." The exquisite small

carvings in ivory were permitted seemingly in all ages of Byzantine art.

ⁿ Nicetas Choniata de Signis, *οἱ τοῦ καλοῦ ἀνέραστοι οὔτοι βάρβαροι*. Some called the equestrian Bellerophon Joshua the Son of Nun. This is remarkable.

those unlettered savages, who could not read, who had never heard of Homer.^o

The West might seem to assert its more bold and free image-worship by its unrestrained and prodigal display of religious sculpture; still it was mostly sculpture decorative, or forming an integral part of Architecture. It was not the ordinary occupation of Sculpture to furnish the beautiful single statue of marble or of bronze. Rome had no succession of Emperors, whose attribute and privilege it was to a late period in Constantinople to have their image set up for the homage of the people, and so to keep alive the art of carving marble or casting bronze. But gradually in the Romanesque, as in the later Gothic Architecture, the west front of the Churches might seem, as it were, the chosen place for sacred Images. Not merely did the Saviour and the Virgin appear as the Guardian Deities over the portal, gradually the Host of Heaven, Angels, Apostles, Martyrs, Evangelists, Saints spread over the whole façade. They stood on pedestals or in niches; reliefs more or less high found their panels in the walls; the heads of the portal arches were carved in rich designs; the semicircle more or less round or pointed, above the level line of the door, was crowded with sacred scenes, or figures. But in all these, as in other statues if such there were, within the Churches, Christian modesty required that human or divinised figures must be fully clad. Sculpture, whose essence is form, found the naked human figure almost under proscription. There remained nothing for the sculptor's

^o Of Helen he says—ἄρ' ἐμείλιξε | καὶ τέλεον ἀναλφαβήτοις ἀναγνώσις
τοὺς δισμειλίκτους; ἄρ' ἐμάλλαξε | καὶ γνώσις τῶν ἐπὶ σοὶ βαψφθηθέντων
τοὺς σιδηρόφρονας; . . . ἕλλως | ἐκείνων ἐπῶν.—Edit. Bonn., p. 863.
τὲ ποῦ παρὰ ἀγραμμάτοις βαρβάροις

art but the attitude, the countenance, and the more or less graceful fall of the drapery; all this too, in strict subordination to the architectural effect; with this he must be content, and not aspire to centre on himself and his work the admiring and long dwelling eye.^p The Sculptor, in general, instead of the votary and master of a high and independent art, became the workman of the architect; a step or two higher than the carver of the capital, or the moulding, the knosp or the finial.^q In some respects the progress of Gothic, though it multiplied images to infinity, was unfavourable; as the niches became loftier and narrower, the Saints rose to disproportionate stature, shrunk to meagre gracility, they became ghosts in long shrouds. Sometimes set on high upon pinnacles, or crowded in hosts as at Milan, they lost all distinctness, and were absolutely nothing more than architectural ornaments.

All, no doubt, even as regards sculptural excellence, is not equally rude, barbarous, or barren. So many artists could not be employed, even under conventional restrictions, on subjects so suggestive of high and solemn emotion, men themselves under deep devotional feelings, without communicating to the hard stone some of their own conceptions of majesty, awfulness, serenity, grace, beauty. The sagacious judgement among the crowds of figures in front of our Cathedrals may discern some of the nobler attributes of Sculpture, dignity, expression, skilful and flowing disposition of drapery, even while that judgement is not prompted and kindled by reverential

^p Even of the Crucifix Schnaase has justly said, "Gleichzeitig änderte sich auch die Tracht des Gekreuzigten; die lange Tunica, welche früher den Körper ganz verhüllte, wird schon in 12

Jahr. kurzer, im 13 und noch allgemeiner in 14 vertritt ein Schurz um die Hüfte ihre Stelle."—iv. p. 390.

^q It is to be observed that the Statues were only intended to be seen in front.

religiousness, as is often the case, to imagine that in the statue which is in the man's own mind. In the reliefs, if there be more often confusion, grotesqueness, there is not seldom vigour and distinctness, skilful grouping, an artistic representation of an impressive scene. The animals are almost invariably hard, conventional emblems not drawn from nature; but the human figure, if without anatomical precision, mostly unnecessary when so amply swathed in drapery, in its outline and proportions is at times nobly developed. Yet, on the whole, the indulgence usually claimed and readily conceded for the state of art at the period, is in itself the unanswerable testimony to its imperfection and barbarism. Christian Sculpture must produce, as it did afterwards produce, something greater, with John of Bologna and Michael Angelo, or it must be content to leave to heathen Greece the uncontested supremacy in this wonderful art. Sculpture, in truth, must learn from ancient art those elementary lessons which Christianity could not teach, which it dared not, or would not venture to teach; it must go back to Greece for that revelation of the inexhaustible beauties of the human form which had long been shrouded from the eyes of men. The anthropomorphism of the Greeks grew out of, and at the same time fully developed the physical perfection of the human body. That perfection was the model, the ideal of the Sculptor. The gods in stature, force, majesty, proportion, beauty, were but superhuman men. To the Christian there was still some disdain of the sensual perishable body; with monasticism, that disdain grew into contempt; it must be abased, macerated, subdued. The utmost beauty which it could be allowed was patience, meekness, gentleness, lowliness. To the fully developed athlete succeeded the emaciated saint. The

man of sorrows, the form "of the servant," still lingered in the Divine Redeemer; the Saint must be glorified in meekness; the Martyr must still bear the sign and expression of his humiliation. The whole age might seem determined to disguise and conceal, even if not to debase, the human form, the Sculptor's proper domain and study, in its free vigorous movement or stately tranquillity. The majestic Prelate was enveloped in his gorgeous and cumbrous habiliments, which dazzled with their splendour; the strong, tall, noble Knight was sheathed in steel; even the Monk or Friar was swathed in his coarse ungainly dress, and cowl. Even for its draperies reviving Sculpture must go back to the antique.

There was one branch, however, of the art—Monumental Sculpture—which assumed a peculiar character and importance under Christianity, and aspired to originality and creativeness. Even Monumental Sculpture, in the Middle Ages, was in some degree architectural. The tomb upon which, the canopy under which, lay the King, the Bishop, or the Knight, or the Lady, was as carefully and as elaborately wrought as the slumbering image. In the repose, in the expression of serene sleep, in the lingering majesty, gentleness, or holiness of countenance of these effigies there is often singular beauty.* Repose is that in which Sculpture delights; the repose, or the collapsing into rest, of a superhuman being, after vigorous exertion; nothing, therefore, could be more exquisitely suited to

* Among the noblest tombs in Italy are that of Benedict XI. at Perugia, by John, son of Nicolo Pisano; of Gregory X., by Margaritone, at Arezzo; of John XXIII., at Florence, by Dona-

tello. Our own Cathedrals have noble specimens of somewhat ruder work—the Edward III., Queen Philippa, and Richard II, in Westminster Abbey.

the art than the peace of the Christian sleeping after a weary life, sleeping in conscious immortality, sleeping to awake to a calm and joyful resurrection. Even the drapery, for Sculpture must here, above all, submit to conceal the form in drapery, is at rest. But Monumental Sculpture did not confine itself to the single recumbent figure. The first great Christian Sculptor, Nicolo Pisano, in the former part of the 14th century, showed his earliest skill and excellence in the reliefs round the tomb of St. Dominic at Bologna.^s It is remarkable that the first great Christian Sculptor was a distinguished architect. Nicolo Pisano had manifestly studied at Rome and elsewhere the remains of ancient art; they guide and animate, but only guide and animate his bold and vigorous chisel. Christian in form and sentiment, some of his figures have all the grace and ease of Grecian Art. Nicolo Pisano stood, indeed, alone almost as much in advance of his successors, as of those who had gone before.^t Nor did Nicolo Pisano confine himself to Monumental Sculpture. The spacious pulpits began to offer panels which might be well filled up with awful admonitory reliefs. In those of Pisa and Sienna the master, in others his disciples and scholars, displayed their vigour and power. There was one scene which permitted them to reveal the naked form—the Last Judgement. Men, women, rose unclad from their

^s See on Nicolo Pisano, Cicognara, *Storia de Scultura*, v. 111, with the illustrative Prints. In Count Cicognara's engravings the transition from the earliest masters to Nicolo Pisano, is to be transported to another age, to *overleap centuries*.

^t Count Cicognara writes thus: all that I have seen, and all the Count's

illustrations, confirm his judgement:—

“Tutto ciò che lo aveva proceduto era molto al di sotto de lui, e per elevarsi ad un tratto fu forza d'un genio straordinario,” p. 223. “E le opere degli scolari di Niccolo ci sembreranno talvolta della mano de suoi predecessori,” p. 234. Guilds of sculpture now arose at Sienna and elsewhere.

tombs. And it is singular to remark how Nicolo Pisano seized all that was truly noble and sculptural. The human form appears in infinite variety of bold yet natural attitude, without the grotesque distortions, without the wild extravagances, the writhing, the shrinking from the twisting serpents, the torturing fiends, the monsters preying upon the vitals. Nicolo wrought before Dante, and maintained the sobriety of his art. Later Sculpture and Painting must aspire to represent all that Poetry had represented, and but imperfectly represented in words: it must illustrate Dante.

But in the first half of the fifteenth century, during the Popedom of Eugenius and Nicolas V., Sculpture broke loose from its architectural servitude, and with Donatello, and with Brunelleschi (if Brunelleschi had not turned aside and devoted himself exclusively to architectural art), even with Ghiberti, asserted its dignity and independence as a creative art.^a The Evangelist or the Saint began to stand alone trusting to his own majesty, not depending on his position as part of an harmonious architectural design. The St. Mark and the St. George of Donatello are noble statues, fit to take their place in the public squares of Florence. In his fine David, after the death of Goliath, above all in his Judith and Holofernes, Donatello took a bolder flight. In that masterly work (writes Vasari) the simplicity of the dress and countenance of Judith manifest her lofty spirit and the aid of God; as in Holofernes wine, sleep,

^a Donatello born 1383, died 1466; Brunelleschi 1398; Ghiberti 1378, died 1455. I ought perhaps to have added Jacobo della Quercia, who worked rather earlier at Bologna and Sienna. Read in Vasari the curious contest be-

tween Donatello and Brunelleschi, in which Donatello owned that while himself made an unrivalled Contadino, Brunelleschi made a Christ. See Vasari on the works of Donatello.

and death are expressed in his limbs; which, having lost their animating spirit, are cold and failing. Donatello succeeded so well in portrait statuary, that to his favourite female statue he said—Speak! speak! His fame at Padua was unrivalled. Of him it was nobly said, either Donatello was a prophetic anticipation of Buonarotti, or Donatello lived again in Buonarotti.

Ghiberti's great work was the gates of the Baptistery at Florence, deserving, in Michael Angelo's praise, to be called the Gates of Heaven; and it was from their copiousness, felicity, and unrivalled sculptural designs, that these gates demanded and obtained their fame.

CHAPTER X.

Christian Painting.

PAINTING, which, with architecture and music, attained its perfect and consummate excellence under the influence of Latin Christianity, had yet to await the century which followed the pontificate of Nicolas V. before it culminated, through Francia and Perugino, in Michael Angelo, Leonardo, Raffaelle, Correggio, and Titian. It received only its first impulse from mediæval Christianity; its perfection was simultaneous with the revival of classical letters and ancient art. Religion had in a great degree to contest the homage, even of its greatest masters, with a dangerous rival. Some few only of its noblest professors were at that time entirely faithful to Christian art. But all these, as well as the second Teutonic school, Albert Durer and his followers, are beyond our bounds.*

Of the great Epochs of Painting, therefore, two only, preparatory to the Perfect Age, belong to our present history: I. That which is called (I cannot but think too

* It were unwise and presumptuous (since our survey here also must be brief and rapid) to enter into the artistic and antiquarian questions which have been agitated and discussed with so much knowledge and industry by modern writers, especially (though I would not pass over Lanzi, still less the new Annotated Edition of Vasari)

by the Baron Rumohr (*Italienische Forschungen*), my friend M. Rio (*Art Chrétien*), by Kugler and his accomplished Translators, and by Lord Lindsay (*Christian Art*). In my summary I shall endeavour to indicate the sources from which it can be amplified, justified, or filled up.

exclusively) the Byzantine period; II. That initiatory branch of Italian art which I will venture to name, from the subjects it chose, the buildings which it chiefly adorned, and the profession of many of the best masters who practised it, the Cloistral epoch. The second period reached its height in Frà Angelico da Fiesole.^b

It is impossible to doubt that Painting, along with the conservation of some of its technical processes, and with some traditionary forms, and the conventional representation of certain scenes in the Scriptural History or in Legends, preserved certain likenesses, as they were thought to be, of the Saviour and his Apostles and Martyrs, designated by fixed and determinate lineaments, as well as by their symbolical attributes. The paintings in the Catacombs at Rome show such forms and countenances in almost unbroken descent till nearly two centuries after the conversion of Constantine.^c The history of Iconoclasm has recorded how such pictures were in the East religiously defended, religiously destroyed, religiously restored; how the West, in defiance, as it were, and contempt of the impious persecutor, seemed to take a new impulse, and the Popes of the Iconoclastic

^b Born 1387—became a Dominican 1407.

^c Much has been done during the last few years in the Catacombs. The great French Publication, by M. Louis Perret, is beautiful; if it be as true as beautiful, by some inexplicable means, some of the paintings have become infinitely more distinct and brilliant, since I saw them some thirty years ago. It is unfortunate that the passion for early art, and polemic passion, are so busy in discovering what they are determined to find, that sober, histori-

cal, and artistic criticism is fairly bewildered. There are two important questions yet to be settled: When did the Catacombs cease to be places of burial? (what is the date of the later cemeteries of Rome?). When did the Catacomb Chapels cease to be places not of public worship, but of fervent private devotion? To the end of that period, whenever it was, they would continue to be embellished by art, and therefore the difficulty of affixing dates to works of art is increased.

age lavished large sums on decorations of their churches by paintings, if not by sculpture. No doubt, also, many monk-artists fled from the sacrilegious East to practise their holy art in the safe and quiet West. Even a century or more before this, it is manifest that Justinian's conquest of Italy, as it brought the Byzantine form of architecture, so it brought the Byzantine skill, the modes and usages of the subsidiary art. The Byzantine painting of that age lives in the mosaics (the more durable process of that, in all its other forms, too perishable art) on the walls of the Church of San Vitale, and in S. Apollinaris in Ravenna, and in other Italian cities under Greek influence. These mosaics maintain the indefeasible character^d of Greek Christianity. The vast, majestic image of the Saviour broods indeed over the place of honour, above the high altar; but on the chancel-walls, within the Sanctuary, are on one side the Emperor, Theodora on the other, not Saints or Martyrs, not Bishops or Popes. It cannot be argued, from the survival of these more lasting works, that mosaic predominated over other modes of painting, either in Constantinople or in the Byzantinised parts of the West. But as it was more congenial to the times, being a work more technical and mechanical, so no doubt it tended to the hard, stiff, conventional forms which in general characterise Byzantine art, as well as to their perpetuity. The traditions of painting lived on. The descriptions of the paintings on the walls of the Romans^e by the poets

^d On the Mosaics of Leo III., Anastasius in vit. compare Schnaase, *Bildende Kunst*, iii. p. 505.

^e In the Castle Villa of Pontius Leontius on the Garonne, in the verses of Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carm.* xxii.,

were painted on one part scenes from the Mithridatic war waged by Lucullus; on the other the opening Chapters of the Old Testament. "Recutitorum primordia Judæorum." Sidonius seems to have been surprised at the splendour

of the fourth or fifth centuries bear striking resemblance to those of the poets of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, of the works which adorned Aix-la-Chapelle and the Palace of Ingelheim. How far, during all this period, it was old Roman art, or Roman art modified by Byzantine influences, may seem a question unimportant to general history, and probably incapable of a full solution. We must confine ourselves to that which is specially and exclusively Christian art.

Of all Christian painting during this long period, from the extinction of Paganism to the rise of Italian art (its first dawn at the beginning of the twelfth century, brightening gradually to the time of Nicolas V.), the one characteristic is that its object was worship, not art. It was a mute preaching, which addressed not the refined and intelligent, but the vulgar of all ranks.^f Its utmost aim was to awaken religious emotion, to suggest religious thought. It was therefore—more, no doubt, in the East than in the West—rigidly traditional, conventional, hierarchical. Each form had its special type, from which it was dangerous, at length forbidden, to depart. Each scene, with its grouping and arrangement, was consecrated by long reverence; the artist worked in the trammels of usage; he had faithfully to transmit to others that which he had received, and no more. Invention was proscribed; novelty might

and duration of the colours :

“Perpetuum pictura micat, nec tempore
longo
Depreciata suas turpant pigmenta figuras.”
—C. 202.

Fortunatus mentions wood-carving as
rivalling painting,

“Quos pictura solet, ligna dedere jocos.”

See Ermondus Nigellus, for the paint-
ings at Ingelheim.

^f See the Greek Epigram on the
painting of Michael the Archangel.

Ὡς θρασὺ μορφῶσαι τὸν ἀσώματον ἀλλὰ
καὶ εἰκῶν
ἐς νοερὴν ἀνάγει μνήστιν ἐπουρανίων.
Jacobs, p. 14.

This whole series of Epigrams was in-
scribed, no doubt, either under paint-
ings, or under illuminations in MSS.

incur the suspicion almost of heresy—at all events it would be an unintelligible language. Symbolism without a key; it would either jar on sacred associations, or perplex, or offend.⁵

From the earliest period there had been two traditional conceptions of that which was the central figure of Christian art, the Lord himself. One represented the Saviour as a beautiful youth, beardless—a purely ideal image, typical perhaps of the rejuvenescence of mankind in Christ.^b Such was the prevailing, if not the exclusive conception of the Redeemer in the West. In the East, the Christ is of mature age, of tall stature, meeting eyebrows, beautiful eyes, fine-formed nose, curling hair, figure slightly bowed, of delicate complexion, dark beard (it is sometimes called wine-coloured beard), his face, like his mother's, of the colour of wheat, long fingers, sonorous voice, and sweet eloquence (how was this painted?),ⁱ most gentle, quiet, long-suffering, patient, with all kindred graces, blending the manhood with the attributes of God. In the fabulous letter ascribed to

⁵ Kugler has the quotation from the Acts of the Council of Nice, which show that the Byzantine painters worked according to a law *θέσμος*. But M. Didron's work, *Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétienne*, at once proved the existence, and in fact published this law, according to which, in his vivid words—'L'artiste Grec est asservi aux traditions comme l'animal à son instinct, il fait une figure comme l'hirondelle son nid ou l'abeille sa ruche,' p. iv. The Greek Painter's Guide, which fills the greater part of M. Didron's book, gives all the rules of technical procedure and design.

^b Didron, *Hist. de Dieu*, and a trans-

lation published by Bohn, p. 249. But compare the two heads from the Catacombs, engraved in the Translation of Kugler. These, if both indeed represent the Redeemer, and are of the period supposed, approximate more nearly to the Eastern type.

ⁱ Didron, p. 248, from John of Damascus. M. Didron has fully investigated the subject, but with an utter and total want of historical criticism. He accepts this controversial tract of John of Damascus (he does not seem to read Greek) as an authority for all the old Legends of Abgarus of Edessa, and the likenesses of Christ painted or carved by order of Constantine.

Lentulus, descriptive of the person of the Redeemer, this conception is amplified into still higher beauty.^k The truth seems to be that this youthful Western type was absolutely and confessedly ideal; it was symbolic of the calm, gentle, young, world-renewing religion. In one place the Christ seems standing on the mystic mountain from whence issue the four rivers of Paradise, the Gospels of everlasting life.^m The tradition of the actual likeness was Eastern (it was unknown to Augustine), and this tradition in all its forms, at the second Council of Nicæa, and in the writings of John of Damascus, became historical fact. Though at that time there was not much respect for Scripture or probability, yet the youthful, almost boyish type of the Western Church, if it still survived, was so directly at issue with the recorded age of Jesus, that even in the West the description in John of Damascus, embellished into the bolder fiction of Lentulus, the offspring, and not the parent of the controversy, found general acceptance in the West as in the East.ⁿ

^k Compare Hist. of Christianity, iii. p. 390, for the translation of Lentulus. I am astounded at finding in a book like Kugler's (the English translation especially having undergone such supervision) the assertion that this letter of Lentulus may "possibly be assigned to the third century," p. 12. What evidence is there of its existence before the ninth or even the eleventh century? It is a strange argument, the only one that I can find, that the description resembles some of the earliest so-called Portraits of the Saviour, even one in the Catacombs. It is clear that it was unknown to the early Fathers, especially to St. Augustine. If known, it must have been adduced at the Council

of Nicæa, and by John of Damascus. But even the fable had not been heard of at that time. I have not the least doubt that it was a fiction growing out of the controversy.

^m Didron, p. 251.

ⁿ Hence too the Veronica, the vera *εικων*, a singular blending of Greek and Latin fiction and language. William Grimm, however, in his "Die Sage von Ursprung der Christus Bilder," treats this as a fancy of Mabillon and Papebroch. He derives it from the traditional name, Βερονικη, of the woman whose issue of blood was stanchd, who *traditionally* also was the S. Veronica. —Berlin. Transact., 1843.

But the triumph of Iconoclasm had been a monastic triumph—a triumph for which the monks had suffered, and admired each other's martyr sufferings. Gradually misery and pain became the noblest, dearest images; the joyous and elevating, if still lowly, emotions of the older faith, gave place altogether to gloom, to dreary depression. Among one class of painters, the monks of St. Basil, there was a reaction to absolute black-^{Monks of St. Basil. Black School.}ness and ugliness. The Saviour became a dismal, macerated, self-tortured monk. Light vanished from his brow; gentleness from his features; calm, serene majesty from his attitude.

Another change, about the tenth century, came over the image of the Lord. It was no longer the ^{Change in the tenth century.}mild Redeemer, but the terrible Judge, which painting strove to represent. As the prayers, the hymns, gradually declined from the calm, if not jubilant tone of the earliest Church, the song of deliverance from hopeless unawakening death, the triumph in the assurance of eternal life,—so the youthful symbol of the new religion, the form which the Godhead, by its in-dwelling, beautified and glorified, the still meek, if commanding look of the Redeemer, altogether disappeared, or ceased to be the most ordinary and dominant character: he became the King of tremendous majesty, before whom stood shuddering, guilty, and resuscitated mankind.^o The Cross, too, by degrees, became the Crucifix.^p The image of the Lord on the Cross was at first ^{The Crucifix.}meek, though suffering; pain was represented, but pain overcome by patience; it was still a clothed

* See the observations of Schnaase above, p. 599, note.

^p Schnaase says that the first Byzantine representation of the Cruci-

fixion is in a Codex of the time of Basil the Macedonian (867 886), iii p. 216.

form, with long drapery. By degrees it was stripped to ghastly nakedness; agony became the prevailing, absorbing tone. The intensity of the suffering strove at least to subdue the sublime resignation of the sufferer; the object of the artist was to wring the spectator's heart with fear and anguish, rather than to chasten with quiet sorrow or elevate with faith and hope; to aggravate the sin of man, rather than display the mercy of God. Painting vied with the rude sculpture which arose in many quarters (sculpture more often in wood than in stone), and by the red streaming blood, and the more vivid expression of pain in the convulsed limbs, deepened the effect; till, at last, that most hideous and repulsive object, the painted Crucifix, was offered to the groaning worship of mankind.⁹

But this was only one usage, though the dominant one—one school of Byzantine art. Painting, both at Constantinople and in Italy, was more true to its own dignity, and to Christianity. It still strove to maintain nobler conceptions of the God-Man, and to embody the Divinity glorifying the flesh in which it dwelt. In this respect, no doubt, the more durable form of the art would be highly conservative; it prevented deeper degeneration. If other painting might dare to abrogate the

⁹ The curious and just observations of M. Didron should be borne in mind in the History of Christian Painting. "Nous dirons à cette occasion, qu'il n'y aurait rien de plus intéressant qu'à signaler dans l'ordre chronologique les sujets de la Bible, du Martyrologe, et de la Légende, que les différentes époques ont surtout affectionnés. Dans les catacombes il n'y a pas une scène de martyre, mais une foule de sujets relatifs à la résurrection. Les Martyrs

et les jugements derniers, avec les représentations des supplices de l'enfer, abondent pendant le moyen âge. A partir de la renaissance à nos jours c'est la douceur, et, disons le mot, la sentimentalité, qui dominent; alors on adopte la bénédiction des petits enfants, et les dévotions qui ont le cœur pour l'objet. Il faut chercher la raison de tous ces faits."—Didron, Manuel d'Iconographie, p. 182, note. The reason is clear enough.

tradition or the law, Mosaic would be more unable, or more unwilling, to venture upon dangerous originality. It would be a perpetual protest against the encroachments of ugliness and deformity: its attribute, its excellence being brilliancy, strongly contrasted diversity and harmony of rich colouring, it would not consent to darken itself to a dismal monotony. Yet Mosaic can hardly become high art; it is too artificial, too mechanical. It may have, if wrought from good models, an imposing effect; but the finely-*evanescent* outline, the true magic of colouring, the depth, the light and shade, the half-tints, the blending and melting into each other of hues in their finest gradations, are beyond its powers. The interlaying of small pieces cannot altogether avoid a broken, stippled, spotty effect: it cannot be alive. As it is strong and hard, we can tread it under foot on a pavement, and it is still bright as ever: but in the church, the hall, or the chamber, it is an enamelled wall—but it is a wall; [†] splendid decoration, but aspiring to none of the loftier excellences of art. But throughout this period faithful conservation was in truth the most valuable service. Mosaic fell in with the tendency to conventionalism, and aided in strengthening conventionalism into irresistible law.[‡]

Thus Byzantine art, and Roman art in the West, so

[†] Kugler (p. 20) is almost inclined to suspect that historic painting on walls in Mosaic arose under Christian influences in the fourth century. It was before on pavements.

[‡] The account of the earlier Mosaics, and the description of those at Rome and at Ravenna, in Kugler's Handbook, is full and complete. Kugler, it is to be observed, ascribed those in San Vitale, and other works of Justinian and

his age in the West, to Roman, not Byzantine Art. This, perhaps, can hardly be determined. The later, at S. Apollinaris in Ravenna, at S. Prassede, and other Churches in Rome, are Byzantine in character; on those of Venice Kugler is fuller. The Art was lost in Italy at the close of the ninth century, to revive again more free and Italian in the eleventh and twelfth.

far as independent of Byzantine art, went on with its perpetual supply of images, relieved by a blazing golden ground, and with the most glowing colours, but in general stiff, rigid, shapeless, expressionless. Worship still more passionate multiplied its objects; and those objects it was content to receive according to the established pattern. The more rich and gaudy, the more welcome the offering to the Saint or to the Deity, the more devout the veneration of the worshipper. This character—splendid colouring, the projection of the beautiful but too regular face, or the hard, but not entirely unpliant form, by the rich background—prevails in all the subordinate works of art in East and West—enamels, miniatures, illuminations in manuscripts. In these, not so much images for popular worship, as the slow work of artists dwelling with unbounded delight on their own creations, seem gradually to dawn glimpses of more refined beauty, faces, forms, more instinct with life: even the boundless luxuriance of ornament, flowers, foliage, animals, fantastic forms, would nurse the sense of beauty, and familiarise the hand with more flowing lines, and the mind with a stronger feeling for the graceful for the sake of its grace. It was altogether impossible that, during so many ages, Byzantine art, or the same kind of art in the West, where it was bound by less rigid tradition, and where the guild of painters did not pass down in such regular succession, should not struggle for freedom.[†] The religious emotions which

[†] I must decline the controversy how far Western Art was Byzantine. It may be possible for the fine sagacity of modern judgment to discriminate between the influences of Byzantine and old Roman Art, as regards the

forms and designs of Painting. Yet considering that the Byzantine Artists of Justinian, and the Exarchs of Ravenna, to a far greater extent those who, flying from the Iconoclastic persecution, brought with them the secrets

the painter strove to excite in others would kindle in himself, and yearn after something more than the cold immemorial language. By degrees the hard, flat lineaments of the countenance would begin to quicken themselves; its long ungraceful outline would be rounded into fulness and less rigid expression; the tall, straight, meagre form would swell out into something like movement, the stiff, fettered extremities separate into the attitude of life; the drapery would become less like the folds which swathe a mummy; the mummy would begin to stir with life. It was impossible but that the Saviour should relax his harsh, stern lineaments; that the child should not become more child-like; the Virgin-Mother waken into maternal tenderness.^u This effort after emancipation would first take place in those smaller

and rules of their art, were received and domiciliated in the Western Monasteries, and that in those Monasteries were chiefly preserved the traditions of the older Italian Art; that at no time was the commercial or political connexion of Constantinople and the West quite broken off, and under the Othos the two Courts were cemented by marriage; that all the examples of the period are to be sought in the rigid Mosaic, in miniatures, ivories, illuminations—there must have been so much intermingling of the two streams, that such discrimination must at least be conjectural.—Compare Rio, on what he calls Romano-Christian, independent of Byzantine Art, pp. 32 *et seqq.* Rumohr, *Italienische Forschungen*, and Kugler. Lord Lindsay is a strong Byzantine; and see in Kugler, p. 77; but Kugler will hardly allow Byzantine Art credit for the original conception or execution of the better designs.

^u Durandus, in his *Rationale*, i. c. 3, would confine the representation of the Saviour in Churches to three attitudes, either on his throne of glory, on the cross of shame, or in the lap of his Mother. He adds another, as teacher of the world, with the Book in his hand.—See Schnaase, iv. 387, for the various postures (ii. p. 136) of the Child in his Mother's arms. Schnaase, *Geschichte der Bildende Kunst*, says that about the middle of the fifth century the paintings of the Virgin Mary became more common (one has been discovered, which *is asserted to be of an earlier period*, but we have only the authority of enthusiastic admiration and polemic zeal for its age) in the Catacombs. The great Mosaic in S. Apollinare Nuovo is of the first quarter of the sixth century. Her image, as has been said, floated over the fleet of the Emperor Heraclius I.

works, the miniatures, the illuminations of manuscripts.* On these the artist could not but work, as has been said, more at his ease; on the whole, in them he would address less numerous perhaps, but more intelligent spectators; he would be less in dread of disturbing popular superstition: and so Taste, the parent and the child of art, would struggle into being. Thus imperceptibly, thus in various quarters, these better qualities cease to be the secret indulgences, the life-long labours of the emblazoner of manuscripts, the illuminator of missals. In the higher branches of the art, the names of artists gradually begin to transpire, to obtain respect and fame; the sure sign that art is beginning, that mere technical traditionary working at images for popular worship is drawing to its close. Already the names of Guido of Sienna, Giunto of Pisa, and of Cimabue, resound through Christendom. Poetry hails the birth and the youth of her sister art.

Such, according to the best authorities, appears to have been the state of painting from the iconoclastic controversy throughout the darker ages. Faintly and hesitatingly at the commencement of the twelfth century,^y more boldly and vigorously towards its close, and

* The exquisite grace of the ivory carvings from Constantinople, which show so high and pure a conception for art, as contrasted with the harsh glaring paintings, is perfectly compatible with these views. The ivories were the works of more refined artists for a more refined class. The paintings were the idols of the vulgar—a hard, cruel, sensual vulgar; the ivories, as it were, talismans of the hardly less superstitious, but more opulent, and polished; of those who kept up, some the love of

letters, some more cultivated tastes. Even the illuminations were the quiet works of the gentler and better and more civilised Monks: their love and their study of the Holy Books was the testimony and the means of their superior refinement.

^y “Mir selbst aber ist es während vieljähriger Nachforschung durchaus nicht gelungen, irgend ein Beispiel des Wiederaufstrebens und Fortschreitens der Italienischen Kunstübung auszufinden, dessen Alter den Anbeginn des

during the thirteenth and half the fourteenth, Italian painting rose by degrees, threw off with Giotto the last trammels of Byzantinism which had still clung around Cimabue; and at least strove after that exquisite harmony of nature and of art, which had still great progress to make before it reached its consummation. Turn from the vast, no doubt majestic Redeemer of Cimabue, which broods, with its attendant figures of the Virgin and St. John, over the high altar at Pisa, to the free creations of Giotto at Florence or Padua. Giotto was the great deliverer. Invention is no sooner free than it expatiates in unbounded variety. Nothing more moves our wonder than the indefatigable activity, the unexhausted fertility of Giotto: he is adorning Italy from the Alps to the Bay of Naples; even crossing the Alps to Avignon. His works either exist or have existed at Avignon, Milan, Verona, Padua, Ferrara, Urbino, Ravenna, Rimini, Lucca, Florence, Assisi, Rome, Gaeta, Naples.^z Bishops, religious orders, republics, princes and potentates, kings, popes, demand his services, and do him honour. He raises at once the most beautiful tower in architecture—that of Florence—and paints the Chapel of the Arena at Padua, and the Church at Assisi. Giotto was no monk, but, in its better sense, a man of the world. Profoundly religious in expression, in character, in aim; yet religious not merely as embodying all the imagery of the mediæval faith, but as prophetic, at least, if not presentient of a wider Catholicism.^a Be-

Giotto,
born 1276,
died 1336.

zwölften Jahrhunderts übersteige."—
Rumohr, *Italienische Forschungen*, i. p.
250.

For the works of the twelfth century, Kugler, p. 94 *et seqq.* Nevertheless full eighty years elapsed before this development made any further

progress, p. 98. Sculpture in relief was earlier than Painting.

^z Rio says, perhaps too strongly, that *all* his works at Avignon, Milan, Verona, Ferrara, Modena, Ravenna, Lucca, Gaeta, have perished, p. 65.

^a There is great truth and beauty

sides the Scriptural subjects, in which he did not entirely depart from the Byzantine or earlier arrangement, and all the more famous Legends, he opened a new world of real and of allegorical beings. The poetry of St. Francis had impersonated everything; not merely, therefore, did the life of St. Francis offer new and picturesque subjects, but the impersonations, Chastity, Obedience, Poverty, as in the hymns of St. Francis they had taken being, assumed form from Giotto. Religious led to civil allegory. Giotto painted the commonwealth of Florence. Allegory in itself is far too unobjective for art: it needs perpetual interpretation, which art cannot give; but it was a sign of the new world opening, or rather boldly thrown open, to painting by Giotto. The whole Scripture, the whole of Legend (not the old permitted forms and scenes alone), the life of the Virgin, of the Saints, of the founders of Orders, even the invisible worlds which Dante had revealed in poetry, now expanded in art. Dante, perhaps, must await Orcagna, not indeed actually to embody, but to illustrate his transmundane worlds. Italy herself hailed, with all her more powerful voices—her poets, novelists, historians—the new epoch of art in Giotto. Dante declares that he has dethroned Cimabue. “The vulgar,” writes Petrarch, “cannot understand the surpassing beauty of Giotto’s Virgin, before which the masters stand in astonishment.” “Giotto,” says Boccaccio, “imitates nature to perfect

in the character of Giotto as drawn by Lord Lindsay (ii. p. 268). The three first paragraphs appear to me most striking and just. Lord Lindsay divides his life into four periods. I. His youth in Florence and Rome. II. About A.D. 1306 in Lombardy, the Arena

Chapel at Padua. III. Assisi. IV. Longer residence in Florence, North of Italy, Avignon, Naples, p. 165.—See also Mr. Ruskin’s Memoir. For Giotto’s remarkable Poem against voluntary poverty, see Rumohr, i. c. 9.

illusion;" Villani describes him as transcending all former artists in the truth of nature.^b

During the latter half of the thirteenth, and throughout the fourteenth century, the whole of Italy, the churches, the monasteries, the cloisters, many of the civil buildings, were covered with paintings aspiring after, and approximating to the highest art. Sienna, then in the height of her glory and prosperity, took the lead; Pisa beheld her Campo Santo peopled with the wonderful creations of Orcagna. Painting aspired to her Inferno, Purgatorio, Paradiso: Painting will strive to have her Dante.

This outburst was simultaneous with, it might seem to originate in, the wide dissemination, the ubiquitous activity, and the strong religious passion felt, propagated, kept alive in its utmost intensity ^{Mendicant Orders.} by the Mendicant Orders. Strange it might appear that the Arts, the highest luxuries, if we may so speak, of religion, should be fostered, cultivated, cherished, distributed throughout Italy, and even beyond the Alps, by those who professed to reduce Christianity to more than its primitive simplicity, its nakedness of all adornment, its poverty; whose mission it was to consort with the most rude and vulgar; beggars who aspired to rank below the coarsest mendicancy; according to whose rule there could be no property, hardly a fixed residence. Strange! that these should become the most munificent patrons of art, the most consummate artists; that their cloistered palaces should be the most sumptuous in architecture, and the most richly decorated by sculpture

^b "Credette Cimabue nella pittura
Tener lo campo, ed or' ha Giotto il grido."
Purg. xi. 94.

"Mitto tabulam meam beatæ Virginis, operis Joeti pictoris egregii in

cujus pulcritudinem ignorant nec intelligent, magistri autem artis stupent."—Quoted by Vasari. *Decameron*, Giorn. vi. Nov. 5. Villani, 11, 12.

and painting; at once the workshops and the abodes of those who executed most admirably, and might seem to adore with the most intense devotion, these splendours and extravagances of religious wealth. Assisi—the birthplace of St. Francis, the poor, self-denying wanderer over the face of the earth, who hardly owned the cord which girt him, who possessed not a breviary of his own, who worshipped in the barren mountain, at best in the rock-hewn cell, whose companions were the lepers, the outcasts of human society—Assisi becomes the capital, the young, gorgeous capital of Christian Art. Perhaps in no single city of that period was such lavish expenditure made in all which was purely decorative. The church, finished by a German architect but five years after the death of St. Francis, put to shame in its architecture, as somewhat later in the paintings of Cimabue, Simon Memmi, Giotto, Giotto, probably the noblest edifices in Rome, those in the Lombard Republics, in Pisa, Sienna, Florence, and as yet those of the capitals and cathedral cities of Transalpine Christendom. The Dominicans were not far behind in their steady cultivation, and their profuse encouragement of art.^c

Yet this fact is easy of explanation, if it has not already found its explanation in our history. There is always a vast mass of dormant religiousness in the world; it wants only to be seized, stimulated, directed, appropriated. These Orders swept into their ranks and within their walls all who yearned for more intense religion. Devout men threw themselves into the movement, which promised most boldly and succeeded most fully in satisfying the cravings of the heart. There

^c Simon Memmi of Sienna painted the legend of St. Dominic in the Chapel of the Spaniards in Santa Maria Novella at Florence.—Vasari and Rio, p. 55.

would be many whose vocation was not that of the active preacher, or the restless missionary, or the argute schoolman. There were the calm, the gentle, the contemplative. Men who had the irresistible calling to be artists became Franciscans or Dominicans, not because mendicancy was favourable to art, but because it awoke, and cherished, and strengthened those emotions which were to express themselves in art. Religion drove them into the cloister; the cloister and the church offered them its walls; they drew from all quarters the traditions, the technicalities of art. Being rich enough (the communities, not the individuals) to reward the best teachers or the more celebrated artists, they soon became masters of the skill, the manipulation, the rules of design, the practice of colouring. How could the wealth, so lavishly poured at their feet, be better employed than in the reward of the stranger-artist, who not only adorned their walls with the most perfect models, but whose study in the church or in the cloister was a school of instruction to the Monks themselves who aspired to be their pupils or their rivals?

The Monkish painters were masters of that invaluable treasure, time, to work their study up to perfection; there was nothing that urged to careless haste. Without labour they had their scanty but sufficient sustenance; they had no further wants. Art alternated with salutary rest, or with the stimulant of art, the religious service. Neither of these permitted the other to languish into dull apathy, or to rest in inexpressive forms or hues. No cares, no anxieties, probably not even the jealousies of art, intruded on these secluded Monks; theirs was the more blameless rivalry of piety, not of success. With some, perhaps, there was a latent unconscious pride, not so much in themselves as in the fame and

influence which accrued to the Order, or to the convent, which their works crowded more and more with wondering worshippers. But in most it was to disburthen, as it were, their own hearts, to express in form and colour their own irrepressible feelings. They would have worked as passionately and laboriously if the picture had been enshrined, unvisited, in their narrow cell. They worshipped their own works, not because they were their own, but because they spoke the language of their souls. They worshipped while they worked, worked that they might worship; and works so conceived and so executed (directly the fetters of conventionalism were burst and cast aside, and the technical skill acquired) could not fail to inspire the adoration of all kindred and congenial minds. Their pictures, in truth, were their religious offerings, made in single-minded zeal, with untiring toil, with patience never wearied or satisfied. If these offerings had their meed of fame, if they raised the glory or enlarged the influence and so the wealth of the Order, the simple artists were probably the last who would detect within themselves that less generous and less disinterested motive.

If the Dominicans were not inferior to the Franciscans in the generous encouragement of the art of painting, in its cultivation among their own brethren they attained higher fame. If Assisi took the lead, and almost all the best masters kindled its walls to life, the Dominican convent in Florence might boast the works of their own

Frà Angelico. brother Frà Angelico. To judge from extant paintings, Angelico was the unsurpassed, if not unrivalled, model of what I presume to call the cloistral school of painting. The perfect example of his inspiration as of his art was Frà Giovanni Angelico da Fiesole. Frà Angelico became a monk that he

might worship without disturbance, and paint without reward. He left all human passions behind him; his one passion was serene devotion, not without tenderness, but the tenderness of a saint rather than of a man. Before he began to paint, he knelt in prayer; as he painted the sufferings of the Redeemer, he would break off in tears. No doubt, when he attained that expression of calm, unearthly holiness which distinguishes his Angels or Saints, he stood partaking in their mystic ecstasy. He had nothing of the moroseness, the self-torture of the monk; he does not seem, like later monastic painters in Italy and Spain, to have delighted in the agony of the martyrdom; it is the glorified, not the suffering, Saint which is his ideal. Of the world, it was human nature alone from which he had wrenched away his sympathies. He delights in brilliant colours; the brightest green or the gayest hues in his trees and flowers; the richest reds and blues in his draperies, with a profusion of gold. Frà Angelico is the Mystic of painting, the contemplative Mystic, living in another world, having transmuted all that he remembers of this world into a purer, holier being. But that which was his excellence was likewise his defect. It was spiritualism, exquisite and exalting spiritualism, but it was too spiritual. Painting, which represents humanity, even in its highest, holiest form, must still be human. With the passions, the sympathies and affections of Giovanni's mind had almost died away. His child is not a child, he is a cherub. The Virgin and the Mother are not blended in perfect harmony and proportion; the colder Virgin prevails; adoration has extinguished motherly love. Above all, the Redeemer fails in all Angelico's pictures. Instead of the orthodox perfect God and perfect Man, by a singular heresy the humanity

is so effaced that, as the pure Divinity is unimaginable, and, unincarnate, cannot be represented, both the form and the countenance are stiffened to a cold, unmeaning abstraction. It is neither the human nature with the infused majesty and mercy of the Godhead; nor the Godhead subdued into the gentleness and patience of humanity. The God-Man is neither God nor Man. Even in the celestial or beatified beings, angels or saints, exquisite, unrivalled as is their grace and beauty, the grace is not that of beings accustomed to the free use of their limbs; the beauty is not that of our atmosphere. Not merely do they want the breath of life, the motion of life, the warmth of life, they want the truth of life, and without truth there is no consummate art. They have never really lived, never assumed the functions nor dwelt within the precincts of life. Painting having acquired in the cloister all this unworldliness, this profound devotion, this refined spirituality, must emerge again into the world to blend and balance both, first in Francia and Perugino, up to the perfect Leonardo and Raffaello. Even the cloister in Frà Bartolomeo must take a wider flight; it must paint man, it must humanise itself that it may represent man and demand the genuine admiration of man. It is without the walls of the cloister that painting finds its unrivalled votaries, achieves its most imperishable triumphs.

Transalpine Painting is no less the faithful conser-
Transalpine,
 German and
 Flemish art. vator of the ancient traditions. In the German missals and books of devotion there is, throughout the earlier period, the faithful maintenance of the older forms, rich grounds, splendid colours. The walls of the older churches reveal paintings in which there is at least aspiration after higher things, some variety of design, some incipient grace and nobleness of form.

The great hierarchical cities on the Rhine seem to take the lead. William of Cologne and Master Stephen seem as if they would raise up rivals in Teutonic to Italian art. Above all, at the close of this period, about contemporary with Angelico da Fiesole, the Flemish Van Eycks, if not by the invention, by the perfection of oil-painting, gave an impulse of which it is difficult to calculate the importance. Those painters of the rich commercial cities of the Low Countries might seem as deeply devout in their conceptions as the cloistral school of Italy, yet more human as living among men, nobler in their grouping, nobler in their dresses and draperies; and already in their backgrounds anticipating that truth and reality of landscape which was hereafter to distinguish their country. In this the later Flemish painters rise as much above the Van Eycks as Leonardo and Raffaello above their predecessors. But at first Teutonic might seem as if it would vie for the palm of Christian painting.^d

The works of Nicolas V. in letters and in arts have ended our survey of these two great departments of Christian influence, and summed up the account of Latin Christendom. The papacy of Nicolas V. closed the age of mediæval letters; it terminated, at least in Italy, if Brunelleschi had not already closed it, the reign of mediæval architecture.^e In painting, by his muni-

^d Hubert Van Eyck, born about 1366, died 1426. John Van Eyck, born about 1400, died 1445.—See for German Painting the Translation of Kugler, by Sir Edmund Head. On the Van Eycks, Waagen's Dissertation.

^e Two sentences of Vasari show the revolution arrived at and taught by that great Architect, who boasted to

have raised the majestic cupola of Florence. "Solo l'intento suo era l'architettura che già era spenta, dico gli ordini antichi *buoni*, e non la *Tedesca e barbara* la quale molto si usava nel suo tempo. * * * E aveva in se due concetti grandissimi; l'uno era il tornare a luce la buona architettura, credendo egli, ritrovandola non lasciar-

ificent patronage of that which was then the highest art, but which was only the harbinger of nobler things to come, the pontificate of Nicolas marked the transition period from the ancient to the modern world.

But Nicolas V. was only a restorer, and a restorer not in the hierarchical character, of the mediæval architecture. That architecture had achieved its great works, Strasburg, all that was to rise, till the present day, of Cologne, Antwerp, Rheims, Bourges, Amiens, Chartres, St. Ouen at Rouen, Notre Dame at Paris, our own Westminster, York, Salisbury, Lincoln. This great art survived in its creative power, only as it were, at the extremities of Latin Christendom. It had even passed its gorgeous epoch, called in France the Flamboyant; it was degenerating into luxury and wantonness; it had begun to adorn for the sake of adornment. But Rome was still faithful to Rome; her architecture would not condescend to Teutonic influence. That which is by some called Christian architecture, as has been said, was to the end almost a stranger in the city still acknowledged as the capital of Christendom.^f Rome at least, if not Italy, was still holding aloof from that which was the strength of Rome and of Latin Christendom—Mediævalism; Nicolas V., as it were, accomplished the divorce. In him Rome repudiated the whole of what are called the Dark Ages. Rome began the revival which was to be in the end the ruin of her supremacy.

Nicolas V., as Pope, as sovereign of Rome, as patron of letters and arts, stood, consciously perhaps, but with

manco memoria di se, che fatto si | p. 265.

aveva Cimabue e Giotto; l'altro di |
 trovar modo, se e si potesse, a voltare |
 la cupola di S. Maria del Fiore di |
 Firenze," p. 207, edit. Milan. Compare | alle primarie forme restituiti."—Vasari.

a dim perception of the change, at the head of a new æra. It was an epoch in Christian civilisation. To him the Pope might seem as destined for long ages to rule the subject and tributary world; the great monarchies, the Empire, France, Spain, England, were yet to rise, each obedient or hostile to the Pope as might suit their policy. He could not foresee that the Pope, from the high autocrat over all, would become only one of the powers of Christendom. To be a sovereign Italian prince might appear necessary to his dignity, his security. It was but in accordance with the course of things in Italy. Everywhere, except in stern oligarchical Venice, in Milan, in Verona, in Ferrara, in Florence, princes had risen, or were arising, on the ruins of the Republics, Viscontis, Sforzas, della Scalas, Estes, Medicis. Thomas of Sarzana (he took this name, he had no other, from his native town), so obscure that his family was unknown, had no ancestry to glorify, no descendants whom he might be tempted to enrich or to ennoble. He had no prophetic fears that, as sovereign princes, his successors would yield to the inevitable temptation of founding princely families at the expense of the interests, of the estates and dominions of the Church. Not only was the successor of St. Peter to be merged in the more ambitious politics of the world, but trammelled in the more mean and intricate politics of Italy. Almost from this time the names of the successive Popes may be traced in the annals of the cities and petty principalities of Italy, in the rolls of the estates of the Church, of which they have become lords, in their magnificent palaces in Rome. Among those palaces there is but one, the Colonna, which boasts an ancient name; but few which bear not the name of a **p**apal house. Too often among the Popes of the next

century the character (and dark indeed was that character) of the Italian sovereign prince prevailed over that of the Pope. If his house was not perpetuated, it was solely from the indignant hostility and execration of mankind.⁶

As to Nicolas V. Italy, or rather Latin Christianity, mainly owes her age of learning, as well as its fatal consequences to Rome and to Latin Christianity, so those consequences, in his honest ardour, he would be the last to prognosticate or to foresee. It was the splendid vision of Nicolas V. that Christianity was to array herself in the spoils of the ancient world, and so maintain with more universal veneration her supremacy over the human mind. This, however, the revival of learning, was but one of the four great principles in slow, silent, irresistible operation in Western Christendom, mutually co-operative, blending with and strengthening each other, ominous of and preparing the great revolution of the next century. But to all these, signs at once and harbingers of the coming change, Nicolas could not but be blind; for of these signs some were those which a Pope, himself so pious and so prosperous, might refuse to see; or, if not dazzled by his prosperity, too entirely absorbed in dangers of far other kind, the fall of Constantinople, the advance of the Turks on Western Christendom, might be unable to see. This one danger, as it (so he might hope) would work reformation in the startled Church, would bring the alienated world into close and obedient confederacy with her head. The Pope, like Urban of old, would take his place at the head of the defensive crusade.

⁶ Pius II. alienated Radicofani, not to his family, but to his native city Sienna.

I.—Of these principles, of these particular signs, the first was the *progress of the human intellect*, inevitable in the order of things, and resulting in a two-fold oppugnancy to the established dominion of the Church. The first offspring of the expanding intellect was the long-felt, still growing impatience, intolerance of the oppressions and the abuses of the Papacy, of the Papal Court, and of the Papal religion. This impatience did not of necessity involve the rejection of the doctrines of Latin Christianity. But it would no longer endure the enormous powers still asserted by the Popes over temporal sovereigns, the immunities claimed by the clergy as to their persons and from the common burthens of the State, the exorbitant taxation, the venality of Rome, above all, the Indulgences, with which the Papal power in its decline seemed determined wantonly to insult the moral and religious sense of mankind. Long before Luther this abuse had rankled in the heart of Christendom. It was in vain for the Church to assert that, rightly understood, Indulgences only released from temporal penances; that they were a commutation, a merciful, lawful commutation for such penances. The language of the promulgators and vendors of the Indulgences, even of the Indulgences themselves, was, to the vulgar ear, the broad, plain, direct guarantee from the pains of purgatory, from hell itself, for tens, hundreds, thousands of years; a sweeping pardon for all sins committed, a sweeping licence for sins to be committed: and if this false construction, it might be, was perilous to the irreligious, this even seeming flagrant dissociation of morality from religion was no less revolting to the religious.^h Nor was there as yet any general improve-

^h Chaucer's Pardoner is a striking illustration of the popular notion and popular feeling in England.

ment in the lives of the Clergy or of the Monks, which by its awful sanctity might rebuke the vulgar and natural interpretation of these Indulgences.¹ The antagonism of the more enlightened intellect to the *doctrines* of the mediæval Church was slower, more timid, more reluctant. It was as yet but doubt, suspicion, indifference; the irreligious were content to be quietly irreligious; the religious had not as yet found in the plain Biblical doctrines that on which they could calmly and contentedly rest their faith. Religion had not risen to a purer spirituality to compensate for the loss of the materialistic worship of the dominant Church. The conscience shrunk from the responsibility of taking cognisance of itself; the soul dared not work out its own salvation. The clergy slept on the brink of the precipice. So long as they were not openly opposed they thought all was safe. So long as unbelief in the whole of their system lurked quietly in men's hearts, they cared not to inquire what was brooding in those inner depths.

II.—The second omen at once and sign of change was the cultivation of classical learning. Letters almost at once ceased to be cloistral, hierarchical, before long almost to be Christian. In Italy, indeed, the Pope had set himself at the head of this vast movement; yet Florence vied with Rome. Cosmo de' Medici was the rival of Nicolas V. But, notwithstanding the Pope's position, the clergy rapidly ceased

¹ The irrefragable testimony to the universal misinterpretation, the natural, inevitable misinterpretation of the language of the Indulgences, the misinterpretation riveted on the minds of men by their profligate vendors, is the solemn, reiterated repudiation of those notions by Councils and by Popes. The definitions of the Council of Trent and of Pius V. had not been wanted, if the Church doctrine had been the belief of mankind.

to be the sole and almost exclusive depositaries of letters. The scholars might condescend to hold canonries or abbeys as means of maintenance, as honours, or rewards (thus, long before, had Petrarch been endowed), but it was with the tacit understanding, or at least the almost unlimited enjoyment, of perfect freedom from ecclesiastical control, so long as they did not avowedly enter on theological grounds, which they avoided rather from indifference and from growing contempt, than from respect. On every side were expanding new avenues of inquiry, new trains of thought: new models of composition were offering themselves. All tended silently to impair the reverence for the ruling authorities. Men could not labour to write like Cicero and Cæsar without imbibing something of their spirit. The old ecclesiastical Latin began to be repudiated as rude and barbarous. Scholasticism had crushed itself with its own weight. When monks or friars were the only men of letters, and monastic schools the only field in which intellect encountered intellect, the huge tomes of Aquinas, and the more summary axioms of Peter Lombard, might absorb almost the whole active mind of Christendom. But Plato now drove out the Theologic Platonism, Aristotle the Aristotelism of the schools. The Platonism, indeed, of Marsilius Ficinus, taking its interpretation rather from Proclus and Plotinus and the Alexandrians, would hardly have offended Julian himself by any obtrusive display of Christianity. On his deathbed Cosmo de' Medici is attended by Ficinus, who assures him of another life on the authority of Socrates, and teaches him resignation in the words of Plato, Xenocrates, and other Athenian sages. The cultivation of Greek was still more fatal to Latin domination. Even the familiar study of the Greek Fathers (as far as an imposing ritual

and the monastic spirit consistent with those of the Latin Church) was altogether alien to the scholasticism dominant in Latin Theology. They knew nothing of the Latin supremacy, nothing of the rigid form, which many of its doctrines, as of Transubstantiation, had assumed. Greek revealed a whole religious world, extraneous to and in many respects oppugnant to Latin Christianity. But the most fatal result was the revelation of the Greek Testament, necessarily followed by that of the Hebrew Scriptures, and the dawn of a wider Biblical Criticism. The proposal of a new translation of the Scriptures at once disenthroned the Vulgate from its absolute exclusive authority. It could not but admit the Greek, and then the Hebrew, as its rival, as its superior in antiquity. Biblical Criticism once begun, the old voluminous authoritative interpreters, De Lyra, Turrecremata, and the rest, were thrown into obscurity. Erasmus was sure to come; with Erasmus a more simple, clear, popular interpretation of the divine word.^k The mystic and allegoric comment on the Scriptures, on which rested wholly some of the boldest assertions of Latin Christianity, fell away at once before his closer, more literal, more grammatical study of the Text. At all events, the Vulgate receded, and with the Vulgate Latin Christianity began to withdraw into a separate sphere; it ceased to be the sole, universal religion of Western Christendom.

III.—The growth of the modern languages not merely into vernacular means of communication, but
Modern Languages. into the vehicles of letters, of poetry, of oratory, of history, of preaching, at length of national documents,

^k The Paraphrase and Notes of Erasmus, in my judgement, was the most important Book even of his day. We must remember that it was almost legally adopted by the Church of England.

still later of law and of science, threw back Latin more and more into a learned dialect. It was relegated into the study of the scholar, into books intended for the intercommunication only of the learned, and for a certain time for the negotiations and treaties of remote kingdoms, who were forced to meet on some common ground. It is curious that in Italy the revival of classical learning for a time crushed the native literature, or at least retarded its progress. From Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, to Ariosto and Machiavelli, excepting some historians, Malespina, Dino Compagni, Villani, there is almost total silence: silence, at least, unbroken by any powerful voice. Nor did the liberal patronage of Nicolas V. call forth one work of lasting celebrity in the native tongue. The connexion of the development of the Transalpine, more especially the Teutonic languages, has been already examined more at length. Here it may suffice to resume, that the vernacular translation of the Bible was an inevitable result of the perfection of those tongues. In Germany and in England that translation tended most materially, by fixing a standard in general of vigorous, noble, poetic, yet idiomatic language, to hasten and to perpetuate the change. It was natural that as soon as a nation had any books of its own, it should seek to have the Book of Books. The Church, indeed, trembling for the supremacy of her own Vulgate, and having witnessed the fatal perils of such Translations in the successes of all the earlier Dissidents, was perplexed and wavered in her policy. Now she thundered out her awful prohibition; now endeavoured herself to supply the want which would not remain unsatisfied, by a safer and a sanctioned version. But the mind of man could not wait on her hesitating movements. The free, bold, untrammelled version had possession of the national mind and national

language; it had become the undeniable patrimony of the people, the standard of the language.

IV.—Just at this period the two great final Reformers, Printing and Paper. the inventor of printing and the manufacturer of paper, had not only commenced, but perfected at once their harmonious inventions. Books, from slow, toilsome, costly productions, became cheap, were multiplied with rapidity which seemed like magic, and were accessible to thousands to whom manuscripts were utterly unapproachable. The power, the desire, increased with the facility of reading. Theology, from an abstruse recondite science, the exclusive possession of an Order, became popular; it was, ere long, the general study, the general passion. The Preacher was not sought the less on account of this vast extension of his influence. His eloquent words were no longer limited by the walls of a Church, or the power of a human voice; they were echoed, perpetuated, promulgated over a kingdom, over a continent. The fiery Preacher became a pamphleteer; he addressed a whole realm; he addressed mankind. It was no longer necessary that man should act directly upon man; that the flock should derive their whole knowledge from their Pastor, the individual Christian from his ghostly adviser. The man might find satisfaction for his doubts, guidance for his thoughts, excitement for his piety in his own chamber from the silent pages of the theological treatise. To many the Book became the Preacher, the Instructor, even the Confessor. The conscience began to claim the privilege, the right, of granting absolution to itself. All this, of course, at first timidly, intermittingly, with many compunctious returns to the deserted fold. The Hierarchy endeavoured to seize and bind down to their own service these unruly powers. Their presses at Venice, at Florence, at Rome,

displayed the new art in its highest magnificence ; but it was not the splendid volume, the bold and majestic type, the industrious editorial care, which worked downwards into the depths of society ; it was the coarse, rude, brown sheet ; the ill-cut German type ; the brief, sententious, plain tract which escaped all vigilance, and so sunk untraced, unanswered, unconfuted, into the eager mind of awakening man. The sternest vigilance might be exercised by the Argus-eyes of the still ubiquitous Clergy. The most solemn condemnations, the most awful prohibitions might be issued ; yet from the birthday of printing, their sole exclusive authority over the mind of man was gone. That they rallied and resumed so much power ; that they had the wisdom and the skill to seize upon the education of mankind, and to seal up again the outbursting springs of knowledge and free examination, is a mighty marvel. Though from the rivals, the opponents, the foes, the subjugators of the great Temporal Despots, they became, by their yet powerful hold on the conscience, and by their common interests in keeping mankind in slavery, their allies, their ministers, their rulers ; yet, from that hour, the Popes must encounter more dangerous, pertinacious, unconquerable antagonists than the Hohenstaufens and Bavarians, the Henrys and Fredericks of old. The sacerdotal caste must recede from authority to influence. Here they would mingle into the general mass of society, assimilate themselves to the bulk of mankind, become citizens, subjects, fathers of families, and fulfilling the common duties and relations of life, work more profoundly beneficial, moral, and religious effects. There they would still stand in a great degree apart, as a separate, unmingling order, yet submit to public opinion, if exercising control, themselves under strong control. This great part of the sacerdotal order

at a much later period was to be stripped with ruder and more remorseless hands of their power, their rank, their wealth; they were to be thrust down from their high places, to become stipendiaries of the state. Their great strength, Monasticism, in some kingdoms was to be abolished by law, which they could not resist; or it was only tolerated as useful to the education, and to the charitable necessities of mankind; almost everywhere it sunk into desuetude, or lingered as the last earthly resort of the world-weary and despondent, the refuge of a rare fanaticism, which now excites wonder rather than widespread emulation. From Nicolas V., seated, as it were, on its last summit, the Papal power, the Hierarchical system, commences its visible decline. Latin Christianity had to cede a large portion of its realms, which became the more flourishing, prosperous, intellectual portion of the world, to Teutonic Christianity. It had hereafter to undergo more fierce and fiery trials. But whatever may be its future doom, one thing may be asserted without fear, it can never again be the universal Christianity of the West.

I pretend not to foretell the future of Christianity. but whosoever believes in its perpetuity (and to disbelieve it were treason against its Divine Author, apostacy from his faith) must suppose that, by some providential law, it must adapt itself, as it has adapted itself with such wonderful versatility, but with a faithful conservation of its inner vital spirit, to all vicissitudes and phases of man's social, moral, intellectual being. There is no need to discuss a recent theory (of M. Comte) that man is to become all intellect; and that religion, residing rather in the imagination, the affections, and the conscience, is to wither away, and cede the whole dominion over mankind to what is called "positive

philosophy." I have no more faith in the mathematical millennium of M. Comte (at all events we have centuries enough to wait for it) than in the religious millennium of some Judaising Christians.

Latin Christianity or Papal Christianity (which is Latin Christianity in its full development), whatever it may be called with least offence, has not only ceased to be, it can never again be, the exclusive, the paramount, assuredly not the universal religion of enlightened men. The more advanced the civilisation, no doubt, in a certain sense, the more need of Christianity. All restrictive views, therefore, of Christianity, especially if such Christianity be at issue with the moral sense and with the progressive reason of man, are urged with perilous and fearful responsibility. Better Christianity vague in creed, defective in polity, than no Christianity. If Latin Christianity were to be the one perpetual, immutable, unalterable code, how much of the world would still be openly, how much secretly without religion? Even in what we may call the Latin world, to how large a part is Latin Christianity what the religion of old Rome was in the days of Cæsar and Cicero, an object of traditionary and prudential respect, of vast political importance, an edifice of which men fear to see the ruin, yet have no inward sense of its foundation in truth? On more religious minds it will doubtless maintain its hold as a religion of authority—a religion of outward form—an objective religion, and so possessing inexhaustible powers of awakening religious emotion. As a religion of authority, as an objective religion, as an emotional religion, it may draw within its pale proselytes of congenial minds from a more vague, more subjective, more rational faith. As a religion of authority it spares the soul from the pain of thought, from the harassing doubt, the despond-

ing scruple. Its positive and peremptory assurances not only overawe the weak, but offer an indescribable consolation—a rest, a repose, which seems at least to be peace. Independence of thought, which to some is their holiest birthright, their most glorious privilege, their sternest duty, is to others the profoundest misery, the heaviest burthen, the responsibility from which they would shrink with the deepest awe, which they would plunge into any abyss to avoid. What relief to devolve upon another the oppressive question of our eternal destiny!

As an objective religion, a materialistic religion, a religion which addresses itself to the senses of man, Latin Christianity has no less great and enduring power. To how many is there no reality without bodily form, without at least the outline, the symbol suggestive of bodily form! With the vulgar at least, it does not rebuke the rudest, coarsest superstition; for the more educated, the symbol refines itself almost to spirituality.

With a large part of mankind, a far larger no doubt of womankind, whose sensibilities are in general more quick and intense than the reasoning faculties, Christian emotion will still either be the whole of religion, or the measure, and the test of religion. Doubtless some primary elements of religion seem intuitive, and are anterior to, or rise without the consciousness of any reasoning process, whose office it is to confirm and strengthen them—the existence of God and of the Infinite, Divine Providence, the religious sense of right and wrong, retribution; more or less vaguely the immortality of the soul. Other doctrines will ever be assumed to be as eternal and immutable. With regard to these, the religious sentiment, which lives upon religious emotion, will be as reluctant to appeal to the

slow, cold verdict of the judgement. Their evidence is their power of awakening, keeping alive, and rendering more intense the feeling, the passion of reverence, of adoration, of awe and love. To question them is impiety; to examine them perilous imprudence; to reject them misery, the most dreary privation. Emotional religion—and how large a part of the religion of mankind is emotional!—refuses any appeal from itself.

Latin Christianity, too, will continue to have a firmer hold on the nations of Latin descent; of those whose languages have a dominant affinity with the Latin. It is not even clear whether it may not have some secret charm for those instructed in Latin; at all events, with them the religious language of Latin Christianity being more intelligible, hardly more than an antiquated and sacred dialect of their own, will not so peremptorily demand its transference into the popular and vernacular tongue.

But that which is the strength of Latin Christianity in some regions, in some periods, with some races, with some individual minds, is in other lands, times, nations, and minds its fatal, irremediable principle of decay and dissolution; and must become more so with the advancement of mankind in knowledge, especially in historical knowledge. That authority which is here a sacred, revered despotism, is there an usurpation, an intolerable tyranny. The Teutonic mind never entirely threw off its innate independence. The long feuds of the Empire and the Papacy were but a rude and premature attempt at emancipation from a yoke to which Rome had submitted her conqueror. Had the Emperors not striven for the mastery of the Latin world, had they stood aloof from Italy, even then the issue might have been different. A Teutonic Emperor had been a more formidable anta-

gonist. But it is not the authority of the Pope alone, but that of the sacerdotal order, against which there is a deep, irresistible insurrection in the Teutonic mind. Men have begun to doubt, men are under the incapacity of believing, men have ceased to believe, the absolutely indispensable necessity of the intervention of any one of their fellow-creatures between themselves and the mercy of God. They cannot admit that the secret of their eternal destination is undeniably confided to another; that they must walk not by the light of their own conscience, but by foreign guidance; that the Clergy are more than messengers with a mission to keep up, by constant reiteration, the truths of the Gospel, to be prepared by special study for the interpretation of the sacred writings, to minister in the simpler ordinances of religion; that they have absolute power to release from sins; without omniscience to act in the place of the Omniscient. This, which, however disguised or softened off, is the doctrine of Latin, of mediæval, of Papal Christianity, has become offensive, presumptuous; to the less serious, ludicrous. Of course, as the relative position of the Clergy, once the sole masters of almost all intellectual knowledge, law, history, philosophy, has totally changed, their lofty pretensions jar more strongly against the common sense of man. Even the interpretation of the sacred writings is no secret and esoteric doctrine, no mystery of which they are the sole and exclusive hierophants.

Toleration, in truth—toleration, which is utterly irreconcilable with the theory of Latin Christianity—has been forced into the mind and heart of Christendom, even among many whose so-called immutable creed is in its irrevocable words as intolerant as ever. What was proclaimed boldly, nakedly, without reserve, without

limitation, and as implicitly believed by little less than all mankind, is now, in a large part of the civilised world, hardly asserted except in the heat of controversy, or from a gallant resolution not to shrink from logical consequences. Wherever publicly avowed or maintained, it is thought but an odious adherence to ignorant bigotry. It is believed by a still-diminishing few that Priest, Cardinal, Pope has the power of irrevocably pre-declaring the doom of his fellow men. Though the Latin Church-language may maintain its unmitigated severity, it is eluded by some admitted reservation, some implied condition utterly at variance with the peremptory tone of the old anathema. Excommunication is obsolete; the interdict on a nation has not been heard for centuries; even the proscription of books is an idle protest.

The subjective, more purely internal, less demonstrative character of Teutonic religion is equally impatient of the more distinct and definite, and rigid objectiveness of Latin Christianity. That which seems to lead the Southern up to heaven, the regular intermediate ascending hosts of Saints, Martyrs, Apostles, the Virgin, to the contemplative Teuton obscures and intercepts his awful, intuitive sense of the Godhead, unspiritualises his Deity, whom he can no longer worship as pure Spirit. To him it is the very vagueness, vastness, incomprehensibility of his conception of the Godhead which proclaims its reality. If here God must be seen on the altar in a materialised form, at once visible and invisible; if God must be working a perpetual miracle; if the passive spirit must await the descent of the Godhead in some sensible sign or symbol;—there, on the other hand (especially as the laws of nature become better known and more familiar, and what of old seemed arbitrary variable agencies are become manifest laws), the Deity as it were recedes into

more unapproachable majesty. It may indeed subtilise itself into a metaphysical First Cause, may expand into a dim Pantheism, but with the religious his religion still rests in a wise and sublime and revered system of Providential government which implies the Divine Personality.

Latin, the more objective faith, tends to materialism, to servility, to blind obedience or blind guidance, to the tacit abrogation, if not the repudiation, of the moral influence by the undue elevation of the dogmatic and ritual part. It is prone to become, as it has become, Paganism with Christian images, symbols, and terms; it has, in its consummate state, altogether set itself above and apart from Christian, from universal morality, and made what are called works of faith the whole of religion; the religion of the murderer, who, if while he sheathes his dagger in the heart of his victim, he does homage to an image of the Virgin, is still religious;^m the religion of the tyrant, who, if he retires in Lent to sackcloth and ashes, may live the rest of the year in promiscuous concubinage, and slaughter his subjects by thousands. So Teutonic Christianity, more self-depending, more self-guided, more self-wrought-out, is not without its peculiar dangers. It may become self-sufficient, unwarrantably arrogant, impatient not merely of control, but of all subordination, incapable of just self-estimation. It will have a tendency to isolate the man, either within himself or as a member of a narrow sect, with all the evils of sectarianism, blind zeal, obstinate self-reliance, or rather self-adoration, hatred, contempt of others, moroseness, exclusiveness, fanaticism, undue appreciation of small

^m Read what Mr. Coleridge used to call the sublime of Roman Catholic Antinomianism. Calderon. Devocion de la Cruz.

things. It will have its own antinomianism, a dissociation of that moral and religious perfection of man which is Christianity; it will appeal to conscious direct influences of Divine Grace with as much confidence, and as little discrimination or judgement, as the Latin to that through the intermediate hierarchy and ritual of the Church.

Its intellectual faith will be more robust; nor will its emotional be less profound and intense. But the strength of its intellectual faith (and herein is at once its glory and its danger) will know no limits to its daring speculation. How far Teutonic Christianity may in some parts already have gone almost or absolutely beyond the pale of Christianity, how far it may have lost itself in its unrebuked wanderings, posterity only will know. What distinctness of conception, what precision of language, may be indispensable to true faith; what part of the ancient dogmatic system may be allowed silently to fall into disuse, as at least superfluous, and as beyond the proper range of human thought and human language; how far the Sacred records may, without real peril to their truth, be subjected to closer investigation; to what wider interpretation, especially of the Semitic portion, those records may submit, and wisely submit, in order to harmonise them with the irrefutable conclusions of science; how far the Eastern veil of allegory which hangs over their truth may be lifted or torn away to show their unshadowed essence; how far the poetic vehicle through which truth is conveyed may be gently severed from the truth;—all this must be left to the future historian of our religion. As it is my own confident belief that the words of Christ, and his words alone (the primal, indefeasible truths of Christianity), shall not pass away; so I cannot presume to say that men may not attain to a clearer, at the same time more

full, comprehensive, and balanced sense of those words, than has as yet been generally received in the Christian world. As all else is transient and mutable, these only eternal and universal, assuredly, whatever light may be thrown on the mental constitution of man, even on the constitution of nature, and the laws which govern the world, will be centered so as to give a more penetrating vision of those undying truths. Teutonic Christianity (and this seems to be its mission and privilege), however nearly in its more perfect form it may already have approximated, may approximate still more closely to the absolute and perfect faith of Christ; it may discover and establish the sublime unison of religion and reason; keep in tone the triple-chorded harmony of faith, holiness, and charity; assert its own full freedom, know the bounds of that freedom, respect the freedom of others. Christianity may yet have to exercise a far wider, even if more silent and untraceable influence, through its primary, all-pervading principles, on the civilisation of mankind.

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